KASHUBIANS IN DETROIT:

Kulturkampf of Farmers to the American Assimilation of Autoworkers at the Ford Motor Company – Part One

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The name Kashubian originates from the Papal Bull of Pope Gregory IX on 19 March 1238 to describe the population of people separate from the general classification of Pomeranians in northern Poland.¹ The area maintained this classification through the rise and fall of the Gryffites Dynasty that died out in 1637. At that point, Kashubians and Masurians became German classifications for eastern European communities that were remnants of the Slavic and Baltic tribes of northern Poland that were assimilated into Christianity. The Vistula River [Polish name Wisła] in northern Poland more commonly known as the Polish corridor, is argued as a dividing barrier of

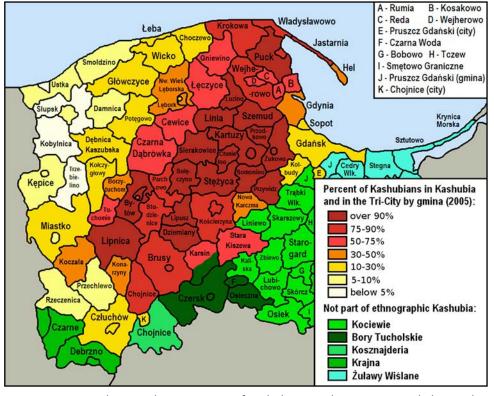


Figure 1 – A map showing the percentage of Kashubians in the gminy regarded as Kashubian. The map is available in full color at <<u>https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kashubians#/</u>media/File:Kashubians_2005.png> and the color gradations are easier to see there.

early Lutheranism and Catholicism. Generally, Kashubians to the west became Catholic while the Masurians to the east adopted the Lutheran and Mennonite religions after the Enlightenment. However, the Warmiaks, a Catholic group from the same origin, inhabited areas to the east of the Vistula, and tended to settle in the areas just south of Elbing [Polish name *Elblag*], while Mennonites originated in Danzig [*Gdańsk*].

The name Kashubian reappears on German census records in 1890 that asked these communities what language was spoken, to distinguish people as German, Polish, Kashubian, or Masurian as a designation of geography, religion, and language.² Therefore, surviving populations of Warmiaks and perhaps other populations are often dismissed or grouped together within these designations. Without the availability of further evidence of additional populations that may have been dismissed, the inaccuracy of these descriptions must be considered in further study.

Therefore, for the purposes of this study, Kashubians will reflect the Catholic experience of people living in modern day northern Poland, while Masurians will reflect the Lutheran and Mennonite experience. However, it must be understood that populations are not as simple as these classifications. The Polish corridor from Danzig to Elbing that connects these two populations remained multicultural, with multiple religions and migrating populations, while individual experiences may reflect a change in religion or location that may or may not be considered a change in ethnic designation or as evidence of cultural assimilation.

^{1.} Eugeniusz Pryczkowski, "Discrimination against the Kashubians," *The Polish Review*, Vol. 64, No. 2 (2019), 81.

^{2.} Gregory MacDonald, "The Kashubs," Slavonic Year-Book 19, (1940), 265.

Only an estimated 16,000 people who live in northern Poland consider themselves to be strictly Kashubian without Polish or German influence. The remaining Kashubs who survived the world wars and life in Europe over the last century are currently concentrated in areas of northern Poland in small communities. In 1900 in the United States, the Kashubian population was estimated at over 100,000.³ Many, however, have forgotten their Kashubian ethnicity through the assimilation process into America or have been absorbed into the Polish immigrant community. Only a few small communities in central North America still identify themselves as Kashubian. The Kashubians in the United States have often lost their ethnicity through the assimilation and internalization of American nationality.

For the purposes of this study, the additional Slavic populations to the east to specifically include the Catholic Warmiaks are absorbed into the Kashubian population as well as Masurians that converted to Catholicism.⁴ Notably the list of unnamed tribes is lengthy, incomplete, and includes assimilated populations of Slavic peoples who are considered extinct because they were assimilated and their culture and language no longer exist. These populations are not included because of the unavailability of evidence, while their experience of immigration during the German partition of Poland of 1772 is combined with the Kashubian ethnic label and experience.

The population of people who never formally obtained a state or country is first recorded in northern Poland in 1000 A.D. The east Pomeranian prince from Danzig married the daughter of the King of Poland, Bolesław Chrobry, and became Christianized.⁵ Polish missionaries attempted to rid the area of its pagan traditions and spread Catholicism throughout the next century. However, northern Poland is dense with forests and swamplands that proved difficult to colonize quickly, allowing some of the pagan population to maintain its independence from Catholic rule.

3. Jan L. Perkowski, "The Kashubs: Origins and Emigration to the U.S.," *Polish American Studies*, Jan-Jun., 1966, Vol, 23, No. 1. (University of Illinois Press, 1966), 1.

4. The Turkowski family changes religions over the course of the 1700s, creating a complicated change of label or ethnicity. Masurians were Lutheran, while the Warmiaks in the area of Lubau, Poland were Catholic.

5. Perkowski, "The Kashubs: Origins and Emigration to the U.S.," 2.

The western populations of Pomerania and Pogesania remained geographically disadvantaged, with constant pressure from the west, the Warmiaks, and other Baltic tribes to the north remained persistent in the futile resistance against Catholicism and Christianity.

Consequently, after the Poles tired of attempts to Christianize the northern pagans, Poland allowed the Teutonic Knights to invade during the era of what is now known as the Third Crusades. This period marks the beginning of Catholic oppression of the Pomeranians, Old Prussians, and other Baltic tribes, in the initial form of Germanification that began in 1309. The crusades colonized the local population as far north as modernday Estonia, while establishing city centers as far east as modern-day Kaliningrad. With the help of the nobility and hundreds of individuals-to include Turkowski h. Gryzmala IV, who served with Poland and local nobility in 1466 with the Peace of Thorn-the Teutonic Order surrendered and the Polish corridor was returned to Poland.6

This original designation of the name Turkowski and other pagan converts became Polish in origin. From an unconfirmed source, following common practice for the Kingdom of Poland, the surname more than likely originates from the 160 variations in the name of the city of Thorn [*Toruń*] that was spelled *Torun* during their designation of nobility.⁷ After

6. Tadeusz T. Gajl, Noble Coat of Arms of the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth (Drzewo Genealogiczne, 2002), Index, Prus I. This information places the Turkowski family in the area known as Prussia or Northern Poland in 1466. Catholic nobility was forfeited by the Duke of Prussia in 1568 during the Reformation. The Turkowski family is found again in 1664 in Vilnius, Lithuania before moving to Habesburg (now Kaliningrad). The line continues as a Catholic servant class society in the area known as the Prince-Bishopric of Warmia, before migrating into the area more commonly known as Kashubia in the early 1700s. By the 1800s, the Masurian Turkowskis were able to obtain status and land ownership with the Von Turkowskis in Kaliningrad and the Gross Turkowskis in Gdańsk. Meanwhile, Catholic Polish-speaking Turkowskis remained in the servant class society.

7. The origin of the name *Thorn/Toruń* is disputed, but it may come from a Slavic root *tor*, meaning, among other things, a sharp turn or bend in the river. Kazimierz Rymut, *Nazwy miast Polski*, (Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo, Wrocław • Warszawa • Kraków • Gdańsk • Łódź 1987), 247. It is available online at <https://rcin.org. pl/dlibra/publication/43389/edition/24803/content>. the surrender of the Teutonic Knights, Poland and the Kashubs formed a community within the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth known in the historical record as Royal Prussia. It is important to note that while these citizens were considered Polish nobility, the term for northern Poland simply requires land ownership, and the ability to have certain rights and freedoms that were expanded under the rule of Polish Kingdom. Gold, large castles, and other romanticized versions of nobility in northern Poland were limited in scale and never fully realized compared to Polish, German, or English nobility.

Though many families held onto their Slavic beliefs and traditions, the union of people allowed Poland to regain its influence on the area, specifically solidifying the Catholic religion and Polish language within the community.8 However, the distance from the capital city of Warsaw allowed for pagan culture to survive. Through the many surrounding influences on their culture-including the invasion and occupation of the Swedes, Germans, and the Cossacks-it was the relationship with the Poles that enabled the expansion of religious control over paganism and influenced the Slavic language with Polish dialects during the rule of the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth.9 Inevitably, the Kashubian and Masurian languages became a mixture of Slavic words that remained within the culture; however, the majority of the dialect became Polish.

In a series of invasions and complicated campaigns from countries around Europe during the period 1600-1721, the Swedes were able to gain control of part of northern Poland and bring their own culture and language into the society there. The studies behind the similarities in embroidery, clothes, and other aspects of culture have not been mentioned within the available evidence. Clearly, further research is necessary to understand the conditions of living of the Kashubian people under Swedish occupation during the 17th century while history often reflects the area belonging to Poland. Polish rule continued until 1772, when the area once again became subject of Germanification due to the First Partition, which divided the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth among the empires of Germany, Austria, and Russia.¹⁰ The

partition allowed German colonizers to buy out or forcefully remove the local population in order to build manor houses and employ the Kashubian population as labor.

In an article published by University of Chicago in the Journal of Polish American Studies, Jan L. Perkowski describes the German policy in 1848, "Bismarck initiated his 'Kulturkampf,' a policy of rigid Germanization and colonization among non-Germanic ethnic groups in Prussia."¹¹ The policies restricted cultural practices and mandated the use of the German language throughout Prussia in an attempt to assimilate the population into German society. However, by 1848 and the beginning of "The German Question," the Greater German solution began exporting Kashubian people to the United States, Brazil, and Canada with free passage on steam ships to the Americas.

Kashubian immigrants are separated from their Polish and German neighbors because they are a separate people with a language and a history of their own. To complicate the matter further, the area surrounding the city of Danzig remained as an assimilated population of German-speaking Mennonites in Danzig. Danzig was tolerant in its policies towards religion. Families from this area differed from Lutheran, Mennonite, Jewish, Islamic, and Catholic religions and traditions, because the area allowed the freedom of religion. However, Mennonites and other Protestants tended to assimilate because of its German origin, and literature. Ultimately, the population of assimilated Masurians that remained within the areas around Danzig among the Mennonite and Protestant populations were not subject to the initial policies of forced immigration, because of their ability to speak German, and previous assimilation into German culture.12

^{8.} MacDonald, "The Kashubs," 265.

^{9.} Perkowski, "The Kashubs," 2.

^{10.} Perkowski, "The Kashubs," 3.

^{11.} Perkowski, "The Kashubs," 4.

^{12.} MacDonald, "The Kashubs," 265. This split accounts for the Turkowski family members who remained in Danzig through the 19th century who served in the German army during World War I, and the Nazi SS of World War II. Other Turkowskis that did not assimilate into the German Mennonite religion immigrates south of Danzig during the 1800s and often continued migration to areas to include the United States, to Łódź, Poland, and to Ukraine. The remaining Mennonites only immigrated to Berlin due to Russian invasions. This evidence coincides with the introduction of the railway throughout Germany and Poland and forced immigration policies. For further evidence a search with the surname Turkowski at the Jewish Genealogical Index will

However, the Masurians were relocated to the modern borders of Germany during several Cossack invasions. Consequently, the historical relativism of modern academia remains because they have been seen as simply German collaborators or Polish immigrants of the era of emigration Za chlebem, "for bread," without understanding their position within history.13 Much like what happened to the name Cherokee in the United States, dozens of tribes, languages, and cultures were reduced to one single classification. Importantly, Kashubian locals often do not associate themselves with the name Kashubian. They use the original pagan tribe to which they believe the family name belonged, such as Pomeranian, Warmian, or other tribes-although the accuracy of these claims is often disputed, considering the definition of extinction of a population.

Using language and other Slavic cultural factors that still existed around 1940, Gregory MacDonald distinguishes that these Slavic indicators within language and culture are in fact what differentiate the Kashubians people from Polish or other nationalities that exist.14 While Kashubians share a clear relation to the people of Poland with a similar dialect in language and shared traditions, they have distinct social and cultural differences that have distinguished the population from its more popular neighbors. Popular for the vast number of Americans is the continued existence of the Kashubian Easter eggs that are enjoyed by a majority of American children. Though the original tradition and activities on Dyngus Day are forgotten and other traditions like the vampire demon *wupji*, or the *radgba*, a poetic wedding invitation, or the overnight funerals have not have been widely practiced for many generations.15 Kashubians remain as a culture that joins indigenous populations around the world that continue to struggle in an attempt to preserve their history and way of life.

13. Stephen Szabados, *Polish Immigration to America: When, Why, How, and Where*, (Stephen Szabados, 2016), 19.

14. MacDonald, "The Kashubs," 267.

It remains important to discuss the origins of the Kashubian people in the context of oppression and migration history in order to understand their position within modern Poland and as immigrants in the United States. The Kashubians have faced generations of cultural oppression while attempting to establish themselves a peaceful and permanent home. Perkowski states, "The history of the Kashubs in the United States is one of temporary Polonization or Germanization, but ultimate Americanization."16 Kashubians are recognized as a society that never officially existed as an independent nation, and are continually combined with Polish, Prussian, or Germans to describe their position within American immigration and Northern Polish history. However, these people are not entirely Polish, they are not entirely German, and they can no longer consider themselves as members of the extinct Baltic tribes.

In this article, a genealogical history will describe how the desire for a peaceful home and a well-paying job within the labor history of the Ford Motor Company cost a family of Kashubian immigrants their culture and most of their language, with only a few surviving traditions that are hidden in celebrations and ceremonies. The few Kashubians that survived in northern Poland and the United States remain with limited cultural influences that are the only factors that allow the Kashubian people to escape the classification of extinction along with the original populations before them.

During the studies and research involved in historical genealogy, it becomes interesting to define a family's ancestors by ethnicity, nationality, and even race. The borders of ethnicity, the existence of nations themselves, and the creation of race have changing definitions that make it impossible to describe with one-word nationalized generalizations for an entire ancestral line. With the development of Nationalism, western civilization began to limit the individual and cultural allegiances to strengthen national unity. Polish, German, British, white American, or alien immigrant, these general classifications will never fully capture the individual beyond the paperwork and shallow statistical analysis that is used for political and historical debates. Consequently, these general designations are often associated with either government boundaries, a common language, and com-

produce 18 records of Turkowskis at concentration camps, or the same general surname search at Fold3 for over 64 records of Turkowskis fighting for Germany and the United States during both world wars.

^{15. &}quot;Kashubians," American Immigrant Cultures: Builders of a Nation, ed. David Levinson and Melvin Ember, (Macmillan Reference USA, 1997), 4.

^{16.} Perkowski, "The Kashubs," 4.

mon cultural practices to include religion. However, these nationalistic designations lack inclusivity among each individual local population. General classifications fail to consider individual migration, disregard cultural contributions of migrating communities and dismiss the cultural contributions of existing indigenous populations.

Ultimately, the contributions of each individual and the culture of that community is disregarded as it becomes generalized or assimilated into the dominant culture within the nation. The individual context within society is forgotten, and therefore the context in which history has been written is over generalized, missing important cultural factors that contribute to the overall outcome within the grand narrative of history. Through the lens of occupational assimilation, this article follows three specific Turkowski family members through immigration to the United States from northern Poland, and the exploitation of labor by the railroad and automobile industry. This family remains as a generational example of how individuals internalized their oppressors as their culture is diminished from the original indigenous population of Slavic origin, to becoming an overgeneralized white American family in Detroit, Michigan, completing over a millennium of assimilation and cultural oppression into western civilization.

Anton Turkowski [whose given name appears as Antonius in Latin and Antoni in Polish] was born 25 February 1821, just outside of the city center of Lubawa, Poland in the village of Złotowo, now in Iława powiat of Warmińsko-Mazurskie województwo. His parents, Jan Franciszek Turkowski and Katarzyna née Jabłońska, lived less than a mile away on their farm, number 8, as inhabitants of the village of Lubstyn. Jan Turkowski's records in the early Lubawa church records are covered up by blank index cards to prevent researchers from accessing information during the transition from Polish rule to German rule. This Turkowski family came from a family of potash burners, cleaning up the city of Ilawa after a devasting 1706 fire destroyed most of the town and left the poor inhabitants without a home parish.

Though Germany had been involved in the exploitation of Kashubians for generations, the beginning of the German policy known as *Kulturkampf* intensified the removal, and cultural oppression of the Kashubian people by law came in three waves, starting

in 1848 and continuing to 1900. It began in the highlands of Chojnice, then moved to the Baltic coastline west of Danzig, and lastly the southern lands of Kashubia, to include areas like Pacółtowo that were rich in forests, and agricultural developments in areas south of Wejherowo, Poland.¹⁷ By 1858, many Kashubians had been removed from the Pomeranian area of northwestern Poland while Germany encroached on the eastern area occupied by Masurians, as when Anton Turkowski lived at the palace of Pacółtowo, just east of the city of Lubawa. Pacółtowo was established in 1325, and from 1830 to 1945 the Volprecht family maintained ownership. The farm was a German manor farm with six hundred acres of land; it specialized in breeding Dutch cattle, and maintained an operating distillery.¹⁸

From birth records of **Franz Turkowski** in 1858 and the birth and baptism of **Joseph Turkowski** in 1859, the evidence reveals that under *Kulturkampf* and German occupation, Anton Turkowski was a Catholic *Einwohner* or resident farmer from the palace of Pacółtowo.¹⁹

[*Editor* – German *Einwohner* means "inhabitant, resident. But in these records, it is often used as a synonym for *Inwohner*, a peasant who owned no land and either worked for his keep or paid rent. For more information, see <<u>https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Inwohner</u>>.]

The simple occupation and placement of farmer at the grand palace of Pacółtowo engenders further questions into the actual occupational duties of a farmer within a wealthy German manor farm. The planting and harvest season only require a few months in the spring and fall with any additional preparation and care, when necessary, throughout the year. Indeed, the work of a farmer is far more complicated than tilling the ground, planting the seeds, and harvesting in the fall. Farmers who actually work the land are multitalented individuals who understand

17. James J. Divita, Ph.D, A short history of the Kashubs in the United States, Marion College Indianapolis, Indiana, accessed 11 October 2021.

^{18.} Pacoltowo: History of the Farm (website, 2012.) 1.

^{19.} Deutschland, Preußen, Westpreußen, Katholische und Lutherisch Kirchenbücher, 1537– 1981, (database, 27 October, 2021) image 1 of 1, Franz Turkowski 1858. <https://tinyurl.com/ bde9wfwt>.Deutschland, Preußen, Westpreußen, Katholische und Lutherisch Kirchenbücher, 1537– 1981, (database, 27 October 2021) image 1 of 1, Joseph Turkowski 1859.

irrigation and agricultural science, operate equipment, mechanically service that equipment, blacksmith their own repairs, and make their own tools. These positions as working resident farmers made them become their own innovators and repair technicians using the new technology that became available. This occupational requirement for farmers in rural areas, without quick access to repair shops or part developers, often, out of necessity and through trial and error, made them figure out a way to fix the industrialized technology or revert back to earlier methods. While the occupational requirements and available technology within Pacółtowo during the ownership of the Volprecht family specifically is unknown, the general occupational duties that evolved around farming during the industrialization process must be considered.

Within the German manor house at the palace of Pacółtowo, individuals were working on an establishment with immense wealth from the growing German Empire. Given the limited resources to confirm this, it is purely speculation to consider the availability of industrialized technology of steam engines, other early gas- or alcohol- powered internal combustion engines, or other technology involved in the distillery, farming, and cattle ranching industry. Further research is necessary to determine if any connections exist between Pacółtowo and the transportation industry. However, German manors were designed to be self-sufficient operations that produced goods for the German Empire. It is inarguable that manor farms industry further developed the local Kashubian laborers with skills and resources that helped further develop the industries within northern Poland.

The development of 1,540 kilometers of railroad within the borders of modern-day Poland began on 22 May 1842, and lasted until the mid-1880s in northern Poland.²⁰ (Appendix A). Companies to include the Vistula River Railroad and Vienna Railroad, created an interlocking system of transportation that reached the German manor houses located around the country. Construction began in the southwestern city of Ohlau [*Oława*] to connect it with Breslau [Wrocław], and then on to Brieg (Brzeg). Through the 1840s and 1850s, the railroad reached the Opole region,

extending south towards Silesia and east as far as modern-day Kaliningrad. Later in the early 1850s, railways formed a network of tracks that had connected the major cities of Danzig (Gdańsk), Dirschau (Tczew), Kreuz (Krzyż), and Bromberg (Bydgoszcz.) In 1857, the first narrow railroad was established in the Upper Silesian Coal Basin, establishing the availability for coal and fuel usage that was mined in order to maintain production for the German-owned companies.²¹ By 1884, the establishment of the German Colonial Empire signified the development of an effective workforce with the ability to colonize other areas of the world with the experience of developing an effective system to transport food and other necessary items to expand their ability to control strategic war routes, secure natural resources, and protect trade routes for effective economics.

In the 19th century, large steam-powered engines and innovation for similar technology were used around the world to provide economic transport of goods and allow people to travel farther distances for leisure. While the Germans' main economic industry relied on the ability to transport products to factories and other products to be sold in markets, the railroad delivered other advantages and disadvantages. To capitalize on each society and expand economic growth each industry and market required a large initial investment with slow returns.²² Every German manor needed immediate access to the railroads to receive raw material and to export goods, creating the necessity for a large network of railroads to interconnect cities and factories. Consequently, these conditions of rising nationalism and colonialism developed the local Kashubian farmers into experienced laborers from building the Prussian railroads and German industry.

For German colonialism, the importance of access to industrial complexes and mines to include coal, agriculture, and the market, developed the need for faster transportation of agricultural markets over longer distances. Germany developed a network that reached every major market system in northern Poland. Analyzing the dates of forced immigration with the dates of the finished production of railways in each area, after the Germans finished development, suggests the working-class Kashubians were forced to immigrate; however, that is purely speculative.

^{20.} Grażyna Szelagowska, *Historia. Dzieje nowozyne i najnowsze 1870-1939*, (Podręcznik dla klasy III lyceum ogólnokształcącego [Textbook for Class III of Secondary Education], Warszawa, 1994), 101.

^{21.} Szelągowska, 101.

^{22.} Szelagowska, 101.

Inconsequently, the evidence confirms that Kashubians were forced to emigrate to the Americas through a system of paid emigration by the Hamburg Maritime Navigation Company. Thousands of skilled and experienced Kashubians emigrated, mostly to the United States, with additional emigration to Canada and Brazil.23 The Kashubian immigrants who developed experience from German rule with the development of the railroad infrastructure and industrialization that boomed from 1841-1885 were simultaneously, being exported by the Germans through paid immigration. For the United States it enabled the exploitation of the experience that was brought by Kashubian skilled laborers that were added to the American workforce through the assimilation of migrating populations.

At the age of twenty-three, Joseph Turkowski, a bachelor, married Balbina Kopczyńska, a 19-year-old maiden, on 8 October 1882 in Bobrowo, Poland, on the 16th Sunday after Pentecost.²⁴ Joseph stated he was from Michorowo, Poland, while Balbina claimed to be from Borne, Poland. Included within the document revealed a proclamation of marriage banns from the capital city of Strasburg, Poland.²⁵ This record shows that while Kashubians were being deported at an alarming rate, the Turkowski family was able to travel within areas of around 88 km from where they lived to conduct religious ceremonies. The use of the railroad industry became much more than transportation of goods and services for the local populations it enabled travel and perhaps occupational development. The record also reflects religious Catholic elements of Kashubian culture and marriage law. Further study is necessary to understand how this marriage was arranged from Borne, a town in northwestern Poland that is 245 km to Bobrowo, while Michorowo is 55 km away, instead of a ceremony in a

25. A bann is a two-week announcement that allows for public objections to a marriage.

more attractive or historically relevant city center to include Ilawa, or Lubawa, that were closer.²⁶ The ability to travel during the era of Kulturkampf because of German flexibility of intercity travel or an attempt to flee to southern areas to avoid deportation, diseases, or other reasons remains speculative. However, the significance of the area prior to the immigration of Joseph Turkowski and the family unit must be considered.

Jan L. Perkowski claims that in 1900, the Kashubian population was approximated at 100,000 people, and estimates the Kashubian people are currently at around 250,000 people in the United States.²⁷ Many remain unaware of their heritage due to extreme Americanization and distain from other Polish immigrants. Dr. James J. Divita stated, "Kashubs found that Polish immigrants who settled near them viewed them as unlettered, factious, pious peasants who did not speak Polish properly."²⁸

The separation from other Polish immigrants again isolated the Kashubians from others, and many decided to call themselves German, Poles, or German Poles, especially if dealing with American officials or neighbors.²⁹ Kashubians concentrated around communities in central North America, in towns closer to existing railroads as far west as South Dakota, congregating in larger amounts in Canada, Wisconsin, Michigan, and as far south as Pennsylvania.³⁰ Building railways and other infrastructure became necessary to effectively colonize central North America providing an industry with a need for labor. For countries with economic influence and power, it remained necessary to innovate the transportation industry to be able to control these areas for economic growth. With the rise in industrialization in the United States, Kashubians gained employment through foundries, factories, and other steel mill jobs in Chicago, Detroit, and Pittsburg.³¹

Jan L. Perkowski states, "The great majority of Kashubians who immigrated to the United States were farmers and fisherman. Many of them sought work in factories here, but, unlike other groups, they did not usu-

^{23.} Perkowski, "The Kashubs," 5.

^{24.} Deutschland, Preußen, Westpreußen, Katholische und Lutherisch Kirchenbücher, 1537– 1981, database, FamilySearch, (<https://tinyurl. com/2p8v27yv> : 2 March 2021), Joseph Turkowski, 1882. Transcribed and translated by Theresa Berns Translations, <*info@tb-translations.com*>. Transcribed as 1862 by Theresa Berns. However, after further research the records begin in 1862. After checking Joseph's record and previous records in the church record book, the date is indeed 1882, rather than 1862.

^{26.} Google Maps. Accessed 18 November 2021.

^{27.} Perkowski, "The Kashubs," 1.

^{28.} Divita, A short history, 1.

^{29.} Divita, A short history, 1.

^{30.} Perkowski, "The Kashubs." 6.

^{31.} Divita, A short history, 1.

ally work in mines."³² Perhaps their expertise stemmed purely within the industrial era of railroads and metalworking that existed in northern Poland before their emigration.

It is unknown when the Turkowski family unit emigrated from Hamburg, Germany. However, within two years after the

33. Ancestry.com. U.S. and Canada, Passenger and Immigration Lists Index, 1500s-1900s [database online]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc, 2010. Original data: P. William marriage, Joseph Turkowski is documented crossing the Canadian border on the U.S and Canada Passenger Immigration List in 1884, arriving in the United States in Detroit, Michigan.³³ This immigration is a part of the last wave of Kashubians deported by the German Empire.

Filby, ed. Passenger and Immigration Lists Index, 1500s–1900s. Farmington Hills, MI, USA: Gale Research, 2012.

To be continued in the next issue.

^{32.} Perkowski, "The Kashubs," 6.