# 7. EAST SIDE STORY (Polish History in Winona)

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#### Part I

My first encounter with Winona Poles was when, as a college student in town, I volunteered to teach Sunday School at St. Casimir's Church. I was presented with a class list that totally baffled me. I had studied English, French and a smattering of German, but nowhere had I learned to pronounce a surname beginning with Przy. Bravely I called out the names, and no one answered. I tried again, and they all giggled. On the third, they were rolling in the aisles. I finally had to resort to a first name basis with my students, who were't about to help me out. I later sought out the parish priest, who kindly filled me in on the correct pronunciation. My mastery of their surnames did not impress my students, however. one day while I was delivering a lecture on some apparently less than gripping aspect of religion, my class was distracted by a basketball game in progress in the schoolyard. I droned on, and finally the temptation was too much for one little boy. He glanced once in my direction and then bolted through the window to join the game. I had to admire his honesty and took his advice to heart. I dropped my education classes the next day.

That little boy had at least one thing in common with his Polish forefathers-need for freedom.

The first settlers of Polish birth in Winona came not only to gain jobs, money and property, but also to regain their freedom and ethnic identity. Most of the Winona Poles came from a region in Poland that is called Kashubia. Kashubia borders the Baltic Sea, and has a terrain much like

that around Winona-lakes, hills and farmland. The beauty of the region was marred and the spirits of the Kashubians dampened, however, by the long-termed occupation of Kashubia by the Prussians. The Germans, under the rule of Otto von Bismarck, began a system of Germanization in Poland that was designed to destroy the Poles' nationalistic spirit in order that they could be better utilized as laborers for the Prussian cause. Polish children were taught in German at their schools-the Polish language was forbidden. Polish could be used in teaching religion, but as most of the priests were jailed, that wasn't much of a concession. There was great pressure on the Poles to Germanize. Anyone who questioned or resisted was punished. The Poles were systematically being not only overworked, overtaxed and de-nationalized, but dehumanized as well. Most of the Poles were kept at a level of severe poverty by their oppressors, and many of those found themselves finally succumbing to Germanization. As acquiesing to the system was rewarded, many Poles Germanized their surnames to gain acceptance, just as immigrants here of all nationalities will often Americanize their names.

To large numbers of Poles, however, the occupation of their homeland became intolerable, and they fled to freer climates. Among the more famous of these emigrants was Fryderyk Chopin, who settled in Paris in 1831. Although he lived chiefly in France and England for the remainder of his life, his music was definitely of a Polish character. At the same time that his countrymen were being de-Polanized, Chopin was Polanizing the world with his mazurki and polonezy.

Another celebrated Polish immigrant was Hieronim(Jerome)Derdowski, a poet, intellectual and newspaperman who emigrated to New York in 1885, and in 1886 moved to Winona. However, since the Polish community had existed in

Winona for 30 years before Derdowski arrived, let's back up a little and give Derdowski a reason for coming here.

Four years after Captain Orrin Smith founded Winona, and two years after John C. Laird jumped a claim and was awarded it by the Wabasha Protection Club, the first Polish settlers moved into the city in 1855. The Bronks and the Eichmans traveled across the Atlantic, through New York and St. Louis, and ended their journey in Winona. They were delighted with what they found here. Lots of water for fishing, lots of woods for hunting, and lots of good farmland. They settled in the east end of Winona, living for a while in tents and makeshift shelters. They wrote enthusiastic letters to their friends and relatives in Kashubia extolling the virtues of this young city called Winona. After the winter we have just been through, I am going to assume, in a very unacademic manner, that they either wrote these letters in the glorious summertime or had experienced an exceptionally mild winter. If I'm wrong, then conditions in Kashubia would certainly have been unspeakable to be favorably compared with January in Winona.

Whatever was the case, in 1857 another 25 Polish settlers arrived in Winona, some with their families in tow. They built shelters in the East End with the Bronks and Eichmans, in the virinity of Laird and Vine Streets on the river, calling their settlement "Warsaw." The early days of the Warsaw settlement weren't easy ones, but the Poles were still pleased with Winona and through letters encouraged their countrymen to make the journey to freedom. By 1888 there were 700 Polish families in Winona, most from Kashubia.

Their settlement on Laird and Vine was bought out by the Laird Norton Lumber Mill and they moved farther east. The largest concentration of Poles settled in the Fourth Ward, but some settled in the First Ward in the vicinity where St. Casimir's Church is now.

Many of the 1857 settlers did not remain in Winona, however. They were intent upon farming, and after rejecting such places as Rushford and Trempealeau, they bought land in Pine Creek, Wisconsin. Some settled there permanently and others farmed for awhile and returned to Winona. All of them retained close ties to the Winona community and made Winona their trade and cultural center. A partial list of these early settlers follows, and the names sound so familiar I feel I must know them: August Bambenek, Peter Kaldunski, Paul Libera, Joseph Literski, Nicholas Losinski, Anton Pehler, John Pehler, Paul Pehler, Frank Pellowski, Jacob Rolbiecki, Paul Rudnik, John Walenski, Frank Wejer and Joseph Wnuk. Joining these folks in Pine Creek were Poles who arrived by way of Canada, such as the Jereceks and the Cierzans.

The first Polish families were immediately confronted with three real problems-what to do for homes, jobs and a place to worship. Although the majority of them did not have much money, some of the Poles had enough to purchase a lot or at least half a lot to build on. They approached home building in a cooperative manner, as they had in Kashubia. The owner supplied the materials, and the neighborhood men pitched in and built the house. They also designed their homes as they had in Poland. They started with a large main room situated smack dab in the middle of the lot. As they could afford to build more rooms, or more probably as they were forced to by squalling infants, they added on toward the front of the lot, ending finally with a large parlor. The old main room became a nice large kitchen, which was the hub of family activity, and the

parlor was the formal room, used only on Sundays, special occasions, and for wakes. The practice of preserving the front parlor still persists, as I can attest to personally. A few years ago at an auction we were lucky enough to be high bidder on a couch and chair from a front parlor. They were at least thiry years old, but looked as though they'd been delivered from the furniture store yesterday. Everytime I implore my children to please not jump on the couch and please get that peanut butter sandwich off the chair, I long for a front parlor.

The back of the lot was not built upon, but designated for the garden and the poultry, both indispensible sources of not only food but pleasure to the Polish settler.

The early Poles usually had no trouble finding jobs. Their background in Poland had been mainly farming and lumbering - Poland is known throughout Europe as a lumbering capital. The employment opportunities in Winona were much the same. The Poles found jobs in the lumber mills, which were practically the backbone of the Winona economy at the time, and when the mills closed, as they did for two or three months every year, they worked on farms in the vicinity, or in the ice industry. In 1870, the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad opened an equipment and maintenance shop in Winona, and new vistas opened up for the Poles. Some of the early settlers were skilled laborers, and worked as masons and carpenters for the construction companies and carriage shops.

Although several of the Polish settlers were of noble birth and had been professionals in Poland, they were unable to work in professional capacities in Winona, probably because of their unfamiliarity with the English language. In 1880 there were no Poles working in the professions, only 27 were low white collar workers or propri-

etors, 58 were skilled laborers, and the others were doing unskilled labor. But in 1880, most of the Poles had just recently arrived. By 1905, there were 12 Poles working in professional occupations, and 66 had entered the ranks of the low white collar workers. Eighty-six Poles are listed as holding skilled labor positions, but the majority were still listed as unskilled laborers. In spite of what may appear to be a slow movement upward in terms of employment, the Poles moved much more rapidly toward becoming property owners. From a mere two property owners in 1880, 192 Poles are listed as property owners in 1905.

Unskilled laborers were grossly underpaid in Winona, as they were nationally. The Poles were good managers, though, and hard workers. After years of foreign domination in their homeland, they meant to establish themselves as permanent citizens in spite of the apparent odds. They were admined openly, and in some cases I'm sure begrudgingly by the other Winonans for their ability to work and provide for their families.

During this period between 1880 and 1905, while the Poles were struggling to be accepted and assimilated in their adopted country, Derdowski the newspaperman was invited to come to Winona by a priest living here who had known Derdowski in Poland. Rev. Romvald Byzwski wrote to Derdowski in New York and suggested that he move to Winona to edit the new and floundering Polish newspaper. Two other Polish newspapers had begun and folded in Winona before Derdowski arrived - Przyjaciel Ludu(People's Friend) and Kurjer Winonski (The Winona Courier). Wiarus (veteran fighter for freedom) got off to a bad start, having been edited for seven weeks by a pro-Russian infiltrator

named Antoni Parisso. Parisso was fired from his position at <u>Wiarus</u>, but went on to infiltrate other Polish papers around the country. After a while he was proven to be a Russian spy and vanished, as Derdowski put it, "jak kamien we wodzie" (like a stone in water).

(Some of you may be wondering what a pro-Russian infiltrator was doing in Winona. The Winona settlement of Poles was one of the largest in the country. In 1905 there were 1,335 Poles in Winona, as compared to 1,225 in St. Paul. The Russians were very aware of the hatred the Poles had for them because of their occupation of part of Poland, and feared that if fired up with a Polish nationalistic fervor, they would throw a monkey wrench in Russia's Polish land deals with the U.S.)

When Derdowski took over the editorship, Wiarus quickly grew in stature among not only the Winona Poles, but Poles nationally. By 1913, Wiarus was the largest and most popular Polish newspaper in the country. Wiarus was a serious newspaper, and Derdowski used it to educate his fellow Poles and to entreat them to rise to the top in this new world. In an editorial of February 11, 1886, the goals of Wiarus were plainly laid out: "Our slogan is 'God save Polonia'. Under this slogan we wish to unify our forces so as to be firm against our adversities, to preserve our holy faith in its purest form, to save our ethnic traditions, to educate our youth, and to secure for ourselves a respectable position in the United States in political and economic fields." During the next seventeen years, Derdowski maintained these original goals and, due to his leadership ability and organizational talents, was able to realize many of those goals for his Polish townsmen.

Derdowski stressed to his readers a need for education and a strong Polish-National Alliance

in America. Wiarus was written in Polish of a very high literary quality. It was filled with Derdowski's poems and exhortations. After their experiences with Germanization, the Poles must have been at the same time ecstatic and bewildered by Derdowski's appeals.

Derdowski was an exceptional man among men, not just Poles. He was a true intellectual, and had refused to succumb to domination of any sort. He was born in the small fishing village of Wiele in Pomerania. His father was a leading citizen in the village and Derdowski grew up on an estate that had been in his family for generations. When Hieronium started school he had his first experience with oppression. As his daughter, Helene Derdowska Zimniewicz, put it, "Jerome couldn't hide his brilliant mind any more than he could hide the size of his growing feet, so with the launching of his formal education, his troubles began." As he was a bright son of an important family, he was directed by his family toward study for the priesthood. He found even this area of study engulfed in the Germanization process, and at the age of sixteen, Hieronim left for Rome, where he thought he could learn and express himself. He didn't stay for long, though. At the age of seventeen, his studies being interrupted by the political turmoil in Italy, he enlisted in Napoleon III's army in defense of the Vatican. For a short while he was with a special unit assigned to guard the Pope. But soon his army was needed to defend France against Bismark, and he found himself wandering the streets of Paris, an unemployed foreigner. At the age of twenty, he finally could afford to return to Wiele. For a time he sought to be readmitted to classes in Poland. The authorities had never forgotten what a troublemaker he was, however, and rejected him. After wandering

throughout Europe, educating himself, teaching when he could, Hieronim finally returned to Rome to resume studies for the priesthood. But by then he realized he was not a priest, but a writer, so he wrote. He became editor of a newspaper in Torun. He wrote poetry on the side and politics on the job. After five terms in jail for his revolutionary editorials, he finally was forced to come to terms with his chances in the real occupied Polish world. Although it was an emotional wrench, he knew intellectually he must leave. He knew he could only express himself and lead his countrymen in another country. Consequently, he came to Winona, Minnesota, where his politics and poetry still fired up a nationalistic spirit in the Poles, but where he spent no time in jail.

In one of his editorials, Derdowski congratulated his fellow Poles, and also himself, for overcoming the years of oppression and regaining their nationalistic pride: "Our philosophers from Pozan, Crakow and Warsaw would be truly amazed at seeing the Winona Polanders living together, helping each other, and talking in Polish in public. Many of them did not learn their Polish language well until they came to live here in Winona."

After six years as editor of <u>Wiarus</u>, Derdowski suffered a serious stroke, but kept working for another ten years. He died at the age of fifty, and is buried in Winona, in the "Polish section" of St. Mary's cemetery. Ironically, Derdowski is not a hero to Winona, but is considered a hero in Poland. In 1931, his Wiele villagers erected a statue in honor of Derdowski on the church grounds. It was destroyed in 1939 by Nazi bombs, but Derdowski would not succumb to oppression. A villager who was poking through the church ruins found the head and bust of the statue intact, hid it in a vault of a mausoleum on the cemetery grounds, and in 1957 the monument to

Derdowski was rededicated by national subscription and with much attention by Polish dignitaries. Not only is he personally remembered, but his poetry lives on. In 1939 a fourth edition of his poem "O Panu Czorlinskim" was published in Poland, and used as a textbook.

The Polish story in Winona does not end with the death of Derdowski, but in some cases begins.\*

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## EAST SIDE STORY

#### Part II

Religion has always been an extremely important aspect of the Pole's life. Most Poles are Catholics, as was the case with the early Polish settlers in Winona. At first, however, the Poles didn't have a church of their own, nor even a priest. The very earliest settlers worshipped at St. Thomas Church, the only Catholic Church in Winona at that time. Since they didn't speak much English, they derived little in the way of spiritual counsel from these services. Because most of the Kashubian Poles were bilingual, German being their second language due to the effects of Germanization, they later attended the German Catholic Church, St. Joseph's. St. Joseph's was situated on the corner of 5th and Lafayette, where the Piggly Wiggly store is now. It was later torn down and its parishioners joined with those of St. Thomas to form the present Cathedral of the Sacred Heart.

Not only was St. Joseph's out of the way for them, but they felt uncomfortable attending a German church. Because of the occupation of Poland by Prussia, the Poles had a rather hard time becoming close to the Germans in Winona, even if it was church. They longed to have their own priests who spoke their language, and their own church. Poles were accustomed to going to their priest for advice on a variety of subjects, not only religious matters.

Finally, on April 12, 1871, the Polish community met to organize their own parish. Six men from the community ( August Bambenek, Francis Drazkowski, Nicolaus Tryba, John Czapiewski, Martin Bambenek and August Cierzan) were appointed to get the job done. They solicited funds from the Polish community and were able to purchase lots 5 and 6 in block 16 of the Hamilton Addi-

had spent \$950 on the new church, and it was ready for dedication that summer. The parisioners had to wait until the summer of 1873 to dedicate the church, since they didn't have their first resident pastor until then. In the interim, Father Alois Plut, pastor of St. Joseph's administered the new parish.

In June 1873, the first parish priest arrived, Father Joseph Juszkiewics, and the church was dedicated under the patronage of St. Stanislaus Kostka. Father Juszkiewics was succeeded in January 1875 by Father Alexander Michnowski, and in September 1875, Father Romvald Byzewski arrived in Winona.

Father Byzewski not only was responsible for bringing Hieronim Derdowski to Winona, but under his guidance St. Stanislaus Kostka grew. He built an addition to the church, which doubled its capacity, and had it veneered with brick. He built the first St. Stanislaus school, a one-room affair, whose first teacher was Mr. Dominic Hamerski, who also doubled as church organist. In 1887, Father Byzewski expanded the school to six rooms, and as Mr. Hamerski could not be expected to be everywhere at once, the Sisters of Notre Dame took over the job of teaching.

Father Byzewski resigned in 1890 and was succeeded by (in cronological order): Father Stanislaus Baranowski, Father C. Domagolski, Father J. H. Cieszynski and Father Anthony Klawiter. Then in the spring of 1894, the original church was torn down and on November 28 (Thanksgiving Day) 1895, the present structure was dedicated, under Rev. James W. J. Pacholski.

Father Pacholski was in his element in Winona. He was a Kashubian Pale and Winona was the largest Kashubian settlement in the United

States that was still pure Kashubian in character. Many clergymen at that time were bent upon dissipating the Polish nationalistic feelings of the faithful. The non-Polish hierarchy wanted more direct authority over the Poles, and felt that nationalistic feelings were contrary to their goals. They wanted the local clergy to encourage Americanization of the parishioners. As Leo M. Ochrymowycz (see credits) points out, the order or priorities of the hierarchy was Catholic-American-Polish.

The Winona Poles were definitely not of the same opinion as the church hierarchy, and were not terribly subtle in letting their feelings be known. A young assistant priest, probably just trying to do his job, once preached against the Polish National Alliance in his sermon. Without much hesitation, the parishioners registered their objections to his sermon by approaching the pulpit, grabbing the poor fellow, carrying him out of the church and dumping him in the street. I can imagine the young priest sitting there wondering which would be a safer move-requesting a transfer or transfering his allegiance. In any event he learned one thing about the Poles-they have never been indirect or wishy-washy when you cross them.

Father Pacholski shared the philosophy of his Kashubian parishioners; in fact, he was even more nationalistic than a good many of them. To him being Polish and Catholic were the same thing, and being American was merely a by-product of immigration. Many times in his sermons he would point out that in the old country, "you are born Polak, live Catholic and die Polak. Here it's different. Here you are born Polak, live Catholic and you die American. You can see that being Polak—Catholic-American is just your natural course."

Father Pacholski was so fervent in his nationalistic beliefs that he began a personal campaign to de-Germanize his parishioners' surnames. He strongly urged Poles whose forefathers had adopted German names, and who in some cases had had them for generations, to go back to the old Polish family name. Sometimes not even that was enough for Father Pacholski, so he tacked on a "ski" to some very respectable Polish names as a further improvement. At the turn of the century it became fashionable to Americanize names. This practice infuriated Father Pacholski and he denounced it as a "misconception of Americanization." His friend, Hieronim Derdowski, writing in Wiarus, called the practice wielke gupota, or plain foolishness.

As you may have expected, Pacholski and Derdowski became fast friends. They fought side-by-side in their crusade for Polanization -- Derdowski in his paper, Pacholski in his pulpit.

The Polish Catholic spirit thrived under the guidance of Father Pacholski. In 1905, the Polish families who had settled in the west end of town, and who for years traveled to St. Stanislaus for church and school, organized their own parish. Their red brick church was dedicated under the patronage of St. Casimir in 1906.

Also in 1905, the St. Stanislaus school was expanded to seventeen classrooms. According to Lambert Kowalewski, even at the late date he attended St. Stan's School, the children were taught religion in Polish and learned all their prayers in Polish. That is not the case now, however. According to some stories, a tidy (and non-Polish) nun was cleaning the basement one day and discarded all the Polish catechisms. So, unless some

untidy little Polish boy or girl took a catechism home and tucked it under the bed or behind the dresser, Polish catechisms and prayers survive only in childhood memories.

When Father Pacholski stated the order of priorities as Polish, Catholic, and American, he probably should have slipped "Democrat" in there, too. Winona Poles almost invariably voted the Democratic ticket. Derdowski in Wiarus continually urged the Poles to register to vote. Until 1897 in Minnesota it was possible for non-citizens to vote in all elections. Not until that law was changed did many of the Poles establish citizenship. Dr. William Crozier writes: "Between 1880 and 1905 the influence of the fourth ward increased as the number of persons of Polish ethnic stock increased. By 1905, the Polish ethnic stock group constituted the largest number of potential voters in the city unified by tradition and concentrated in one ward of the city. The Polish vote was unified, unlike the German vote which was affected by the split between Catholics and Lutherans. Polish people voted the Democratic ticket as if it were an article of faith. The fourth ward had the second highest number of potential voters and 53 percent of them were Polish.

Between 1880 and 1905 there were 16 Mayorality elections in Winona -- the Democratic candidate carried the fourth ward 14 times with an average of 63 percent of the total vote.

The fourth ward cast its vote for the Democratic candidate for Governor in every gubanatorial election with an average Democratic plurality of 65 percent.

Of the 13 Congressional elections during the period, the Democratic party won the fourth ward 12 times with an average 66 percent of the vote.

Even in 1896, the people of the fourth ward kept the faith and voted for William Jennings Bryan with 63 percent of the vote. Only in 1904 did the fourth waed support a Republican candidate for President -- Theodore Roosevelt -- a candidate who was uncommonly popular among immigrant groups.

The influence of the Polish vote was felt far beyond the fourth ward because quite often the pluralities generated there were sufficient to swing the city into the Democratic column."

I do not have figures on party affiliations of Winona Poles today, but I imagine that in the aftermath of the Second World War they probably don't vote in a bloc. According to Leo Ochrymowycz, "Because of their rapidly progressing Americanization, Poles were by then playing a serious role in American politics. Their feeling about the "old country" were still somewhat sentimental and not very practical in light of the international political situation, but they were patriotic feelings, demanding that our government plan for a larger and stronger Poland than ever. That was the price demanded by the Polish American Congress organized in 1944 and which proclaimed a twofold purpose for existence: undivided service, love and attachment to the United States, and full support of and aid to the Polish nation. Under pressure from the Democratic leadership of many states in the Union, but especially Illinois, Wisconsin, New York and Pennsylvania, Franklin Roosevelt made that promise to plan for a larger Poland than ever. But after the meeting at Yalta, he informed Stalin that in order not to lose the Polish votes, he preferred not to publish until after

the elections their agreement whereby the eastern third of Poland, with the city of Lvov, went to the USSR, that is, to the Ukrainian and Bielo-Russian Republics. His concern for Polish feelings made him delay his unpleasant announcement until the elections were over, but it did not affect his given promise a bit."

Polanization had a somewhat adverse effect on the Poles' climb up the economic ladder. The language barrier effectively kept them out of, I would suspect, the managerial and tradesman occupations, except on a neighborhood level. There were, of course, Polish people who later established prominence and businesses in Winona, but the initial economic growth was not as rapid as it was in the English-speaking groups.

Presently, two examples of businesses begun by Polish Winonans that have continued to thrive are the Hot Fish Shop and Peerless Chain.

Jee Kewalewski had a tavern at 7th and Mankato called "The Black Four." His son Henry, who was the secretary/treasurer for the commercial fishermen in Minnesota started a little restaurant where the tavern was located, and called it the Hot Fish Shop. His first cook was Maximillian Rhunke. He moved the restaurant to its present location, and hired a second cook, Alphonse Bambenek, who is still the cook there. Henry's son, Lambert, took over the restaurant, expanded it and remodeled it. It isn't unusual to be far away from Winona and have someone say "Winona, Minnesota! Isn't that where the Hot Fish Shop is?"

Peerless Chain was started with one chain-making machine by three brothers -- Dick, Joe and Al Bambenek. From modest beginnings they grew until they practically covered the waterfront in downtown Winona. Finally they moved

their entire operation east to a brand new plant, and they're still expanding. They are now one of the largest chain-making companies in the country, with a chain for every occasion. We once had to buy tire chains in Seattle, Washington to travel over the Cascade Mountains. Of course, they were Peerless chains from Winona.

There are many more Polish businesses in Winona, and the encapsulated version of the two I mentioned hardly do them justice. Time and space suggest that these stories may appear in full in a future issue of the Post.

Although the Poles in Winona had achieved so much among themselves — a sense of belonging, a community, a great sense of loyalty to their heritage, church and new country— they were, as a group, much of an enigma to many of the non-Polish townspeople.

There is evidence in the early English newspapers that the Poles were held in mild disdain. This may have been a reaction to Derdowski, however, who encouraged his readers to stay away from the English press, and told them not to air their dirty linen, that is, voice opinions and arguments in the English papers. In spite of references to "inebriated Polanders," though, the Poles invariably had fewer of their number in the annual police court statistics than most other groups.

The Poles were well-known as capable hard workers, (in fact Derdowski chastised them for working too hard for too little pay) so it was hard to make a case against the Poles on that ground. As one man wrote, "Common talk in our circles would have given no very unfavorable impression of "Polander town" but only an idea of a foreign body in our

midst." The Poles were thought to be mostly poor, and dependent on the wealthier citizens for their livelihood. What a surprise St. Stanislaus Church, at an original cost of \$86,000, must have been. The same man wrote, "And in course of time an ironic justice wrote itself on Winona's skyline. That skyline, viewed from .... across the lake, showed a long procession of church steeples -- Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Congregational, German Lutheran, German Catholic, Irish Catholic, German Methodist, and what not. But Polander town had nothing above its trees, until one year in the nineties there rose the largest thing of all, the dome of the cathedral. People wagged their heads and spoke of the priestly extortion of vast sums from the poor people of the lower end of the town. It was a remark not untinged with the flavor of wild grapes."

Today, Americanization is almost complete among Winona Poles. Very few Polish-Americans speak or read Polish. Their loyalty to Poland is for the most part not a loyalty to the country, but the word. To many of the young people names such as Gabrych, Bambenek, Pacholski and Kosciusko mean ball parks and school buildings, not great men. Perhaps the new interest in "roots" will have an effect on Winona Poles and encourage them to preserve their Polish heritage, traditions, culture, and pride.

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A paper and tables prepared by Dr. William Crozier, St. Mary's College, and also, conversations between Dr. Crozier and myself.

The Courier, Thursday, May 13, 1971.

Notes from talk given at Winona County Historical Society, May 26, 1962, by Josephine Kukowska.

Excerpt from "Forever As I Move: An American Autobiography," an unpublished Mss by Donald Campbell Babcock.