THE RELATIONS BETWEEN POLISH AMERICANS AND BLACKS IN AMERICA

BY

THADDEUS C. RADZIALOWSKI

PROFESSOR

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

SOUTHWEST STATE UNIVERSITY

MARSHALL, MN.

56258

The story of relationship between Blacks and Poles in America is a major part of the general history of the relationship between Immigrants and Blacks. It is an unusually complex history and unfortunately one that has been very little studied. Most students of ethnic groups have concentrated on the relations between the dominant society and individual groups of immigrants. Yet, rarely were those relations carried on bilaterally in isolation; they were often affected by the relations between the dominant group and other ethnic groups and the interaction between ethnic groups themselves. The political, cultural, and economic choices of the dominant American society, wittingly or unwittingly, dramatically influenced and at times even established the terms of the interaction between minority ethnic groups. The history of the relationship between Polish immigrants and their children and Black Americans in the Northern cities of the United States is a prime illustration of these points.

The first contacts between Poles and Blacks in America were between the handful of Polish political emigres and Black Slaves. A number of those contacts were marked by acts of mamumission of some slaves and/or the development of a strong and public stand against slavery and racism by individual Poles. The most noteworthy actions were those of General Thaddeus Kosciuszko. While serving as a volunteer with the American forces during the War for Independence, Kosciuszko became widely known for his solicitude and kindness to negro slaves and his outspoken opposition to slavery. He freed from slavery his servant and companion during the war, the young Black man Agrippa Hull. In a will disposing of his American properties he instructed his executor Thomas Jefferson to sell all and employ the proceeds thereof:

> in purchasing Negroes...and giving them liberty in my name, in giving them an education...and in having them instructed for their new duties of morality which may make them good neighbors, good fathers, mothers, husbands, and wives and in their duties as citizens teaching them to be defenders of their liberty and country....[2]

Legal difficulties and public sentiment against the idea caused the will to be tied up in litigation for years and finally, to have the intent of its framer subverted. The money, unfortunately, was not used for the purposes Koscuiszko intended.

In the early nineteenth century several Poles in America became champions of the anti-slavery cause. Ernestine Potowski-Rose who styled herself "a daughter of martyred Poland" before her English speaking audiences, came to the U.S. from England with a reputation as a fighter for rights of women and workers. In addition to championing those causes here, she also became a leading abolitionist. Another Polish woman, Dr. Maria Zakrzewska, also took to pen and podium to denounce the evils of slavery. After the war Dr. Zakrezewska helped to promote education especially in the medical field for black women.[3]

Other figures from this period who deserve mention are Adam Gurowski and Thaddeus Lewinski. The former, a bitter opponent of all tyranny was active in the anti-slavery cause prior to the American Civil War and was the author of Slavery in History, a scathing attack on racism and on slavery. During the Civil War, Gurowski promoted the idea of black regiments and offered, in spite of crippling infirmities, to join and lead such a regiment. Lewinski was a leading abolitionist who, along with Cassius M. Clay, edited the anti-slavery newspapers The True American and The Examiner in Ohio and Kentucky in the 1840's.[4]

Opposition to slavery and a sympathetic reaction to the plight of Black Americans was characteristic of most pre-Civil War Polish immigrants. Refugees from failed revolutions against despotism and in the main believers in democracy they were shocked by the injustice of slavery. One historian of the period notes that the Poles "In letters to friends and associates in Europe,...frequently condemned slavery as the one American institution which they found totally abhorrent."[5]

The Polish attitudes toward slavery and blacks and the relatively

large number of Civil War Volunteers in the Union army, including many who served in Black Regiments, speak well for the humane, generous and enlightened traditions of the small Polish community in America which developed prior to the great peasant immigration of the last third of the century. However, the history of this early period remained unknown to the later migrants and consequently had no impact (until recently) on the history of the relations between Polish and Black immigrants to American Industrial Centers. Large scale contacts between the Poles and Blacks did not begin until the end of the nineteenth century and their relations do not become a significant aspect of American hisotry until the twentieth century.

From the beginning the interaction between the Poles and Blacks was marked, although not solely characterized by, conflict and competition. It is, of course, hardly surprising that two groups of poorly educated rural migrants with widely varying cultural backgrounds, religions, and languages should regard each other with suspicion and even hostility. The cultural shock of the encounter certainly played a role in the differences and misunderstandings between Poles and Blacks, but in itself was not the major source of the difficulty. The primary source of the conflict, as will be shown, was that these two groups, at the bottom of American society and widely despised, were thrown into fierce competition for jobs, housing, status and political power. The rivalry over jobs began in the 1880's and 1890's and continued into the twentieth century. The conflict over housing and neighborhoods did not begin to develop until the late twenties and did not assume importance until the forties. The political competition was not a serious problem until after World War II. The combination of decades-old economic grievances, and the pressure caused by the enormous growth of the Black population in Northern cities embittered the political competition between the two groups in the post World War II period.

Caroline Golab, in her recent study Immigrant Destinations, has pointed out that because Blacks and Immigrants provided pools of unskilled labor, "there was an inverse relationship between the foreign-born and the Black populations of America's cities." Because they sought essentially the same jobs, immigrants and Blacks originally each avoided areas and regions where the other was dominant in the nineteenth century. Immigrants had difficulty breaking into the job market where Black labor was entrenched, as in the south and Blacks experienced the same difficulties in areas where immigrants provided most of the unskilled labor.[6]

Job competition between ethnic groups for menial work was an old phenomenon in American History. By the time the Polish economic migration began the patterns of that competition had long been set and deeply poisoned by racial animosity born out of the pernicious legacy of slavery. In the South, slave owners had employed their slaves in whatever manner they found profitable. This led to competition not only between Blacks and white craftsmen but in the words of Spero and Harris, "extended (it) to nearly every branch of manual labor." As black labor was cheaper, the system of using both slave and free labor together served to keep white labor cheap and cowed. Because it served to keep the animosity of white workers directed at their black competitors, it also provided an effective method of social control.[7]

In the North, the opposition of free labor to slave competition as far back as the early eighteenth century was crucial to the elimination of slavery from the North. By the nineteenth century the Black competition to white labor involved only a small number of slaves and "free people of color." The competition in this case was more potential than real and yet was feared nevertheless. That fear and the deep seated racialism of American culture on the one hand and the strong northern anti-slavery movement on the other gave Northern workers an ambiguous view of the Black and his problems. They hated slavery and opposed its extension and even identified with the slave on occasion. Yet they con-

sistently favored limiting the rights of free Blacks and excluded their potential Black competitors from their labor organizations.[8] Sometimes where the competition did exist on some scale, it broke out into violence, as for example, in the Philadelphia riot of 1834.[9]

The contest took on an added dimension with the influx of large numbers of unskilled Irish and German immigrants. Despised, sometimes with a status lower than free Blacks, they fought for the same menial jobs that Blacks sought. The nativist hatreds and contempt of the Protestant upper classes and the fear of black competition drove the Catholic immigrants into a Democratic party which because of its southern strength had strong pro-slavery proclivities. Feeling themselves at times an even greater pariah class in the American city than the Blacks, the immigrants often opposed the abolition of slavery for fear that freed slaves would take their jobs. At the same time, driven by desperation and poverty, the immigrants scrambled to push Blacks out of the jobs they already held and take them over themselves. As early as 1853 Frederick Douglass wrote:

> Every hour sees the Black man elbowed out of employment by some newly arrived immigrant whose hunger and whose color are thought to give him a better title to the place...[10]

In the meantime, on the eve of the Civil War, Protestant America regrouped in the new Republican Party. This party emerged as the voice of the western Farmer and the Northern industrialist. It favored a strong federal union, cheap and even free land, a national tariff to protect American industry and the abolition of slavery. Under its auspices, the American Civil War and its aftermath became in the words of Barrington Moore "the last capitalist revolution" which created the conditions for the enormous growth of the American industrial system in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The Civil War also intensified the bitter rivalry between immigrants and Blacks. In the midst of the war anti-draft-anti-negro riots broke out in a number of cities on the East coast and as far west as Detroit and St. Paul.

The costliest was the infamous New York riot of July 1863 which ended in a massacre of Irish immigrants by the army and cost over a thousand lives. The immigrants had viewed the threat to draft them as an attempt by Republican Protestant abolitionists to rid the city of the Irish and create jobs for their newly freed Black protegees. The Irish responded by brutally attacking property and the persons and homes of Black residents.[11]

This tangle of interest and history defined the arena and set the terms of the job competition between Poles and Blacks that began three decades later. Blacks, the weakest, most vulnerable and among the least numerous of the competitors in the industrial job market began to be used extensively as strikebreakers. Excluded by race and lack of skills from membership in the small craft oriented unions (which also usually excluded immigrants) and feared and looked down upon by American workers generally, the rural southern Black population provided an ideal, almost castelike reserve of strikebreakers and cheap labor for the industrialists to whom they were tied by common allegiance to the Republican party.

Black spokesmen, such as Booker T. Washington,out of conviction, as well as interest and necessity, looked to the favor of the factory owner rather than solidarity with white workers to get jobs and promote mobility for their race. In 1913, Mr. Washington wrote that the Negro sees the employer as a friend and "does not understand and...like an organization which seems to be founded on a sort of impersonal emnity to the man by whom he is employed." A Legion of others including the founder of the "Back to Africa" movement, Marcus Garvey; the prominent churchman, Bishop Carey; and Professor Kelly Miller of Howard University echoed, sometimes with tragic resignation, the need for Black men to side with the employer if they are to work at all.[12]

Long before the major Polish immigration began, Blacks looked with considerable suspicion and anxiety at any large influx of immigrants. The threat to their jobs and position in society led some northern Blacks before the Civil War to express anti-immigrant feeling and even to join nativist groups. In

Boston, free Blacks took up petitions to exclude Irish immigrants from their neighborhoods because of the fear that the low status and culture of the newcomers would undermine their own precarious and hard won status.[13] The appearance of Eastern and Southern European immigrants at the end of the century caused Blacks to join the anti-Catholic, anti-immigrant American Protective Association (APA) in surprising numbers.[14] What role, if any, the strong anti-Catholic heritage of Protestant fundamentalism had in heightening Blacks' anxieties about their immigrant competitors has never been carefully studied. While it is clear that this factor never played as central a role in Black nativism as it did in the anti-immigrant feeling of white American Protestants, Black spokesmen occasionally did indulge in strong anti-papist denunciations.[15]

The post Civil War immigrants, in turn, rejected the Republican party with its Protestant and anti-liquor proclivities and its ties to the rising class of industrialists. They became adherents of the Democratic party whose tradition of anti-black populism seemed to offer them a competitive advantage in a difficult and volatile job market. In spite of sometimes brutal discrimination against them, many immigrants learned that a white skin was an advantage in America and that the exclusion of Blacks from many jobs and trades by American workers promised, if not immediately, then in the long run, especially if they rid themselves of foreign characteristics, to help them also in their desire to get work and rise out of poverty.[16]

In view of this background, it is not surprising, therefore, that in spite of the sparse Black population of the Northern and Midwest cities in which late nineteenth century immigrants such as Poles and Italians settled, some job competition ensued almost immediately. The Northern Black population, drawn heavily from the pre-Civil war "free persons of color," and their children had an important place in the service trades and laboring work of many American cities. The immigrants began to squeeze them out of many of these lines of work. Because the Poles were not usually attracted to service work, they did not complete as fiercely with the Blacks for positions as waiter, barbers, launderers, bootblacks,

etc. as did Italians, Greeks or Chinese immigrants.[17] There was some competition between Polish immigrant women and Black women for service work available in laundries, hotels, office buildings, and in a few rare cases for domestic work in homes of the well-to-do.[18] In a number of cities however, Polish men did replace Blacks in positions as white washers, teamsters and stevedores by the early eighteen nineties. Northern Blacks quickly became aware of the Poles as the latest of their immigrants competitors. In 1891, a Black white washer in Detroit told a reporter:

> First it was de Irish, den it was de Dutch [i.e. Germans] and now it's de Polacks as grinds us down. I s'pose when dey [the Poles] gets like the Irish and stands up for a fair price, some odder stranger will come across de sea and jine the family and cut us down again.[19]

In most instances, the replacement of black workers by whites was the result of the preference of the employers for the immigrant over the Black, because they were thought to be more docile, to work harder, or just because of their skin color. In a very recent study Bodnar, Weber, and Simon argue that the demeaning stereotype of the Poles as submissive, uncomplaining, and able to endure heavy labor for long periods of time was a strong factor in helping them to get work while the stereotypical view of Blacks as lazy and shiftless made it more difficult for them to find employment.[20]

The struggle for work in heavy industry which characterized the competition between Poles and Blacks, began in earnest in the late 1880's and early 1890's, as Polish immigrants in massive numbers began to move into the rapidly expanding and mechanizing factories, foundaries, steel mills, and packing houses, and as Blacks, in much smaller numbers and mostly newly arrived from the South, began to appear as strikebreakers with increasing frequency. It should be noted that all ethnic groups, Poles included, provided large numbers of strikebreakers in the bitter industrial wars of the last part of the nineteenth and first part of the twentieth centuries and fought other ethnic groups besides blacks for jobs. Often this was the way in which a group first

broke into an industry.[21] However, the use of poor Southern Blacks against white workers was the most massive in those industries such as meat packing and steel making in which Polish immigrants constituted one of the largest, if not the largest, ethnic groups in the work force.

By the early 1890's, Polish immigrants became strongly aware of the role of the Blacks as strikebreakers and tools of the industrialists who oppressed them. In a plea to Polish workers not to engage in strikebreaking and thus become like the Blacks, Father Barzynski's Dziennik Chicagoski pleaded in July, 1893, that Polish scabs:

> gain nothing but instead awaken against themselves the ever growing ill will of the workers of all other nationalities...We Poles should for our own good, and for the preservation of our honor as a people, leave the role of scabs, those drudges of capitalism, to the Negro and the Chinese.[22]

The image of the Black as a job competitor and scab continued to be built up prior to World War I as Black labor was used to break hundreds of strikes in which Poles were involved. These included minor local strikes such as the Illinois Steel strikes in 1895, 1896, and major strikes of national importance such as the Pullman strike of 1894 and the Packing House strike of 1904. The Blacks also sometimes replaced Poles in non-strike situations. In 1905, for example, Illinois Steel replaced some of its Polish workers with Blacks because the Poles had not mastered English well enough and the inability to understand orders often led to accidents. The pain of that decision was underscored by the plaintive and rhetorical plea of the editor of the Dziennik Chicagoski for someone to do "something on behalf of our countrymen in South Chicago."[23]

The most menacing image of the Black was that of the armed company guard. In some cases, Blacks were used as guards during strikes in which a largely Polish and East European work force was subjected to violence. The most notable example was the 1893 Lemont Massacre near Chicago in which Black scabs imported

from the South armed with Winchester rifles shot down a large number of Polish immigrant workers. At least six were killed and more than twenty five were wounded. The incident brought meetings, collections for the wounded and families of the dead, and petitions for redress of grievances from the Polish community. Polish newspapers in other cities told their readers that the contractors "armed the Negroes and ordered them to shoot the strikers even though the latter approached the 'scabs' peacefully." As a result of such situations, poor Blacks appeared to Polish immigrants not only as strikebreakers who stole their jobs when they struck for just grievances, but also as armed assassins who shot them down on orders of the bosses.[24]

The struggle between the two groups intensified during and after World War I. The cutting off of immigration from Europe and the great demand for manpower in the factories of the Industrial North brought the first great wave of migration of Blacks to the Northern cities. The tiny Black population of Detroit, for example, increased sevenfold between 1910 and 1920 and then tripled again to 120,000 by 1930.[25] In Chicago, the Black population grew from 40,000 to almost 100,000 in the 1910-1920 period and then by another 100,000 in the next two decades.[26] The sheer numbers of unskilled Black rural migrants made competition with their Polish counterparts who had arrived a few years earlier, permanent and massive rather than occasional. During World War I and its aftermath, the occupational configuration of the Black population of Northern American cities changed in a way that ensured the rivalry would become a structural feature of the industrial labor market in Northern American cities. Blacks changed from a small group of occasional workers and servants to a large group of industrial proletarians.

In the post war period, Blacks were associated with the crushing of two major strikes: the 1919 Steel Strike and the 1921 Packing House Strike. In the post-war depression period, the large corporations attempted to roll back the gains made by the workers during the war and the workers responded by strikes.

The strikes were broken by the massive and provacative use of Black labor. During the steel strike, Black strikebreakers were marched openly under armed guard to the steel mills through the immigrant neighborhoods. After the strike was broken, a steel company executive admitted openly, "The niggers did it."[27] During the Packing House Strike, the entire Polish community fought frequent bloody street battles with police, company guards, and strikebreakers. Two students of Black Chicago noted that although as a result of that strike large numbers of Blacks "became permanently established in that industry, they earned the bitter antagonism of Irish, Polish, and Italian workers."[28]

The threat that the Black men presented was not just as strikebreakers at periods of dramatic confrontation with management, but by the nineteen twenties as a permanent anti-union presence in the factories and a reserve army of job-hungry workers who kept the labor market full and wages down. The industrialists took measures to see that the Blacks remained hostile to any efforts to organize workers by such tactics as subsidizing Black churches to preach the anti-union gospel and by hiring Blacks only through the Churches. Prospective Black employees were required to have a recommendation from their minister that they were of good character and had the proper (i.e. anti-union) attitudes. In their sophisticated form these policies were adopted in the twenties by the steel companies and later refined and used with great success by Henry Ford in his struggle against the United Auto Workers in the thirties and forties.[29]

As the competition intensified in the nineteen twenties, Blacks found themselves in difficult condition. By the end of World War I, the small Northern Black communities had found that their members had often been bypassed or replaced in the job market by immigrants, their economic progress halted, and their neighborhood flooded by abysmally poor newcomers from the South whose presence increased hostility to them.[30] The end of the century's second decade saw a wave of race riots in Northern cities from East St. Louis in 1916 to

Chicago in 1919. Already the victims of discrimination and violence, the Blacks also suffered disproportionally from the post-war dislocation. As industries retrenched, Black workers were either fired or had their wages reduced. The depression also increased the apprehension that white workers felt about their presence.

The response of Black leadership was to try to sell Black workers as "100% American" during the anti-foreign, anti-radical hysteria that accompanied the post-war depression of the early twenties. Black newspapers openly discussed the need to curtail immigration, deny jobs to non-citizens, and even to deport them.[31] The most insulting aspect of their rejection by American Society which had not been evident to Blacks in the South was the promotion of white skinned foreigners over them. In the wake of their patriotic service during the war, many Blacks felt this "ingratitude" even more acutely, In the words of one scholar, "the immigrants became scapegoats for Black Americans in much the same way that they served society."[32] As in the nineteenth century, the restriction or elimination of their immigrant competitors offered to Northern Blacks a simple solution to their complex situation. Without the immigrants, they believed they would be needed and wanted by white Americans.

Blacks, some of them newly arrived, often adopted the prejudice and contempt of the dominant American society toward the immigrants even as the immigrants began to pass them by. Drake and Cayton note that Blacks living in integrated areas of Chicago "look down on the foreign born" and treat them with "a certain amount of understandable condescension." They quote, for example, a Black woman saying, "We're not segregated here. Who are these 'hunkies' to segregate you? Most of them are as black as I am." Another who did not live in an integrated neighborhood expressed a similar feeling: "Being a Southerner, I've always lived in a Negro community and I didn't come this far to live among Polocks, Dagoes, and other low class white trash."[33]

Among Polish immigrants the attitudes toward the Blacks changed from

one of relative sympathy in spite of the rivalry and occasional violence over jobs, to growing hostility by the nineteen thirties. There is no record of Polish opposition to the inclusion of Blacks into those early labor unions that enrolled Blacks and immigrants. In some cases, Polish-American labor leaders such as John Kikulski of the Packing House Workers worked heroically to organize multi-racial, multi-ethnic labor unions before World War I.[34] During the race riots at the end of World War I, Polish immigrant newspapers and leaders denounced the attacks on the Blacks unequivocable. Nevertheless, the two decades of job competition exacerbated in 1919 by the growing Black migration and the post-war dislocation found an echo in the Polish-American reaction. The Polish Roman Catholic Union newspaper, Narod Polski, for example, denounced the riots as "barbarian acts" which have "no place in a civilized society" and urged all Poles to behave peacefully vis-a-vis Blacks. Yet even though these acts could not be justified according to the editors, they could understand why some people would feel anger at the Blacks. "The Negroes," they wrote, "have wrenched work from white hands in many cities. The whites feel hurt, although it is not always the fault of the Negro."[35]

The 1919 Chicago race riot was accompanied by an incident which forced a rare public discussion by Polish immigrants of their attitudes toward Blacks. In early August, in the wake of the bloody racial violence, arsonists, reportedly Black, set fires in the Polish-Lithuanian back-of-the-yards area which left almost a thousand immigrants homeless and destitute.[36] Tensions fanned by the race riots and the summer strikes in the slaughter houses in which Black strikebreakers were used became unbearable in Polish neighborhoods. Some Polish newspapers placed the blame on the Blacks and clearly there was sentiment among many in the neighborhood for violent retaliation against them.[37]

Into this volatile situation stepped a "Citizens' Committee" which called a mass meeting to try to calm tensions. On August 4, 1919, an overflow crowd led by the Citizens' Committee and the pastors of the Polish churches gathered

at the Guardian Angel Nursery to discuss the fires and the race riot "started in this area by an unknown hand" in the words of the Dziennik Chicagoski reporter who covered the event. Several important themes emerged from the discussion at which at least a dozen people spoke. The first was that there was no reason for the Blacks to have set fire to the Polish neighborhood (even if they had been able to physically get there undetected, which was doubtful according to one speaker) because the Poles had not taken part in the race riot and therefore were not targets for retaliation. Second, that the fire was a deliberate attempt to set Poles against Blacks to make them appear as enemies of the Negro race and to besmirch the reputation of the Poles by making them appear uncivilized. Third, that this was an attempt to prevent Poles and Blacks from uniting in a common cause against the capitalists. According to a M. W. Wrzesinski who stated this last thesis most eloquently, Blacks were beginning to make common cause with their fellow workers in the stockyards and consequently to improve their wages and conditions, therefore:

> the progress and enlightenment being gained by their unwilling tools brought up to flood the market and replace white workers during a strike displeased the capitalists and they began to seek ways to set Blacks and Poles against each other.[38]

Whatever the truth or falsity of any of the charges, what emerged from the meeting is a clear expression of sympathy from the crowd and the priests and leaders of the Polish stockyards community for the plight of the Blacks and a recognition of the evil effect of the deliberately fostered division between Black and Polish workers in the packing houses. The meeting ended with a unanimously passed resolution condemning the riots and arson and urging Poles to remain calm and not respond to provocation. This meeting seems to support the opinion of the Spero and Harris study, The Black Worker, which in regard to the racial situation in 1919 asserted that "Poles and Lithuanians... had comparatively little anti-Negro prejudice."[39]

Whatever anger Poles may have felt against Blacks for breaking strikes or moving into jobs they wanted, they did resoundingly reject racialist theories of Black inferiority. The Poles realized quite clearly that these theories, widely disseminated by groups such as the Ku Klux Klan and the Black Legion in the inter-war period, relegated them to the same sub-human catagories as Negroes. The Dziennik Chicagoski, for example, concluded its analysis of racialism with observation:

> And now if the words 'superior race' are replaced by the words 'Anglo-Saxon' and instead of 'inferior races' such terms as Polish, Italian, Russian, and Slavs in general--not to mention the Negro, Chinese, and Japanese--are applied, then we shall see the political side of the racial problems in the United States in stark nakedness. Let us also look further, especially at the face of the Ku Klux Klan and its real purpose, for it is the true representative of such (i.e. Madison Grant's and Lathrop Stoddard's) theories.[40]

By the twenties, it was also apparent, however, that the Poles had developed some unfavorable popular stereotypes of Blacks in addition to the image of them as strikebreakers. They began to see the Blacks as lazy, happy-go-lucky, rather shiftless persons, gamblers, and petty thieves.[41] These images, of course, reflected the prevalant stereotypes about Blacks held by the dominant white society which the Poles obviously picked up. However, they also have a strong element of projection about them. The Polish community at this point in its history was attempting to pull itself up from the effects of the double migration from Europe to America and from rural village to industrial city, chronicled so well by the flawed, but brilliant study by William Thomas and Florian Znaniecki. The evidence shows that in cities such as Chicago, the Polish American community consistently produced the highest number of juvenile delinquents and family and matrimonial cases brought before domestic courts before World War I and the pattern abated only slowly in the twenties. Black migrants from the rural South were now undergoing the same dreary catalogue of social ills and dislocations that the Polish immigrants were attempting to escape from but in the face of greater hostility from the dominant society and a less supportive tradition to draw on as a resource.[42]

While it is no doubt true that Blacks may have appeared strange, exotic, and possibly even repellent by virtue of their skin pigmentation, physical characteristics, and distinct Protestant rural folk culture to the immigrants from small villages of East Central Europe (as they themselves did to many white and Black Americans), and that this may undoubtedly have played a role in the reaction of Polish immigrants to them,[43] the real cause of the anti-Black feeling that existed among Polish immigrants by the end of the nineteen twenties was clearly the product of the bitter job competition between Poles and Blacks. It was intensified by the conscious and cynical policy of many employers of deliberately pitting these two groups (and others) against each other in the pursuit of power and profit.

A second reason, related to the first, stemmed from the pariah-like caste status of Blacks in U.S. society. Polish American workers. especially those more acculturated to American society, saw by the twenties the advantage of stressing their whiteness to lessen discrimination against themselves and to get a leg up on their Black rivals in the job competition. Just as Blacks in the same period were stressing their loyalty and their "100% Americanism" and the foreigness of Poles and Italians to rally the nativism of Protestant Anglo-Saxon America against the immigrants, so the immigrants drawing on the racial prejudices of White America began to emphasize their whiteness.

Miles Carpenter's study in the late twenties of the Poles in Buffalo supports thatanalysis. He argues from his data that,on the whole, Poles showed very little racial prejudice against Blacks. However, in breaking his group down by generations, he discovered that the older immigrant generation was the least prejudiced while the younger, American born and educated generation began to display the racial prejudices of the general American population. Thus, he concluded that the growth of racial prejudice was a function of Americanization and acculturation.[44]

A different but complimentary interpretation of the growth of racial antagonism to Blacks by white workers in competition with them has been suggested in recent years by economic sociologists such as Edna Bonacich and Scott Cummings. Their argument is that racial antagonism under such conditions can be seen as part of the growth of working class consciousness and class militancy if the racial feelings are combined with a sense that the use of the despised racial group to break strikes and drive down wages is "part of the general pattern of exploitation employed by the owners."[45] Although these analyses do not deal specifically with the conflict between immigrants and Blacks, they are perhaps more applicable to that situation than to the rivalry which they were developed to explain-the conflict between Southern white workers and Blacks, which is complicated by the tragic history of southern slavery. The conflict between Poles and Blacks for most of its history was based almost entirely on the struggle over jobs. There is ample evidence, as already noted, to show that the Polish anger at Blacks was clearly a part of their general animosity toward the employers who used Blacks against them and the exploitative nature of the labor market which forced workers of different ethnic groups to compete with each other. Their consciousness of the broader context of the struggle, in fact, mitigated the anger at first. Racial prejudice thus was born, if Bonacich and Cummings are correct, in the process of their development of a class identity. It was a product of the Polish-American integration into the American working class. The Black racial feeling against Poles and other immigrants was certainly born out of the same economic struggle.[46]

This prejudice was also picked up consciously and unconsciously by the immigrant in the course of daily contacts with American norms and practices at school or at work. Some of it, however, was deliberately taught. Public schools for Polish immigrant children sometimes segregated them not only from native white American children but also from Black children in order to maintain racial separateness. Teachers even set themselves the task of in-

structing these newcomers in the intricacies of the racial system of the country in order to perpetuate it. As one Gary, Indiana teacher of Polish children wrote:

> the promiscuous association of white and colored pupils is a terrible thing. It should not be allowed, particularly in a school with a large number of foreign students. They will soon lose sight of the color line.[47]

Yet in spite of the pervasive examples of racism around them and the deliberate attempt to teach it to them, Poles never fully accepted all of the ideas and practices of American racism even in the South. A Polish traveler in America, Stefan Nesterowicz, who visited Polish settlements in Texas in 1909 noted that the Poles he met there reflected some of the feelings of their fellow Texans toward Blacks. On the other hand, he wrote:

> It must be said to the credit of the Poles that they take no part in the vigilante actions against the Blacks and as employers they treat them well and do not exploit them.[48]

Perhaps the reason that Poles did not fully adopt all of the attitudes of American Racism was that they always felt themselves also a poor and persecuted people who were, like the Blacks, oppressed by the forces of American society. Ironically, this attitude which made them vulnerable to feelings of status deprivation and resentment at gains made by Blacks may also have acted to temper anti-black feeling by pointing, however, vaguely to the idea of a community of suffering. Thus even during periods of the most intense rivalry, as during the immediate Post World War I period, they could sympathize and even identify with Blacks. Similar attitudes were expressed even in the wake of the Detroit Race Riot of 1943 which came at the end of a decade of bitter poverty and intense and violent confrontation. In an article occasioned by the Riot titled "W Szkolach powinno sie uczyc tolerancji" (Tolerance should be taught in the schools), in Toledo's Ameryka Echo , the writer concludes that in spite of the official rhetoric of brotherhood and equality:

> American life in practice, however, unfortunately demonstrates many problems and inequalities which originate in cultural, racial, and religious differences. A significant number of native born Americans--those whose ancestors were Oriental, Hindu or Negro-are considered people of a lower order. Many immigrant groups from Central, Eastern and Southern Europe did not always find acceptance and welcome...Only because they differ in language and customs socially and economically they did not achieve all that America promised.[49]

The coming of the great depression aggravated the already intense Black-Polish rivalry for jobs. Both communities faced massive unemployment and hunger. For example, in the largely Polish-American industrial city of Hamtramck the welfare resources were so strapped by the unprecedent demand for food and basic necessities that any family with less than three children was stricken from the welfare rolls.[50] The plight of Northern urban Blacks was, if possible, even worse.[51] The acquisition of a job, any job, became a desperate necessity for the Black and white immigrants.

In the wake of the depression, the organizing drives by the new industrial unions, strongly supported by Polish American workers, pushed the industrial corporations into another massive use of Black strikebreakers. The confrontation between Black and Polish workers again took on the violent character it had in the immediate post World War I period.

At the Dodge Main Auto Plant, situated astride the boundary of Hamtramck and Detroit, the largely Polish American work force took over the factory and with the help of sympathetic city police and thousands of friends and relatives, blockaded the Hamtramck entrances in one of the most massive and dramatic sit-down strikes. However, the Detroit entrances were kept open by Detroit police and as a new pictorial history of the United Auto Workers' Union graphically demonstrates, hundreds of Black strikebreakers were marched in under police protection to try to keep the factory going.[52] During the 1941 attempt to organize the Ford Rouge Plant, Black workers pelted union strikers with heavy car hinges from the roof tops. Later, armed with iron bars and knives,

hundreds of Black men were sent out to break the U.A.W. lines. The first time the pickets were routed; the second time, reinforced and armed with clubs and bats, they turned back the Blacks. The Poles were again the largest of the ethnic groups among the white workers at the plant. So, on the eve of the infamous 1943 Detroit Race Riot, Polish and other immigrant workers and their sons battled Black men in the streets in a desperate struggle for jobs and livelihood at the instigation of a large industrial corporation. Although shortly afterward the Blacks, recognizing the folly of supporting an unjust employer, came over to the unions en masse, the anger and bitter legacy of the violence poisoned for another generation the relations between Blacks and Poles. [53]

The triumph of the industrial union movement and the incorporation of the Blacks into it by the 1940's ended the use of Blacks as strikebreakers and muted the job competition based on ethnic rivalry. In its place emerged a system of hiring, promotion and lay-off based more or less on skill and seniority. The ethnic and racial competition continued, and still continues, to some extent, beneath the apparent even handedness of the new rules, especially in those industries such as steel or auto, which effect periodic massive lay-offs because of overproduction, or in those areas in which there remains even in good times a large reserve of unemployed, because of structural factors such as automation. Because this rivalry is hidden, it is more difficult to examine than the dramatic confrontations of the past but its existence and its social and psychological implications can be discerned indirectly from other data. For example, one survey of workers in Detroit in the mid-nineteen sixties showed that while the unemployment rate for Blue Collar workers of German or British extraction stood about 8.5%, that of Polish and other Slavic workers was 11.4%. The Black rate was over 17%. With jobless rates respectively 40% and 100% higher than the general population, Poles and Blacks

were locked into a more intense rivalry for the dwindling number of Blue Collar jobs available in Detroit in the mid-sixties than members of other more fortunate ethnic groups. The nature of the rivalry was graphically demonstrated more recently when Polish Americans discovering that their representation in the command ranks of the Chicago Police Department was even lower than that of the Blacks, asked to be represented by the "Lawyer's Committee" against discrimination which was pleading the Black cause. Attorney Gerald Muller responding for the committee declined to accept the Polish American policemen as clients because:

> Since there are a limited number of jobs available there could be conflicts between Black and Latin and Polish classes (as well as a class of women which is seperately represented) for those few jobs which are available.[54]

The struggle for position and status also moved into new arenas in the post World War II period. The children and grandchildren of Polish immigrants building on the economic and cultural capital so painfully accumulated by their predecessors began a gradual movement into higher education and into white collar and professional status. A generation behind them and with a smaller material base but bouyed up by the civil rights movement, the children and grandchildren of the Black immigrants began their own drive for social, educational and occupational mobility by the nineteen fifties. Blacks, aided by programs designed to redress the centuries of injustice done them and to assuage the guilt of white Americans, challenged Polish Americans and other ethnics for places in apprenticeship programs, university classes and entry level white collar and professional positions.

The old rivalry, therefore, continues in a new form. Polish Americans now battle in the political and legal arena against affirmative action and quota programs which they see threatening their newly won and still precarious social and occupational position in American society. The Polish American Congress, for example, joined the Bakke suit on "minority" admission quotas

at the University of California-Davis to protect the interests of Polish American students who wished to study medicine.[55]

In the past, Polish-Americans had at times profited becuace the prejudice against them was less than against Blacks. This time the established groups have ostensibly chosen to favor Blacks against them and to pay off their massive debt to the Blacks at the expense of Polish-American and other groups seeking to move out of the working class. The job competition has changed character now but it is far from over yet.[56]

The competition between Blacks and immigrants for housing parallels in part and is strongly tied to, the rivalry over jobs. As early as the eighteen eighties, observors noted the propensity of Poles to buy land and homes. Polish immigrants chose what Stephen Thernstrom has called "property mobility" over educational, social, or occupational mobility as their first strategy of mobility in America. They concentrated all of their resources--and that often included the wages of children--to place the family in its own home. By 1930, the majority of Polish immigrant families in most Northern cities either owned or were buying houses. A Chicago estimate gives a figure of over thirty-three thousand Polish families owning homes in 1928. To own land became an important indicator of status and a source of pride and security.[57]

A second related impulse was the strong need for community felt by Polish immigrants. They settled together around their churches and established a large number of other institutions such as schools, regional societies, insurance groups, civic clubs, newspapers, and orphanages. In these neighborhoods, usually with their own shopping districts, a distinctive Polish-American culture began to develop by theearly twentieth century. Many of the Polish areas of the rapidly growing Midwestern industial cities were created out of raw pasture in this century. The movement of immigrant groups through housing and neighborhoods characteristic of older eastern cities which tacitly legitimized ethnic succession was not operative here. In much of the Midwest, the Poles were defending the neighborhoods they themselves had built rather recently.

The rapid, large scale movement of Blacks into Northern cities began to threaten some Polish neighborhoods almost as soon as they had been settled. The Blacks, denied housing by discrimination and poverty, began to put pressure on the nearest available working class housing areas as their numbers grew far beyond what could be contained in the old Black Belts. In cities such as Detroit, Chicago, and Gary many of the adjacent neighborhoods were Polish.[58]

The struggle for housing began in some earnest in the late nineteen twenties. The first notices of meetings of Polish-American associations to develop strategies to keep out "outsiders" began to appear in the Polish Press in those years.[59] The depression of the thirties slowed home buying and mobility to better rental housing for all groups, but especially the hard hit Blacks. After World War II, however, the housing competition became a serious struggle leading sometimes to violent confrontations as Blacks attempted to get housing in Polish areas. The immense new migration of Blacks to the North that began with World War II and continued unabated after the War's end, created intolerable pressure. The reason that the confrontation over housing became so intense between Poles and Blacks is that the Poles, unlike many other white groups, chose not to move to suburbs and newly developed white areas and fought to preserve their neighborhoods.

There appear to be several reasons for the resistance:

1) Housing in the suburbs was too costly for many and discrimination against Poles in some suburban areas remained alive and continued into the sixties.[60]

2) The community they had created in their city neighborhoods was marked by an institutional completeness that could not be readily reconstructed for financial and cultural reasons. They had invested too much too recently in their communities and they

found too much satisfaction in those communities to give them up or to allow others into the area who would not value or support their institutions.[61]

3) They viewed the Blacks as adversaries and as undesireable neighbors. The decades of job competition prepared the way for these conclusions and the widely held view of Black areas as blighted neighborhoods suffering a high crime rate and considerable social disorganization, confirmed it. The Poles had too recently escaped from their own poverty and disorganization to the security and status of home ownership to take lightly the possibility of having to cope with such problems again. The Blacks represented, as noted above, their past coming after them. These feelings were coupled with the recognition that the negative perception of Blacks by the dominant society would lower their own precarious status if they lived among Blacks. Free Northern Blacks, as noted above, had expressed the same feelings about integrating Irish immigrants into their neighborhoods before the Civil War.[62]

4) Finally, they saw the Black influx not only menacing their community, but also their individual households. Very early, they adopted the language of the threat to property values if Blacks moved into the neighborhood. This was a genuine threat for people who viewed home ownership as the essence of mobility and who concentrated all of their meager resources to its attainment. "Property values" became the code word for all of status, identity, as well as monetary considerations with which possessions of property and home was invested.[63]

As the Poles were among the least likely to move, they vacated little property that Blacks could take up and when property or rentals became available, they did not rent or sell to them. Violence was rare except when Black tenants or owners jumped into the midst of a white neighborhood. The gradual progression block by block as the overcrowded Black community expanded was not usually met by violence. Arnold Hirsch's study of racial housing riots in Chicago between 1940 and 1960 notes that the Poles formed only about 8% of the white rioters in all of the disturbances. The Calumet Park riot of 1957 had the largest Polish-American participation: 16.4% of the rioters. The group most likely to be involved in the violence were Chicago's Irish who comprised over 18% of the rioters in all disturbances. Thus, in spite of their opposition to the movement of Blacks and their closer proximity to Blacks than any other ethnic group, they did not as often engage in violence to resist Black encroachments as did other groups such as the Irish or Anglo-Saxons. [64] The insistence of Polish Americans on maintaining their neighborhoods has meant that at times the Black tide flowed around them to newer and more desireable housing, leaving Polish areas such as the city of Hamtramck as white islands in Black inner cities by the nineteen seventies.

The 1942 Sojouner Truth disturbance in Detroit, one of the earliest and as yet unstudied confrontations between Blacks and Poles over housing, contains in microcosm all of the elements of the rivalry. The beginning of war production in 1940 stimulated by the war in Europe speeded up the already strong tide of Black migration to Detroit. The Blacks escaping from the oppression conditions of rural poverty and Jim Crow laws came to Detroit, a city with a long standing labor surplus, to find work. Their presence increased the competition for jobs with a largely working class,

Polish community just recovering from the depression, and increased the pressure on housing. To alleviate the problem it was decided to build a housing project for Black working class families. The site chosen was in the midst of the newest Polish working class neighborhood, an area bounded by three Polish parishes. The choice was a significant one in a city in which anti-Polish prejudice and discrimination was deeper and more pervasive than in any other large industrial city.[65] It put the undesireable Blacks away from the higher prestige ethnic groups and among another very low status group, and it insured, wittingly or unwittingly, that the two groups competing for industrial jobs would also be competing for neighborhoods. The result was confrontation and violence before Black workers and their families moved in under Police protection at the end of March, 1942.[66]

The riot over the housing project which took place over the weekend of February 27-March 1 came at a particularly difficult time in Detroit. More than 250,000 were unemployed as the factories ended civilian auto production and began to switch over to war production. Many feared that their jobs would be lost permanently as some corporations geared up for war production elsewhere. The Polish community was deeply upset by the unemployment of so many of its members and the plight of the jobless and the dire economic news dominated the front pages of Polish newspapers. Under these circumstances the Sojouner Truth Affair provided the tinder for a flare up of racial violence.[67]

The meetings in the Polish community during this affair centered on two topics: the problems of the unemployed and the movement of Blacks into the Housing Project. The discussion, in some cases, of both problems together highlighted the tie between the two. One Polish

worker summed up the fears of a Polish community just emerging out of the greatest depression in modern times and facing massive unemployment again when he told the audience at one meeting:

> The neighborhood is a new one and the residents of the neighborhood are primarily workers who labored hard for the money they invested in their homes. The movement of negroes into this neighborhood would lower the value of the possessions of these poor workers after which would come impoverishment. [68]

The most thorough analysis of the affair was done in a series of secret reports by the Office of Facts and Figures (OFF). They concluded that the "conflict could better be called a Polish-Negro conflict...than a Black-White conflict." The struggle over the housing was in the eyes of the government analysts merely a continuation of the struggle over jobs between Poles and Blacks. In Detroit "even during the lush pre-war boom" there"have never been enough jobs to go around" so that Polish and Black workers "due to the competitive set-up,...compete with each other for jobs." The fight over the housing project came because these two groups dared not vent their anger and resentment "for the injustice and oppression "they have suffered "against the authors of their misery" and have so turned against each other. [69]

The Sojourner Truth affair demonstrated graphically that the conflict over housing could not be separated from the job competition. It was in many ways the prototype of the post-World War II confrontations over housing. Perhaps the only difference in the later conflicts was that the economic and employment anxieties of the Poles were more hidden and diffuse. The Polish reaction to Blacks moving into their residential areas was thus a very complex one. It was born, on the one hand, out of the positive desires to maintain Polish neighborhoods and institutions and, on the other hand, the dark fears which sprang from a jumble of anger and

frustration over discrimination and joblessness and anxieties over status and security, all aggravated by the searing experience of the depression. Frank Besag, writing of the racial problems of Buffalo in 1967, says:

> There are almost certainly individuals of Polish birth who remember living, quite literally, in a barracks because no other housing was available to them. These are men of Polish birth who remember that they were employed because they were willing to work for less than Germans, and who see or feel the threat of the Negro quite clearly. [70]

The last and latest arena of Black-Polish rivalry is politics. As noted above, the two groups had been political opponents since their first days in the American City. The Blacks adhered to the Republican Party after emancipation because it was the party of their freedom and of Lincoln. The Poles, along with other Catholic immigrants, gravitated toward the Democratic Party. They saw the Republicans as the Protestant, anti-immigrant, prohibitionist party of farmers and industrialists.

The Poles, thus, from the beginning viewed the Blacks not just as political opponents, but also as the tools and allies of the wealthy men who dominated the Republican party and the great industrial concerns which sweated their labor. This, of course, supplemented their image as strikebreakers. As early as 1894, in the wake of the bloody Pullman strike, a Polish newspaper in Chicago gave its readers the following catechism style political lesson:

> For whom should the Poles vote?
> For the Democrats
> Why should we vote for the Democratic Party?
> Because in reality it is the party of the people and it stands for freedom
> Who are the true friends of the Working People?
> The Democrats
> Who are restraining millionaires and exploiters?
> The Democrats
> Who condemns Pullman so severely?
> The Democrats
> Who condemns the evil APA?
> The Democrats

Who are ruining and endangering the country?
The Republicans
Are there any Polish candidates on the Republican Ticket?
No, there are none.
Why?
Because when a Pole attempted to run for county commissioner the Republicans put a Negro on their Ballot.
Therefore let the Negroes vote for them.
And who else?
The Pullmans. [71]

The Blacks, in turn, viewed the immigrants in the Democratic Party as the friends and supporters of slavery in the days before the Civil War and after it as the associates and ignorant tools of the corrupt and oppressive racist politicians of the Jim Crow South.[72]

Their positions in the oppossing camps of American party politics initially meant little increase in friction between the two groups because political interest was largely marginal for communities as poor and uneducated as Poles and Blacks. Comparatively few Poles or Blacks ran for political office and as a result they did not confront each during political contests. The few attempts to win the votes of the immigrants by appealing to Anti-Negro sentiments fell on infertile ground. Kantowicz in his study of Polish-American politics in Chicago notes that in the 1927 campaign "the racial issue failed to strike fire". There is no record of any successful appeal to Polish American voters which attempted to exploit racial animosity between them and Blacks during this period.[73]

The rank and file of the two ethnic groups were drawn into American politics by the Depression of 1929 and its aftermath. The Poles became an important element of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal Coalition in 1932. In the 1936 national elections Polish American voters turned out in record numbers to vote for the Democratic party. The same year marked

the shift of the Black Masses and their leaders away from the Republican to the Democratic Party. The nominal opposition of the past was replaced by mutual cooperation in a political coalition whose purpose was to promote policies to end the depression, relieve poverty and improve the lot of the working class. The coalition was buttressed in the nineteen forties by the common interest in the growing union movement.[74]

Although Poles had elected a few members of their group to local, state and federal offices before the 1930's, Polonia did not acquire a significant number of important office holders until the New Deal Democratic sweep. It was largely a victory of an emerging second generation which had by the thirties and forties the necessary education and skills and an emergent mass voting base to which they could turn for support.

After the second World War, Blacks in northern cities also began to vote in larger numbers and to seek more political recognition. Black political awareness was heightened by the great Civil rights movement which began in the South in the nineteen fifties. This drive for political power put them into competition with the Poles and the Democratic Party became the arena for this third area of conflict between the two groups.

The fact that the struggle was largely fought within the party tempered the rivalry. Neither side could allow the break to become total because each needed the other's support to win electoral victories over the Republicans and both groups shared common interests in progressive political programs. Nevertheless, to control power and patronage and to nominate their members for office each group had to fight the political advancement of the other. As the Poles had established themselves in

political power a generation before the Blacks, this meant that they had to eliminate the Poles from Party and elective offices in working class districts and from control of powerful quasi-political organizations such as political clubs and union locals. The struggle was inevitable because they lived in the same areas, used the same agencies for political advancement and patronage and sought the same electoral prizes.[75]

The surprising political success of the Blacks in the sixties again, as in jobs and housing, rapidly overtook the Poles just as they were achieving their own success. In Detroit, the first Polish-American major was succeeded after one term by a Black major of a city that had gone from 1% to over 50% Black in less than three quarters of a century. In many areas, Blacks were able to muster the support of the middle class liberals of the Democratic Party against Polish-American politicians who were branded corrupt politicians and racists. They tapped the reform urge and combined it with the desire of many white liberals to assuage guilty consciences for the past treatment of Blacks.[76]

In spite of the more than three quarters of a century of competition over jobs and housing and the more recent struggle for power and position within the Democratic Party, the vast majority of Polish Americans did not move into an anti-Black voting position nor did they join the right wing coalition which apposed advancement in civil rights for Black people.[77] Furthermore, despite their rivalry with the Blacks and their perceived interests, they consistently took positions on most racial issues at least as liberal if not more liberal than Protestant Americans of West European Ancestry.[78]

The long competition between Polish Americans and Blacks, took on a new character and complexity in the nineteen sixties as the southern civil rights campaign against legal segregation shifted to Northern Industrial areas. Largely ignored in the past, the rivalry became a matter of intense public interest and media scrutiny. Their attempts to maintain their neighborhoods against Blacks created a new public image of the immigrant and his children as the "hard-hat ethnic racists" who were the main barrier to equality for Afro-Americans. The confrontation between Polish Americans and Blacks was reduced in the public mind essentially to a struggle over housing. The other aspects of the competition were ignored. Polish Americans and other ethnics now seen as even worse than the most terrible of the Anglo-Saxon Southern racists became the scapegoats for American racial problems that they had little to do with creating. At the same time, during that traumatic period, in what was an extension of the view of them as racists, they were also tagged in the public mind as the major supporters of the War in Vietnam.[79]

Because they were the historic competitors of the Blacks for jobs, housing and status, Polish Americans therefore were portrayed in the popular media as the mainstays of an emerging irrationally anti-Black, anti-progressive millitaristic voting coalition and were so seen by a significant proportion of their fellow citizens. Such a view of them and other Eastern and Southern European Ethnic groups was clearly expressed, for example, in the series of very popular and influential books on U.S. Presidential Campaigns written by author and television commentator, Theodore White. On the 1964 campaign, he wrote:

> Wallace astounded political observors not so much by the percentage of votes he could draw for simple bigotry...as by the groups from whom he drew his votes. For he demonstrated pragmatically and for the first time the fear that white working class Americans have of Negroes. In Wisconsin he scored heavily in the predominantly Italian, Polish, and

> serb-working class neighborhoods...Despite all the influences of the media, all the pressure of their labor leaders, all the blunders and incompetence of the Wallace campaign, they had voted racist.[80]

Analyses such as White's were not only wrong but dangerous because the image they projected of Polish Americans reinforced earlier negative stereotypes and confirmed the prejudiced views many already held of them. Although they got virtually no exposure in the popular media, all of the serious studies of the voting statistics and public opinion polls failed to unearth any strong support among Polish Americans for Wallace or other candidates whose major appeal was racial bigotry. In fact, Michael Rogin's study of the Wisconsin vote to which Mr. White appealed to demonstrate his point, indicated the opposite. Polish Americans were the least likely of any white ethnic group to vote for Wallace in Wisconsin. The profile of the typical anti-wallace voter was working class, urban, Catholic and Polish American.[81]

Thomas Pettigrew's study of the Wallace vote in Gary, Indiana concluded that if any members of an ethnic group voted for Wallace it was likely to be those who were trying to seperate themselves from their ethnic community and become Americanized and assimilated. Polish Americans who were only nominal members of the Polish American community, who had no Polish American friends and who did not maintain ties with any ethnic institutions were twice as likely to vote for Wallace as other Polish Americans. He speculated that these people, alienated from their community and trying to integrate themselves into a new one, suffered the most status anxieties and were most likely to adopt negative American racial attitudes. Pettigrew concluded as a result of his study that the Wallace vote "was not actually an ethnic phenomenon."[82] On

the whole, therefore, it appears that Polish American voters have not usually responded to blatant racial appeals for their votes in spite of the historic rivalry between them and Blacks.

The tight, institutionally complete ethnic neighborhoods built by Polish Americans and the historic rivalry between them and Blacks reduced considerably the possibility of much casual social interaction between members of the two groups. Yet there are many instances in which Blacks and Poles worked and lived together in peace and cooperation. Virtually all Polish neighborhoods had Blacks who lived in them or who worked as mailmen, Policemen, Professionals or Public servants within them. Black lawyers and dentists often found the most acceptance outside their own neighborhoods in Polish immigrant areas. [83] Many of these Blacks as well as others who worked with Poles also learned to speak Polish. Stanley Nowak who organized for the United Auto Workers reports that Polish speaking Blacks were significant in effecting alliances between Polish and Black workers that were important for the ultimate success of unionization.[84] In turn, union organizers also reported that Poles were often the key to organizing Black workers in nineteen thirties and forties. Because they worked closely with Blacks in the least desirable jobs, they got to know them well and were able to identify the most influential natural leaders among the Black workers.[85] The attitudes born in the organizing drives appear to continue to hold among Poles and Blacks active in unions and in spite of friction that reflect differing interests, their relationships have remained harmonious and cooperative.[86]

Despite the battle over neighborhoods, Poles and Blacks living together have usually managed on a personal level to achieve tolerable and friendly relations. One unpublished study has concluded that Blacks living in Polish areas have reported good relations with their Polish neighbors and show surprising good feelings toward them.[87] Black students are entering urban parochial schools at a reported rate of 100,000 a year in Northern industrial cities. Many of these are Polish parochial schools and the sight of Black children in Krakowian costumes or in classes in Polish language, literature and history are no longer rare.[88] Michael Nowak and Paul Wrobel insist that Polish Americans are willing to accept working class and middle class Blacks in their schools and neighborhoods but that they fear the crime and blight that would accompany lower class Blacks. Wrobel cites evidence that Blacks who are perceived as working hard and maintaining their homes and sharing, with their Polish neighbors, values built around a strong family are accepted without difficulty in Polish areas.[89]

In the nineteen seventies in a number of cities such as Detroit and Buffalo, Black-Polish neighborhood groups began to emerge based on the need "to cooperate in common struggle" for better neighborhoods and education for all the people and to combat crime and neglect.[90] The moving force in creating the first such an alliance was the Polish Priests' Conference of Detroit.[91] In practical action, these groups concentrated heavily on relieving the problems of older inner city neighborhoods. At the same time, however, they also carried on an educational program to acquaint each group with the history of the other. They held Martin Luther King Dinners, programs dealing with Koscuiszko's will, slide and movie presentations on Poland and exhibits of folk and handicraft materials.[92]

They also became the model for Black-Italian groups in other cities.[93] With the decline of interest and funding for urban problems by the mid-seventies and uncertainty in some of these groups whether their purposes were to improve relations between individuals or to effect a political coalition, the groups began to decline.[94] Most are now dormant. They have left however, a legacy of good will and a history of cooperation that will continue to be of value in promoting better relations between the two ethnic groups.

The competition for jobs, homes, political power and status between Poles and Blacks remains, if in forms different from their original manifestation and this rivalry continues to be governed by political, social and economic forces beyond the control of either community. However, the memory of cooperation of the Black-Polish groups and the increasing personal contacts between the two groups represents a hope that the historic rivalry will not ever be as intense and as tragic in the future as it was in the past and that Polish Americans and Blacks can, in spite of their differences seek common solutions to the social and economic problems they face.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Miecislaus Haiman, Kosciuszko and the American Revolution (New York, Kosciuszko Foundation, 1975) 97,144.

[2]James S. Pula, "The American Will of Thaddeus Koscuiszko," Polish American Studies, XXXIV, No. 1 (Spring, 1977) 16-25. The will is quoted on page 18.

[3]Edmund L. Kowalczyk, "Jottings from the Polish American Pst," Polish American Studies, VII, No. 3-4 (July-December, 1950) 79-80. See also: J. Wytrwal, Poles in American History and Tradition (Detroit: Endurance Press, 1969) 124-129.

[4]Kowalczyk, ibid. For a short biography of Gurowski, see: Bogdan Grzelonski, Ameryka w pamietnikach Polakow, (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Interpress, 1978) 126-129. The definitive biography of Gurowski is LeRoy H. Fisher, Lincoln's Gadfly, Adam Gurowski (Norman Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964).

[5]Joseph Wieczerzak "Pre-and Proto-Ethnics: Poles in the United States Before the Immigration 'After Bread'" The Polish Review Vol. XXI, No. 3 (1976), 29. One notable exception was Gaspar Tochman whose southern sympathies, racist views and unbounded ambitions led him to espouse the Confederate cause during the Civil War. See Marie J.E. Copson-Niecko "The Poles in America From the 1830's to the 1870's" in Frank Mocha (ed.) Poles in America: Bicentennial Essays (Stevens Point, Wisc.; Worzalla Publishing Co., 1978) 52-53. While it is beyond the scope of this paper, it might be noted in passing that protests against American slavery appeared in Polish books, journals, and newspapers as early as the late eighteenth century. Educated Poles, seeing themselves as an oppressed people had broad sympathy with other oppressed peoples struggling to be free. Uncle Tom's Cabin, Harriet Beecher Stowe's anti-slavery novel, ran through four editions in Poland by 1860. The celebrated Polish poet, Cyprian Norwid, wrote a well known poem in 1859 protesting the execution of John Brown for the Harper's Ferry Raid. My thanks to Doctor Andrzej Kapiszewski for bringing these examples to my attention.

[6]Caroline Golab, Immigrant Destinations (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1977) 14-21. Golab's thesis also allows her to explain the relational settlement patterns of different immigrant groups.

[7]Sterling Spero and Abram Harris, The Black Worker (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931) 11.

[8]On the Northern situation, see: Leon F. Litwack, North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States 1790-1860 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961) 5-8. On the economic situation of the Free Persons of Color, see: Thomas Sowell, Race and Economics (New York: Donald McKay Co., 1975) 35-44. The Knights of Labor formed shortly after the Civil War made a genuine effort to enroll Black and immigrant labor. The effort collapsed with the Knights in the late 1880's and by the time Polish immigrants and Southern Blacks began coming to Northern American cities, the exclusionary Craft Union, which later characterized the American Federation of Labor (AFL), was the dominant form. See: Spero and Harris, 39-86.

[9]The panel that investigated the Philadelphia Riot wrote:

> An opinion prevails especially among white laborers that a certain portion of our community prefer to employ colored people, whenever they can be had, to the employing of white people; and that, in consequence of this preference, many whites, who are willing and able to work, are left without employment, while colored people are provided with work and enabled comfortably to maintain their families; thus many white laborers, anxious for employment, are kept idle and indigent.

Quoted in Peter Binzer, White Town, USA (New York: Random House, 1970) 91. Sometimes Blacks became the target of violence for other causes than job competition. The "whorehouse riot," which was common in ante-bellum America, was sometimes occasioned by the presence of Negro houses of prostitution or houses of prostitution that catered to Negroes near white neighborhoods. A classic such case was the destruction of such houses of prostitution on the near east side of Detroit in the 1850's by mobs composed largely of German immigrants on the periphery of whose neighborhoods these were located. See: John C. Schneider, Detroit and the Problem of Order 1830-1880 (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1980) 26-31.

[10]Quoted in Florette Henri, Black Migration (New York: Anchor-Doubleday, 1975) 145. A significant part of the Black anger in this whole matter was the resentment born out of the apparent ingratitude of White Americans in favoring newly arrived immigrants over Blacks whose labor had done so much for several centuries to build up the country. Booker T. Washington, for example, pleaded that "those of foreign birth and strange tongues and habits" not be permitted to displace his own people who had for so long supported the economy with their labor "without strikes or labour wars." ibid.

[11]On the Irish attitudes toward Blacks and the riots, see: Schneider, 136; Sowell, 74-75; Spero and Harris, 12-13; Katzman, 44-47. Oscar Handlin, Boston's Immigrants, revised and enlarged edition (New York: Antheneum, 1970) 132,216.

[12]August Meier and Elliot Rudwick, "Attitudes of Negro Leaders Toward the American Labor Movement from the Civil War to World War I" in Julius Jacobson (ed.), The Negro and The American Labor Movement (New York: Anchor-Doubleday, 1968) 27-48. Bishop Carey summed up the pro-capitalist view in 1924 when he wrote: "I believe that the interest of my people lies with the wealth of the nation and with the class of white people who control it." Others such as Kelly and Garvey feared the long-term consequences of such an alliance but saw no alternative. See: Spero and Harris, 133-136.

[13]The best study of pre-Civil War anti-immigrant feeling by Blacks is Jay Rubin, "Black Nativism: The European Immigrant in Negro Thought," Phylon, XXXIX, No. 31 (Fall, 1978) 193-202. See: Handlin, 206.

[14]David Hellwig, "The Afro-American and the Immigrant 1880-1930. "Dissertation Syracuse University 1973; John Higham, Send These To Me (New York: Antheneum, 1976) 103. Gilbert Osofsky, Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto-Negro New York 1890-1930 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971) 196-198.

[15]See the anti-Catholic, anti-Irish remarks of James McCune Smith and Frederick Douglass quoted in Rubin, 193,196. Rubin feels that anti-Catholicism played a relatively small role in the development of ante-bellum Black nativism.

[16]It is, of course, difficult to determine in what ways and how much immigrant workers profited by American racism. The economic importance of racial discrimination has been the subject of a long and complex debate among historians, economists, and sociologists. Most recently, Professor Albert Szymanski of the University of Oregon, writing from a Marxist perspective, has argued that white workers are in absolute terms ultimately disadvantaged by discrimination. In his view:

> racial antagonisms cause white and black workers to fight each other to the mutual determent of both. The somewhat better jobs and wages of white workers are not enough to make up for what they lose because of lack of solidarity with Black workers.

A. Szymanski, "Racial Discrimination and White Gain," American Sociological Review, 41 (June, 1976) 405. For a summary of the debate and a critique of Szymanski's thesis, see: Paul Riedesel, "Racial Discrmination and White Economic Benefits," Social Science Quarterly, 60, No. 1 (June, 1979) 121-129. For Szymanski's answer see: "Reply to Riedesel," ibid, 130-134. In calculating the discrimination suffered by Poles and Italians in the U.S., Andrew Greeley has estimated it at about 40% of that inflicted on Black Americans. See: A. Greeley, An Ugly Little Secret: Anti-Catholicism in North America (Kansas City: Sheed, Andrews & Mc Meel, 1977) 77. For a detailed analysis, see his Ethnicity, Denomination, and Inequality (Beverly Hills: Sage Press, 1976).

[17]Allen Spear, Black Chicago (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969) 29-36. In some cases, however, Slavic and Southern European immigrants did displace Black industrial workers in such industries as steel. For a specific case, see: John Bodnar, "The Impact of the 'New Immigration' on the Black Worker: Steelton, Pennsylvania, 1880-1920," Labor History, XVII, No. 2 (Spring, 1976) 214-229.

[18]David Katzman feels that on the whole there was little competition between Black and Polish immigrant women for domestic work as the number of Polish women attracted to this kind of work was relatively small. The 1900 U.S. Census noted that 28.4% of the Polish women employed worked as domestics or laundresses in homes. About 12% of all Polish women were listed as employed in any work. So only about 3.5% of Polish women worked as domestics. A survey in Passaic, N.J. in 1920 showed that Polish born women comprised only 0.3% of the domestics though they were one of the largest ethnic groups in the female work force. The figures for second generation women are even lower. So while there may have been some competition in laundries and in commercial cleaning and janitorial work, there appears to have been little in domestic work. The major competition was between Irish and Black women. David Katzman, Seven Days a Week: Women and Domestic Service In Industrializing America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978) 65-92. Women's work may have been even more segregated than men's work in general, so the direct competition was less. One historian has argued, in spite of that fact, that hostility to blacks as real or potential job competitors was greater among white women than among white men. See: Henri, 140-141.

[19]David Katzman, Before the Ghetto: Black Detroit in the Nineteenth Century (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973) 120-122.

[20]The immigrants were often not accorded full status as "white." White implied a superior social status that "hunkies" did not have. It was customary to speak of "white men and hunkies." Even Blacks were aware of the distinction. See the response of the "colored" white washer to a Detroit News reporter in 1891. "Many wite man in the business? No, dere's no wite men. Dere's some Polocks, but dey ain't wite men, you know. Ha, ha, ha." ibid, 166.

[21]Melvin Holli in his study of Detroit in the eighteen nineties, notes that on several occasions during the great depression of that decade, gangs of Polish workers attacked and drove off groups of Italian workers and took over their work on construction projects. See : M. Holli, Reform in Detroit (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969) 66-69. The job and housing competition between Poles and Germans in Buffalo, New York, remained intense into the nineteen forties and at times violence threatened to break out between the two communities according to one source. T.V. Purcell and G.F. Cavanaugh, Blacks in the Industrial World (New York: The Free Press, 1972) 142.

[22]Dziennik Chicagoski, July 27, 1893.

[23]Ibid., February 15, 1905.

[24]On this incident, see my article, "The Competition for Jobs and Racial Stereotypes: Poles and Blacks in Chicago," Polish American Studies, XXXIII, No. 2 (Autumn, 1976) 5-18. Another famous such incident which also deserves further study is the Argo Corn Starch Co. Strike on the eve of 1919 Race Riot in the Chicago Area. During the strike in July, 1919, four were killed and over 20 wounded. The victims were all Poles and other Slavs and included several women. See: Dziennik Chicagoski, July 14, 1919 and July 20, 1919.

[25]Katzman, Before the Ghetto, 207.

[26]St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, Black Metropolis (New York: Harcourt, Brace, & Co., 1945) 53,58,76.

[27]Inter-church World Movement, The Commission of Inquiry, Report on the Steel Strike of 1919 (New York: Harcourt, Brace, & Howe, 1920) 177-178. For a candid examination of the workers' grievances, see 1-19, 85-143. One of the major complaints of the Slavs of whom the Poles were the largest group was ethnic discrimination in wages and promotions.

[28]Drake & Cayton, op cit., 77.

[29]James S. Olson, "Organized Black Leadership and Industrial Unionism: The Racial Response, 1936-1945," Labor History, X. No. 3 (Summer, 1969) 481-483.

[30]Bodnar, op cit., points out in the Steelton Steel Industry that immigrants passed Blacks in the amount of their average wage after 1915. The new Blacks who came in during the war started at the bottom of the wage scale. David Brody in his study of the meat packing industry, noted that in 1909 the small number of Blacks (3-5%) in the work force occupied a higher position and received higher wages than Poles. The average wages were $2.35 a day for native Whites, $2.05 a day for Blacks, and $1.79 a day for Poles and Lithuanians. David Brody, The Butcher Workmen (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press) 85. Robert Higgs, however, computes an average wage

for Poles engaged in mining and manufacturing in 1909 that was $.40 a week higher than the average Black wage: $11.06 a week for Poles and $10.66 for Blacks. Robert Higgs, "Race, Skill, and Earnings: American Immigrants in 1909," The Journal of Economic History, XXXI, No. 2 (June, 1971) 424.

[31]Tuttle, op cit., 132; Drake and Cayton, op cit., 181-182; Hellwig, op cit., 72-76.

[32]Hellwig, 76.

[33]Drake and Cayton, op cit., 57,83.

[34]Tuttle, op cit., 134,137. The effort to create multi-racial unions foundered at times as a result of the cultural and linguistic gulf that separated Poles and Blacks. Tuttle describes one incident in which Polish workers unable because of their poor English to explain the advantages of the union to a Black worker, seized that man by his arms and legs and dragged him off to the headquarters of the packing house workers' union.

[35]Narod Polski (Chicago) August 6, 1919.

[36]Tuttle, op cit., 60-61. Many Black leaders and intellectuals were aware of the hostility aroused by the use of Black strikebreakers and guards against immigrants and argued strongly against participation in such activities which made them the tool of the employers in suppressing white workers. See: Olson, 481-490. The Black novelist William Attaway wrote a powerful novel, Blood on the Forge, depicting the tragedy of poor Southern Blacks used as strikebreakers, provocateurs, and finally as thugs and killers against Slavic and Italian workers. The work was issued in 1941 just as the bloody drama at the Ford Plant in Detroit was being enacted. For an analysis of Blood on the Forge and its literary and historical importance, see: Thomas Napierkowski, "Blood on the Forge : Its Reception and Significance," Pulp, V, No. 1 (1979) 15-16.

[37]Tuttle, 60-61.

[38]"Z Zebrania obywateli w Town of Lake," Dziennik Chicagoski, August 5, 1919.

[39]Spero and Harris, 278. Tuttle notes that about 41% of the incidents during the Race Riot took place in the white area of the stockyards and suggests by implication that given, in his view, the strong Polish hostility to Blacks because of job competition, they must have played a role in the riot. The role of Irish gangs especially the Regan Colts, is well documented; however, there is no study on the Poles during the incident. The August 4, 1919 meeting and the Spero and Harris observation at least raise the question of the extent of the participation of Polish immigrants.

[40]Dziennik Chicagoski, January 5, 1928.

[41]Edward R. Kantowicz, Polish American Politics in Chicago (Chicago University of Chicago Press, 1975) 148-149.

[42]See letter of Assistant State Attorney, Francis Peska in Dziennik Chicagoski. December.6, 1921. See: Glos Polek, November 17, 1910 for comments on the juvenile delinquency statistics.

[43]Such cultural explanations, while useful perhaps in giving some general indications of the possible predispositions of a group, really explain very little and in addition are notoriously difficult to prove or disprove.

[44]Niles Carpenter and Daniel Katz, "A Study of Acculturation in the Polish Group of Buffalo, 1926-1928," The University of Buffalo Studies, VII, No. 4 (June, 1929) 128-129.

[45]See Edna Bonacich, "A Theory of Ethnic Antagonism: The Split Labor Market," American Sociological Review, 37 (October, 1972) 547-559; "Abolition, the Extension of Slavery, and the Position of Free Blacks: A Study of the Split Labor Market in the United States 1830-1863." American Journal of Sociology, 81 (December, 1975) 601-628; "Advanced Capitalism and Black/White Race Relations in the United States: A Split Labor Market Interpretation," American Sociological Review, 41 (February, 1976) 34-51. Scott Cummings,"Racial Prejudice and Political Orientations Among Blue-Collar Workers," Social Science Quarterly, 57 (March, 1977) 907-920.

[46]The 1980 Miami riots although set off by the apparent Police murder of a Black insurance executive were caused in large part by the frustration felt by Blacks in their struggle for jobs with Cuban and Haitian immigrants who are flooding the area. Michael Harrington's analysis of that frustration could just as easily apply to the anger felt earlier by Blacks against their Polish competitors. Harrington writes:

> If little Havana in Miami is better off than the Black Ghetto, it remains quite poor. But, as so often happens the anger of those at the bottom is directed at those next to them, who are about as miserable as they, and not those at the top.

Michael Harrington "Angry Blacks Fight Erosion of 60's Gains" The Minneapolis Star, May 30, 1980, 7A. For another analyses that stress the role of Cuban-Black job competition in setting off the violence see Stephanie Russell "Miami Groups Survey Damage, Confront Causes," National Catholic Reporter, May 30, 1980, 3.

[47]Ronald Cohen and Raymond Mohl, "Blacks and the Schools of Gary, Indiana, 1908-1930," Sex, Race, Ethnicity, and Education. Review Journal of Philosophy and Social Science, I, No. 1-2 (1977) 164. On the seperation of children by race and ethnicity see also 170-172.

[48]Stefan Nesterowicz "Notatki z podrozy po polnocnej i srodkowej Ameryce" (Note on Travels through Northern and Central America".) in Grzelonski, 281-282. Nesterowicz denounced lynching in particular and American Racism in general in very strong terms. He urged better education for Blacks as a means of improving their status and bringing them equality with whites.

[49]See "Kącik dla Kobiet" (Woman's Corner) Ameryka Echo (Toledo) June 6, 1943.

[50]Caroline Bird, The Invisible Scar (New York: David McKay, 1966) 33.

[51]Drake and Cayton, op cit., 83-89.

[52]Warner W, Pflug, The UAW in Pictures (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1971) 72.

[53]Ibid., 87. B.J. Widick, Detroit: City of Race and Class Violence (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1972) 76-86.

[54]John C. Leggett, Class, Race and Labor: Working Class Consciousness in Detroit (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968) 219. On the Chicago Police Litigation see letter of Ms. Grabarek to G.J. Muller in PAC Bulletin (Chicago) June, 1975. In the late sixties Chicago had approximately 1500 Black and 1500 Polish American Policemen. At the Command level there were 3 Black Captains who were district Commanders. No Poles were in a comparable position. There were 70 Black Sargeants and only 6 Polish American Sargeants.

[55]Thaddeus Radzialowski "A View from a Polish Ghetto: Some Observations of the First One Hundred Years in Detroit" Ethnicity 1, No. 2 (1974) 139-150. Medical schools have traditionally discriminated against Polish Americans and many in the Polish American community still perceive them continuing that pattern. Polish medical schools, assisted by the Koscuiszko Foundation and other Polish-American groups, have begun to admit Polish-American students in order of allow qualified applicants unable to get into American medical schools to become physicians.

[56]Recent surveys have shown that the representation of Polish Americans in positions of power and authority in Business, Banking, Labor Unions and Civil Service is as almost as low as that of Blacks and Hispanics. A 1972 study of Chicago's 106 largest corporations found that they had only 4 Directors (0.3%) and 10 officers (0.7%) who were Poles. Poles comprise about 7% of the Chicago area population. Blacks who make up 17.6% of the area population had only 0.4% of the Directors and 0.1% of the officers. See Russell Barta, Minority Report (Chicago: The Institute of Urban Affairs, n.d.) Studies with similar results have been done for Buffalo and Detroit.

[57]Kantowicz, 157. Edward Laumann, The Bonds of Pluralism: The Form and Substance of Urban Social Network (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1973) 166. Not all Polish areas achieved the institutional completeness of Chicago's St. Stanislaus area but even small Polish communities created enough institutions-churches, clubs and schools-to allow them to insulate themselves from the outside society. Even these small neighborhoods became foci of community loyalties and bulwarks against outsiders especially Blacks who wished to move into them. For an analysis of one such small community in Boston and its reaction to the Black threat see Ewa Morawska, "Rola spolecznosci lokalnej w podtrzymywaniu etniciznych postaw i zachowan-proba interpretacji" Prezeglad Poloniijny IV, No. 3 (1978) 45-46.

[58]Joseph Parot "The Racial Dilemma in Chicago's Polish Neighborhoods, 1920-1970," Polish American Studies, XXXII, No. 2 (Autumn 1975), 28. See also by the same author, "Ethnic versus Black Metropolis : The Origins of Polish-Black Housing Tensions in Chicago," Polish American Studies, XXIX, No. 1-2 (Spring-Autumn 1972), 5-23. Sometimes Polish and Black neighborhoods merged from the beginning into each other to form integrated belts. See Katzman, Before the Ghetto...73-74.

[59]See for example, Dziennik Chicagoski, December 14, 1928, on a meeting of the citizens of the town of Lake.

[60]William Buffalino, "Housing and Ethnicity: From Screening System, to Rule 9, to Fair Housing Laws," Otto Feinstein, ed., Ethnic Groups in the City (Lexington, Mass: Heath Lexington, 1971) 277-280.

[61]Parot, for example, writes of Chicago: Unlike most of the "old immigration" groups, Poles often supersaturated their original areas of settlement with a wide variety of institutional strength...In the West Town/Logan Square neighborhoods, for example, Poles established eight churches, six grammar schools, two high schools, one college, five newspapers, several orphanages, the headquarters of four national fraternal organizations, and one hospital...and all contained within two square miles.

[62]Oscar Handlin, Boston's Immigrants: A Study in Acculturation (CAmbridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1941) 205-357. In similar circumstances Puerto Ricans in the U.S. adopt anti-Black attitudes in the U.S. which they did not hold in Puerto Rico because "the Negro is one who attracts the discrimination which they wish to avoid." John Appel, "The American Negro and Immigrant Experience: Similarities and Differences," American Quarterly, XVIII, No. 1 (Spring, 1966) 98.

[63]Radzialowski, op cit. 132-135, Kantowicz, op cit. 156-158.

[64]Arnold Hirsch, "Race and Housing: Violence and Communal Protest in Chicago, 1940-1960," M. Holli and P. d'A Jones, The Ethnic Frontier (Grand Rapids, Mich: Erdmans, 1977) 352-355. See also Parot articles in footnote 56.

[65]T. Radzialowski with Don Binkowski, "Polish Americans in Detroit Politics" in A. Pienkos, ed., Ethnic Politics in Urban America (Winona, MN: Polish American Historical Association, 1978) 62-64. Blacks in Detroit were aware of the low status of Poles in the eyes of the dominant groups in Detroit. In a survey published in 1968, 68% of the Blacks thought that next to themselves Poles were the group most likely to be denied admittance to exclusive clubs in the Detroit area. Interestingly enough, only 50% of the Poles put themselves in that category. John Leggett, Class Race, and Labor (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968) 109. During the Soujourner Truth Affair some Black leaders tried to mollify the Poles by assuring them that Blacks did not consider them "stupid and uncouth and unfit for anything except manual work" as did those elements which hated both Poles and Blacks. See leaflet of Sojourner Truth Citizen's Committee, "To Loyal and Patriotic Polish Americans living near Sojourner Truth Homes" in reference file at Hamtramck Public Library, Hamtramck, Michigan.

[66]For a short summary of the events leading up to the Sojourner Truth affair, see: A. McLung Lee and N. Humphrey's Race Riot (New York: Octagon Books, 1968) 31-32. In a reversal of this situation, Poles in one inner city area of Detroit were more recently kept out a housing project which they and the neighboring Black community had jointly worked for by a staff of largely Black Bureaucrats who claimed to have "lost" all of the applications with Polish names on them. Marco Trbovich "Poletown: Its Joys, Its Sorrows, Its Fate" The Detroit Free Press March 25, 1973, 1-A.

[67]Ibid.

[68]"Kom. Obywateli-Przeciw Przyzmaniu Mieszkan przy Fenelon Murzynom" (Meeting of the citizens against the assigning of the Fenelon Avenue homes to Negroes) Dziennik Polski (Detroit) February 5, 1942.

[69]These reports were never released officially. They were leaked to a New York Newspaper during the 1943 Detroit Race Riot and published as an expose of government inaction in the face of what it knew for over a year to be a volatile situation. See P.M. (New York) June 27, 1943.

[70]Frank P. Besag, Anatomy of a Riot: Buffalo '67 (Buffalo: State University Press, 1967) 8. For a similar analysis of Polish and other ethnic groups' resistance to Black incursions into their neighborhoods in Cleveland see: Kenneth L. Kusmer, A Ghetto Takes Shape: Black Cleveland 1870-1930. (Urbana University of Illiniois Press, 1976) 170-171. Several studies of racial confrontation have stressed the importance of the discrimination suffered by Poles as a factor in their reaction to Blacks. See Robert Shogan and Tom Craig, The Detroit Race Riot (Philadelphia: Chilton Books, 1964) 19. For an excellent survey of the fears and attitudes of Polish American working class families in a neighborhood threatened by surrounding and encroaching black areas see Paul Wrobel, Our Way: Family, Parish and Neighborhood in a Polish American Community (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press: 1979) 121-144.

[71]Dziennik Chicagoski November 3, 1894. For another example of a statement that pictures Blacks as the tools of wealthy Republican industrialists see Dziennik Chicagoski April 3, 1896.

[72]Rubin, 197-198.

[73]Kantowicz, 149.

[74]Lawrence Carter, Poles and Blacks won Harmony in '32 Elections "Detroit News, May 4, 1975. T. Radzialowski with Donald Binkowski "Polish Americans in Detroit Politics" in Angela Pienkos (ed) Ethnic Politics in Urban America (Chicago: Polish American Historical Assn., 1978) 53-56, 61-62.

[75]See: "Negroes Seek to Defeat Machrowicz and Dingell" and "Former State Senator Campaigning to Send to 3 Negroes to Congress" Detroit News July 7, 1960.

[76]See for example, Richard Hatcher's successful campaign against the Democratic Machine dominated by John Krupa in Gary, Indiana. Alex Poinsett, Black Power, Gary Style (Chicago: Johnson Publishing Co., 1970). There is no quesiton that Krupa's practices left him open to charges of corruption and electoral fraud. These were exposed, incidentally, and Hatcher's victory assurred by the actions and testimony of Marian Tokarski.

[77]Poles usually support "liberal" or "progressive" issues on the national level but vote more conservatively on local matters. Polish Americans for example, according to one national survey favor the use of all federal resources necessary to end poverty more highly than any other White American Ethnic group. On local issues their vote is often determined by their view of themselves as small homeowners and by their desire to preserve the integrity of their urban communities. Even if there were no Blacks on the scene it is unlikely that their stance on local matters would be dramatically different. Norman Nie et al "Political Attitudes Among American Ethnics: A Study in Perceptual Distortion" Ethnicity, I, No. 4 (December, 1979) 339. See also Radzialowski, "Polish Americans in Detroit Politics." 58-59; ibid. "A View from a Polish Ghetto: Some Observations on the First One Hundred Years in Detroit" Ethnicity I, No. 2 (June 1974) 133-135.

[78]Nie, et al, 325-327, 336-341. See Report of Harris Poll Commissioned by Urban League in Detroit News August 20, 1970, 18-A. See also Richard Hamilton, "Liberal Intelligentsia and White Backlash" in Irving Howe The World of the Blue Collar Worker (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1972) 23-24-238. In an earlier study Greeley (who was associated with the Nie research) argued that Poles in fifteen cities hit by riots in 1967 show higher anti-Black feelings than other groups, however, when an attempt was made to control for factors such as education much of the difference disappeared. Greeley has argued that there is a correlation between Polish American feelings of"alienation" and their reaction to Blacks. He argues that because of strong discrimination against them and the fact that they were moving up socially and economically more slowly than other ethnic groups Polish Americans were more alienated than any other ethnic segment of the American population. Andrew Greeley, "The Response to Urban Unrest: The Case of Jews and Poles" in Andrew Greeley Ethnicity in the United States: A Preliminary Reconaissance (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1974) 217-251. For a short critique of Greeley research, see Paul Wrobel, "Notes on Analyzing Interethnic Relations: The Case of the Blacks and the Poles" Paper read at the annual meeting of the Polish American Historical Assn. Atlanta, Ga. December 28, 1975. Greeley's data was based on interviews with 361 Germans, 328 Irish, 370 Italians, 184 Poles and 177 French Canadians. A study by Thomas Pavlak also casts doubt on the notion that Polish Americans are more likely to be antagonistic to Blacks than other groups. Pavlak in a survey of a working class neighborhood adjacent to a Black neighborhood in Chicago notes no difference among the five ethnic groups surveyed in antagonism to Blacks. The antagonism which did exist equally in members of all groups he attributed to social class and residential proximity rather than ethnicity. Thomas Pavlak "Social Class, Ethnicity and Racial Prejudice" Public Opinion Quarterly Vol. 37, No. 2 (Summer, 1973) 225-231.

[79]In fact it appears that Polish American workers and other working class American were opposed to the Vietnam War earlier and in larger numbers than other especially college Educated, Middle Class Americans and remained so. On this see: A. Greeley "Civil Religion And Ethnic Americans" Worldview. February 1973, 21-27. Harlan Hahn "Correlates of Public Attitudes about War: Local Referenda on the Vietnam Issue" American Political Science Review December 1970, 1186-1188 and by the same author "Dove Sentiments Among Blue Collar Workers" Dissent May-June 1970, 202-205. On the view of Ethnic Workers as right wing, pro-war demonstrators see Fred Cook "Hard Hats: The Rampaging Patriots," Nation June 15, 1970. The view of Polish Americans as right wing super patriots stems in part from the earlier belief that they and other Catholic ethnic groups were the major supporters of the vicious internal anti-communist crusade of Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin. The belief also appears to have no solid factual basis. For a new study of the McCarthy phenomenon and the Catholic Response to him see: Donald Crosby, S.J. God, Flag and Country (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1978). On the emphatic rejection of McCarthy by Poles in Milwaukee and Madison see 96-98.

[80]Quoted in Hamilton 232-233.

[81]Michael Rogin "Wallace and the Middle Class: The White Backlash in Wisconsin" in J. Gelg and M. Palley The Politics of Social Change (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1971) 403. Rogin also concludes that "the suburbs which opposed Wallace have twice as many Poles as those which supported him."

[82]Thomas Pettigrew "Ethnicity in American Life: A Social-Psychological Perspective" in Otto Feinstein (ed), Ethnic Groups in the City (Lexington, Mass.: Heath Lexington Books, 1971) 34-35.

[83]Most Polish Americans who grew up in inner city Polish areas have some experience with Polish speaking mailmen, sanitation workers or policemen and many patronized Black professionals. In the Detroit area for example, Dr. Haley Bell established a lifetime Dental practice from the 1920's to the 1960's with an almost exclusively Polish Clientele in Hamtramck. His son-in-law Dr. Robert Bass has continued the practice to the present. The prominent Black Lawyer, Charles Roxborough, lived in a Polish neighborhood, spoke Polish fluently and had a large Polish immigrant clientele. See Katzman, Before the Ghetto, 78.

[84]Field Notes, Interview with Stanislaw Nowak, June 6, 1978 Detroit, Michigan. In some cases Blacks used their knowledge of Polish to gain acceptance. In 1953, a Black electrician Sal Patterson was assigned to a largely Polish Department in a Westinghouse Plant in Buffalo. He heard some Polish workers saying harsh things about him in Polish and complaining about his appointment. He understood and spoke Polish, so he turned one day to one of the complainers and told him in Polish to watch his mouth or he would hit him. The amazed Polish worker stopped his complaints. The other Polish workers began to get friendly with Patterson after the incident. For an account of the incident see Purcell and Cavanaugh, 150.

[85]Stanislaw Nowak "Polacy i murzyny" Glos Ludowy, November 19, 1977.

[86]For example, in the Buffalo Westinghouse Plant investigated by Purcell and Cavanagh, over 80% of the leadership of the Union is Polish and though Blacks resent the domination of the Poles and would like to get more of their people elected, they agree that the Polish union officers have treated them well and have shown "no overt ethnic or racial discrimination." Purcell and Cavanagh conclude:

> Local 1581 leaders placed great emphasis on senority and fairness. They apparently processed grievances for Blacks regularly, and senority provisions protected long term black employees as well as Poles and Czechs...In sum it appears that Local 1581 was generally fair to its Black members.

The only area in which the Polish leadership would not accede to the demands of Blacks was their request for special efforts to hire and promote Black workers. This refusal reflected their long rivalry with the Blacks and their own sense that they too had been discriminated against. Purcell and Cavanagh, 159.

[87]Richard Dowd, The Negro in Hamtramck (unpublished study, 1972) copy available in the Albert J. Zak Memorial Library, Hamtramck, Michigan. Dowd finds the favorable Black attitudes toward Poles surprising and disturbing. He feels these are the result of a yet unawakened Black consciousness of the discrimination they have suffered at the hands of the Poles. He devotes considerable effort to explaining away this unpredicted result. A similar attitude toward her former Polish neighbors was expressed by a Black woman, Emma McKinney who lived most of her life in a Polish area and who found the new Black people moving in less compatible. She told a Detroit Free Press reporter the New Residents "aren't as nice as them Polak people that moved out. For my belief and for what I know, I wouldn't live in a neighborhood without them Polish People." Marco Trbovich, Poletown..., 3-A.

[88]See for example, the picture of the Black student who was one of the winners of a Polish oratorical contest at the Orchard Lake Schools. 1976/1977 Eagle (Orchard Lake Schools, Orchard Lake, Michigan, 1977) 114.

[89]Michael Novak "Black and White in Catholic Eyes" The New York Times Magazine November 16, 1975, 114. Paul Wrobel, Our Way...139. Wrobel's informants, however, did not welcome so many blacks, no matter how industrious and home and family oriented they were, that the character of the neighborhood would change. They still wanted it to be Polish.

[90]Black Polish Conference Newsletter (Detroit) Volume 2, No. 11. (November, 1972) and Volume 2, No. 3 (March, 1972)

[91]Ibid volume 2, No. 3 (March 1972)

[92]Ibid volume 2, No. 5 (June 1972); volume 2, No. 10 (October, 1972); Volume 2, No. 11 (November, 1972)

[93]Ibid. Volume 2, No. 10. See letter of George C. Richardson Asst. Minority Leader of the New Jersey Assembly and Assemblyman of District IIA, Newark on modeling Black-Italian conference in New Jersey on Black-Polish Conference in Detroit.

[94]Rev. Daniel Bogus, the leading Polish organizer of the Detroit Black-Polish conference insisted that it remain apolitical. The most important Blacks, such as U.S. Representative John Conyors, Jr. however, were politicians interested in a more Political role for the Conference. See Bogus statements Ibid, Volume 2, No. 3 (March, 1972).