

THE KASHUBS TODAY

Culture – Language – Identity

Cezary Obracht-Prondzyński

THE KASHUBS TODAY

Culture – Language – Identity



GDAŃSK 2007

Translated by:
Tomasz Wicherkiewicz

Edited by:
Sławina Kwidzińska

Typesetting and layout:
Anna Maciejewska i Maciej Ostoja-Lniski

Photographs and copies from the collection of:
Kazimierz Rolbiecki and the Kashubian Institute

© Copyright by Cezary Obracht-Prondzyński, Gdańsk 2007

© Copyright by Instytut Kaszubski, Gdańsk 2007

Published with the kind support of the Ministry of Interior
and Administration

ISBN 978-83-89079-78-7

Publisher:
The Kashubian Institute

Print:
Wydawnictwo BERNARDINUM Sp. z o.o.
ul. Bpa Dominika 11, 83-130 Pelplin

Introductory remarks

The Kashubs constitute a community of a “long-lasting perseverance” – many social phenomena take roots in the distant past and mark on the present-day inhabitants of Kashubian: heritage of the centuries-old difficult neighborhood with the Germans, results of inhabiting a borderland area, durability of strong family ties, and devotion to religion, specific mentality and social attitudes. Of great importance is also the enduring residence in the Kashubian territory – our Homeland.

On the other hand, the Kashubs are a community that has undergone enormous transformations in the 20th century, visible in the political, social, economic and cultural spheres.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Kashubs were citizens of the Prussian German state, repressively disposed towards both this populace and all the Poles. Then, in the period between the world wars, they got divided into three parts, the largest one living in the 2nd Republic of Poland, second one in the Free City of Danzig/Gdańsk, still another one remained within the borders of Germany (districts of Bütow/Bytów and Lauenburg/Lębork, the so-called Slovincians in the district of Stolp/Słupsk, and small groups in the districts Schlochau/Człuchów and Rummelsburg/Miastko).

The most difficult period in the history of Kashubs was the Second World War. The social elites were almost entirely exterminated. Since March 1942 the inhabitants of Pomerania were forcibly registered in the German National List (*Deutsche Volksliste*). As a result, thousands of Kashubian youths had to do their military service in the German army. The Kashubs were dying in the concentration camp of Stuthof as well as in many other places of extermination in Pomerania and outside. Nevertheless, awaiting liberation, they created their own underground structures.

However, the liberation and new order of the communist state turned out to be often very difficult for them. The authorities of the “People’s Republic of Poland” applied a mixed policy of mistrust and trials to involve Kashubs’ representatives into administrative structures.

At last, the year 1989 brought a democratic breakthrough – the Kashubs got actively engaged in the construction of a new, democratic Third Republic.

The political changes were followed by vital social and economic changes. Briefly, one could state that the 20th century brought a great social revolution, manifested by:

- 1) intensive urbanization (it is in Kashubia, where Gdynia, the largest new town was founded); consequently, the Kashubs stopped being a rural populace and became a mixed urban-rural community;
- 2) industrialization;
- 3) educational revolution (mass education has resulted in a remarkable growth of the Kashubian learned intelligentsia as well as in developing a scholarly and artist elites of Kashubian origin);
- 4) migrations (initially, Kashubs migrated directly across the ancient border – to the territories incorporated into Poland in 1945, then, in the 1950’s and 1970’s-1980’s they were leaving for Germany, and at present, as other citizens of Poland, they keep migrating to various parts of Europe).

Significant changes have taken place in the Kashubian countryside – be it e.g. the architecture. The range of coastal sea fishery keeps shrinking steadily. Ancient traditional crafts have either died out (as e.g. cartwrighting) or changed their profile (e.g. smithery turned into metal craftwork, producing goods of general use, e.g. iron gates, fences, fireplace utensils etc.)

The family model has undergone changes, too; although it is right in Kashubia, where the heritage of an early, multigenerational family is being present at the largest scale, but just in the rural communities. Moreover, it is worth stressing that the region has the highest population growth rate in Poland. Following the changes in the family model, the status of women has been transformed, together with their educational advancement and new positions in the labor market.

Nowadays, the consequences of modernization start slowly to show, because of joining the European Union, what overlaps with the results of the changes in the political system. Kashubia develops into a tourist region, particularly in the coastal and lakeside areas, with fishermen becoming tourist entrepreneurs and development of agrotourism in the countryside.

The service industry is growing, although still strong are the Kashubian crafts, traditional for this region, as e.g. woodwork or furniture carpentry. Very dynamic is the development of small and medium-size industry, a good example being the industrial profile of such towns as Bytów, Kartuzy, Kościerzyna, Lębork, or villages, as Sierakowice.

The changes in the socio-economic sphere must have influenced the sphere of culture, Kashubian identity, feeling of self-identification and self-assessment among the Kashubs. It is probably here, where the deepest changes have taken place; and the Kashubian community keeps themselves asking a question: what determines our distinctness, what is its foundation and if the foundation is not falling into pieces by any chance? Still alive has been the discussion concerning the language of the Kashubs: what it is, what is its status, which social functions it plays... Is it disappearing or, on the contrary, is it undergoing its revival, resulting from its presence in school, church, public life, mass media? Of equal importance is the discussion on the status of the Kashubian community – if the Kashubs are an ethnic group, a minority a separate nation? The recent years have brought a new input to that discussion, on which an ample literature has been published, as the Kashubian subject matters are largely interesting for linguists, historians, ethnologists, sociologists etc.

Taking into account those changes and discussion, worth presenting is a brief description of the present face of the Kashubian community, by answering the fundamental questions: How many Kashubs are there? Where do they live? How does their culture develop? What is their identity? What is their presence in the public life? What are their most important institutions? What do their essential discussions focus on?

How many Kashubs are there?

That simple question, as it could seem, cannot be answered in a simple and unambiguous way, since everything depends on the criterion, who can be classified as Kashub or who regards oneself a Kashub. Moreover, how are they to be counted?

In the recent two decades, three attempts have been undertaken to estimate that number.

First attempt was made by Marek Latoszek in the second half of the 1980s. His research revealed that at that time, in the Gdańsk region of Pomerania, lived over 332 thousand Kashubs and some 184 thousand persons, who were a bit awkwardly described as “half-Kashubs” (that category included those members of the group, who e.g. could not speak Kashubian, but fully preserved their awareness of Kashubian origin and identified themselves with the community, or persons descending from mixed families).

Hence, basing on those research results we could estimate the Kashubian community in the region at ca. half a million people, among whom, according to the same research, some 300 thousand could still speak Kashubian.

Similar data were obtained in the research carried by Jan Mordawski, whose 1997–2004 study covered the territory inhabited by the Kashubs in the Gdańsk region of Pomerania (at present, since 1998, entirely in the Province/*województwo* of Gdańsk). The researcher intended to estimate the number of Kashubs not only totally, but also in individual counties and communes. The results are shown in Table 1.

Table 1.
Estimated number of the Kashubs (2005)

county/town:	percentage of:			number of Kashubs and persons of partly Kashubian descent
	Kashubs	persons of partly Kashubian descent	non-Kashubs	
Kartuzy	83.8	10.0	6.2	94,136
Puck	64.6	15.6	19.8	56,358
Kościerzyna	61.4	13.1	25.5	49,116
Wejherowo	47.9	18.2	33.9	113,097
Bytów	34.9	14.3	50.8	37,757
Gdańsk	21.0	9.6	69.4	13,742
Chojnice	19.1	7.2	73.7	23,926
Lębork	16.4	13.3	70.3	19,594
Gdynia	15.8	16.0	68.2	81,090
Sopot	5.8	7.9	86.3	5,795
Człuchów	5.8	7.5	86.7	7,814
Gdańsk	4.7	5.6	89.7	47,163
Słupsk (county & town)	3.4	5.5	91.1	17,449
total	2.0	10.4	66.6	566,737

Source: Mordawski, Jan 2005. *Statystyka ludności kaszubskiej. Kaszubi u progu XXI wieku*. Gdańsk. P. 41-44.

The above table shows that the most Kashubs and persons of partly Kashubian descent live in the county of Kartuzy, which therefore can be easily considered the heart of Kashubia, also because of their highest percentage in the area. Yet, the inhabitants of Gdynia constitute the second largest Kashubian community, what displays also the scale of changes in the 20th century. Moreover, worth attention are the high percentages of Kashubs in the so-called “new territories”, i.e. incorporated into Poland after 1945, in particular the county of Bytów.

The research revealed also 390,509 Kashubs and 176,228 persons of partly Kashubian descent. When comparing the results with those of M. Latoszek, they turn out to be quite alike. The difference may result

not only from the applied methodology, but also from the fact that J. Mordawski included also areas not studied by M. Latoszek. Moreover, during the transformation period, because of changes in awareness and political situation, probably more persons admit their Kashubian origin. An ancient Kashubian inferiority complex, or embarrassing rejection of Kashubian-ness, is now being replaced by a fashion to be Kashubian.

However, that complex has not disappeared completely, what could be seen during the 2002 Population Census. This was the third attempt to count the number of Kashubs, though it turned to be completely mistaken, and for the Kashubs extremely embarrassing. Each citizen of Poland must have declared their nationality, without a possibility of declaring double identity – so typical for the Kashubs (see below). In the case of the Kashubs, it was possible to declare solely Polish nationality, without stressing one's Kashubianness. Therefore, a part of the respondents chose another option and declared as a Kashubian nation.

Thus, nowadays, in the light of results of the population census, there are Kashubs-Poles (constituting the majority within the Kashubian community) as well as Kashubs of the national option, which was chosen in the census by 5,062 persons. Contradictorily, over ten times more persons – 52.6 thousand – declared Kashubian to be their home language!

As it can be easily seen, much less persons declared using the Kashubian language than it had been displayed in results of previous sociological research. What was the reason? Were researchers wrong when overestimating the number of persons speaking Kashubian? Or maybe a considerable number of persons did not want to declare their knowledge of Kashubian? That would still confirm an existing strong Kashubian complex of inferiority. Or maybe the range of usage of Kashubian has shrunk so much in recent years, what was reflected in the census results?

The reasons could have been different and they are being explained by specialists, and the Kashubian activists carry on discussions not only on how to save the language from decline, but also what to do to make Kashubs proudly declare using their language.

Taking into consideration the research by Latoszek and Mordawski and comparing with the results of the population census, it can be easily seen that the question of number of the Kashubs remains unsolved, and the methods of estimating are still imperfect.

Obviously, discussing the number of the community, one should not forget about those Kashubs who live in various parts of the world, as for longer than 150 years they emigrated in masses to the USA, Canada and Germany. Until now, they live there in sizeable groups, aware of their origin, and recently even experiencing an ethnic revival and looking for their ethnic and family contacts with the old country. Therefore, the sentence written over 100 years ago by Hieronim Jarosz Derdowski is still true: *“Nowhere in the world you will find a place without a token of us Kashubs”* (*Nigdzie ju na swiece nie nalezesz kątka, gǳe be po nos Kaszëbach nie bëła pamiątka*).

Where do the Kashubs live?

The question is as complicated at the estimation of the number of population, as the area inhabited by the Kashubs has been shrinking its outer confines for centuries of their presence in Pomerania because of spontaneous and planned migration movements. That is why the position of the Kashubs in their own homeland deteriorated to such a degree, that in some areas the Kashubian ethnos disappeared totally and elsewhere became a minority. This process has lasted since the Middle Ages and intensified under the Prussian partition of Poland. At the beginning of the 20th century, only small Kashubian enclaves still existed in Western Pomerania (districts of Stolp/Słupsk, Bütow/Bytów, Lauenburg/Lębork, Schlochau/Człuchów and Rummelsburg/Miastko), while the majority of Kashubs inhabited Gdańsk (Eastern) Pomerania. But even there, as Jan Karnowski wrote: *“Kashubia is divided into tiny islets, separated by fiscal forests, domains, latifundia of German «proprietors»; and a strip of German settlements extends from near Skarszewy, through the county of Kościerzyna up to the Pomeranian border, dividing Kashubia forever and ever”* (Karnowski, Jan 1911. *Ludność kaszubska w ubiegłym stuleciu*. Kościerzyna. P.19).

The 20th century brought crucial alterations to the territory inhabited by the Kashubs, their most important cause being the results of the Second World War, since at first Germans conducted operations of mass displacements of Polish population from Pomerania, including the Kashubs (already in fall 1939), followed by the events of 1945, when the Germans, of their own will or forcibly, left the region.

This way, after a few hundred years, the German culture actually disappeared from Pomerania, and its only representatives are the sparse German minority.

Because of the after-War decisions establishing new state boundaries, the Kashubian area expanded considerably. Following immediately the moving front-line, the Kashubs set off to the borderland areas – counties of Bytów, Lębork, Człuchów, Miastko and Słupsk in the west, as well as the former Free City of Danzig/Gdańsk in the east. The year 1945 gave a chance of a historical revenge – the Kashubs returned to their ancient territories. During that first post-War period, as many as a few dozen thousand Kashubs moved to the areas situated just behind the former borderline, even becoming a dominating group in some localities. Later, those migration processes did not stop, and it is the Pomeranian cities, mainly Gdynia, Gdańsk and Sopot, that became the most attractive settlement areas.

As a result of the 1998 administration reform, for the first time in history, the area of compact and close-knit Kashubian settlement was located in a single administrative unit – the province (*województwo*) of Pomerania.

Kashubian identity and related issues

The Kashubian identity, as any social phenomenon, is quite complicated. It is possible to describe it through a couple of statements, but each of them has been called into question in recent years.

I

The first statement claims that... “Kashubs are Kashubian”, which means that the base of their identity is the Kashubian culture, especially the language. Recently, however, researchers state that the role played by the language in constituting the Kashubian identity is losing its significance, with increasing importance of such elements as Kashubian origin, family ties, birthplace, etc. From the point of view of the group, essential are also such factors as historical experiences and shared vicissitudes, native homeland (*tatczëzna*), shared customs, intellectual and artistic heritage, common institutions, etc.

Thus, it is possible today to be a Kashub, without speaking Kashubian. Moreover, it is possible to be a Kashub by choice, i.e. without any Kashubian roots. On the other hand, frequent are cases of persons, who know the language and have Kashubian roots, but do not acknowledge this. The question: “What does it mean to be a Kashub?” is open and continually discussed.

II

The second sentence claims that the Kashubs are not German. This is a result of the difficult, often dramatic Kashubian-German relations in the past, and particularly the developments of 1939–1945. Obviously, this does not mean that the Kashubs was not Germanized. On the contrary, political pressure and attractiveness of the German culture, particularly during Poland’s partitions, and in Western Pomerania also between the

World Wars, induced many Kashubs to choose the German option of nationality. Yet, such a choice meant explicitly resignation of one's Kashubianness, since Germans looked upon the Kashubian culture with certain superiority and disrespect. A person, who wanted to become German must have rejected Kashubian heritage. The Kashubian movement in the 19th century was born right from the resistance against Germanization. For Kashubian leaders it was obvious that one cannot be Kashubian and German at the same time.

Yet... recent years have brought some changes also in that respect. Evidence can be the fact that majority of persons belonging to the German minority community in Pomerania have Kashubian roots, and they do stress this. On the other hand, many persons originating from Pomerania who live in Germany, starts discovering their Kashubian roots, making this an attractive element of their own family history. Certainly, of great influence was the literary output by Günter Grass, but also the political changes after 1989, friendly relations between Poland and Germany, or changes of the social climate in Germany itself, where stressing somebody's distinctiveness stopped being perceived as worse. Therefore, many persons who emigrated to Germany claiming their "German descent" in the 1970's and 1980's, nowadays quite eagerly declare their Kashubianness.

III

The third statement claims that the Kashubian and Polish identities are not mutually exclusive. Brunon Synak, basing on his empirical research, claims: "*Strong Kashubian identification does not intervene with an explicit definition of and emphasis put on Polish ethnicity/nationality. »Kashubianness« and »Polishness« are identities that overlap on various levels of identification (regional and national), yet within the same universal cultural values. (...) Kashubian and Polish identities are not substitutional, thus one of them, when strengthening, does not weaken or divest of another*" (Synak, Brunon 1998. *Kaszubska tożsamość. Ciągłość i zmiana. Studium socjologiczne*. Gdańsk. Pp. 72-73).

Nevertheless, that sentence has recently been subject to discussion. Do the Kashubs really have a double identity – Kashubian and Polish? Is that right?

Opponents of this thesis claim that making such an assumption, one dooms the Kashubs to inevitable eventual assimilation (Polonization), as the Polish culture (especially the Polish language) always act in a domination position. In other words, Kashubian-Polish relations are not equivalent and lead to weakening of Kashubian constituents. Therefore, in order to protect and develop the Kashubian identity one should accept the thesis, according to which the Kashubs are a separate West-Slavic nation – linked strongly with the Poles, but separate.

That view has recently caused harsh discussions within the Kashubian community, so far not decisively settled. Yet, it is beyond all doubt that an absolute majority of Kashubs become identified with(in) the group and declare the Polish nationality at the same time.

IV

The above remarks are related with the fourth thesis: Kashubian identity undergoes changes. It can be inherited, thoughtlessly adopted in the process of socialization in families and community. It can be also “recovered” in the case of persons who come from such families, where their Kashubian origin was concealed or not attached any importance to. Or, it can also be a consequence of a deliberate, conscious choice, result of own cognitive effort or cultural activity.

Researchers claim that in accordance with global tendencies, the issue here is a gradual transition from a passive, thoughtless adherence to one’s homeland, native culture and values, to a more and more active search for and deepening of an individual and group identity, i.e. the so-called “new ethnicity”.

Social context of the language use of Kashubian – questions on language policy

The Kashubian ethos consists of such values as language, religion (attachment to the Catholic Church), family, origin (genealogy), territory (in a threefold meaning: space, native land, landscape), as well as correlated characteristics of the self-stereotype (piety, diligence, persistence, patriotism, etc.). Obviously, that system of values has undergone constant changes deriving from global processes and transformations started after 1989, their effect being a weakening of the dominating cultural canon under the conditions of a “disclosed multiculturalism” and progressing pluralization, changes in the state policy towards minorities, social acceptance for such aspirations, widespread tolerance and openness of the society, and particularly its elites, etc.).

Still, the main question remains that of the Kashubian language: not only its condition and use extent, language attitudes of the Kashubs themselves (quite diverse – from profound affirmation to total rejection), but also its prestige and social status.

Crucial for the prestige was the recognition of the language status of Kashubian in the beginning of the 1990’s. Before, Kashubian had been regarded a dialect of Polish, especially by majority of Polish researchers. The official recognition of the language status was result not only of the changes that had undergone in the scholar world, mainly linguists, but also a proof of a social advancement of the Kashubs as well as of actions of the growing Kashubian intelligentsia, who started demanding a higher status for their community (certainly, of crucial importance were the activities of the Kashubian-Pomeranian Association). There were numerous accompanying actions that aimed at upgrading the social status of Kashubian, as e.g.: promoting Kashubian literature, introducing Kashubian

to schools, media and church, publishing Kashubian translation(s) of the New Testament, editing dictionaries, etc. Alfred F. Majewicz described those actions as “internal sociolinguistic techniques”, stressing that they had been undertaken of the own, free, internal initiatives of the Kashubian community.

These activities were deliberate and intentional (the goal was upgrading the language status), consistent (constant, planned, programmatic, based on the ideology of Kashubian regionalism), institutionally supported (the activities were not undertaken solely by individual, isolated enthusiasts, but supported by regional organizations, scholarly institutions and associations, also administration of e.g. educational system), based on law (educational law, Constitution of the Republic of Poland) and above all diverse (held on various levels, in various circles, using various means and forms). They aimed at changing the awareness of language users, i.e. fighting the Kashubian inferiority complex, and changing social attitudes (of e.g. scholarly and political circles or cultural elites).

New stimuli in the aspirations to upgrade the linguistic status of Kashubian appeared along with measures aiming at appropriate legal regulations, which would include also the Kashubian language. Such an opportunity was the discussion focusing on the law on national and ethnic minorities. A proposition, which postulated recognition of Kashubs as ethnic minority gain no legislative recognition; moreover, it caused quite a controversy within the Kashubian community, as they had not perceived themselves as a “minority”. On the other hand, during the legislative work, MP’s were well aware of the Kashubs’ specific situation that would deserve some form of protection, particularly as far as their language is concerned. That led to a compromise proposal, reflected in the title of the *Law on national and ethnic minorities and the regional language* (passed in January 2005).

Thanks to the law, what had no precedent in the history of the ethnos, the Kashubian language has been given a legal protection. Since then, the main goal of measures undertaken by the community has become effective use of the new law. To make this feasible, the Council of the Kashubian-Pomeranian Association adopted the *Strategy for protection and development of the Kashubs’ language ad culture*. One of the decisions in the *Strategy* was foundation of the Council of Kashubian Language, which was

established in 2006, and its goals include e.g. monitoring of language development, standardization of (specialist) vocabulary, etc.

It is thanks to that law, that since 2006, the Kashubian community has leveraged subsidies from the Ministry of Interior and Administration, which help to protect, develop, promote and popularize the language, etc. The subsidies are assigned for publication of handbooks and other books, support for the *Radio Kaszëbë*, organization of contests, etc.

The law has also other consequences. In a few communes, where the percentage of Kashubian declarations in the 2002 Population Census exceeded 20%, that is to say in: Przodkowo (49%), Sulęczyno (48.6%), Stężyca (43.2%), Sierakowice (39.9%), Somonino (30.8%), Chmielno (34.8%), Linia (35.5%), Szemud (26.3%), Parchowo (22.3%), Puck – land (30.9%), Kashubian may be used as “auxiliary language”. This means that it may be used in contacts with administration or Kashubian place names may be used officially, etc. In order to facilitate the clerks/servants communicate in the regional language, courses of Kashubian are held. First in the series attracted 300 local government office workers, and was organized by the Academy of Vocational Training in Gdańsk. It should be mentioned that the course was co-financed by the European Union (75%) and Poland (25%).

Kashubian education

One of the most important actions undertaken by the Kashubian community with reference to their language was that aiming at introduction of Kashubian to schooling system. However, this faced resistance not only of the educational administration, teachers and very often children' parents, but it was troublesome also because of lack of programs, handbooks, qualified teachers... Another problem was usage of two spelling standards, as until the mid-1990's Kashubian had no uniform spelling and orthography, what made the language teaching at school close to impossible. After many years of discussions and arguments, the *Protocol of agreement on the spelling rules for the Kashubian language* was signed on May 13, 1996, during a meeting of the Kashubian-Pomeranian Association Board of Education

Nevertheless, the literary language standardization is still far away. Therefore, the scholars have no doubts that literary Kashubian is still *in statu nascendi*, i.e. it is only being formed.

Why are the educational issues so important? Well, a thesis can be proposed – quite risky, but with many counterparts in Europe – we witness a peculiar race against time; the process of natural language transmission in families is on decline, as the enculturation function of families themselves is losing significance. More and more frequently, the language acquisition takes place in circles of acquaintances (“playground/courtyard mates”), as well as in the public sphere, especially in schools. A problem arises, if the efficient Kashubian-language teaching in schools becomes common enough before substituting the transmission in families. If yes, the language stands a good chance to survive or even develop, since children at school can acquire not only a passive knowledge of the language, but also literacy, acquaintance of Kashubian literature and

literary Kashubian. If not, during one or two generations Kashubian will be dying out, except for some enclaves within the group, as tiny rural communities or circles of enthusiasts and activists motivated ideologically.

The beginnings of the Kashubian education after the 1989 democratic transformations are related to the Kashubian High School launched in 1991 in Brusy in southern Kashubia, as well as to the primary school in Głodnica near Linia. After that, teaching of Kashubian became more popular and found its way to primary and middle schools in particular. Data gathered by the Main Statistic Office and Ministry of National Education show that at the turn of the year 2003, Kashubian was taught to 4,780 pupils in 81 schools. According to estimations by the Kashubian-Pomeranian Association, at the end of 2005, 5,196 pupils learned Kashubian in some 100 primary schools, 1,345 in 27 middle schools, and 261 students in 3 high schools. In 2005, for the first time, students could pass the high school finals in Kashubian (at the high school in Strzecz). This was possible thanks to the *2003 Kashubian Language Syllabus* and *2005 Final Examination Prospectus* prepared and approved by the Ministry of National Education.

The greatest problem was, however, shortage of teachers, handbooks/textbooks and teaching programs. In order to make up the deficiency, a Kashubian language course was successfully launched at the University of Gdańsk; there have also been attempts to begin minor program in Kashubian studies within the major curriculum in the Polish philology. A few editions of the College of Pomeranian Studies, Graduate School for Regional & Alternative Education or graduate school for teachers of Kashubian took place; in the latter case, many courses of Kashubian for teachers were organized in the region. According to the present estimations, some 130 teachers have received qualifications for teaching Kashubian, although, obviously, not all of them practice teaching.

Preparations have also begun to compile (authors') teaching programs related to the regional education (e.g. *Regional education programs: Kashubia, Kociewie, Pomerania* Gdańsk 1998), or textbooks/handbooks for language teaching (there are already a few of them, including a primer, although many of them leave much to be desired, as far as the language, didactic or graphic level is concerned). Fine examples are: Bobrowski,

W. & K. Kwiatkowska 2000. *Kaszëbsczé abecadło. Twój pierszi elemeńtôrz*. Gdańsk; Bobrowski, W. & K. Kwiatkowska 2003. *Twój pierszi słowôrz. Słowôrz kaszëbskò-pòlszczi*. Gdańsk; Cybulski, M. & R. Wosiak-Śliwa 2001. *Ûczimë sã pò kaszëbskù. Książka pomocnicza dla klas starszych*. Gdańsk. Three handbooks by Danuta Pioch have been published too: *Kaszëbë. Zemia i lëdze*. Gdańsk 2001; *Zëcé codniowé na Kaszëbach. Ûczbòwnik kaszëbszczégò jãzëka*. Vol. II. Gdańsk 2004; *Najò domòcëzna. Ûczbòwnik kaszëbszczégò jãzëka 3*. Gdańsk 2005.

Cooperation has also been established with partner communities abroad with the purpose to follow their measures in the domain of native language teaching (mainly with the Lusatian Sorbs of Germany and Frisians of the Netherlands). Of great importance for educationalists has been the normative dictionary of Kashubian prepared by Eugeniusz Gołąbk (*Słowôrz kaszëbszczi normatywny*. Gdańsk 2005) as well as the complete edition of Stefan Ramułt's *Słownik języka pomorskiego, czyli kaszubskiego*, prepared by Jerzy Treder and published in 2003.

It is the Education Group at the Kashubian-Pomeranian Association Executive Board that plays the coordinative role in matters of regional education.

Undoubtedly, Jerzy Treder is right when claiming: “the most significant effect of the language teaching in schools is an acceleration and «sharpening» of the standardization of Kashubian, mainly in its written form”.

Kashubian culture – what is it? What is not?

When analyzing the phenomenon of perseverance and development of the Kashubian culture, important are dilemmas related to role played by the language. Instantly, we must add that it has been perceived and defined in many ways; e.g. it used to be looked upon as a peasant culture, as majority of Kashubs were traditionally attached to the rural environment. Yet, it is not solely a peasant culture. Present are also elements of noble (particularly as “petit nobility”) and landowners’ traditions, as well as those of middle-class way of life; worth mentioning here is a historical role of bourgeoisie in Gdańsk, and in the most recent history – also in Gdynia, Wejherowo or Chojnice). Moreover, we should take into consideration the elements of fishermen’s traditions, so characteristic for Kashubia and so different from the traditional stereotype of peasants’ culture.

The Kashubian culture cannot be perceived exclusively in terms of folk culture, even apart from the fundamental question whether the folk culture has existed at all, as this would leave aside all the elements of upper culture of Kashubian elites; this dilemma can be clearly seen in disputes concerning the Kashubian literature – after all, it is not exclusively folklore literature!

Either, the Kashubian culture cannot be reduced to a local cultural variety, created by a small community and for its purposes. It used to be so for a long period in the Kashubian history, but since the regional movement was born (i.e. since Florian Ceynowa), a homogenous, common culture has been formed in Kashubia. The process continues, although it does not mean that the previous typical local diversification disappeared. Everyone, who knows Kashubia a bit, can realize distinctiveness of such Kashubian subgroups as the Bëloks, Krëbans, Gochs or Lësòks (*Bëloce*,

Krëbane, Gochy, Lësôce) – and the differences are not limited to dialectal varieties.

Therefore, one could state that the regional Kashubian culture used to be peasant, folk and local, but nowadays it has more components. Questions emerge, as e.g. whether a “Kashubian mass culture” exists. Is the Kashubian culture modern (or post-modern) and how does it function under the conditions of late modernity, post-modernity, post-modernism, etc.

Definitely, it functions not too badly, as proved by new projects and processes, which differ quite a lot from stereotypically understood folk culture. An evidence can be the sphere of music. Beside dozens of folklore ensembles, choirs and folk bands, in Kashubia we have to do with rock groups (*Chëcz, Wãdzëboczi, Pò drëdzi stranie, C.Z.A.D.*) or groups singing poetry in Kashubian (*Kùtin*). And what a lot of times, Kashubian folklore ensembles played on stage together with famous jazz musicians (e.g. with Leszek Kułakowski or Jarosław Śmietana)!? Moreover, professional choral groups reach for Kashubian repertoire (e.g. *Schola Cantorum Gedanensis* recorded Kashubian Christmas-carols); the 1996 musical event was undoubtedly the *Kashubian songbook* by Katarzyna Gaertner, while recently it has been talked a lot about the record *Kaszëbë* by Olo Walicki, which got excellent reviews in the music circles. In one of them, published in *Tygodnik Powszechny*, Janusz Jabłoński wrote that *Kaszëbë* “*is based on brave jazz and contemporary Kashubian poetry. Olo Walicki’s septet consists of Damroka Kwidzińska – poetess, who wrote all the lyrics and recited some of them, Karolina Amirian and Maria Namysłowska, who sing the rest, Cezary Paciorek playing accordion and Hammond organ, guitar player Piotr Pawlak, drummer Kuba Staruszkiewicz (Pink Freud) and the leader, playing contra-bass, acousting guitar and keyboards. Just for the arrangement of voices, Walicki deserves an award. A duo of the light, girlish voice of Karolina Armiran and the misty, full of harmonical subtleties alto of Maria Namysłowska makes an immense impression from the first until the last not (...) Personal lyrics by Kwidzińska strongly place the music in its local context. Thanks to them, the listener is convinced s/he is listening to an important work, and that it was created in purpose (...). For a long time I have not heard such a moving music. I have been listening »Kaszëbë« since two weeks, and after having played it a few dozen times, I still have not enough*”.

Kashubian literature

Until recently, the main form of maintaining and developing Kashubian was literature, namely belles-lettres, and today it still brilliantly plays that role. In the entire post-war period, much more than one hundred persons have published texts in Kashubian. At present, some fifty-sixty authors write literature in the language. Worth stressing is that the literature is still alive – in each next generation, there are several persons, who enter Kashubian Parnassus. They originate from various local communities. Worth mentioning is the literature created by those living outside of Kashubia, including emigrants in the USA.

The Kashubian literature is represented by all literary genres – from poetry to drama and cabaret (e.g. *Kaszëbsczi Kabaret FiF* of Puck – <http://fif.kaszubia.com> or the Sister Labuda cabaret of Thuczew). New volumes of poetry and prose, anthologies, tape recordings of literary works (e.g. the novel *Żëcé i przigodë Remusa* by Aleksander Majkowski recorded on five tapes and published by Gdańsk branch of the Kashubian-Pomeranian Association). Various literary contests support the development of literature (Ryszard Stryjewski Literary Contest organized since the 1980's in Lębork, for works in Kashubian; Izabella Trojanowska Contest announced by the editors of *Pomerania*; Jan Drzeżdżon Literary Contest in Wejherowo; not mentioning competitions for children or youth), so do the literary awards (the oldest one being Roman Wróblewski Award granted by *Pomerania* magazine).

The Kashubian press, particularly the monthly *Pomerania*, plays an immense role in the literary life. Only in the years 1995–1999, over 50 authors published there almost 150 texts in Kashubian, including five dramatic works, over 70 poetic texts and no fewer prose texts. At present, *Pomerania* issues the literary supplement *Stegna* entirely in Kashubian.

Also exclusively Kashubian-language is *Kaszëbsczi Zwónk*, published yearly by seminarists from Pelplin. *Òdroda* (<http://odroda.zk-p.pl/>), *Norda*, *Głos Kaszëb* in Słupsk, or *Naji Gòchë* (not mentioning numerous titles of local press) have also been published literary texts.

Worth stressing are various forms of promoting literature, also among young people. The most popular is the reciters' contest *Poezja Rodnej Mòwë* with a few decenaries' tradition (the first one was organized in 1972); it is an all-Kashubian event with finals in Chmielno.

Vitality of literature is easily seen in its original works – each year, a few books by various authors as well as anthologies are published (e.g. anthology for children and youth *Mëslã dzecka* in 2001, anthology of Kashubian poetry produced after 1990 *Dzëczë gãsë*, Gdynia 2004), but also translations, e.g. A. Mickiewicz's *Crimean Sonnets* by Stanisław Janke, John Paul II's *Roman Triptych* by Zbigniew Jankowski; the latter translated also Jan Christa's comic book *Kajko i Kokosz. Na latowiskù*, which is a completely new phenomenon in the Kashubian literature.

The Kashubian literature is decentralized, Persons, who write in Kashubian live in various places, located in various regions of Kashubia. Kashubian books are published actually in all Kashubian towns, and even villages. Kashubian texts appear in local press. Various local centers organize also their own literary contests

The decentralization surely does well the Kashubian literature, as it secures an influx of new forces and opens new circles of readers. Yet, at the same time, it lacks a cooperation and concentration. Certain idea was establishing a group of young writers Zymk, who meet occasionally in Wejherowo and publish their own literary almanach under the same title (so far, five volumes have appeared). Information on the group and works of the authors can be found at <http://www.zymk.net>. Anyway, it is symptomatic that more and more literary works, both classical and contemporary can be found on-line. An example can be the novel about Remus, which can be not only read but also listened to (<http://monika.univ.gda.pl/~literat/remus/remusa.pdf> – provided here also with the author's biography and a sketch by Prof. Andrzej Bukowski). The most literary works can be found on the site Kaszëbskô Czëtnica (www.czetnica.org), e.g. ancient works of such writers as Jan Karnowski, Alojzy Budzisz, Leon Heyke, Florian Ceynowa and others, contemporary authors, but also translations

from the world literature (e.g. Agatha Christie, Terry Pratchett, Charles Bukowski or Charles Dickens and other). There is also a strip story Inverloch. Worth adding is the fact that all texts, including the site descriptions, are in Kashubian.

Kashubian Theater

One cannot write about the Kashubian literature without mentioning the theatre; the more so because the folk theatre in Kashubia has had a long tradition, although the Kashubian threads have been made use of as late as in the beginning of the 20th century. A certain breakthrough was appearance of the Kashubian dramatic literature, most of all created by Jan Karnowski, Rev. Leon Heyke, Jan Rompski, Anna Łajming and probably the most popular Rev. Bernard Sychta. What is more important, new authors appear constantly, and their dramas are referred to by artists from local theaters (Aleksy Pepliński, Ida Czaja). For use of Kashubian theaters, especially children and school ones, translated and adapted are classical dramatic texts, an example being *Girl with matches* by H.Ch. Andersen.

In the 1980's and 1990's, Kashubian theaters were active among others in Zapcenie (Theatre *BELECO*), Luzino, Sierakowice (Theatre *Bina*).

At present, particularly dynamical is proliferation of festivals of ensembles performing Christmas carols and nativity plays (the first very famous and highly appraised nativity play was prepared basing on the text by S.Fikus *Za judaszowe strzębniki*, premiered on 27. March 1983 in St. James Church in Lębork) that sometimes present comprehensive paratheatrical performances. The most wide-ranging event of that kind is the Festival of Waits' Groups in Sierakowice, which is of all-regional significance, gathering yearly a few hundred performers. Great part of the spectacles is in Kashubian, mostly by school theatres and folklore ensembles.

In the past, professional performances that refer to the Kashubian literature and folklore were presented by the City Theatre in Gdynia (in 1996 they prepared an adaptation of the play by Franciszek Sędzicki *Chrystus z Bëtowa, czyli zabijanie starego roku*). We should mention also Kashubian spectacles of puppet theatres – *Tęcza* from Słupsk produced J.Karnowski's *Kaszubi pod Wiedniem*, adapted and directed by Zofia Miklińska-Jaśniewicz, which was shown also in 1983 during the 300th anniversary of the Succor of Vienna in Brzeźno Szlacheckie, and during the 9th National Festival of Puppet Theatres in Opole. Moreover, in 1987, the theatre put on stage a free adaptation of A. Majkowski's novel *Žěcé i przigodě Remusa*. The *Miniatura* from Gdańsk has also staged Kashubian spectacles. Of different character was the production of Majkowski's *Žěcé i przigodě Remusa*, made by the TV Theatre and shown in 1987.

Yet, the most interesting theatrical phenomenon in contemporary Kashubia is certainly the Theatre *Dialogus* founded in Parchowo in 1992 by Jaromir Szroeder. The theatre produces experimental performances, making use of the richness of the Kashubian culture and literature. The output includes already e.g. the spectacle *Drzwi. Misterium kaszubskie* or a stage adaptation of *Žěcé i przigodě Remusa* that crowned the project *Remusonalia*. Every year the theatre is also host to the *Theatrical Feast*, frequented by ensembles for all of Europe.

Worth mentioning also is... Shakespeare in Kashubian! Here, during the celebrations of birth anniversary of the famous writer in April 2007, in the Baltic Centre of Culture, Damroka Kwidzińska and Zbigniew Jankowski played fragments of *Taming of the Shrew*.

Publications

When discussing the literature, it is necessary to refer to publications. Before 1989, Kashubian books were published mainly by the Kashubian-Pomeranian Association (earlier, a few volumes of the Kashubian literature had been released by Gdynia *Wydawnictwo Morskie*, in the series *Biblioteczka kaszubska*). Until 1990, the Kashubian-Pomeranian Association published almost 350 titles in total edition of over one million copies. It should be added that all this was done without any state subventions or with symbolic subsidies, without assignments of paper, with no printing guaranteed, with constant reservation of the authorities (not only censorship) and exclusively by efforts of volunteers! This was an indicator of the effectiveness of activities by the regional Kashubian elites.

As a result of political changes, the publishers' market has differentiated considerably. Kashubian books are still printed by regional associations (mainly the Kashubian-Pomeranian Association), but also by private publishing houses (*Oficyna Częc*, *Region* from Gdynia, *ROST*, *BiT*, *Nowator*), foundations, learned societies (worth stressing is the share attained even before 1989 for the Kashubian community by Gdańsk Learned Society), museums, local governments (e.g. monographs of town and villages), universities (particularly Gdańsk University and Pomeranian Academy in Słupsk), local press (e.g. *Kurier Bytowski* or *Gazeta Kartuska*), schools, parishes, dioceses (significant role of the *Bernardinum* Publishing House in Pelplin), libraries, etc. Sometimes, it can be heard that nowadays, the number of books on Kashubian-Pomeranian matters published in one year equals that of publications in a decade before 1989!

However, a vital problem is lack of an effective distribution market, what causes even more problems for publications of low circulation.

Publishers find enough sources to edit and print books, but they fail to promote and distribute them. Not sufficient is also reliable information on regional books. There are certain attempts, however, like the Fair of Kashubian and Pomeranian Books organized for a few years in Kościerzyna (in August, by the local public library together with the local government authorities of Kościerzyna). Each time, awards are granted in the categories of Kashubian book and Pomeranian book. This is an occasion to present comprehensively the output of Kashubian and Pomeranian publishers. More and more important is promotion and distribution of Kashubian books in the Internet.

Mass media and Internet

The Kashubian community, even in spite of adverse conditions in communist Poland, has always tried to establish internal contacts within the group. First, just after the War (1945–1947), *Zrzesz Kaszëbska* was published in Wejherowo. After the Kashubian Association was founded, its magazine became *Kaszëbë*; in 1957–1961 published biweekly, then closed by decision of authorities.

Instead, in 1963, *Biuletyn Zrzeszenia Kaszubskiego* was founded, to be transformed later into the monthly *Pomerania*. This has been the longest-published periodical in the Kashubian history, the only interruption being the years 1982–1983, when it was suspended as a result of the martial law introduced in Poland on December 13, 1981.

Nowadays in Kashubia, there are plenty of local newspapers, actually several in each county. They have different coverage – regional, district/county, several or just one commune. There are newspapers published by local governments, regional organizations (including the Kashubian-Pomeranian Association), but most of them are private ventures.

In many of them not only Kashubian matters are discussed, but also in Kashubian. Moreover, the biggest daily in the region – *Dziennik Bałtycki* –

has a Kashubian insert *Norda*, published every Friday as supplement to local editions. In addition, *Głos Pomorza* edited in Słupsk used to insert *Głos Kaszëb*.

Kashubian is also present in electronic media.

Gdańsk Television has broadcast the magazine *Rôdno zemia* since 15 years! (since 2005 in Wednesdays and Thursdays, 25 min.). Its creator was Izabella Trojanowska.

The public Radio Station in Gdańsk broadcasts two Kashubian programs: the weekly *Na bòtach ë w borach* (Sunday, 55 min.), and since 2004 the information program *Klëka* (Monday to Friday evenings, 20 min.). The public Radio Station in Koszalin transmits an evening *Magazyn Kaszubski* (15 min.), but also programs *Wiodro na weekend* (each Friday) and *Serwis kaszubski* (each Sunday early morning).

A considerable novelty in the private *Radio Kaszëbë*, run since 2004 by the Association of Puck Region; its program is entirely dedicated to the Kashubian culture and provides information on the most important developments in Kashubia.

Worth mention is the fact that also the private Radio Weekend from Chojnice dedicates much broadcasting time to regional matters.

Internet gains more and more popularity as source of information on Kashubia, the Kashubian literature, institutions, and important events. When browsing the words “Kaszuby/Kashubia”, “Kaszubi/Kashubs” (in various language versions) links to thousands of sites appear; many of them created abroad. Some of them deserve some mention. There is e.g. the Kashubian version of *Wikipedia*, although still poor in volume (www.csb.wikipedia.org); it should be added that the abbreviation CSB is used for the Kashubian language as an international code given by the ISO 639-2 Standard Committee at the Library of the USA Congress).

Many Kashubian materials can be found at the portal *Nasze Kaszuby* (www.naszekaszuby.pl) – not only current information, but also many journalistic commentaries and popular science texts, relatively rich illustrative materials, a Kashubian bibliography, a bibliography of contents of *Pomerania*, a link to an on-line bookstore, where numerous Kashubian and Pomeranian books can be bought, etc. There is also a discussion forum, although... as in many other fora, one has to distinguish crucial opinions (which happen frequently) of many kinds of verbalized frustrations.

Another important Kashubian portal is www.kaszubia.com, edited in Kashubian, Polish and German. It contains a Kashubian bibliography, materials on history, language, ethnography, genealogy, many literary and religious texts, concordance of place names, etc. Of special value are aids and programs for PC users, as e.g. *Cassubdict* – a Kashubian dictionary for Windows, *K-Melon* – a Kashubian browser translator, Kashubian keyboard set, *Linuxcsb.org* – Linux program in Kashubian, and many links to important Kashubian sites.

The Kashubian subsite of a large Slavic portal www.rastko.net/rastko-ka has another profile, as it contains a lot of historical, literary, linguistic materials, etc.

Other www-sites include an on-line dictionary of Kashubian (www.cassubia-dictionary.com), a Kashubian text editor *KaszEd* (<http://kaszed.zk-p.pl>), an electronic version of A. Majkowski's novel *Żécé i przigodě Remusa*, sites of individual Kashubian organizations, e.g. the Kashubian-Pomeranian Association (www.kaszubi.pl), the Kashubian Institute (www.institut-kaszubski.pl), Kashubian museums, schools, local governments, local press, culture centers, etc.

Thanks to the Internet web, contacts with the Kashubian communities dispersed in the world can be established easily; Kashubian organizations and associations from the USA, Canada, Germany create own websites, demonstrating the vitality of Kashubs living even in the most remote places of our planet. The site <http://www.studienstelleog.de/kaschuben/kaschub-inhalt.htm> provides German-language texts dedicated to the Kashubs. The Kashubian Association of North America KANA and the Kashubian Family Research Center have their own sites – <http://www.kana.org> and <http://www.kashuba.org> respectively. The sites <http://www.wilno.org> and <http://www.kaszuby.net> contain information on the Kashubs in Canada. Other examples are numerous...

However, when using the materials found on-line, one should always bear in mind the rule of limited confidence, as the information should be checked and compared with other sources, e.g. scholarly literature, press, etc.

Folklore and folk art

The image of contemporary culture in Kashubia would be incomplete without a presentation of the local folklore and folk art. That sphere of culture has been quite well during the entire post-War period, maybe because it had never been reduced to administrative folklorism. Nothing like a “representative” folklore song & dance ensemble was founded in Kashubia, although there were such plans in the beginning of the 1950’s.

A true explosion of activities in that field took place after 1990. This is an important phenomenon – in spite of a difficult economic situation, not only the ancient ensembles were maintained, but also their number increased. Nowadays in Kashubia there are a few dozen (according to some estimations over 100) folklore ensembles that are the first and best emissaries of the Kashubian culture, when traveling all over the world. In the 1990’s, Kashubian Festivals took place in Słupsk, so do International Folklore Festivals, organized by the ensemble *Krėbanė* from Brusy, where groups from abroad appear next to Kashubian ensembles (concerts are held in various places in Kashubia, e.g. in Bytów, Sierakowice, Chojnice, etc.). There are a lot more local festivals.

Kashubia is also famous for its hundreds of folk artists, who deal with such traditional domains of folk arts, as embroidery, braiding, pottery, carving, horn processing (e.g. production of traditional snuffbox), glass painting, etc. An evidence of vitality of the folk art in Kashubia may be the youth contest *Folk Talents* of 30-year-long tradition and covering actually all Kashubia (yearly frequented by hundreds of persons), or probably the most important and prestigious event *Contemporary Folk Art in Kashubia*. Besides, there are many local competitions.

One should also mention numerous open-air artistic events, including a large and exceptional meeting of sculptors, preceding the 1999 visit

of the Pope in Sopot, when a few dozen of artists from Kashubia (also from regions of Kociewie and Krajna), led by Marian Kołodziej, prepared an altar consisting of dozens of wood carved elements. This was probably the most original altar in the history of papal pilgrimages. Until now, the figures from that altar are displayed as roadside or household shrines in many parts of Kashubia and Pomerania.

Another example is the open-air meeting for folk artists, organized for 25 years in the Kashubian Extramural University in Wieżyca and Starbienino. As a result, the University has created a unique collection of the contemporary folk arts from Kashubia and Pomerania.

The folk art undergoes a certain revival; it is displayed in all ethnographic museums in Kashubia and Pomerania, it also became an important source of earning their living for artists, who display their works during numerous fairs and fests in the tourist season (the most popular is probably the *Jarmark Wdzydzki*, organized for a few decades in the open-air museum in Wdzydze). The art products find also their way to shops that specialize in Kashubian souvenirs. Obviously, what follows, are questions and dilemmas: where are the limits between artistic activity and commercial products, and whether they not fade away...

Scholarship and science

The Kashubian matters are inseparably connected with scholarship, as these are the scholars who first asked the question: who are the Kashubs? They were first to research, describe and discuss their identity, ethnic origin, language, etc. Those debates initially entered into by small circles already in the 19th century, caused a great dispute that resulted in popularization of knowledge on the Kashubs as well as... strengthening their identity and self-identification.

Kashubian studies have been carried during the entire post-War period, yet, it is only after 1989 that the most dramatic changes have occurred in that field.

In the main, quite visible is a significant development of research, measured by increasing number of publications or conferences dedicated to Kashubian matters (according to rough estimations the number has exceeded sixty!). Before 1989, almost every scholarly publication on the Kashubs was an achievement; nowadays, the influx of publication can be hardly grasped, not to mention purchased. Each new researcher dealing with Kashubian studies has to face an avalanche of edited literature. A qualitative change in Kashubian studies is taking place.

An example can be historical research, e.g. Zygmunt Szultka's works that changed our knowledge on the Kashubs in Western Pomerania and provided numerous new data on the oldest relics of Kashubian literature. Still new monographs of towns and villages appear. The first volume of *History of the Kashubs* by the nestor of Kashubian scholar, Prof. Gerard Labuda, has been published recently.

A breakthrough in sociology was the sociological monograph *Kaszubi*, edited by Marek Latoszek. Worth mentioning are other studies by that author, or Brunon Synak's works with *Kashubian Identity* ("Kaszubska tożsamość") at the fore.

The 1990's brought new initiatives in lexicography: Jan Trepczyk's two-volume Polish-Kashubian dictionary compiled by Jerzy Treder, five-volume etymological dictionary by Hanna Popowska-Taborska and Wiesław Boryś, Stefan Ramułt's *Słownik języka pomorskiego, czyli kaszubskiego* finally published as a whole by Jerzy Treder. The linguists' output in Kashubian studies has indeed been impressive.

Of equal significance are achievements in ethnography (e.g. three-volume monograph on musical folklore *Kaszuby* by Ludwik Bielawski and Aurelia Mioduchowska), musicology, and historians of literature, biography (as e.g. biographies of Aleksander Majkowski, Jan Karnowski, and Franciszek Sędzicki).

Such listing could continue, indicating at least new threads in publications in pedagogy, political science, geography... A certain synopsis on the state of knowledge on the Kashubs in various fields so far (in geography, ethnography, history, sociology, history of literature, etc.) is the bilingual monograph *Pomorze – mała ojczyzna Kaszubów. Kaschubisch-pommersche Heimat*, edited in cooperation with German partners, as well

as the post-conference materials on *Kashubian studies in the 20th century* (“Badania kaszuboznawcze w XX wieku”).

An extensive survey of the scholarly output in Kashubian studies (with almost 10,000 entries) until 2004 is the *Bibliography for Kashubian-Pomeranian studies* (“Bibliografia do studiowania spraw kaszubsko-pomorskich”) published by the Kashubian Institute.

The community of Kashubologists keeps developing. In 1996, the Kashubian Institute was established (registered in January 1997). This is the first research association in Kashubian history, assembling over 90 persons from various academic centers in Poland (still mainly from the universities in Tri-City) as well as from Canada, Germany, Belgium, Estonia and Denmark. They are qualified scientists/scholars, and their relationships with Kashubia have either ethnic or professional background.

According to the statute, the main goal of the Institute is: “organizing research and popularizing of its results, enriching and developing the regional Kashubian-Pomeranian movement, integrating Kashubian-Pomeranian scientific/scholarly circles, and initiating efforts aiming at its development, all this with reference to needs and expectations of the Kashubian community and according to traditions of Kashubian studies”. The Institute achieves those goals by organizing conferences and seminars (up to now over 60, including international ones), editorial and publishing (over 90 items on various topics, not only scientific, but also poetry or exhibition catalogues), running own library, developing international contacts, funding scholarships for the youth, etc. Since 1999, the Institute publishes own research yearly *Acta Cassubiana*. Since the foundation of the Institute, its President is Prof. Józef Borzyszkowski.

Museums

Kashubia and Pomerania are regions with the highest density of museums in Poland. The most commonly known and visited are open-air museums: the Kashubian Ethnographic Park in Wdzydze Kiszewskie (the oldest museum of this type in Poland, founded in 1906 by Izydor Gulgowski) and the Slovincian Museum in Kluki (there are also smaller open-air museums in Nadole, Sominy, Silno). Sizeable Kashubian and Pomeranian collections are displayed in the ethnographic museums in Oliwa (branch of the National Museum in Gdańsk), Bytów (West-Kashubian Museum), Chojnice (Historical-Ethnographical Museum) and Kartuzy (Kashubian Museum), ethnographical sections of museums Słupsk, Puck, Lębork. There are also museums unique in their character, e.g. the Museum of Polish School in Płotowo near Bytów (where the first Polish school in the then part of Germany existed since 1929), Museum of Kashubian Ceramics of the Necel Family in Chmielno, Museum of Fishery in Hel, Museum of National Anthem in Będomin (just a few Poles know that Józef Wybicki, the author of the anthem, originated from a famous Kashubian noble family and was born in the heart of Kashubia – Sikorzyno near Wieżyca).

Particularly worth stressing is the fact that after 1989, the museums not only have not fallen into decay, but even developed, and beside the already existing, new ones have been established by local governments (also in villages, e.g. Sierakowice, Łebno, Museum of Household in Lipusz and in small towns – e.g. a farmstead in Brusy, which has turned into a unique local culture center together with the nearby farmstead belonging to the probably most famous folk artist in Kashubia, Józef Chełmowski), privately (e.g. *Thatched Cottage Museum* in Jastarnia, where a fishing collection is displayed), by church (e.g. the parish in Żukowo or monastery

in Wejherowo), run by branches of the Kashubian-Pomeranian Association (e.g. fisherman's hut in Jastarnia). Moreover, some 40 regional museum chambers are scattered through Kashubia, although the estimations might be even too low, if counting also school museum chambers. What is interesting, some of the chambers have evolved into independent museums, as e.g. the museum in the Square of Kościerzyna, founded a few years ago in a renovated town hall.

However, there is a museum of special importance pride for the Kashubs: the Museum of Kashubian-Pomeranian Literature and Music in Wejherowo. The idea of establishing a museum was discussed in the town before and after the War, but until the 1960's, the conditions were adverse. The Museum was eventually opened in 1961.

At present, it is located in a beautifully renovated Palace of the Przebendowski Family and collects heritage of eminent Kashubian and Pomeranian writers, composers, scientists and scholars, culture and regional activists. There are keepsakes of Aleksander Majkowski, Jan Karnowski, Franciszek Fenikowski, Feliks Rogaczewski, Franciszek Sędzicki, Hubert Suchecki, Izabella Trojanowska, Jan Rompski, and Julian Rydzkowski... The list could continue for long. The museum owns a big library (also old prints), a huge collection of regional press, cartography... Its activities focus on exhibitions, publishing, lectures, conferences (among others, regular co-organization of conferences on the Regional Variety of Polish in Pomerania). It is one of the most important cultural and scientific institutions in Kashubia.

Contemporary Kashubian-Pomeranian movement

The Kashubian situation cannot be presented completely without the role and significance of the Kashubian-Pomeranian Association [hereafter KPA]. During its 50-year-history (founded in 1956 as the Kashubian Association, since 1964 as Kashubian-Pomeranian Association), the organization has led to an unprecedented development of the Kashubian culture, to popularization and strengthening of the Kashubian identity.

At present, the KPA assembles a few thousand members in 88 local branches, most of which active in Kashubia, but also in Western Pomerania, in the regions of Krajna, Kociewie, in Tuchola Woods, Powiśle, or in Chełmno land (Toruń, Grudziądz).

Moreover, the organizational structure consists not only of local branches, but also other entities, as e.g. Student Club *Pomorania* gathering youth from the universities of Tri-City (founded in 1962), or a similar club *Tatczężna* active at the Pomeranian College of Pedagogy in Słupsk (since the 1990's), Tourist Club *Wanożnik*, embroidery clubs, etc. An important institution, founded in 2003 as a result of agreement between the Mayor of Gdynia, Municipal Library and the KPA branch in Gdynia is the Center of Kashubian-Pomeranian Culture. Every month, it houses meetings, debates, book promotions, lectures, workshops, Third Age University. The core of the center is an impressive collection of Kashubian-Pomeranian literature.

Worth stressing is the multimorphic character of the KPA: with a Kashubian core, this is also a Pomeranian organization, as the region is home not only to the Kashubs, but also other Pomeranians, persons of non-Pomeranian origin, even foreigners. The character of the organization is simultaneously ethnic and regional, cultural and educational,

ecological and political (although not as political party). This is an intelligentsia-centered organization, yet assembling actually all professional groups: entrepreneurs, managers, farmers, workers, clerks, priests, fishermen, artisans... It used to be called a “human resources” organization, which gathered elite circles, yet at the same time a mass association, with a few thousand members of entire age cross-section – there are distinguished nestors, but also numerous youth groups, not only from universities. The organization is deeply rooted, mainly in local communities, but representative also among urban elites, scientific, artistic, or political circles.

The organization cannot be characterized in brief. Actually, there is no domain of public life in Kashubia and Pomerania, where KPA would not be present: from cultural activities, economy, science, tourism, to politics and administration) local and central. Each year the Association organizes dozens of events, publishes books, magazines, convenes huge Kashubian congresses (the ninth took place in July 2007 in Brusy), animates local communities, makes interventions, e.g. in environmental issues, awards prizes and decorations, as e.g. the most known Stolem’s Medal (granted annually by the students from *Pomorania Club*).

However, the contemporary Kashubian movement is not only the KPA, its branches and agencies. There are many local and community organizations, whose aim is protection, development and popularization of the Kashubian culture. *Ziemia Pucka* Association runs the *Radio Kaszëbë*, the Association *Cassubia* of Parchowo organizes *Theatrical Feasts*, the Foundation *Naji Gòchë* publishes a journal under the same title. Active are societies of friends of individual towns and villages, societies of friends of museums, organizations grouping persons of various interests, associations running folklore ensembles, choirs, etc. It is a fact that the Province of Pomerania, including Kashubia, is one of the most roused regions in the country scale, as far as the civic activities are concerned.

Kashubian Extramural University

An important institution for the Kashubian community is the Kashubian Extramural University in Wieżyca. It was founded in 1982, and launched on June 10, next year. What distinguished the University from the very beginning was its orientation towards the ecological, regional (including folk art) and international problems.

Still before the democratic transformations, the University became an important center of education for independent self-government personnel. For new political leaders from the then provinces of Gdańsk, Bydgoszcz and Słupsk the KUF was a reliable partner, also because of engagement of KPA in organizing training and other projects at the University. Since the very beginning of the political changes, KPA spared no pains to maintain the institution, and later to take it over. Finally, this went off in 1994.

A year later, the University founded its branch in Starbienino in the north of Kashubia (commune of Choczewo). The branch turned into the Center of Environmental Education, and the entire complex (historic palace with annex) was equipped with quite modern devices, including wind turbine power station, ecological heating system, solar batteries, etc.). The Center was founded thanks to the agreement between the KPA, Gdańsk Institute of Technology, Polish Ecological Club and Danish SFOF Club.

Since 1997, the University is named after Józef Wybicki. During the February 21, 2004 meeting of the KPA Chief Council, a decision was passed to create the Foundation “Kaszubski Uniwersytet Ludowy” (*Kashubian Extramural University*), and on May 8, its statute was passed and Council appointed.

The program formula of the KEU is quite broad – including care of folk artists (workshops, Christmas meetings, debates and seminars on

folk arts, traditional crafts, protection of “Perishing Professions”, compiling and presentation of an own gallery of folk art), environmental issues (seminars, conferences, presentation of modern ecological technologies, fests of health food), international exchange of youth and organization of youth camps for participants from East and West (not only making acquaintances, but also e.g. tidying up old cemeteries), civic education and self-government activities (it was in KEU where the Pomeranian Association of Rural Communes was founded; the University also runs courses on basics of democracy for teachers, youth and local politicians), regional education (first of all seminars and workshops for teachers), journalist or tourist courses, or courses for activists, members and sympathizers of KPA (how to start and run social projects, how to leverage funds, etc.), popularization of knowledge and organization of scientific conferences, disseminating of information on the European Union (particularly among the farmers), adult and long-lasting education (meetings and workshops of andragogues from Poland and abroad; an international project “Extramural University – school for life” was carried out in 2001–2003), etc.

Because of abundant housing facilities, many events organized by the KPA take place at the KEU, as e.g. the annual symposia of Pomeranians from abroad, convened in the 1990’s.

Kashubs and Church

As mentioned before, one of the characteristics of the Kashubian ethos is adherence to church and religion. Therefore, there is nothing new in the fact that the Kashubian language marks more and more significantly its presence in the church life. Favorable factors are certainly Kashubian translations of the Bible made by Rev. Franciszek Grucza, Eugeniusz Gołąbk, and Rev. Adam Ryszard Sikora, or other publications used in religious life, which proof a “religious offense” of the Kashubian community (sermon texts, prayer books, psalm translations, church-books, etc.).

Numerous texts related to liturgy and church life are accessible on Kashubian web sites (e.g. the New Testament translated and commented by Rev. F. Grucza <http://www.tchr.org/bibliak>).

Kashubian entered the Catholic liturgy in the mid-1980's. At present, masses in Kashubian (entirely or partly) are held regularly in more than dozen churches (the first ones were held in 1987 by Rev. Bogusław Głodowski in one of parishes in Gdańsk-Przymorze). In some other places, Kashubian is also the language of rosary services, daily May services, or Cross Stations services (e.g. in the Calvary of Wejherowo). In the sanctuary of Sianowo, after death of the Pope John Paul II, a few thousand participants attended a night vigil in Kashubian, and the Polish TV broadcast the event.

An important aspect of the Kashubian presence in church is education of seminarists and sensitizing them to Kashubian matters. In the Seminary of Pelplin, they can learn Kashubian; they are also associated in the *Klub Sztudérów Kaszëbów "Jutrznio"*, and edit their own paper *Zwónk Kaszëbsczi*, entirely in Kashubian.

The recent years have also brought several big, spectacular events of symbolic value. One of them was the Kashubian Pilgrimage to the Holy Land in September 2000. 412 pilgrims, including 12 priests and 2 bishops, were lead by Archbishop Tadeusz Gocłowski and the KPA President Prof. Brunon Synak. The most important item of the agenda was putting up a plaque with the Kashubian-language text of *Our Father* in the wall of the Pater Noster church in Jerusalem, where more than hundred of such plaques had already been put in languages from all over the world. The pilgrimage was a great organizational success and got extensive comments in mass media.

Another important event was the Kashubs' Pilgrimage to Rome between 15 and 24 October 2004, the main intention being a soon beatification of Rev. Konstantyn Dominik.

The most recent initiative is a great Kashubian pilgrimage to Częstochowa and the Giewont peak in Tatra Mountains.

However, the Kashubs make pilgrimages not only to faraway places. Each year, on St. Peter & Paul's day, fishermen's boat pilgrimages are organized from the Hel Peninsula to the parish church in Puck. There is also a boat pilgrimage from Nadole to Żarnowiec, or pilgrimages to

the calvaries in Wejherowo and Wiele or sanctuaries in Sianowo and Swarzewo.

Of great importance were also two meetings with the Pope during his visits to Pomerania. During his first pilgrimage in 1997, John Paul II uttered the words, remembered for long by the Kashubs: “Today, I have to address particularly the descendants of the proto-Slavic Lekhitic Pomeranians, our dearest Kashubs, who until today have preserved their ethnic identity and their language of Slavic core (...) My dear Kashubian Brothers and Sisters! Protect your values and your heritage that prove your identity!”

During the next John Paul II’s visit to Pomerania, in 1999 in Sopot, a few-hundred Kashubian choir sang at the ceremonious papal mass, and the altar was prepared by folk artists lead by Marian Kołodziej. In unanimous opinion, this was the most beautiful altar during that pilgrimage and one of the most original in general. Some 1,400 Kashubs in folk costumes, who arrived on almost 80 boats, attended the meeting with the Pope. Still fresh in everybody’s mind is the sign of cross, created by boats in the middle of the Bay of Puck.

When discussing the presence of Kashubian in church, one should not forget about activities of various KPA branches, particularly from Northern Kashubia, in favor of beatification of Rev. Konstantyn Dominik, called there “our little Dominik”. In Gdynia, already since 1986, regular masses have been held on behalf of that intention; the example was soon followed in numerous branches.

Upgrading the civic awareness, or presence of the Kashubs in democratic politics

It has been mentioned that the KPA functions also in the sphere of politics, although it is not a political party. This is an important distinction. The political strategy of KPA has not been modified and resulted mainly from deep rooting in the Pomeranian political thought and the ideological program of the organization. It could be described as a consistent acting for broader participation in the political life and civil activities.

In order to achieve this, the Association promoted:

- a. participation in parliamentary and municipal elections (putting up own candidates or building coalitions, involving the KPA structures in electoral works, as canvassing and campaigning, supporting individual candidates or programs, or activation of voters);
- b. active membership of individual KPA members in political parties, avoiding official alliances between KPA as a whole and individual parties (although local branches made such coalitions with parties of the post-Solidarity tradition, but sometimes also with the Polish Peasants' Party);
- c. publication of own standpoints in the most crucial political questions in the region (especially during apparent political crises);
- d. organization or supporting any campaigns aiming at protection of group interests (e.g. the question of the blazon of the Province of Pomerania or the official name of the Province, which was postulated as "Province of Kashubia-Pomerania");
- e. initiating of and participation in political debates important for the regional policy (e.g. the question of the Strategy for the Development of the Province of Pomerania);

- f. lobbying for legal regulations favorable for the Kashubs (*Law on national and ethnic minorities and on the regional language*), promotion and application of opportunities provided by the laws (double place names, language teaching of clerks, etc.);
- g. efforts to gain public subsidies for various initiatives and Kashubian institutions (on all levels of local governments and central authorities);
- h. dissemination of information on situation of similar ethnic groups in other European countries, and building coalitions with similar organizations in Poland and abroad;
- i. promoting various actions of civic education.

Although many Kashubs would start complaining when asked about decline in their life standard during the transformation period after 1989, it must be stated that the Kashubian community as a whole has definitely benefited during that period. The crucial factors have been the opportunity to create self-government structures, autonomous maintenance and development of the Kashubian culture, expression of own opinions and defining group interests, and opportunity to debate on the language status and status of the entire group.

The Kashubs are a community of strong sense of civic duties, as shown e.g. by higher turnout figures than average in the region and country. At the same time, the community is heterogeneous as far as their political profile is concerned. For example, during the 1997 referendum, the Constitution project was accepted in some communes and firmly rejected in other. In some communes, a vast majority of votes accepted the accession of Poland into the European Union, in other the referendum had a negative result. In many communes, Donald Tusk won the presidential elections, but other voted for Lech Kaczyński.

In spite of those differences, or maybe thanks to them, the Kashubs can prove their active role as citizens engaged in the matters important for their local homeland and great fatherland.

Summary

Contemporary Kashubia is a mixture of traditions and changes, duration and development, conservatism and innovations. This can be referred to the social structure, economic life, culture, identity... The Kashubs face serious challenges – how to survive and preserve own specific identity under the conditions of globalization? How to save and develop the language? How to protect own institutions and strengthen their position in Pomerania and in Poland? How to define own group interests under the new conditions, how to define what is the most important and who would represent the community? At last, how to define a new group ethnic status and what can be the consequences of lack of such a definition?

There are no simple answers, as there cannot be unambiguous diagnoses or obvious solutions. In the world of paradoxes, possible is also a situation, when a remarkable institutional development of the Kashubian culture would accompany a decline of some of its elements, e.g. the language. It is also possible that the development of organized, systematic and intentional actions undertaken by the Kashubian community, supported by public resources, could contribute to a development of the Kashubian culture. Conditions are favorable. The scenario depends on the Kashubs themselves...

Selected writings:

1. Borzyszkowski, J. & C. Obracht-Prondzyński (ed.) 2001. *Badania kaszuboznawcze w XX wieku*. Gdańsk.
2. Bielawski, L. & A. Mioduchowska 1997. *Kaszuby*. Vol. 1-3, *Polska pieśń i muzyka ludowa. Źródła i materiały*, Vol. 2. Warszawa.
3. Bolduan, T. 1996. *Nie dali się złamać. Spojrzenie na ruch kaszubski 1939–1995*, Gdańsk.
4. Bolduan T. 1997, 2nd ed. 2002. *Nowy bedeker kaszubski*. Gdańsk.
5. Borzyszkowski J. 2002. *Die Kaschuben, Danzig und Pommern*. Gdańsk-Wejherowo.
6. Borzyszkowski J. 1982. *Istota ruchu kaszubskiego i jego przemiany od połowy XIX wieku po współczesność*. Gdańsk.
7. Borzyszkowski J. & J. Mordawski & J. Treder 1999. *Historia, geografia, język i piśmiennictwo Kaszubów. Historia, geografia, jãzëk i pismienizna Kaszëbów*, Gdańsk-Gduńsk.
8. Borzyszkowski J. 2005. *The Kasubs, Pomerania and Gdańsk*. Transl. Tomasz Wicherkiewicz. Gdańsk-Elbląg.
9. Breza E. 1998. *Das Kaschubische*. [in:] V.P. Rehder (ed.). *Einführung in die slavischen Sprachen*. Darmstadt.
10. Bukowski A. 1950. *Regionalizm kaszubski. Ruch naukowy, literacki i kulturalny. Zarys monografii historycznej*. Poznań.
11. Drzeżdżon J. 1986. *Współczesna literatura kaszubska 1945–1980*. Warszawa.
12. Treder J. (ed.) 2002. *Język kaszubski. Poradnik encyklopedyczny*. Gdańsk.
13. Latoszek M. (ed.) 1990. *Kaszubi. Monografia socjologiczna*. Rzeszów.
14. Szkulmowska W. (ed.) 1998. *Kaszubska sztuka ludowa*. Bydgoszcz.
15. Samp J. (ed.) 1994. *Kaszubszczyzna w świecie*. Wejherowo.

-
16. Breza E. (ed.) 2001. *Kaszubszczyzna. Kaszëbizna*. Opole.
 17. Klamon E. & S. Rzymowski & J. Skupowa & J. Szukalski 2002. *Kaszuby. Leksykon geograficzny*. Gdańsk.
 18. Labuda G. 2006. *Historia Kaszubów w dziejach Pomorza*. Vol. 1: *Czasy średniowieczne*. Gdańsk.
 19. Labuda G. 1989. *Schlüsselprobleme zur Geschichte der Kaschuben auf Grund der Geschichte Pommerns*. "Polnische Weststudien". Bd. 8.
 20. Labuda G. 1989. *The Key Problems of the History of the Kashubs against the Background of Pomeranian History*. "Polish Western Affairs". No.1.
 21. Latoszek M. 1996. *Pomorze – zagadnienia etniczno-regionalne*. Gdańsk.
 22. Lubaś W. 2002. *Kaschubisch*. [in:] *Wieser Enzyklopädie des europäischen Ostens*, Vol. 10: *Lexikon der Sprachen des Europäischen Ostens*. Klagenfurt.
 23. Majewicz A. 1996. *Kashubian choices, Kashubian prospects: a minority language situation in northern Poland*. "International Journal of the Sociology of Language". Vol. 120.
 24. Manthey F. 1997. *O historii Kaszubów. Prawda i świadectwo*. Gdańsk.
 25. Mordawski J. 2005. *Statystyka ludności kaszubskiej. Kaszubi u progu XXI wieku*. Gdańsk.
 26. Frankowska W. (ed.) 2005. *Muzyka Kaszub. Materiały encyklopedyczne*. Gdańsk.
 27. Neureiter F. 1st ed. 1978; 2nd ed. 1991. *Geschichte der kaschubischen Literatur*. München.
 28. Neureiter F. 1982. *Historia literatury kaszubskiej. Próba zarysu*. Transl. M. Boduszyńska-Borowikowa. Introd. T. Bolduan. Gdańsk.
 29. Obracht-Prondzyński C. 2004. *Bibliografia do studiowania kwestii kaszubsko-pomorskich*. Gdańsk.
 30. Obracht-Prondzyński C. 2002. *Kaszubi – między dyskryminacją a regionalną podmiotowością*. Gdańsk.
 31. Obracht-Prondzyński C. 2002. *Ku samorządnemu Pomorzu. Szkice o kształtowaniu się ładu demokratycznego*. Gdańsk.
 32. Obracht-Prondzyński C. 1999. *Pomorski ruch regionalny. Szkic do portretu*. Gdańsk.
 33. Obracht-Prondzyński C. 2006. *Zjednoczeni w idei. Pięćdziesiąt lat działalności Zrzeszenia Kaszubsko-Pomorskiego (1956–2006)*. Gdańsk.

34. Ostrowska R. & I. Trojanowska 1978. *Bedeker kaszubski*. Gdańsk.
35. Borzyszkowski J. & D. Albrecht (ed.) 2000. *Pomorze – mała ojczyzna Kaszubów. (Historia i współczesność). Kaschubisch-pommersche Heimat. (Geschichte und Gegenwart)*. Gdańsk-Lübeck.
36. Popowska-Taborska H. 1980. *Kaszubszczyzna – zarys dziejów*. Warszawa.
37. Seefried-Gulgowski E. 1911. *Von einem unbekanntem Volke; Ein Beitrag zur Volkes- und Landeskunde der Kaschubei*. Berlin.
38. Stone G. 1993. *Cassubian*. [in:] B. Comrie, G.G. Corbett (ed.). *The Slavonic Languages*. London.
39. Synak B. 1998. *Kaszubska tożsamość, ciągłość i zmiana. Studium socjologiczne*. Gdańsk.
40. Synak B. 1993. *Language and Ethnic Identity of the Kashubes*. "Europa Ethnica". No.1-2.
41. Synak B. 1997. *The Kashubes during the Post-Communist Transformation in Poland*. "Nationalities Papers". No.4.
42. Synak B. 1999. *The Kashubes in Poland: Ethnicity in Transition*. [in:] B. Bella, A. Strebling (ed.). *Ethnicity, Nation, Culture*. Hamburg.
43. Szultka Z. 1992. *Studia nad rodowodem i językiem Kaszubów*. Gdańsk.
44. Treder J. 2005. *Historia kaszubszczyzny literackiej. Studia*. Gdańsk.
45. Treder J. 1997. *Polish – Kashubian*. [in:] H. Goebel, P.H. Nelde, Z. Starý, W. Wölck (ed.). *Kontaktlinguistik – Contact Linguistics – Linguistique de contact. Ein internationales Handbuch zeitgenössischer Forschung*. Berlin, New York.
46. Wicherkiewicz T. 2001. *Kashubian in Poland*. [in:] P. Winther (ed.). *Lesser-Used Languages in States Applying for EU Membership (Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland and Slovenia)*. Luxembourg.
47. Wicherkiewicz T. 2000. *Kashubian*. [in:] J. Wirrer (ed.). *Minderheiten- und Regionalsprachen in Europa*. Wiesbaden.
48. Zieniukowa J. 2001. *Kaszubszczyzna*. [in:] S. Gajda (ed.). *Język polski*. Opole.

Important addresses

Zrzeszenie Kaszubsko-Pomorskie, Zarząd Główny
Kashubian-Pomeranian Association – headquarters

80-837 Gdańsk, ul. Straganiarska 20-22
phone 058 301 27 31; fax 058 346 26 13
e-mail: biuro@kaszubi.pl
www.kaszubi.pl

Instytut Kaszubski
Kashubian Institute

80-837 Gdańsk, ul. Straganiarska 20-22
phone 058 346 22 31; fax 058 346 23 27
e-mail: instytutkaszubski@wp.pl
www.instytutkaszubski.pl

Kaszubski Uniwersytet Ludowy
Kashubian Extramural University

83-315 Szymbark, Wieżyca 1
phone 058 684 38 14; fax 058 684 38 01
e-mail: wiezyca@kfhs.com.pl
www.kfhs.com.pl

Ośrodek Szkoleniowy KUL w Starbieniu
Training Center in Starbienio

84-210 Choczewo, Starbienio 1
phone 058 572 43 43; fax 058 572 43 33
e-mail: ecostarb@kfhs.com.pl

Ośrodek Kultury Kaszubsko-Pomorskiej w Gdyni
Center of Kashubian-Pomeranian Culture in Gdynia
81-378 Gdynia, Al. Piłsudskiego 18
phone 058 621 73 25

Redakcja miesięcznika “Pomerania”
Pomerania monthly editor’s office
80-837 Gdańsk, ul. Straganiarska 20-22
phone 058 301 90 16, 058 301 27 31; fax 058 346 26 13
e-mail: red.pomerania@wp.pl

Muzeum Zachodnio-Kaszubskie
West-Kashubian Museum
77-100 Bytów, ul. Zamkowa 2
phone/fax 059 822 26 23
e-mail: muzeumbytow@poczta.onet.pl
www.muzeum-bytow.pl

Muzeum Historyczno-Etnograficzne
Historical-Ethnographical Museum
89-600 Chojnice, ul. Podmurna 13
phone 052 397 43 92; fax 052 397 43 92
e-mail: mhech@wp.pl
www.muzeum.chojnice.strona.pl

Muzeum Etnograficzne – Oddział Muzeum Narodowego w Gdańsku
Ethnographical Museum (branch of the National Museum in Gdańsk)
80-330 Gdańsk, ul. Cystersów 19
phone 058 552 41 39
e-mail: etnograf@muzeum.narodowe.gda.pl
www.muzeum.narodowe.gda.pl

Muzeum Miasta Gdyni
Municipal Museum in Gdynia
81-356 Gdynia, ul. Starowiejska 30 (Domek Abrahama – *Abraham’s House*)
phone/fax 058 621 90 73, 058 621 62 18
ul. Chrzanowskiego 14 (Dział Sztuki, Dział Oświatowy, Biblioteka,
Dział Dokumentacji Historii Miasta – *Divisions of Art, Education, Library,*
Division of Municipal Historical Documentatton)
phone 058 620 47 30

Muzeum Rybołówstwa – Oddział Centralnego Muzeum Morskiego
Museum of Fishery, branch of the Central Maritime Museum

84-150 Hel, ul. Bulwar Nadmorski 2
phone 058 675 05 52; fax 058 675 09 05
www.cmm.pl

Muzeum Kaszubskie im. Franciszka Tredera
Franciszek Treder Kashubian Museum

83-300 Kartuzy, ul. Kościerska 1
phone 058 681 14 42; phone/fax 058 681 03 78
e-mail: muzeum@muzeum-kaszubskie.gda.pl
www.muzeum-kaszubskie.gda.pl

Muzeum w Lęborku
Museum of Lębork

84-300 Lębork, ul. Młynarska 14-15
phone/fax 059 862 24 14
e-mail: biuro@muzeum.lebork.pl
www.muzeum.lebork.pl

Muzeum Ziemi Puckiej
Museum of Puck Land

84-100 Puck, Plac Wolności 28
phone/fax 058 673 22 29, 058 673 29 96
e-mail: mzpuck@poczta.onet.pl
www.muzeumpuck.kaszubia.pl

Muzeum Pomorza Środkowego
Museum of Central Pomerania

76-200 Słupsk, ul. Dominikańska 5-9
phone 059 842 40 81; fax 059 842 65 18
e-mail: muzeum@muzeum.slupsk.pl
<http://www.muzeum.slupsk.pl>

Muzeum Piśmiennictwa i Muzyki Kaszubsko-Pomorskiej
Museum of Kashubian-Pomeranian Literature and Music

84-200 Wejherowo, ul. Zamkowa 2a
phone 058 672 29 56; fax 058 672 25 66
e-mail: sekretariat@muzeum.wejherowo.pl
www.muzeum.wejherowo.pl

Muzeum Wsi Słowińskiej – Oddział Muzeum Pomorza Środkowego
Slovincian Village Museum, branch of the Museum of Central Pomerania

76-214 Smołdzino, Kluki
phone/fax 059 846 30 20
www.muzeum.slupsk.pl

Zagroda Gburska – Oddział Muzeum Ziemi Puckiej
Peasants' Farmstead, branch of the Museum of Puck Land

84-250 Gniewino, Nadole 16
phone 058 676 76 44
www.muzeumpuck.kaszubia.com.pl

Muzeum – Kaszubski Park Etnograficzny
Museum – Kashubian Ethnographical Open-Air Museum

83-406 Wąglkowice, Wdzydze Kiszewskie
phone/fax 058 686 11 30, 058 686 12 88
e-mail: muzeum@muzeum-wdzydze.gda.pl
www.muzeum-wdzydze.gda.pl

Muzeum Hymnu Narodowego
Museum of National Anthem

83-422 Nowy Barkoczyn, Będomin
phone 058 687 71 83; fax 058 687 74 24
e-mail: mhn@muzeum.narodowe.gda.pl
www.muzeum.narodowe.gda.pl

Contents

Introductory remarks	5
How many Kashubs are there?	8
Where do the Kashubs live?	11
Kashubian identity and related issues	13
Social context of the language use of Kashubian – questions on language policy	16
Kashubian education	19
Kashubian culture – what is it? What is not?	22
Kashubian literature	24
Kashubian theater	26
Publications	28
Mass media and Internet	29
Folklore and folk arts	32
Scholarship and science	33
Museums	36
Contemporary Kashubian-Pomeranian movement	38
Kashubian Extramural University	40
Kashubs and Church	41
Upgrading the civic awareness, or presence of the Kashubs in democratic politics Summary	44
Summary	46
Selected writings	47
Important addresses	50

