

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Hail Mary, Full of Grace:  
Marian Veneration and Representation Among  
Chicagoland Polish-Americans

Gabrielle E. Cooper

A paper submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the  
Master of Arts degree in the  
Master of Arts Program in the Social Sciences  
August 2022

Faculty Reader: Omar McRoberts  
Preceptor: Victoria Gross

## **I. Introduction**

Father Wieczorek ends his Palm Sunday announcements with a preview of the Salvatorian Monastery's upcoming Holy Week events: Holy Thursday service in Polish, Good Friday service in Polish, Holy Saturday Easter Vigil in Polish, and three Easter Sunday masses, one in English and two in Polish. "You can attend the Polish services even if you do not understand Polish," he concludes, encouraging a few giggles from the congregation, including my own. "God speaks Polish." His gesturing toward American pluralism and the melting pot is bolstered by the Sunday service's demographic makeup. While the overwhelming majority of parishioners, including myself, are white, a mixed-race family (white father, Black mother, and their two young daughters) is responsible for this morning's readings – perhaps a conscious choice made by the Monastery in order to uplift non-white attendees. The older daughter recited the first reading, the younger the second, and the parents had just wrapped up their reading of the Passion prior to Father Wieczorek's announcements. He thanks them for their hard work this morning.

From my pew toward the back of the church, I find it difficult to focus on Father Wieczorek's figure. The church's infrastructure and design draw my attention instead. Father Wieczorek is absolutely dwarfed by the 13-foot-tall image of the Polish Black Madonna known as Our Lady of Czestochowa – "probably the largest copy of the image" in existence according to informational panels in the church – towering behind him. Underneath the image, to the right of Polish, U.S., and Vatican flags, large block letters proclaim in Latin: "Regina Poloniae Ora Pro Nobis," which translates to "Queen of Poland, Pray for Us," an inscription often associated with Polish copies of the image. Instead of the stained-glass images narrating Jesus's life that I have come to expect in Catholic churches, the walls of the Salvatorian Monastery are bedecked

with stained glass depictions of John Paul II, the first and currently only Polish pope, and Maximilian Kolbe, the Polish Catholic priest and saint who volunteered to die in Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp in place of another prisoner. After the service, I walked across the grounds to the small Shrine to Our Lady of Czestochowa. Emblazoned on the front of the altar is the Polish white eagle, the nation's coat of arms – a most obvious entanglement of nationalism, religious emotion, and the diasporic sentiment that brings them into contact. Despite Father Wiczorek's proclamation of universalism and the church's obvious interest in highlighting multiculturalism, the Salvatorian Monastery, its Shrine to Our Lady of Czestochowa, and the annual pilgrimage from South Side Chicago to Merrillville are all unabashedly and obviously Polish to their cores.

The Salvatorian Monastery is the heart of Polish Marian worship in Chicagoland and the larger Midwest. The Virgin Mary is incredibly important to Catholics in Poland, and since so much of the country is Catholic (over 90% as of 2014), Mary is a central figure in the nation as a whole (Bubík 2014, 245). The Roman Catholic Church remained a “cultural lifeline” for Poles that immigrated to the United States in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, and the church was often the community's cornerstone institution (Jozefski 2008, 28). Throughout the two World Wars, Polish-Americans had to navigate growing pressures and demands to simultaneously assimilate into American society and maintain their Polish ways (Parot 1981, 177-8). The Polish-American Catholic Church and its Marian worship has since served as a bastion of Polish tradition, identity, and language (Wrobel 1979, 118).

For many, the future of the singularly Polish parish, however, appears tenuous in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. This is not unique to Polish Catholicism and mirrors a trend in global Catholicism. While the *number* of Catholics worldwide has increased over the past 100 years, the *percentage*

of Catholics has remained largely the same. In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, Europe was home to over 60% of the world's Catholic population. By 2010, Europe's share had shrunk to 24%, while Latin America and the Caribbean now boasted the largest share of Catholics at 39%. The Catholic population in North America did grow from 1910 to 2010, but it now has the second smallest global Catholic population, beat out only by the Middle-East and North African region (Pew Research Center 2013). Returning to Polonia's situation in particular, the traditionally Polish neighborhood is becoming less and less Polish as later generations disperse into the suburbs, more readily accept American identities, and drift away from Catholicism (Chrobot 2001, 89). These once Polish enclaves are now inhabited by Black, Latino, and other Eastern-European communities and many churches have adopted a more multicultural tact. Despite this trajectory and generally negative prognosis for Polonia<sup>1</sup> as a whole, the Polish-American parish has hung on tenaciously in many parts of the U.S. Where it survives, the Polish-American identity does as well. This identity, however, is often fraught with tension.

In this thesis, I argue that the Polish-American-Catholic triadic identity is not extinct and seek to explore it in its modern state through the lens of Marian worship, specifically the worship of Our Lady of Czestochowa. Alongside Carpenter and Katz (1927), I argue that Polish-Americans remain enmeshed in a kind of cultural dualism: "they are quite satisfactorily 'Americanized' ... but they are not correspondingly de-Polonized" (80). The Polish-American identity is not Polish *or* American but is instead a distinct and unique mixing of the two. While there are certainly other "spaces" to study this phenomenon (the workplace, school), I chose the Church, and specifically Marian worship within it, because it has long been and remains the bedrock of much of Polish society. Comparing Polish-American Catholicism and Marian

---

<sup>1</sup> Polonia refers to both individual Polish communities outside of Poland or the Polish diaspora at large.

worship to that in Poland and “mainstream” American society highlights how Polonia has articulated her own unique identity from both the Polish and American templates while still regularly citing both. Thomas Tweed (1997) has argued, in the context of the Cuban diaspora, that Marian worship at ethnic shrines<sup>2</sup> is always “transtemporal and translocative,” transporting the devotee to “an imagined moral community” that may never have actually existed (86, 94). He writes that diasporic identity is often articulated and constructed *through* religious ritual, making ritual a prism through which to observe and understand a group. I argue that the same is true of Marian worship within Chicago Polonia. It delivers Polish-American-Catholics to a revisionist immigrant enclave that is envisioned as much more united and untroubled than it was in actuality. Furthermore, I believe that Polonia’s Marian theologies provide a glimpse of just what Carpenter and Katz’s cultural dualism may actually look like.

Speaking to broader themes beyond Marian worship and Polonia, I aim to shed light on the entanglement between politics, culture, ethnicity, and religion that secularism claims to actively resolve. In actuality, secularism thrives on this entanglement and facilitates interactions between these different realms.<sup>3</sup> I wish to also contribute to conversations regarding diasporic sentiments and the powerful mobilizing role national saints often play. Marian worship in Polonia provides a case study to examine the ways in which assimilation and the American melting pot may be incomplete projects, partly due to religion’s influence. When starting this project, I quickly recognized that Chicago Polonia and Polish Marian veneration are well researched and theorized, but very little directly addressed Marian worship in Polonia. I have

---

<sup>2</sup> For the purposes of this thesis, an ethnic shrine refers to places of worship dedicated to national or patron saints. This does not mean that *only* Poles worship at shrines for Our Lady of Czestochowa, as I will discuss later.

<sup>3</sup> For more on entanglement and the “myth” of secularism, see Agrama, Hussein Ali 2010. “Secularism, Sovereignty, Indeterminacy: Is Egypt a Secular or a Religious State?” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 52, no. 3: 495–523. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40864787>.

analyzed a number of Marian representations since, and this thesis seeks to address this gap in the scholarship.

Research for this thesis was conducted in what is colloquially referred to as Chicagoland. It encompasses Chicago proper, its suburbs, and small sections of northwest Indiana and southeast Wisconsin. Chicago has long been referred to as “American Warsaw,”<sup>4</sup> and it continues to not only have the largest population of Polish immigrants in the U.S. but also the largest population of Poles outside of Poland proper. Over the past hundred years, Polish families have relocated out of Chicago proper into various Chicagoland suburbs. This history of immigration and the continued Polish presence in the area inspired and facilitated my research. My methods are both archival and ethnographic. Archivaly, I consulted a number of historical texts and materials at the Chicago History Museum and the Polish Museum of America, which provided a great deal of valuable context for Marian worship in Chicago Polonia. Ethnographically, I studied the pilgrimage’s online footprint on YouTube and its own website. I engaged in participant observation during services at the shrine and include the aesthetics of the shrine in my ethnographic analysis. Unfortunately, conducting in-depth interviews and participating in the pilgrimage myself were not possible due to the time constraints of this project. I hope instead to analyze representations of the Virgin Mary and specifically Our Lady of Czestochowa as one piece of the larger puzzle.

This thesis is by no means an exhaustive exposition of Marian worship at Our Lady of Czestochowa among Polish-Americans. Large enclaves of Polish-Americans exist in New York, Texas, Pennsylvania, and Florida, to name just a few. The U.S.’s National Shrine of Our Lady of Czestochowa, also known as American Czestochowa, is in Doylestown, Pennsylvania and has its

---

<sup>4</sup> Dominic Pacyga’s *American Warsaw: The Rise, Fall, and Rebirth of Polish Chicago* most popularly uses this phrase.

own annual pilgrimage that begins in New Jersey. Many traditionally Polish-American Catholic churches house their own replicas of the image. Additionally, not all Polish-Americans, especially into the second and third generations, have remained faithful Roman Catholics. The Polish National Catholic Church (PNCC), founded in 1897, drew a number of Polish immigrants who had become discontented with a seemingly anti-Polish Roman Catholic Church hierarchy in the U.S. The PNCC maintains over 100 congregations in the U.S. and Canada today. Other Poles have moved toward Protestantism or have drifted away from religion altogether. Recognizing the diversity in American Polonia, I maintain that working within the Roman Catholic tradition in Chicago provides a lens into Polish-American identity, as a majority of Polish-Americans are still Catholic and the majority of all Polish-Americans reside in Chicagoland. This project is so Catholic-centric because I started it as an inquiry into Polish-American Marian worship and only later recognized that it provided a useful lens into other aspects of community life. As an anthropologist, I wholeheartedly believe that affording careful ethnographic attention to a subset of a community can reveal a great deal about the larger group while still paying attention to differences and specificities. It is my hope that my analysis of Marian worship in Chicagoland, an understudied phenomenon, can provide a sense of the Polish-American-Catholic identity triad's continued existence and the community's Marian theology.

## **II. Tensions, Contradictions, Negotiations**

Before investigating and comparing Polish and Polish-American Marian representations, I wish to illustrate some of the dualistic tensions that exist within and among Polish-American-Catholic groups – tensions that often involve Marian worship in its negotiations – in order to provide a sense of what is “at stake.” The Polish-American-Catholic identity triad has been the source of some of Polonia's greatest historical conflicts. Chicago Polonia in particular had very

few periods of homeostasis. Influenced by outward material changes, the community was also regularly engaged in a conversation with itself about more abstract concerns – who should they be and where would their loyalties lie in order to best protect the Polish sense of self against outside forces that wished to fully Americanize them? The answers to these questions did not come about peacefully or unanimously.

The mere founding of the first Polish Catholic church in Chicago was contentious from the outset. Two church groups, the St. Stanislaus Kostka Society and the Gmina Polska, fought bitterly about where to place the first Polish parish and which group would head it (Radzilowski and Gunkel 2015, 64). St. Stanislaus Kostka won, but the conflict would not end there. In 1870, the first priest of this parish, Father Józef Juszkiewicz, was physically assaulted by an unknown Polish mob and forced to flee Chicago (Radzilowski 2003, 41). This opened the way for Father Wincenty (Vincent) Barzyński to become the de facto leader of the Polish Catholic community, facilitating “phenomenal growth” in church participation (Radzilowski and Gunkel 2015, 71). He was immensely popular but not without his critics. For Polish nationalists and secularists, he had not dedicated enough time or energy to the cause of the homeland (72). For other clergy, he was too closely aligned with the Resurrectionists and the Chicago archdiocese to really cater to the best interests of Polish clergy and parishioners (72). He even appointed his own brother to a new parish in Chicago, sparking outrage (72). This brother, Joseph Barzyński, was later the target of another mob that was aligned with his underling and rival, Father Antoni Kozłowski (79). Conflict between the religious Polish Roman Catholic Union of America and the secular nationalist Polish National Alliance colored nearly all of this history (Radzilowski 2003, 60). Early Polonia parish life was by no means unified. It was often punctuated with dissent, conflict, and outright physical violence.



For these earliest residents, becoming Polish-American was not yet an option. As a result, the enclave was split from the beginning: would their alliance be to “God and Poland or God and America” (Parot 1981, 42)? For those that sided with God and Poland, there was an even further split: Catholic Pole or Polish Catholic, or rather, where to place the emphasis (97)? By the 19<sup>th</sup> century, those that emphasized Polishness had become increasingly disgruntled with the Roman Catholic Church’s insistence on placing Irish and German clergy in Polish parishes to the detriment of the Polish language (136). Discontent reached a boiling point in 1897 when a group of Polish Catholics officially split and established the Polish National Catholic Church, the *only* schism to have taken place within American Catholicism (61).

These divisions existed just among the Catholics! Chicago Polonia also “contained those who openly despised the Catholicism of their neighbors” (Radzilowski and Gunkel 2015, 81). Others simply drifted away from their traditional faith or decided to convert to Protestantism. Those that immigrated from Partition-era Poland were technically from three separate countries (Prussia, Austria, and Russia) and thus had differing ties to what was an effectively non-existent Poland at the time. Poles who immigrated in the 1980s often found themselves at odds with “old Polonia” – “the hatred of Communists had long been nurtured in Polonia and this fear aroused suspicions of the new arrivals” (Pacyga 2019, 247). Many felt that these Poles would have a hard time adjusting to systems like democracy or capitalism after having been raised under Communist powers and simultaneously refused to help them. Even with the threat of Communism quashed, the division between the newest immigrants and U.S. citizens with Polish heritage remains in many ways, especially regarding what it means to be Polish and who can claim such heritage.

In this same thread, all Poles, regardless of when they arrived, debated just how American they should become. In reality, the enclave of Polonia was *never* uniformly and unanimously Polish-American-Catholic. Instead, this was the source of the community's greatest conflicts. How American would they become? How Polish would they remain? What kind of Catholicism would they practice – if they were to practice Catholicism at all? Very often, Polonia had the answers to these questions answered for her by outsiders. Americanizing clergy within the Catholic Church were eager to do away with Polish language services and the general stubbornness that Polish-Americans displayed toward assimilation. Infrastructure changes and processes of urban renewal (which I will return to later) forcefully dispersed Polonia, making it harder to maintain a sense of authentic culture. The ability to wholeheartedly embrace Polish-American-Catholic identity was limited from both within and without the community.

The Marian cult, and the Merrillville pilgrimage in particular, reimagines this history by annually bringing Polish-Americans into close contact once more, creating an imagined enclave in which Polish-American-Catholic identity is accepted and performed unanimously. Whether or not pilgrims and other devotees are aware that historical Polonia was never that united is not important. The recreated enclave and the pilgrimage are spaces to celebrate that the community can now be Polish-American-Catholic in a way it never could before. Pilgrims also celebrate the continued existence of Polonia itself. Carpenter and Katz wrote about the cultural dualism of Polish-Americans in 1927. Nearly 100 years later, Polish-Americans are still culturally dualistic. Despite all the trials and tribulations, third-, fourth-, and fifth-generation Americans still celebrate their Polish heritage (the mere fact that fourth- and fifth-generation Americans still cite a Polish heritage is worthy of note). Polish-language church services still exist – if one is just willing to look hard enough. Historical attempts at forced assimilation have actually made

Polish-Americans more aware of their Polishness (Ficht 1952, 33). Much of the credit for this survival belongs to the Catholic Church (34). Aspects of this surviving Polish-American identity and its cultural dualism is partly revealed in Marian representations, as this thesis will seek to illustrate.

These historical tensions and their negotiations are quite obvious in representations of the Merrillville pilgrimage. The pilgrimage website boasts photo collections dating back to the 2005 pilgrimage. In many of these images, pilgrims carry banners emblazoned with Jesus and the Virgin Mary while others carry both Polish and American flags. Many nuns complete the pilgrimage in full habit. Laity dress in t-shirts emblazoned with the Polish eagle or U.S. Army t-shirts and camouflage cargo shorts (Figure 1). This indicates both the underacknowledged performance of ethnic identity (the pilgrimage is advertised as primarily religious) and the particular *kind* of Polish-American ethnic identity that the pilgrims are articulating.



Figure 1. Different styles of Polish masculinity (Salvatorian Fathers 2022).



*Figure 2. Head, shoulders, knees, and Kum & Go (Salvatorian Fathers 2022).*

This notion of Polish-American-Catholic community is strengthened by the pilgrimage’s casual and almost fun atmosphere. The basic information provided on the pilgrimage’s website hints at a climate very different from that captured by photographic representations. Pilgrims are exhorted to “wear proper clothing” which means that “shoulders should be covered and pants or a skirt should reach at least to the knees” (Salvatorian Fathers 2022). In reality, pilgrims do not follow this dress code in the least. Shoulders and knees abound. Men and women alike dress in shorts that do not cover their knees, and in many cases, thighs are visible. Many pilgrims wear tank tops that expose their shoulders. The website further encourages participants to dress “modestly” and in a way that is “appropriate to the religious nature of the pilgrimage” (ibid.). Contrary to this, pilgrims dress in the U.S. Army and Polish eagle t-shirts mentioned earlier. In one image from the 2021 pilgrimage, a young man faces the camera with his arms outstretched,

clad in a Kum & Go t-shirt and a *Polska* visor (Figure 2). These folks seemingly did not dress for the walk with religion in mind, but rather comfort and Polish-American pride – or Midwestern pride, in the case of the Kum & Go shirt. Even though the website claims that those who exhibit “non-compliance with the regulations” may be expelled from the pilgrimage, the images attest that those who had not dressed religiously were not barred from the experience (ibid.).

The allowance of comfortable dress aligns with other representations of the pilgrimage that characterize it as particularly casual, a kind of the “festival-like pilgrimage” that Catherine Bell highlights (1997, 217). At various points along the journey, pilgrims are engaged in joyous song and prayer. Some smile ear to ear, hug those around them, and proudly wave their pilgrimage scarves above their heads. Others laugh and stick their tongue out at the camera. Songs and prayers are part and parcel of most pilgrimages, but dancing is less common. The Polish counterpart to this pilgrimage, the trip to the original Our Lady of Częstochowa, for example, has always been particularly somber. Two images from the 2010 Indiana pilgrimage capture individuals engaged in some kind of line dance. In the first, a woman has linked elbows with her dance partner as they spin around in a tight circle. Her face is broken out into a big smile and her hand is uplifted, waving to the camera. In the second, two nuns in full habit beam at the camera as they dance in a sort of conga line with three young girls. Onlookers in the background point and smile. One young girl has her arms completely wrapped around the waist of the nun in front of her, hugging her. In the liminal space of pilgrimage, barriers between groups within the Polish-American-Catholic community are broken. Children dance with nuns. Priests march the same 33 miles as everyone else. No one is allowed to follow the pilgrimage in a car. The representations of the pilgrimage portray a sense of radical equality that is experienced as fun. The expectation that the pilgrimage will have these moments of great fun is further

illustrated in the fact that many families bring their small children along, and an increasing number of teenagers and young adults are participating. The Polish pilgrimage has also become increasingly younger in recent years.

Amongst the smiles, singing, and food-sharing, pilgrimage representations also highlight hardship and injury. In Poland, people do not shy away from remembering their painful past, marked by the Period of Partitions, Nazi occupation and the terrors of concentration camps, and Communist rule. Polish Messianism is one style of remembering that is chiefly characterized by a blending of nationalism and Catholicism. Polish Messianism echoes other popular notions of Jews as a chosen people and the U.S. as the city on a hill. While the Polish nation has undergone a great deal of suffering, it has all been a part of God's divine plan. Poland stands squarely between Western Roman Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy, and later godless Communism. It is popularly the bulwark of Christendom, and all attempts to destroy or atheize it have been thwarted by God, Jesus, and Mary. Poland's history, then, is one of undeserved but righteous suffering. In Poland, remembering this past is facilitated by its continued visibility. The historic walls of Jewish ghettos dating back to World War II still stand in parts of Krakow. Oskar Schindler's factory is now a museum dedicated to maintaining his memory and the memory of those Jews whom he could not save. Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camps draw in over 10 million guests a year. Hitler's secret Wolf's Lair residence and military headquarters still stand in the country's north woods. The dark spots in Poland's past are the cornerstone of not only its tourism industry but also much of its national identity.

Distanced from Poland's past in both time and space as the pilgrims to Indiana are, this history of suffering is much less visible and omnipresent. The pilgrimage and its representations seem to be engaged in uplifting the suffering of pilgrims in order to articulate this aspect of

Polish identity that may be less salient within the context of the U.S. The pilgrimage website describes these hardships as part of the “penitential” nature of the journey: “pilgrims endure the hardship of walking all the way and all inconveniences” (Salvatorian Fathers 2022). Each year of the pilgrimage has its own photo album on the official website, and almost every album contains images that capture First Aid personnel cleaning and bandaging pilgrims’ blisters. Most of these pictures are quite impersonal, showing neither the pilgrim nor the First Aid personnel’s faces, capturing only disembodied feet and hands and the bandages that connect them. While blisters and bandages are the most common representations of hardship, an image from the 2005 pilgrimage captures a mass of pilgrims decked out in yellow, pink, blue, and red ponchos, braced against the rain (Figure 3). The event takes place regardless of weather, and participants take it



*Figure 3. Rain or shine, we head to the shrine (Salvatorian Fathers 2022).*

all in stride as part of the trip’s penitence. At the center of this picture a priest is engaged in animated conversation with a pilgrim. The priest is one of only a few people not wearing a poncho. The hardship on the pilgrimage is universal, one more instance of the radical equality

that establishes community. The priests endure the rain as everyone else does, and they do it without a jacket.

Like Polish Messianism itself, the pilgrimage's hardship is both religious and cultural. Its religious connotations are much more obvious. Physical pain is a common trope in Catholicism and Christianity more broadly. Under the Roman pagans, martyrs went so far as to accept death to illustrate their attachment to faith and their willingness to live as Jesus did. As the Roman Empire became Christian, martyrdom was no longer a possibility and those most diligent faithful needed to find other ways to discipline their spirit and live as Jesus did. Long fasts, self-flagellation, or donning an itchy shirt made of human hair were a few of the more intense options. Pilgrimage was another and like fasting, it has remained relevant into modernity. Walking 33 miles is no easy task, and its Polish-American aspects do not detract from the fact that the pilgrimage is firstly (but not entirely) religious in nature. Getting and walking with blisters is one example of what pilgrims anywhere are willing to endure for their god or patron saint.



*Figure 4. I bandage your feet, you bandage mine (Salvatorian Fathers 2022).*



Very few pilgrims apply their own bandages. The plethora of images of First Aid volunteers applying bandages to pilgrims' feet are incredibly reminiscent of the Maundy Thursday practice of washing feet (Figure 4). The custom of washing feet mirrors Jesus as he washed his disciples' feet the night before his crucifixion. In the Catholic Church, this ritual is generally thought of as a humbling act of love for those washing, which often includes the priest. The images of a pilgrim with a First Aid volunteer bent before them attending to their feet, then, serve two purposes. On one level, they reify the religious, and specifically Catholic, nature of the pilgrimage through reference to the Maundy Thursday ritual. Beyond this, these pictures further convey the pilgrimage's equality and sense of community. Pilgrims are humbled and disciplined by the exertion that the pilgrimage requires, and First Aid staff are similarly humbled, as Jesus was, by tending to feet. Their experience can be compared to descriptions of the work of Red Cross volunteers on the original Polish pilgrimage: "while the others sleep, they bandaged tired and even bleeding feet, give injections, sometimes forgetting that they have not eaten and that midnight is near" (Załęcki 1976, 217).

If, as I have argued, the motifs and meta-themes from pilgrimage representations communicate something about the content of Polish-American identity, then an intense acknowledgement of suffering must be included as a part of this. The decision to capture blisters and the First Aid process, like the decision to capture any photo, is a conscious choice made by the photographer. In the case of these pilgrimage albums, the photographers are largely anonymous. Only the 2015 and 2021 pilgrimages were unmistakably accompanied by professional photographers, evidenced by their watermarks. The provenance in images from other years is much less clear. It is possible that other pilgrimage albums were also curated by contracted photographers or that pilgrims provided their own photos for the website. Regardless

of who is recording the pilgrimage in a given year (the 2015 and 2021 photographers were not the same individual), hardship and suffering make an appearance, often represented by blisters and their treatment by First Aid volunteers.

The pilgrimage, as represented by its photos, brings together a number of different threads. The event is both religious and ethnic, celebratory and somber, formal and fun, American and Polish. In her role as Our Lady of Czestochowa, the Virgin Mary is involved in negotiating these contradictions. Poland's highly Catholic history, the needs of the early Polish enclave, and Mary's treatment in Vatican II documents helps to explain Mary's instrumental place within Polonia and sheds a light on just exactly *who* the Mary constructed by the pilgrimage is. I argue that this Mary is just as Polish-American as those who worship her.

### **III. Historical Background**

While the old adage that being a true Pole entails being a true Catholic has been proven to be based on fabrications that served to ostracize Polish Jews, it has become so ingrained in Polish legend and identity as to be historical fact. After the period of partitions came to an end, the new "Second Republic... was conceived as a state *of* and *for* the ethno-linguistic Polish nation" (Zubrzycki 2006, 55). Despite the longstanding presence of diverse ethnic groups (prior to the Holocaust, Poland housed the largest number of European Jews), the nationalization project created "the tight association of Catholicism with Polishness" which effectively othered the Jewish population (56). While Poland was historically a Catholic majority nation, it had never been so explicit about this fact. Since the nation's baptism in 966, the Roman Catholic Church has been a mainstay and a consistently powerful political actor in Polish society. It is perhaps the only institution that retained its independence through Poland's Period of Partitions, the war years, and Communist rule. Throughout these trials that often left Poland without borders

and a sense of herself as a nation, the Church protected Polish identity, patriotism, and, most obviously, the Catholic faith. This history has resulted in the popular idea that “Poland would not be Poland,” or possibly even exist, “if it were not for the church” (Brzezinski 1994).

Just as Catholicism has been central to Polish history, the Marian cult has been the *sine qua non* of Polish Catholicism and a constant in the nation since its baptism (de Busser et al. 2009, 88). The Jasna Góra Monastery in the town of Częstochowa and its shrine to Our Lady of Częstochowa has been the primary historical site of devotion to Mary in Poland and the inspiration for other “Częstochowas,” like that in Merrillville. While Poland boasts an entire landscape of Marian shrines, Jasna Góra sits at the top of the hierarchy. Much like Our Lady of Guadalupe has become a “master symbol” for Mexican Catholics, embodying cultural, religious, and political aspirations, Our Lady of Częstochowa is a “Polish ‘master symbol’” and is considered the “queen of the Polish nation” (87). Częstochowa is emblematic of the Polish Marian cult and while this worship is always directed to the singular, Biblical Virgin Mary, the Mary depicted by the image housed at Jasna Góra is the one who was elected as Poland’s Queen in 1656 and coronated with papal crowns in 1717 (Niedźwiedź 2010, 96; 105). As a national shrine and a major site for worldwide Marian worship, Częstochowa has a long history of foot pilgrimages. While pilgrims have traveled to the shrine in hopes of miraculous healing, the pilgrimage has largely served to perform both proper Polishness and Catholicity and uphold King Casimir’s Lwów Oath to worship Mary as Mother of God *and* Queen of Poland.

Reverence for Mary in Poland has always transcended the strictly religious sphere (Niedźwiedź 2010, 1). Poland’s survival through its tumultuous history is often directly attributed to Mary. Theologically, the image and icon of Our Lady of Częstochowa is considered a palladium, or a protective image (30). It was adopted as “a protective image of the Jagellonian

dynasty” and instrumentalized to prove the king’s Catholic faith (56). In the 1655 Battle of Jasna Góra during the Swedish invasion of Poland, the image protected the monastery, and therefore the nation, from the threat of Protestantism (62). In 1920, the Battle of Warsaw, known colloquially as the Miracle on the Vistula, resulted in the surprising Polish victory over Bolshevik forces in the Polish-Soviet War (112). Once again, Mary, as Our Lady of Częstochowa, had “stopped the catastrophe that was threatening the whole state as well as its religion” (95). The legends of the Battle of Jasna Góra and the Miracle on the Vistula are part of the canon of miraculous defense myths that portray Mary as a militant protectress and the defeat of those who attack Poland, and therefore Mary, as divine punishment (89-90). The image is so entangled with notions of Polish nationalism, identity, and freedom that it is no longer just a religious image unmoored from its historical, political, and cultural environment.

The period of Communist rule was a flashpoint for politicizing the Marian cult and portraying Mary as the miraculous defender. Unlike the situation in the majority of states under Communist dictatorship, forces in Poland were never able to succeed in supplanting entrenched Catholicism with scientific atheism. Through a number of struggles and compromises, the Catholic Church and the Communist state maintained a tenuous coexistence. The Church became the singular institution that protected remaining freedoms and defended a Polish identity that was contradictory to Communist ideals. Mary played her usual starring role in the Church and its faithful’s resistance, becoming a “powerful anti-communist symbol” (Niedźwiedz, 67).

Understandably, Jasna Góra and its shrine to Our Lady of Częstochowa were key sites for underground defiance at the time. As a result of the Communist state’s actions, religion was forced to become even more political, and the Jasna Góra monastery “became a symbol of national identity and unity” against the atheist intruders (Galbraith 200, 68). The icon itself was

conflated with the Polish nation and its search for sovereignty. The pilgrimage to Częstochowa gained its own overt political flavor, building on an instrumentalization that had begun during Nazi occupation and making the pilgrimage a practice that allowed Poles to illustrate their political stances somewhat safely. Many faithful had started to undergo secret pilgrimages during World War II, and these only increased under Soviet rule (Jackowski et al. 1992, 96). Poles' refusal to stop worshipping at Jasna Góra was "a veritable demonstration against government violence and repression" (96).

The Church and its allies adopted the Virgin Mary, specifically as she appeared as Our Lady of Częstochowa, as a symbol of their resistance against the state. The state knew as much and were keenly aware of the image's dangerous uniting capabilities. Communist officials restricted pilgrimages as much as possible. Aside from its reputation as Poland's "spiritual center" and a symbol of Catholic influence, Jasna Góra had gained even greater meaning on July 21, 1958, when "the police searched the sanctuary for the first time in its history" and set a match to the burgeoning Church-government confrontation (Rosenthal 1958). While the pilgrimage was not outright banned, the state had made concerted efforts to control it. They rejected requests to make the holiday a three-day weekend and since "few men could take nine days off from work for a pilgrimage," many faithful could not attend (ibid). The town of Częstochowa also deployed more policemen than usual in a display of the state's right to resort to violence if necessary (ibid). The image of Our Lady was even imprisoned at one point. As part of the Great Novena culminating in Poland's 1966 Millennium of Christianity, Church officials arranged for the image of Our Lady of Częstochowa to travel throughout the country in a peregrination, hosted by families and neighborhood parishes. Communist officials confiscated the image in an effort to curtail the peregrination, but Poles continued to worship the *empty frame* as if the image was still

inside. The Virgin Mary and Our Lady of Częstochowa were such potent symbols at the time that people dropped to their knees in front of a frame that she had once graced.

Marian worship remained strong even after the fall of Communism. The pilgrimage to Częstochowa has only grown post-1989 and is attracting an increasing number of young people, indicating that the cult is likely to maintain a great deal of its relevance (de Busser et al. 2009, 94). Polish anthropologist Anna Niedźwiedz's interlocutors have told her that Poles "prefer to pray to [Mary] more often than we do to Jesus" (96). During the first wave of the Covid-19 pandemic, Poles prayed to Mary to deliver them from sickness, relying on her as they always have during the darkest times (Vatican News 2020).

Since Catholicism and Marian worship had been so central to life in Poland, immigrants often considered the establishment of Polish Catholic parishes to be a crucial first step upon settling in the new host country. I wish to return to the discussion of church politics and address the evolution of the tensions and contradictions analyzed above. The earliest Polish churches became the center of immigrant enclave neighborhoods, providing order, a connection to culture, Polish-language services, education, and insurance to downtrodden new arrivals looking to realize the American dream. The Catholic faith assisted early Chicago Poles with maintaining their traditions and sense of self amidst a threatening and all-encompassing American cultural milieu. As a result, Polonia became a "highly compact cultural center," differentiated from Chicago's non-Polish neighborhoods due to its relative impermeability (Parot 1981, 74). Concerns over maintaining the Catholic (and therefore Polish) tradition in the U.S. were only heightened during World War II and into the Cold War (Rzeznik 2016, 100). The Merrillville parish that houses the Shrine of Our Lady of Częstochowa was established in 1941, and "American Częstochowa" in Doylestown, PA was established in 1953 in order to "provide for

the pastoral care of Polish-American Catholics” (ibid). Maintaining the Catholic faith illustrated allegiance to both the homeland and the host country as both Poland and the U.S. rallied against the godless Communists.

The Polish Catholic Church’s efforts to maintain the enclave, however, were regularly thwarted by outside forces. World War I brought such a sea of change. Many Poles enlisted in the U.S., Polish, and British Armies and came home with a new sense of loyalty toward their host country. While the war certainly inspired a newfound love for America for many Poles, it also reestablished Poland’s borders after its more-than-century-long Partitions. The following two decades would be Poland’s golden years before Nazi invasion, and many of those who had immigrated decided to repatriate. The Cold War precipitated another period of transition. Around this time, many perceived their Polish identity and continued Polish language classes in neighborhood schools as barriers to their own and their children’s successes in America (Radzilowski 2003, 236). Many Polish-Americans denounced their Polish background and made concerted efforts to align themselves and their families with American traits and values. Polonia’s numbers dwindled.

Concomitantly, new Vatican law forced the inward-facing Polish ethnic parish to turn outward. All new churches would now be territorial, serving those living within a certain area, not just a single homogenous ethnic population (Parot 1981, 199). This seriously disrupted the enclave, as its lifeline could no longer serve only them, and several Poles did not wish to attend churches whose goal was to Americanize them. By the second- and third-generation, many Polish-Americans had weaker ties to their traditional faith and the old country (216). Upward mobility, increased fluency in English, and assimilation into whiteness allowed many to move out of the cramped ethnic “slums” into either more expansive (and expensive) areas of Chicago

or its suburbs. As urban renewal gentrified much of Chicago, the city's Black and Latino populations were forced into the Southside's industrial Polish neighborhoods that had largely been ignored in the development projects (Radzilowski and Gunkel 2020, 159). Once-Polish parishes, like St. Michael the Archangel Catholic Church, the home church of Chicago's first Polish bishop, now answer the phone and conduct many of their services in Spanish.

By the third-generation, then, Chicago Polonia was no longer an ethnic enclave. Polish-Americans had spread throughout the Midwest and many did assimilate into mainstream society, becoming just *American*. Waves of Polish immigrants have continued to regularly come to Chicago and the surrounding areas since the 1980s, but they too tend to quickly relocate to the suburbs and have differing levels of allegiance compared to those born in the U.S. – I'll return to these points later. Where the Polish parish has been able to survive, however, Polish-American identity does, too. The church not only maintains a connection to Poland through the Catholic faith, but it also maintains other Polish traditions through cooking and dress (Wrobel 1979, 118-9). Perhaps most importantly, the church preserves the Polish language in the U.S. far more any other institution. While later generations of Polish-Americans have less and less familiarity with the language, church services are often conducted in Polish (118). The Merrillville Salvatorian Fathers, for example, administer two Polish services to one English service on an average Sunday. Conversely, St. Stanislaus Kostka Parish, the first Polish church established in Chicago has only one Polish Sunday mass, but two in English and another two in Spanish (St. Stanislaus 2022). Despite this, Holy Trinity Church, founded to "relieve overcrowding at St. Stanislaus Kostka" delivers five Sunday masses and six weekday masses *all* in Polish (Trójcowo 2020). Holy Trinity even runs its own accredited language program that also teaches children and young adults about Polish history and geography (ibid.). Chicagoland's Polish Roman Catholic



landscape has certainly changed, but many churches continue to be the bastion of culture and Polish-ness in the U.S., even if they can no longer administer to a singular neighborhood. Within these Polish parishes, Marian worship remains strong, as well.

#### **IV. Representing Mary**

Marian worship is highly visible in Poland. The Virgin Mary, as described above, is an integral part of the cultural and *political* fabric of the nation. The prevalence of Marian devotion is particularly clear in older, less built-up sections of Warsaw. Under Nazi occupation, Poles were often prevented from going to church. In an effort to worship clandestinely, tenants built *kapliczki*, or wayward shrines, in the courtyards of their apartment buildings, hidden away from the streets. The overwhelming majority of these shrines are Marian and are a beautiful and heartfelt reminder of Poland's love for Mary, past and present. A personal encounter with a *kapliczki* in Warsaw's Praga district served as my introduction to the plethora of Polish Marian representations and inspired me to explore how the cult had or had not been maintained in the diaspora. I had initially hypothesized that – distanced from the specter of Communism in both time and space and impacted by Americanization – Polonia's Marian worship would be much less political than its Polish counterpart. I quickly learned that this was not the case.

Before diving into Polish-American representations of Mary, I wish to first explore recent theological theorization regarding the Marian cult as it is crucial to appreciating the forms that Polish and American styles of worship take. Globally, Marian worship was profoundly impacted by the Catholic Church's process of *aggiornamento*, or renewal, epitomized by Vatican II. Chapter VII of the Vatican II document *Lumen Gentium*, entitled "The Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God in the Mystery of Christ and the Church," expresses the Vatican's opinions regarding proper Marian devotion. On the whole, it advises Catholics to revere Mary *because of*

her relationship to Jesus and to always remember her as “subordinate” to Christ (Second Vatican Council 1964, sec. 62). *Lumen Gentium*, like much Catholic Marian theology after it, walks a fine line between recognizing the Virgin Mary as an exceptional figure who is profoundly worthy of adoration and still maintaining her as only a “humble handmaid of the Lord” who should *never* be considered an equal to her son because “no creature could ever be counted as equal with the Incarnate Word and Redeemer” (ibid). Take, for example, Pope Paul VI’s tightrope dance as he tries to explain Mary’s role in redemption. While she cannot redeem souls herself, she “cares for the brethren of her Son” by means of her “constant intercession” on their behalf (ibid). This has gained her the title of “Mediatrice” (ibid). Despite all this, Christ remains “the one Mediator” (ibid). Furthermore, any mediating Mary is allowed to do does not speak to her own agency, but rather Christ’s: “the maternal duty of Mary toward men in no wise (sic) obscure or diminishes this unique mediation of Christ, *but rather shows His power*” (sec. 60, emphasis added). In Chapter VIII’s conclusion, the church “exhorts theologians and preachers of the divine word to abstain zealously both from all gross exaggerations as well as from petty narrow-mindedness in considering the singular dignity of the Mother of God” and asks them to uplift a model of “the Blessed Virgin which always looks to Christ, the source of all truth, sanctity and piety” (sec. 67). Vatican II stresses that the Virgin Mary’s value stems from her role as a mother and her connection to her Son.

Written roughly a decade later, the apostolic exhortation entitled *Marialis Cultus* contains many of the same themes as Vatican II. It condemns worship of Mary without reference to Jesus as sometimes happens in “popular piety” and seeks to establish an understanding of proper, truthful worship (Paul VI 1974, sec. 49). *Marialis Cultus* betrays the anxiety that the Catholic Church will appear “backward” or “traditional” if improper Marian worship is not eradicated.

Paul VI writes that “every care should be taken to avoid any exaggeration which could mislead other Christian brethren about the true doctrine of the Catholic Church. Similarly, the Church desires that any manifestation of cult which is opposed to correct Catholic practice should be eliminated” (sec. 32).

Concerns of idolatry are particularly pertinent in the Polish context due to the complicated and longstanding presence of the Mariavite movement. In 1893, nun and mystic Maria Franciszka Kozłowska had a vision that convinced her that she needed to found the Mariavite Priest Order (Herman 2007, 447-8). The Mariavites sought to live simply as Mary did and were particularly vocal about their desire for Church reform. These calls for revitalization and the Mariavites’ particularly potent missionizing power led to regular condemnations from the Vatican (Sadkowski 2001, 17). In the Russian-occupied partition, authorities legalized the Mariavite church, resulting in portrayals of adherents “as anti-Polish renegades” (Herman 2007, 448). The Mariavites tapped into communal and folk religion sensibilities and threatened the Roman Catholic Church’s patriarchal and centralized authority. The group’s membership has remained small but steady since the 1960s (450).

In order to assuage such fears of heresy, idolatry, and backwardness, *Marialis Cultus* argues that all Marian devotion is effectively devotion to Christ. Pope Paul VI summarizes this view with a quote from St. Ildefonsus: “what is given to the handmaid is referred to the Lord; thus what is given to the Mother rebounds to the Son; ... and thus what is given as humble tribute to the Queen becomes honor rendered to the King” (sec. 25). Marian worship should only be a way to encounter Jesus, “a means of leading men to Christ,” and consequently, it is reduced to “an approach to Christ” (sec. 57, 32). Even the Rosary, so synonymous with the prayer “Hail Mary,” is “a prayer with a clearly Christological orientation... an unceasing praise of Christ”

(sec. 46). Once again, Marian worship is “subordinated” to that for Christ (sec. 57). Unlike *Lumen Gentium*, *Marialis Cultus* does recognize that the Biblical Mary – Virgin, Mother, Submitting to Christ – is increasingly less relatable as a role model for women amidst the feminism of the 1970s: “in consequence of these phenomena some people are becoming disenchanted with devotion to the Blessed Virgin and finding it difficult to take as an example Mary of Nazareth because the horizons of her life, so they say, seem rather restricted in comparison with the vast spheres of activity open to mankind today” (sec. 34). Despite this recognition, the Vatican voices unequivocal contempt for a Mary whose value exists outside of her status as Mother and her connection to Jesus.

The Polish style of Marian worship, even outside of more fringe groups like the Mariavites, bears few resemblances to that encouraged and accepted by these Vatican documents. While Vatican II stresses that Mary’s agency and value come from her role as Mother and a *gateway* to Christ, Poles continue to balance Mary’s maternal role with her role as *Hetmanka*, or military commandress (Porter 2005, 155). Mary as *Hetmanka* assigns her much more autonomy and agency than the Vatican deems appropriate (157). Orthodoxically, Mary can only intercede on behalf of human affairs. The Polish Mary, however, seemingly has the ability to *intervene* as *Hetmanka*. Historically, conceptions of Mary as *Hetmanka* were particularly prevalent. As mentioned above, Mary defended Poland and its Catholic faith at various points – the Period of Partitions, the Miracle on the Vistula, both World Wars, Communism, and now the Covid-19 pandemic. Posters during the World Wars and Communism regularly depicted Mary in military garb, taking up arms against those seeking to wipe Poland off the map. Mary continues to defend Poland against its newest external enemies: secularism and declining levels of Catholic

faith (168). While wartime imagery is not uncommon in Catholicism or Christianity more generally, Mary is rarely as militarized as she is in the Polish context.

American Catholicism, threatened by Protestantism's dominance and its distaste for iconography, has adhered more to the exhortations of Vatican II and *Marialis Cultus* than its Polish counterpart. The Marian cult is much smaller and is largely practiced by immigrant enclaves who have maintained ties to ethnic shrines such as Our Lady of Guadalupe, Our Lady of Fatima, and, of course, Our Lady of Czestochowa. The "mainstream" (read: white, American) Catholic church uplifts Mary in a much less spectacular fashion. Additionally, American Catholics, beginning in the 1960s, are less likely to believe in an icon's "corporeal presence" – the idea that the Virgin Mary is *physically present* in an image like Our Lady of Czestochowa (Orsi 2005, 55-7). Icons, then, are appreciated strictly as art. The motivation to attend a pilgrimage to an image is subsequently lessened. Pilgrimage as a whole also has a relatively limited history and practice in the U.S. The vast majority of those that do exist are primarily ethnic and associated with shrines that maintain ties to the homeland. As immigrants and second- or third-generation Americans assimilate into "mainstream" (again, read: white) society, this Marian devotion often decreases (Kane 2004, 116). First-generation Haitian and Cuban immigrants, for example, practice strong Marian worship. As groups are whitened and Americanized over time, they are less likely to maintain this aspect of their faith.

Polish-American Marian worship at places like the Merrillville shrine lies in the middle on the spectrum of cult intensity, in between Poland at one extreme and the American context at the other. Archival materials dealing with Chicago's historical Marian cult and modern representations of the pilgrimage to Merrillville illustrate as much. In 1966, Chicago Polonia celebrated Poland's millennium of Christianity in the city's Soldier Field, concluding in a short

pilgrimage to a shrine of Our Lady of Częstochowa that had been erected at the far end of the stadium. The program from this event provides a snapshot of Polish-American Marian worship's state at the time, which reveals further details about the Polish-American identity. The Second Vatican Council had released *Lumen Gentium* just two years earlier, and the program's language indicates that organizers attempted to align themselves with its teachings. Chicago's archbishop at the time, John Cody, stresses Mary's role as a *conduit* to her Son in the program's opening letter: "Together we shall offer our Te Deum to Almighty God and commend the spiritual future of our fellow Christians *through* Mary, Mother of God, Queen of Poland, *to* the care of her Divine Son" (*Poland's Millennium of Christianity* 1966, emphasis added). Compare this to Polish Cardinal Wyszyński's 1965 sermon at the original Częstochowa, for example, in which he "speaks most of the time on Mary" and does not shy away from stressing her own individual agency (Załęcki 1976, 221).

Just as Archbishop Cody spoke about Mary in a Vatican II inspired, Americanized fashion, the rest of the event's programming highlights Americanness and gestures to the melting pot. Prayers and hymnal lyrics are offered in both Polish and English, but the majority of the program booklet (schedule of events, Cody's letter, the list of groups and individuals involved) is offered *only* in English. An English-language booklet was necessary in order to include those Chicago Poles who had dropped the Polish language during the Cold War in an effort to increase their social mobility. The predominance of English also enabled the participation of non-Poles. The program's list of ensemble bands and national groups present at the event proves as much. The majority of the groups are Polish, but a number are not: The Czech Catholics, Slavic Orel in Exile, The Slovaks, The Croatians, The Latvians, The Serbian Folklore Group, Joint Civic Committee of Italian-Americans, Knights of Lithuania, Lithuanian Group of Chicago, The

Hungarians, Ukrainians, the U.S. 5<sup>th</sup> Army Color Guard and Band, and the Coronets Drill Team (*Poland's Millennium of Christianity 1966*). The program, then, was largely a pan-Slavic or pan-Eastern European gathering, punctuated by American militarism and patriotism. The celebration's "preliminary pageantry" opened with performances of Poland's and the U.S.'s national anthems (ibid.).

Despite the hints of Vatican II influence and American values, the millennium celebration remains distinctly Polish, particularly in its tendency to politicize Marian worship. In his same opening letter, Archbishop Cody does not hesitate to denounce the Communist forces occupying Poland at the time. He opens with an unfortunate story from Poland: "Last May, His Holiness, Pope Paul VI, yearned to make a pilgrimage to Czestochowa (sic)<sup>5</sup>... to join his children in Thanksgiving for their Faith... he was refused entrance into Poland" (*Poland's Millennium of Christianity 1966*). Cody continues by describing his own similarly unhappy experience: "Along with many other members of the American hierarchy, I, too, was denied a visa to Poland for the purpose of a pilgrimage to the shrine of Our Lady of Czestochowa (sic)" (ibid.). This withholding of visas aligns both the Vatican and the U.S. with the Polish resistance against Communism. Some Chicago Poles were granted admittance into Poland at this same time, but the presence of the Pope and high-ranking American Catholic officials was clearly deemed too dangerous and politically inflammatory by those at the helm.

The traditional Polish hymns chosen for the event further contribute to themes of resistance and defense. The second and third lines of the incredibly short hymn *Z Dymem Pożarów* (With the Smoke of Fires) beg God to "Hear us, O Hear us, in war's death rattle As (sic) we are being crushed by our foe! Broken the hearts we now lift in prayer, Tear-filled (sic)

---

<sup>5</sup> Is Cody's (and the rest of the program's) elision of the e caudata (ę) a conscious effort to Anglicize Częstochowa? Or just a result of technological printing limitations?

the eyes that look up to Thee!” (*Poland’s Millennium of Christianity* 1966). The processional hymn *Apel Jasnógorski* (The Call of Jasna Góra) opens with “O Mary Queen of Poland” (ibid.). The opening prayer of the assembly is particularly potent: “Almighty and merciful God, you have wondrously given the Blessed Virgin Mary as an unfailing helper and protectress to the Polish nation and made her sacred Image at Czestochowa (sic) renowned because of the extraordinary veneration of the faithful. Graciously grant that fortified by such protection in our *earthly combat*, we may *victoriously overcome the wicked foe* in the hour of our death” (ibid, emphasis added). The pilgrimage portion of the celebration begins with the hymn *Serdeczna Matko* (Kind Mother), which refers to Mary as “guardian of our nation” and “our defender” (ibid). Finally, “An Act Of Consecration To Our Lady,” the prayer recited after *Serdeczna Matko*, is the most forceful in representing Mary as a savior and in uplifting her above Jesus. The prayer opens with the following: “O Mother of God, Mary Immaculate I consecrate to You, my body and soul, all my prayers and works, my joys and sorrows, all that I am and all that I have. Use me freely as an instrument of *salvation* for men, and for the glory of the Church. From this moment, I want to *do all with You, through You, and for You*” (ibid., emphasis added). This is unequivocally *not* the Mary constructed by the Second Vatican Council. This Mary has the ability to save, and devotees are not worshipping *through* Mary *for* Jesus, but rather *for* Mary herself. This is a highly independent and autonomous Mary, one that contains resonances of Polish notions of *Hetmanka*. While Archbishop Cody pushed a more Americanized Mary, the rest of the program’s contents balance this with the Polish Mary, and the Polish-American Mary comes into the light. This Mary is accompanied by the same Polish-centric multiculturalism embraced by the Merrillville shrine.



The Millennium Celebration's militarized tone could be explained by its Cold War timing. Seventy years later, however, the blending of Polish and American aesthetics and the politicization of Marian theologies remains strong in the Chicagoland pilgrimage to the Merrillville shrine of Our Lady of Częstochowa. As mentioned earlier, organizers and spokespeople (primarily the Salvatorian Fathers) speak of the pilgrimage as if it is overwhelmingly religious, with very little cultural or Polish-American content. Its official website describes the journey as "a religious activity to be fully immersed in your faith" (Salvatorian Fathers 2022). In an interview by the Northwest Indiana Times posted on YouTube, Salvatorian priest Rafal Ziajka states that "this is a religious event. Uh, religious and cultural, in some way, but the tradition comes from ancient [religious] tradition" (NWITimesTV 2015). Just like the Millennium Celebration, the Marian worship that occurs on and through the pilgrimage acts as a space for Polish-Americans to articulate and celebrate their mixed identity. Catholicism is a major part of this identity for many. The pilgrimage is equally Polish-American *and* Catholic, revealed through representations of the pilgrimage and the version of Mary that it constructs along the way.

Earlier, I analyzed the overtly cultural content of the pilgrimage. If the pilgrimage's aesthetics are effectively Polish-American, then the Marian worship that it promotes must be, as well. The sermons delivered at various points along the Merrillville pilgrimage provide the most detailed sense of the event's Marian theology. The Merrillville pilgrimage seems interested in uplifting the Marian cult while still remaining within the boundaries of what the Catholic Church has deemed appropriate, creating a particular kind of Polish-American Catholicity, echoing Archbishop Cody's rhetoric. A YouTube video from IampolTV (I Am Pole TV) has captured one of the homilies from the 2018 pilgrimage, this one given by Bishop Hying of the Gary, Indiana

diocese on the first night of the pilgrimage. Hying mainly presents Mary in her orthodox role as mediatrix, not the more heterodox Polish roles of co-redemptrix or *Hetmanka*. Fittingly, the homily continuously circles back to Jesus, tying all of Mary's value and agency to her connection to Christ. Hying tells the pilgrims that "you walked because you love Jesus and because you love the Church" and describes the journey as a "pilgrimage to the kingdom of God" (iampoltv 2018). Actual mentions of Mary are brief and sparse. Hying preaches: "Truly the Blessed Virgin Mary walks with us, as the Second Vatican Council tells us, she walks with us on the way to the kingdom of God. And as we know from the Gospel, she is our Mother and she loves us, she prays for us, and she brings us to heaven" (ibid.). He then quickly returns to Jesus. Hying's citation of Vatican II and his expression of Mary as Mother are worthy of note here. His commitment to subordinating Mary in this homily is not accidental, but rather a direct effort to align this ethnic, sectarian practice (of pilgrimage and of Marian devotion) with hegemonic Catholic doctrine.

Hying can posture and preach all he wants, but this pilgrimage is, obviously, a journey to a Marian shrine as well as to the kingdom of God. That much is undeniable. The Salvatorian Fathers often wear chasubles and mitres emblazoned with images of Our Lady of Czestochowa. Despite Bishop Hying's own efforts to push a more American Catholicity on pilgrims, he also mentions his Polish grandfather and his six trips (!) to Poland. Polish-American worship spills out of its strictly religious box, becoming cultural and political, much like the Polish cult. In the same way that pilgrimage organizers promote religion even as the pilgrimage itself is profoundly cultural, the pilgrimage's theology straddles the line between the Polish and the American. The Polish-American-Catholic identity triad is a site for these tensions to be worked out. The translocative and transtemporal nature of diasporic Marian worship are also highlighted here –

transtemporally in references to Hying's grandfather and translocatively in his numerous trips to the Motherland.

Finally, The Polish Roman Catholic Union of America (PRCUA), visible from the Kennedy Expressway and serving as a reminder of just how Polish Chicago's West Town once was, provides one last site to study the Marian cult. The PRCUA concerns themselves little with theology, and therefore Marian worship, but publications that do mention Mary do not shy away from a Polish-style mixing of religion, politics, and culture. "The Open Door," the Vice President's monthly column, in the PRCUA's May 2021 publication deftly moves from a discussion of Mary and Mothers' Day to one of Polish national holidays and the country's constitution. Micheline Jaminski, the PRCUA's Vice President since 2014, opens with a sentence that epitomizes the blending that Polish Marian worship seemingly encourages and enables: "May is here and with it our beloved celebrations and traditions including honoring our *Blessed Mother Mary, our Mothers, our Motherland*, and those who gave their lives for our *Homeland*" (Jaminski 2021, emphasis added). In just a few words, Jaminski has connected a discussion of Mary and all mothers to an allegiance to both Poland (Motherland) and the U.S. (Homeland). From this point forward, Jaminski does not waste much time or ink on Catholicism, despite the fact that she is writing for a Roman Catholic organization. Instead, she explores Poland's nationalist May holidays: "In Poland, the first weekend in May is called "Majówka" – it starts with International Workers' Day (5/1), Polish National Flag Day and Polonia Day (5/2) and ends with Polish Constitution Day (5/3)" (ibid.). She goes on to describe the meaning of each holiday, the Polish constitution's history, events the PRCUA will be holding in May, and concludes with a variety of congratulations and announcements.

Jaminski's "The Open Door" column is written for those interested in engaging with the Polish-American community – it advertises galas, parades, and banquets alongside numerous other events – but who may be distanced from Poland proper, and therefore need information or a refresher on what *Majówka* entails. A full ethnography of "The Open Door" publications could examine the consequences of audience identity and positionality, but I am only concerned here with highlighting just how easy it was for Jaminski to transition from discussing the Virgin Mary and Mother's Day to nationalist holidays. It should be noted that as far as the archived "The Open Door" publications available online are concerned, this is the *only* mention of Mary. Mary, then, is not necessarily central to the PRCUA's theology, but when she is invoked, she is balanced in her roles as Mother and *Hetmanka*.

Polish-American Marian worship has much more explicit nationalist flavor than mainstream American Marian worship but is also less politically infused than Polish Marian worship. Analyzing Polish-American devotion reveals the stark contrasts between the Marian cults that Vatican II accepts and those that it emphatically rejects. Even the Roman Catholic Church, though, with its uniquely centralized authority, cannot or chooses not to actually condemn this "backward," ethnically-infused worship. Perhaps this is another tension that Marian worship illuminates and seeks to negotiate – the incongruity between official doctrine and daily religious life. Additionally, the politicization of Polish-American worship may also speak to a broader pattern within diasporic Marian devotion writ large. Thomas Tweed (1997) writes that "national and religious meanings intertwine as diasporas construct collective identity" (91). This same process that Tweed observed amongst Cuban exiles is also at work in Chicagoland Polonia, bolstered by its already heavily politicized Polish template.

Working from this template, diasporic Marian worship – and the Catholic faith writ large – serves as a space for Polish-Americans to continuously work out just how Polish, American, and/or Catholic they will be. Marian representations portray a community that is united and unanimous about how American it will become, how Polish it will remain, and what kind of Catholicism it would practice. Polish-Americans embrace multiculturalism while uplifting their own heritage and construct a Mary that straddles both these worlds, as well. Returning to Tweed once more, the pilgrimage and the Marian cult, as religious rituals, seek to recreate the original enclave, a tightly-knit community of Polish-Americans heavily differentiated from other immigrant groups and mainstream society, but in a heavily revisionist way.

## **V. Recreating the Enclave**

Alongside ritual theorists, I believe that the pilgrimage and other ritualized aspects of Marian worship have played a starring role in the preservation of Polish-American culture and identity, at least within the context of Catholic faith. At its most basic, religion and its rituals serve “to ensure the unconscious priority of communal identification” (Bell 1997, 25). On one level, this communal identification means just being Catholic. As pilgrimage representations illustrate, however, this identification is actually one of being *Polish-American* and Catholic. This aligns with Ray Rappaport’s (1967) “systems analysis” approach “in which ritual is shown to play a particularly key role in maintaining the system since it claims an authority rooted in the *divine*, as well as in *tradition*” (as cited in Bell, 30, emphasis added). The pilgrimage establishes and solidifies the Polish-American-Catholic community by linking its existence to divinity through Mary *and* tradition by reenacting a centuries-old Polish practice.

Organizers and spokespeople contend that the nationalist and cultural fervor of the pilgrimage is a byproduct, secondary to the religious nature of the journey. By this logic, religion

and the cultural or political cannot coexist in modernity as one will always overshadow the other. Ritual, however, actively thrives on this tension. Max Gluckman (1962) argued that Durkheim's focus on "social cohesion and the unity of the group does not do justice to the presence, degree, and role of conflict that is always built into any society" (as cited in Bell 1997, 38). The unity achieved and experienced during ritual is a constructed one. Ritual serves to "exaggerate very real conflicts... and then affirm unity despite these structural conflicts" (ibid). For Victor Turner (1957), this unity was not only reaffirmed through each ritual iteration, but actively *recreated* each time (as cited in Bell, 39). Turner conceived of many kinds of ritual "as 'social dramas' through which... stresses and tensions... could be expressed and worked out" (ibid). These social dramas provide an arena "for distinct categories – like the sacred and the profane, the natural and the cultural – to impinge on each other in carefully circumscribed ways" in an effort to "sustain a neat, synchronic conceptual system" (44). The tensions between the religious and the patriotic or cultural and the American and the Polish do not exist in the space of the pilgrimage. It resists the modern separation of culture, politics, and religion into distinct categories and allows pilgrims to understand themselves as Polish *and* American *and* Catholic. This is bolstered by general Polish connotations of ethnicity and Catholicism, epitomized by Mary's role as *Hetmanka* and her association with the nation.

On and through the pilgrimage as well as in its other representations of Mary, the Polish-American-Catholic community is in conversation with itself about its identity and future. As Catherine Bell writes, "in these rituals people are particularly concerned to express publicly – to themselves, each other, and sometimes outsiders – their commitment and adherence to basic religious values... [T]he group enters into a dialogue with itself about itself" (1997, 120). I would add that pilgrims are also seeking to express their commitment to continued Polish-

American pride, part of which is Catholicism and Marian worship. The gathering of thousands of Polish-American-Catholics, or even just fifty at a Sunday service, recreates the sense of the enclave, a Polonia that is close geographically and focused inward. The pilgrimage enclave is closely united and equally proud of their Polish-American-Catholic identity. Chicago's traditional Polish neighborhoods were nowhere near as free of conflict. Tweed's (1997) Cuban exiles articulate and construct unity through their religious practices, specifically Marian worship, engaging in that transtemporal and translocative work that can transport the worshipper to "an imagined moral community" that may have never existed (86; 94). The pilgrimage to Merrillville transports participants to an imagined Polonia in which all were equally dedicated to embracing a Polish-American-Catholic identity.

As much as the enclave created by the pilgrimage and reflected in Marian representations is constructed and revisionist, it does rebuke assimilation myths and theories rather forcefully. Scholars, priests, and politicians alike have not shied away from predicting the extinction of Polonia and the Polish-American identity. Leonard Chrobot (2001) writes that for the already-changed Polish neighborhood (those now inhabited by Black and Latino groups like much of Chicago's Southside), "their future is doubtful" (88). By the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, even Polish-Americans had already become increasingly convinced that "assimilation [was] inevitable" (Ficht 1952, 39). In Frank Renkiewicz's *The Polish Presence in Canada and America*, contributing author Woznicki writes that clergy "contributed greatly to the conversion of these immigrants into American citizens" (1982, 387). For many, Polonia's dispersal into the suburbs has translated to its extinction.

I believe that these statements are hasty and untrue, in need of a great deal of nuance. In actuality, melting pot ideals made Polish-Americans *more aware* of their heritage (Ficht 1952,

33). Furthermore, as I have argued, the Catholic faith and Polish-American clergy veritably served to *protect* Polonia's heritage and identity. The Merrillville pilgrimage and its Marian representations continue in this important role, even as the community still faces dispersion and varying levels of Americanization. Chrobot wrote about Catholic Polonia's doubtful future in 2001; more than 20 years later, his provocations appear alarmist. Over 100 years, however, have passed since Carpenter and Katz wrote their piece, and Polish-Americans still appear profoundly culturally dualistic. Perhaps in much the same way that Polish pilgrimages to the original Częstochowa and devotion to Mary have served to convey resistance, the Merrillville pilgrimage articulates survival and a continued struggle against Americanizing forces and sentiments. Polish-American Catholics are adequately Americanized, illustrated by citations of Vatican II and the effort to uplift mixed-race Polish families, but also remain distinctly Polish in their maintenance of tradition and the tendency to still politicize the Virgin Mary.

## **VI. Conclusions and Further Questions**

I have offered a brief overview of Chicago Polonia's unique style of Marian worship and the ways in which this devotion has assisted in the maintenance of Polish-American-Catholic identity. I believe that Marian worship provides a lens through which to observe diasporic sentiments and religiosity, facilitating comparisons between the practices of the diaspora and both the host country and the motherland. I have argued that the Polish-American-Catholic identity remains strong and politicized in Chicagoland, bolstered (as has long been the case) by the Polish Church in America and its embodied customs. The Polish-American flavor of the pilgrimage extends to the Marian worship embraced and practiced along the pilgrimage and at places like the Merrillville shrine. While the Mary constructed in the 1966 Millennium



celebration is more militaristic than Bishop Hying's Mary, Polonia's Mary remains just as Polish-American as her followers.

Performances of the Polish-American identity (as with many identity configurations) are tightrope walks in which one should not fall too far to either extreme but must remain safely in the middle so as to embrace something wholly different. Polish-Americans embrace certain American values, especially those that stress the U.S. and Poland's intertwined military histories. Take, for example, pilgrims that march to Merrillville in their full U.S. Army fatigues, like the man in Figure 1. In many ways, the Polish-American identity *accepts* the American values of universalism and assimilation while also holding them at arm's length. This is just one more tension that ritual spaces and practices like pilgrimage and Marian worship simultaneously create and briefly alleviate.

In my work for this project, I discovered a number of other threads that are worthy of investigation. One of the most pressing arenas for further scholarly research is the question of race. The image of Our Lady of Czestochowa is colloquially referred to as a Black Madonna. The consequences or significance of a largely white population like Poles worshipping a Black Madonna have not been investigated in the American context and are only just receiving attention in Poland. I think that these questions deserve more attention, particularly in the U.S. As I have mentioned, Chicago's traditionally Polish neighborhoods are becoming increasingly Black and Latino. For religious individuals, this transition has been partly eased by symbolic similarities, like those between Our Lady of Czestochowa and Our Lady of Guadalupe, in the old Polish churches (Chrobot 2001, 92). Even American Czestochowa is becoming a multicultural shrine visited by Haitian immigrants – specifically because of Our Lady's Blackness (Rzeznik 2016, 106). Chicago's Polish, Black, and Latino populations have regularly experienced periods

of animosity toward each other, particularly when groups would be weaponized against one another in strike-breaking efforts. Our Lady of Częstochowa's ability to cross cultural boundaries makes her a useful site to study multiculturalism and how American and European understandings of race may differ in regard to a Black Madonna.

Future projects should supplement the representational analysis conducted here with pilgrimage participant observation and ethnographic interviews in Chicago Polonia. I have provided a picture of Chicagoland's Polish-American Marian theologies without consideration of various identities that exist *within* the Polish-American-Catholic community. These include gender, age, sexuality, and citizenship status. I think that one of the most pressing research agendas is an examination of how one's understanding of their identity relates to their proximity to Poland or the U.S. This should look specifically at generational difference and what factors determine when and if an individual stops claiming a Polish lineage. In the context of the pilgrimage, for example, it would be extremely worthwhile to examine exactly *who* is taking part – recent immigrants, well-established second- and third- generation families, or a mixture. Perhaps these findings could then be compared to results from analyses conducted with other ethnic groups in the U.S. This could explore whether or not white ethnic groups like Poles are more or less likely to consider themselves American as time passes.

When I first embarked on this project, I thought I would discover that Marian worship in Chicago Polonia, distanced in time and space from the specter of Communism, was much less politicized than its Polish counterparts. I was pleasantly surprised to find the exact opposite. Many of the entanglements between religion, culture, ethnicity, and politics that are present in Polish Marian worship are also visible in representations of Chicagoland's Polish-American Mary. I also learned that, precisely because Mary remains politicized and relevant, devotion to

her revealed just as much about Polonia as it does about Poland. Marian worship and theologies reflect the kind of Polish-American that individuals are practicing, as well as the contradictions within it. Identity is constructed in the conversations we have with others about who we are, and for Chicagoland Polonia, the Virgin Mary is very much present in these conversations.

## References

- Brzezinski, Matthew. 1994. "Pilgrimage to Poland's Holiest Shrine Losing Its Political Role." *The New York Times*. The New York Times, August 30.
- Carpenter, Niles and Daniel Katz. 1927. "The Cultural Adjustment of the Polish Group in the City of Buffalo: An Experiment in the Technique of Social Investigation." *Social Forces*, 6: 76-85.
- Chrobot, Leonard F. 2001. "Typologies of Polish American Parishes: Changing Pastoral Structures and Methods." *Polish American Studies* 58, no. 2 (Autumn): 83-94.
- De Busser, Cathelijne, and Anna Niedźwiedz. 2009. "Mary in Poland; A Polish Master Symbol" In *Moved by Mary: The Power of Pilgrimage in the Modern World*, 87-100, eds. Anna-Karina Hermkens, Willy Jansen, Catrien Notermans, Farnham, England: Ashgate.
- Ficht, Mary Inviolata. 1952. "Noble Street in Chicago: Socio-Cultural Study of Polish Residents within Ten Blocks." DePaul University.
- Galbraith, Marysia. 2000. "On the Road to Czestochowa: Rhetoric and Experience on a Polish Pilgrimage." *Anthropological Quarterly* 73, no. 2 (April): 61-73.
- Gluckman, Max. 1962. *Essays on the Ritual of Social Relations*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, as cited in Bell, Catherine. 1997. *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*, Oxford University Press, Incorporated.
- Herman, Aleksandra. 2007. "Roman Catholic Poles and Mariavite Poles Religious Divisions as a Source of Differentiation of Local Structure." *Polish Sociological Review*, no. 160: 445-65.
- Jackowski, Antoni, and Valene L. Smith. 1992. "Polish Pilgrim-Tourists." *Annals of Tourism Research* 19, no. 1: 92-106.
- Jaminski, Micheline. 2021. "The Open Door (VP Column – May 2021 Issue of the Narod Polski)." PRCUA. The Polish Roman Catholic Union of America, April 30, <https://www.prcua.org/the-open-door-vp-column-may-2021-issue-of-the-narod-polski/>.
- Jozefski, Jeffrey M. 2008. "The Role of Polish and American Identities in the Future of the Polish National Catholic Church." *Polish American Studies* 65, no. 2: 27-52. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27652573>.
- Kane, Paula M. 2004. "MARIAN DEVOTION SINCE 1940: Continuity or Casualty?" In *Habits of Devotion: Catholic Religious Practice in Twentieth-Century America*, edited by JAMES M. O'TOOLE, 89-129. Cornell University Press, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7591/j.ctv2n7kz5.5>.

- Niedźwiedź, Anna. 2010. *The Image and the Figure: Our Lady of Częstochowa in Polish Culture and Popular Religion*. Translated by Guy Torr. Kraków: Jagiellonian University Press.
- NWITimesTV. 2015. "28<sup>th</sup> annual Marian pilgrimage." YouTube. August 8. [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UdikJ451C\\_8](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UdikJ451C_8)
- Orsi, Robert A. 2005. "The Many Names of the Mother of God" in *Between Heaven and Earth: The Religious Worlds People Make and the Scholars Who Study Them*, 48–72. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press.
- Pacyga, Dominic A. 2019. *American Warsaw: The Rise, Fall, and Rebirth of Polish Chicago*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Parot, Joseph John. 1981. *Polish Catholics in Chicago, 1850-1920: A Religious History*. DeKalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press.
- Poland's Millennium of Christianity: Chicagoland Observance*. 1966. [Chicago]: Poland's Millennium of Christianity Chicagoland Observance.
- Porter, Brian. 2005. "Hetmanka and Mother: Representing the Virgin Mary in Modern Poland." *Contemporary European History* 14, no. 2: 151–70. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20081254>.
- Paul VI. 1974. *Marialis Cultus*, apostolic exhortation. February 2. [https://www.vatican.va/content/paul-vi/en/apost\\_exhortations/documents/hf\\_p-vi\\_exh\\_19740202\\_marialis-cultus.html](https://www.vatican.va/content/paul-vi/en/apost_exhortations/documents/hf_p-vi_exh_19740202_marialis-cultus.html)
- Pew Research Center. 2013. "The Global Catholic Population." Pew Research Center's Religion & Public Life Project. February 13. <https://www.pewresearch.org/religion/2013/02/13/the-global-catholic-population/>.
- Radzilowski, John. 2003. *The Eagle & the Cross: A History of the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America, 1873-2000*. Boulder : New York: East European Monographs ; Distributed by Columbia University Press.
- Radzilowski, John, and Ann Hetzel Gunkel. 2020. *Poles in Illinois*. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Rappaport, Ray. 1967. "Ritual Regulation of Environmental Relations among a New Guinea" in *Ecology, Meaning and Religion*, as cited in Bell, Catherine. 1997. *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*, Oxford University Press, Incorporated.
- Renkiewicz, Frank, and Multicultural History Society of Ontario. 1982. *The Polish Presence in Canada and America*. Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario.

- Rosenthal, A.M. 1958. "Polish Catholics Converging At Holy Shrine of Jasna Gora: Annual Pilgrimage to Mark Assumption of Virgin Has Political Overtones as Church-State Ties Are Tense." *The New York Times*, August 15.
- Rzeznik, Thomas. 2016. "The National Shrine of Our Lady of Czestochowa." *American Catholic Studies*, Volume 127, Number 2, Summer, pp. 97-106.
- Sadkowski, Konrad. 2001. *Catholic Power and Catholicism as a Component of Modern Polish National Identity, 1863-1918*. WA: Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies (University of Washington).
- Salvatorian Fathers. 2022. *XXXIV Piesza Polonijna Pielgrzymka Maryjna*. Piesza Polonijna Pielgrzymka Maryjna. Retrieved May 12, 2022, from <https://polonijnapielgrzymka.com>
- Second Vatican Council. 1964. "Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, *Lumen gentium*". November 21.
- St. Stanislaus Kostka Parish. St. Stanislaus website, 2022. <https://ststanschurch.org/>.
- Trójcowo Chicago. 2020. "History: Holy Trinity Polish Mission, Chicago." January 18. <https://trojcowo.com/en/history/>.
- Turner, Victor. 1957. *Schism and Continuity in an African Society*. Manchester, England: Manchester University Press, as cited in Bell, Catherine. 1997. *Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions*, Oxford University Press, Incorporated.
- Turner, Victor, and Edith Turner. 1978. *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.
- Tweed, Thomas A. 1997. *Our Lady of the Exile : Diasporic Religion at a Cuban Catholic Shrine in Miami*. Religion in America Series. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Vatican News. 2020. "Pope Francis spiritually united with pilgrims honouring Our Lady of Czestochowa", August 25.
- Wrobel, Paul. 1979. *Our Way. Family, Parish, and Neighborhood in a Polish American Community*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Załęcki, Marian. 1976. "Theology of a Marian Shrine, Częstochowa," *Marian Library Studies*: Vol. 8, Article 6, Pages 35-311. Available at: [http://ecommons.udayton.edu/ml\\_studies/vol8/iss1/6](http://ecommons.udayton.edu/ml_studies/vol8/iss1/6)
- Zubrzycki, Geneviève. 2006. *The Crosses of Auschwitz: Nationalism and Religion in Post-communist Poland*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.