KASHUBIANS IN DETROIT:

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

by Jeff Turkowski, email <JTurkows@uccs.edu>

In 1887, the last known record for Anton Turkowski places him at 676 Hancock Ave E in Detroit, Michigan, a laborer at the age of sixty-six years old.³⁴ The following year in 1888, his son Joseph Turkowski took over as head of household at 676 Hancock E, he was a laborer working for a railroad company called the Peninsular Car Company.³⁵ Joseph Turkowski became employed by Colonel Frank J. Hecker, Charles L. Freer, and Russell A. Alger producing the early refrigerated cars first developed by the Chicago meatpackers, Swift and Company.³⁶ However, the largest railroad company in Detroit was the Michigan Car Company, owned by Senators James McMillian and John S. Newberry who started the company in 1864. In 1887, with 2,500 workers the company produced ten thousand cars and 110,000 car wheels a year requiring sixty thousand tons of iron and fifty million feet of lumber per year. The number of railroads that were constructed in the Northern hemisphere become overshadowed with the introduction of the automobile in the United States. This development remains important for the infrastructure of the United States and industrialization to ensure agricultural and market development.

The continued growth of the Michigan Car Company enabled the company to expand; it owned several firms either in whole or in part that developed steel works, axles, wheels, pipes, and pieces in other foundries throughout Detroit. In 1892, the Michigan Car Company and Peninsular Car Company merged creating the Michigan-Peninsular Car Company with a workforce of over five thousand people constructing over 100 freight cars per day. Ron Alpern of the Southwest Detroit Auto Heritage Society stated that in

34. U.S. City Directories, 1822–1995 [online database]. Detroit 1887. Lehi, UT, USA: Ancestry. com Operations, Inc., 2011.

1899, the Michigan-Peninsular Car Company merged with a dozen other companies across the United States to develop the American Car & Foundry Company. These mergers ultimately monopolized the railroad industry in Detroit; however, by 1900, they employed over nine thousand people including Joseph Turkowski. The 1900 U.S. Census states the occupation for Joseph Turkowski as a laborer working at a "car shop,"³⁹ along with about 67 other individuals designated as Polish immigrants in Ward 5 of Detroit Wayne County, Michigan that was enumerated by J. L. Kadlabowski. (Appendix B) This designation of "car shop" indicates employment within this collaboration of businesses and factories that produced railcars for the early transportation industry. Whether Turkowski had experience within the railroad industry before his immigration in 1884 is to be determined by further research. Inconsequently, the involvement in the early transportation industry developed skills and experiences with the assembly line, and other industrial techniques that were developed prior to his employment with the Ford Motor Company. This experience within the transportation industry that is coinciding with the development of the automobile industry created a workforce of experienced labor that was ready and able for the transformation from rail cars to automobiles.

By 1902, the Michigan-Peninsular Car Companies' production had reached 163,000 cars following the implementation of an assembly line, where trucks moved the railcars that were under construction from one station to the next.⁴⁰ The original patent for the assembly line was given on 21 May 1872, PATENT No 127,095, called the Turn-tables for Changing Car-Trucks.⁴¹ Patented by John S. Newberry, Edward C. Dean, and James McMillan of the Michigan Car Company. A truck was originally the name of the frame,

^{35.} U.S. City Directories, Detroit 1888.

^{36.} Ron Alpern et al. *American Car and Foundry*. (Michigan Labor History Society. Southwest Detroit Auto Heritage Guide. MotorCities National Heritage Area. 2014), 2-3.

^{37.} American Car and Foundry, 2.

^{38.} American Car and Foundry, 3.

^{39.} Ancestry.com. 1900 United States Federal Census [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2004.

^{40.} American Car and Foundry, 3.

^{41.} United States Patent Office. Turn-tables for Changing Car Trucks. May 21, 1872.

axle, wheels of an individual rail car. By using a base truck to maneuver the body of the railcar from station to station created the development of the original assembly line. While this fact is often overshadowed by the assembly line of the Ford Motor Company, it remains important that further scholarship on Henry Ford and early automobiles correct the marketing ploys of automobile companies and replace them with historical accuracies. The assembly method was also used by Olds Motor Works Company in Detroit well before the Ford Motor Company existed. After a fire destroyed the Olds factory in 1901, the empty factory was rebuilt to model an assembly line. Out of necessity the assembly line was improvised to produce the Olds curved dash automobile.42 While many academic writings credit Henry Ford for the implementation of the assembly line, it is clear that this technology existed and was in use producing increases in overall output in the railroad and automobile industry in Detroit before Ford had the ability or the customers necessary for increased output. In fact, most technology necessary for the automobile had already been invented prior to Ford's first quadracycle or the opening of the Detroit Car Company on Mack Avenue in 1900. While other patents and innovations are clearly the work of the Ford Motor Company engineers and Ford himself, those contributions must be separated from the contributions of the workforce previously employed by the railroad industry.

It is uncertain how long Joseph Turkowski worked for the Michigan-Peninsular Car company. Records for the Detroit City Directory indicate that Joseph remained a laborer until 1905 when the word machinist was used to describe his occupation.43 This word was used for the automobile industry and other foundry work in Detroit. With this general term it is impossible to determine whether he had transferred to the automobile industry. However, the term machinist had not previously been used to describe his occupation within the railroad industry. In 1908, the occupation of tester was used to describe his occupation in the Detroit City Directory.44 Tester was a term that is used to describe individuals who tested engines before being used in automo-

biles. The term could also be used to describe someone who inspected parts or equipment before leaving any general foundry within the area. It remains an interesting aspect to consider that no further evidence is available to determine the employer of Joseph Turkowski from 1900 to 1911. However, these early designations are used to describe the occupation of an individual with records that indicate early employment in the railroad industry with experience in assembly lines and the mass production of transportation vehicles, before continuing his career at the Ford Motor Company in 1911. The company and industry in which Joseph Turkowski worked from at least 1889 to 1911 is unknown apart from the general description within the directories. While this evidence cannot prove involvement in Fords early industries prior to 1911, these shallow sources and general descriptions initiate further research and engender new questions about the early contributions of mechanics and laborers of the early automobile industry.

In an anti-Russian rant in My Life and Work, by Henry Ford, the author writes about the forced immigration of skilled workers to the United States. Ford states, "The Soviets are now offering the engineers the administrators, the foremen and superintendents, whom at first they drove out, large sums of money if only they will come back. Bolshevism is now crying for the brains and experience which it had yesterday treated so ruthlessly."45 Whether this is an accurate statement about Russia remains irrelevant, however written in 1922, this is the most credit Henry Ford ever gives to Eastern European immigrants for their contributions to the American industry. While this credit is for Russian immigrants during this specific moment in history it is important to reflect on Henry Ford's momentary appreciation for the skills of Eastern European immigrants just after his own period of forced American assimilation, and exploitation of Eastern European immigrant workers.

The development of Ford's assembly line at the Highland Park factory from 1910 to 1914 further developed the methods in which the automobile was constructed. However, this simply means that Ford was the first company to require mass production of the automobile. Among other reasons it can

^{42. &}quot;Biography of Ransom E. Olds". *Your Dictionary.* <https://biography.yourdictionary.com/ransom-e-olds>. Retrieved November 19, 2021.

^{43. &}quot;U.S. City Directories, Detroit 1905–1921. 44. "U.S. City Directories, Detroit 1905–1921.

^{45.} Henry Ford. *My Life and Work*. Autobiography. (Garden City Publishing Company. 1922), 7.

be argued that the price versus the cost of production for Ford's automobile attributed to the success of the Ford industry, rather than the technology that he contributed to the industry. Indeed, the assembly line simplified the overall process and created a faster production line. Consequently, the assembly line also enabled the employment of over 12,880 workers by 1914.46 The largest nationality groups that were recognized as employees of the Ford Motor Company were Poles, Russians, Romanians, Italians, Sicilians, and Austro-Hungarians. A workforce of immigrants that are largely eastern European and were forced from their homes to immigrate to the United States.

The earliest record to indicate that Joseph Turkowski worked for Henry Ford is his employee record from the Ford Motor Company from 23 January 1911, until 16 February 1925. (Appendix C, Figures 1 and 2) Assistant Archivist Shelby Long from the Ford Motor Company provided an edited and transcribed copy of the record, and is only allowed to share the information provided in order to protect the Ford Motor Company and its business interests. Joseph Turkowski originally made thirty cents an hour working nine-hour days. However, missing from the record is his employment from 1914 and 1915 is the increase in wages, when Henry Ford began his program of paying his employees five dollars a day, and an eight-hour work day. According to the employee record at thirtyeight cents an hour Joseph Turkowski only made three dollars and four cents per day until 1916, and was unable to reach five dollars a day until 1918 with an increase of pay to sixty-six cents an hour when average wages for company employees had already exceeded this amount.47 In addition, the initial plan by Henry Ford to increase the wages of his workers to five dollars a day, while decreasing the average work day to eight hours per day from nine, consequently became a pay cut for immigrants who were already employed by Ford.⁴⁸ While Henry Ford boasted about his

48. Meyer, Adapting the Immigrant, 73.49. Meyer, Adapting the Immigrant, 74.

increase in pay and newspapers declared that the workers within the Ford Factory could now afford the vehicle they produced, this benefit was provided only once Americanization was obtained. Therefore, allowing Ford to promote a five dollar per day wage while exploiting immigrant labor at two dollars less than the advertised pay expenses. This exploitation of labor is not considered within current academics in the economic expansion of the Ford Motor Company.

In order to obtain the elusive five dollar per day pay scale, immigrants were forced to attend the Ford School, and change any cultural habits that did not conform to Ford's idea of American culture. Author of Adapting the Immigrant to the Line, Stephen Meyer stated, "In January 1914, a few days after its impressive gesture - the announcement of the Five Dollar Day - the Ford Motor Company dismissed 'between eight and nine hundred Greeks and Russians who remained from work on holiday celebration.""49 These immigrants who were celebrating Christmas according to the Julian calendar, thirteen days after the American celebration, were dismissed from their work for not celebrating American culture. The Ford Motor Company increased its oppressive and unconstitutional policies by baiting immigrants into the factories with high paying wages, and invading their homes to control family life in an assimilation process to increase productivity of labor.

Along with adaptation of American culture, immigrants were required to live at home in specific and set terms. American families lived-in single-family homes, in a family setting without multiple families or otherwise crowded conditions. Meyer continues, "In addition a new institution, The Ford Sociological Department, later the Ford Educational Department, examined the Ford worker's domestic life and attempted to elevate him and his family to a proper 'American' standard of living."50 In 1913, Joseph Turkowski was removed from his home at 523 Canfield Ave E to the 918 Canfield Ave E home that the Ford Company provided for him by a Ford investigator. In a personal account recorded by Stephen Meyer, a Turkish immigrant Joe Mustafa, presents evidence of the work that Ford investigators performed during this time. All of the belongings, furniture, and other personal items were collected and piled up

^{46.} Stephen Meyer. Adapting the Immigrant to the Line: Americanization in the Ford Factory, 1914–1921. (Journal of Social History 14, no. 1. 1980), 69

^{47.} Long, Selby. Joseph Turkowski Employment History, Ford Motor Company. E-address for Private use. Ford Motor Company Archives. Email dated 7 July 2021.

^{50.} Meyer, Adapting the Immigrant, 70.

outside to be lit on fire. The account of F.W. Andrews, a Ford investigator describes the event in detail.

...[They] had their dirty, old, junk furniture loaded on a dray and under the cover of night moved them to their new home. This load of rubbish was heaped in a pile in the back yard, and a torch was applied and it went up in smoke. There upon the ashes of what had been their earthly possessions, this Russian peasant and his wife, with tears streaming down their faces, expressed their gratitude to Henry Ford, the FORD MOTOR COMPANY, and all those who had been instrumental in bringing about this marvelous change in their lives.⁵¹

While this account portrays a level of appreciation for the Ford Motor company for providing a new house and cheap furnishing, there is no regard for the sentimental value of these items or the effect on those individuals' personal experiences. While the Ford Investigator indicated that Mustafa was grateful for the opportunity to work, the emotional stress of this event cannot be imagined. The account does not indicate whether family members were allowed to keep items that were important to the memory of who they were before they moved to Detroit, or other items that may have been important for the memory of other family members or Eastern European culture. It engenders further questions as to what was considered to be trash that needed to be burned? Was Kashubian literature, religious or cultural artifacts that did not associate with American culture, or family heirlooms considered amongst the dirty rubbish that was removed by the cover of nightfall, and burned it in a fire that represented the transformation of American assimilation that many immigrants including the Turkowski family endured for the next few years?

Immigrant families, including the Turkowskis, were lured into Americanization and assimilated into American culture by Ford's development of a system of voluntary oppression. Many immigrants suffering from extreme poverty, often gladly accepted the terms of Ford's employment. In the words of an employee, Joe Mustafa, "Let my own son be sacrificed for my boss (Mr. Ford) as a sign of my appreciation for what he has done for me."⁵² Indeed, the so-called welfare program ultimately uplifted the living conditions of the immigrants that benefited; however, it remained at the cost of individual religion, culture, and family traditions. The Ford Motor Company acquired all of the properties on the Canfield Ave E where Joseph and his family used to live, and donated the property in 1937 that is now the John D. Dingell Veterans Medical Center and the Children's Hospital for Michigan.⁵³ While this act towards veterans and the advancement of medicine is admirable, nevertheless it lies on a foundation of ashes that is made up of what is left of Kashubian culture in Detroit, and the culture of other Eastern European immigrants who just wanted to be able to afford to live.

The American assimilation of Kashubians from the Ford Motor Company continued through the employment of immigrants through a four-year program that taught Ford employees how to be an American. Myers states, "The Ford English School extended the Ford Americanization programs into the classroom. Its exclusive concern was the Americanization of the immigrant worker and his adaption to the Ford factory and to the urban and industrial society."54 Beginning with language, each immigrant was required to speak only English, was trained in proper etiquette with lessons on the fork, knife, and spoon, and learned American mannerisms so as not to offend other Americans. As well they were consistently told that immigrants were dirty and needed to clean themselves often with soap, sometimes as often as five times per day. The virtues expressed in the instructional program taught timeliness, cleanliness, thrift, self-discipline, regularity, and citizenship.⁵⁵ While these instructional devices of assimilation were argued as a form of welfare that enabled immigrants to be successful in adapting to life in Detroit, Michigan, most of Ford's policies were ignorant to the reality of immigrants living in a state of poverty versus individuals who had wealth, and the ability to afford to adapt to innovative science and technology that changed the standards of living in an urban American society. Immigrants from different geographical locations were judged differently and paid differently based upon their ability to assimilate properly

^{51.} Meyer, Adapting the Immigrant, 73.

^{52.} Meyer, Adapting the Immigrant, 73-74.

^{53.} Bureau of Veterans Affairs. Demolition of the Allen Park Department of Veterans Affairs Medical Center, City of Allen Park, Michigan. URS Group Inc. 2001. <https://www.nrc.gov/docs/ ML0125/ML012570347.pdf>

^{54.} Meyer, Adapting the Immigrant, 74. 55. Meyer, Adapting the Immigrant, 75.

at home and in the workplace. This enforcement allowed some immigrants to assimilate better than others, because some of their traditions were already consistent with the adapted American culture. The entire program remained as a system of assimilation in order to continually exploit Eastern European immigrants through cheap labor for the Ford Motor Company masked as public welfare.

In 1916, S.S. Marquis defended himself and the Ford Factories' policies about education by stating, "This is the human product we seek to turn out, and as we adapt the machinery in the shop to turning out the kind of automobile we have in mind, so we have constructed our educational system with a view of producing the human product in mind."56 Immigrant workers were simply working parts that produced goods and services for an industry that remained an important aspect of twentieth century American industrialization. Their own personal struggles and lost heritage remained irrelevant in regards to the expansion and development of the Ford Motor Company, affiliated companies, and the city of Detroit. These processes of cultural assimilation are argued as necessary for the development of a workforce that enabled the production of automobile technology, without considering that the experienced immigrants from the railroad car shops provided skilled labor with a smooth transition of trained labor that was readily available to the Ford Motor Company.

Within a few years, the Ford welfare programs began to decline and by the recession of 1919-1920 and the post-World War I political environment created an economic loss for the Ford Motor company that caused drastic cuts and caused an end to Fords' sociological and Americanization programs.⁵⁷ The records from the Ford Motor Company from 1911 to 1920 need further academic research to discover the level of exploitation from an economic perspective and the extent of discrimination based on nationality or immigration status of Eastern European immigrants and the overall effects on those who were assimilated by the Ford Motor Company. Clearly, the Kashubian immigrant workers who found Detroit, Michigan had become assimilated into American society at the cost of their culture, belongings, fair pay, and recognition for their contributions to the Ford Motor Company. According

Families of those employed were not exempt from the assimilation and processes of the Ford School. Records from Joseph and Barbara Turkowski indicate that they gave birth to about fifteen children from the time they immigrated to the United States, with eight girls and six boys; only four of the boys survived to adulthood. John Turkowski, born, in 1893; Joseph Turkowski Jr., born, in 1897; Anthony Turkowski, in 1903, and, Frank Joseph Turkowski, born on 16 July 1905.59 These four children eventually obtained occupations in law enforcement, military service, and the automobile industry. While this is a common theme among citizens within a family from Detroit, the automobile industry was one of many industrial jobs available, and each child chose a profession within their father's occupation. The attraction to the automobile industry is speculatively geographical with living conditions already within proximity to the Piquette factory of Studebaker and the Highland Park factory of Henry Ford. Continued research is necessary to discover further evidence to reveal the specific involvement and overall impact of the Kashubian immigrants in Detroit and their experiences within the transfer of technology from railroad car production to the automobile industry early in the twentieth century. The availability of records from the Ford Motor Company archives, and other scholarship about the beginning of the automobile industry remain

to Turkowski's employee record on 1 January 1919, Joseph received a pay cut before a steady increase in wages until 1921, when he was transferred to the Rouge Foundry Systems, transferred again on 5 March 1922 to foundry systems 3 and 4, and a final transfer on 13 June 1922, with a final pay of ninety two cents per hour.58 In conflict with this record, Ford claimed to have increased his wages to six dollars a day in 1919 for Americanized workers in an attempt to maintain the appeal for working at his factory. However, with increased wages across the city, it failed to have the same impact as his original offer. Nevertheless, Joseph Turkowski never received the average pay that the Ford Motor company offered.

^{58.} Long, Selby. Joseph Turkowski Employment History.

^{59.} Ancestry.com. 1900 United States Federal Census [database online]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2004. Michigan, County Births 1867-1917. Frank Turkowski, July 16, 1905.

^{57.} Meyer, Adapting the Immigrant, 78.

privileged information that is not available to be analyzed by the public. Therefore, further study of individuals who worked for Ford have restricted access to primary source records for further study on early industrial workers in Detroit, and the overall effects of Ford's policies on immigrant workers.

Assimilated into white American culture through the adaptation of Fords' oppressive policies, immigrants increased the overall production of transportation, and availability of products to consumers. These actions that are attributed to the great white men like Henry Ford with finances, and business building without much consideration for the labor force that went to work every day to create the actual vehicles and products that are attributed to top executives and lead engineers. While studying their migration and industries that attracted these immigrants it remains difficult to believe that these contributions to the industry can remain as a mere footnote, if mentioned at all, within the academic books and articles about automobile and transportation history.

The surviving children left a gravestone for Joseph Turkowski at the Mount Olivet Cemetery in Detroit, Michigan; it read, "Złocona milość spoczywa w tem grobie," which in Polish means, "gilded love [that is, our loved one] rests here."

Additionally, a World War I draft record from 1917 lists Joseph's son, John Turkowski, as a welder for the Studebaker Car Company in Detroit.⁶⁰ John was a coremaker in 1911 at the age of 19 years old at the beginning of Joseph's known employment at the Ford Motor Company. However, while John lived with the family at the Canfield address in 1912, by 1914 and the move of his father to the Jos. Campau address, John was living at an apartment on 866 Dubois with the same occupation as coremaker.⁶¹ By this time several automobile manufactures existed in

Detroit, disabling the ability to associate these records with any individual company until the draft records that provide occupational information associated to Studebaker in 1917. The Studebaker Car Company began operations in Detroit with its relations to another car company named Everitt-Metzger-Flanders that produced a Model 30 automobile from 1908 until 1912. On 2 November 1911, the E-M-F was sold to Studebaker enabling the company interest to move to Detroit. When Henry Ford moved his operation from the Piquette Plant to the Highland Park facility, he sold the factory to Studebaker while they continued to make the Model 30 E-M-F for the next year. The Studebaker Car Company continued its operation in Detroit until the 1920s, when its operations moved to South Bend, Indiana.⁶² The draft record of Ignatz Turkowski, indicated Joseph as his closest living relative while living in Detroit, Michigan in 1917. Ignatz's occupation at the Studebaker Company in the old Ford Piquette plant while his occupation listed as "oiling belting."63 According to US Census records, Ignatz followed the Studebaker companies' movement to South Bend, Indiana during the 1920s.⁶⁴ With multiple individuals from the Turkowski family employed in the automobile industry they provide a clear example of Kashubians in Detroit that provided an early labor force for the great American industry.

Frank Turkowski lived with his father Joseph until Joseph Turkowski died on 8 February 1925.⁶⁵ The surviving children left a gravestone for Joseph Turkowski at the Mount Olivet Cemetery in Detroit, Michigan; it read, "*Złocona milość spoczywa w tem grobie*," which in Polish means, "gilded love [that is, our loved one] rests here."⁶⁶ Perhaps unlike

63. Age 1 – WWI Draft Registration Cards 12 Sep 1918. The National Archives. USA. 12 Sep 1918.

64. Year: 1910; Census Place: South Bend Ward 6, Saint Joseph, Indiana; Roll: T624_378; Page: 11B; Enumeration District: 0182; FHL microfilm: 1374391.

65. Ancestry.com. U.S., Find a Grave Index, 1600s-Current [database online]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2012. Find a Grave. Find a Grave. Joseph Turkowski

66. Ancestry.com. U.S., Find a Grave Index, 1600s-Current. Joseph Turkowski

^{60.} Ancestry.com. U.S., World War I Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918 [database online]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2005.

^{61. &}quot;U.S. City Directories, Detroit 1905–1921.

^{62.} The Model T Automotive Heritage Complex, Inc. Proposed Ford Piquette Avenue Plant Historic District Final Report. Historic Structure Report/Master Plan. Detroit City Council. November 1999, 6.

Mustafa, and other colleagues, the persistent use of foreign languages prevented Joseph Turkowski from achieving full Americanization and full wages during his employment.

The attempts of the Henry Ford to dissolve foreign languages from American culture failed. The inscription provides evidence that the language and culture of this Kashubian family was not entirely lost by the family in 1925. While assimilation efforts lasted for at least seven years by the Ford Motor Company, Joseph Turkowski was able to be buried with a headstone in a Catholic cemetery with an inscription in his native language expressing the appreciation of his family for the sacrifices he had made, and the struggles he had endured while immigrating to the United States. After the death of Joseph Turkowski, Frank and his younger sister Barbara Turkowski took care of his mother until her death a few months later. Frank lived as a bachelor for just a few months before marrying Wanda Taraskiewicz on March 25, 1926.67 Frank Turkowski served on the Detroit Police Department from at least 1927-1928, according to Detroit City Directories. He appeared in the Detroit Free Press on 28 April 1928 arresting a man in the Detroit Fedre Theatre, confirming his occupation as a police officer for a period of time.⁶⁸ According to the Ford standard, this occupation is considered an acceptable occupation for immigrants, however, by the time Frank filled out his draft card for World War II, he was working at the Holbrook Plant for the Chevrolet Motor Company in Centerline, Michigan.⁶⁹ The circumstances behind Frank's decision to leave the police department to work for an automobile factory like his father Joseph are unknown at this time. Ultimately, the effects of Ford's initial policies that developed American assimilation in Detroit effected the outcomes of individual lives through occupational development, and social control.

It remains important to consider the effects of assimilation, and the reaction of individual communities that are classified into generalized governments within arbitrary borders. The individuals that lived the experiences provide more evidence, and accurate descriptions of humanities reaction to those specific conditions. Through the continued genealogical research and scholarly publications of Detroit and its industrial labor force the individual contributions of Kashubian laborers and other Eastern European immigrants are further understood by the academic community for their contributions to society. This assimilation and white washing of an entire population of people from Northern Poland who originate from indigenous populations remains a strong example of the cultures and contributions that are lost within nationalism and the general classifications of entire communities.

As a result of historical relativism from the bias of western scholarship, the classifications that arose from nationalism remain the easiest method in which to explain the geography and general culture of a massive amount of land and people. The United States is divided by cultural, geographic, and historic conditions that create individual cultures that are considered within the context of American history.

Three generations follow the immigration and assimilation of a family with changing identities amid rising nationalism. From Polish integration to German oppression and American assimilation, no single definition of ethnicity or nationality exists to accurately describe the changing geography, religion, and governments that influenced the outcome of the lived experience of the pagan cultures of Northern Poland. Utilized as an industrial workforce in Germany and the United States, these people remain an integral component of labor to the infrastructure of the railroad industry in the United States

^{67.} Michigan Department of Community Health, Division of Vital Records and Health Statistics; Lansing, MI, USA; *Michigan, Marriage Records*, 1867–1952; Film: 231; Film Title: 82 Wayne 000850-004119; Film Description: Wayne (1925–April 1926).

^{68.} *Detroit Free Press*. Detroit, Michigan, USA. April 28, 1928. Newspapers.com.

^{69.} The National Archives in St. Louis, Missouri; St. Louis, Missouri; *WWII Draft Registration Cards for Michigan*, 10/16/1940-03/31/1947; Record Group: Records of the Selective Service System, 147; Box: 1223. Frank Joseph Turkowski.

and Northern Poland. These immigrants sacrificed individual culture and language to adapt to a system that provided the labor for the automobile industry. Out of need and desperation, employees like Mustafa internalized the oppression to sacrifice their own family traditions and cultural influences to become a part of the Ford community in Detroit by adapting to the American standard. While Joseph Turkowski, at least internalized the teachings of the Ford Schools within his children who extended the stability of the labor force within the automobile industry that Ford intended to create.

As a result of historical relativism from the bias of western scholarship, the classifications that arose from nationalism remain the easiest method in which to explain the geography and general culture of a massive amount of land and people. The United States is divided by cultural, geographic, and historic conditions that create individual cultures that are considered within the context of American history. From the cultural contributions of southern states of the civil war, the homesteaders of the prairie, to the population of New Yorkers, or Texans, each individual story in unique and enriches the nationalized classification of American. As well, the United Kingdom is separated between Irish, Scottish, Welsh, and English. Pagan traditions and ancient cultures from the Saxons, Celts and the Danes are academically explored throughout western civilization. As original English colonies the academic interest for American scholarship within England's separate clas-

sifications of people, the context of their cultural contributions within history is unsurprising. Admittedly, an oversight within this article are that Germans are generalized when they are culturally affected by their previous societies of Bavarians, Prussians, Franks, Saxons, Marcomanni, Goths, Vandals, and the people from the Rhine to name enough to accentuate the idea that no nation is simply classified by their geography within modern national borders. With the continued rise in Nationalism, communities are combined and overgeneralized into societies with futile resistance towards cultural individuality separate from the nation. While the context of individuals and their lived experience within society is assimilated into the general identity of the dominant culture within the nation.

Ultimately, through the example of a lived experience there is a better understanding of a collection of individuals whose contributions to society remain overshadowed by nationalistic classifications. Nationalism remains an existential threat the survival of individual cultures, and surviving indigenous populations that are not yet considered extinct. These cultural differences enrich society with a variety of beliefs, traditions, and celebrations that add value to a multicultural community that may not understand that they are not simply white, or American, but a collection of complex groups to include indigenous and migrating indigenous communities that collectively created and continue to evolve aspects of modern identity.

Appendixes and bibliography appear in the next issue.

REST IN PEACE

† POLISH GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY OF CALIFORNIA †

We were saddened to hear that our sister society, PGS-California, has suspended its activities.

I talked to the president, Gregg Legutki Walter, and he confirmed that, due to a lack of volunteers to perform basic duties, he had no alternative.

Your PGSA president is working to preserve valuable resources assembled by PGS-CA over the years to prevent their loss to the research community.

We hate to hear of the loss of any society serving Polish Americans. It just shows, once more, how vital volunteers are to any organization.