

FREE POLAND

A SEMI-MONTHLY

The Truth About Poland and Her People

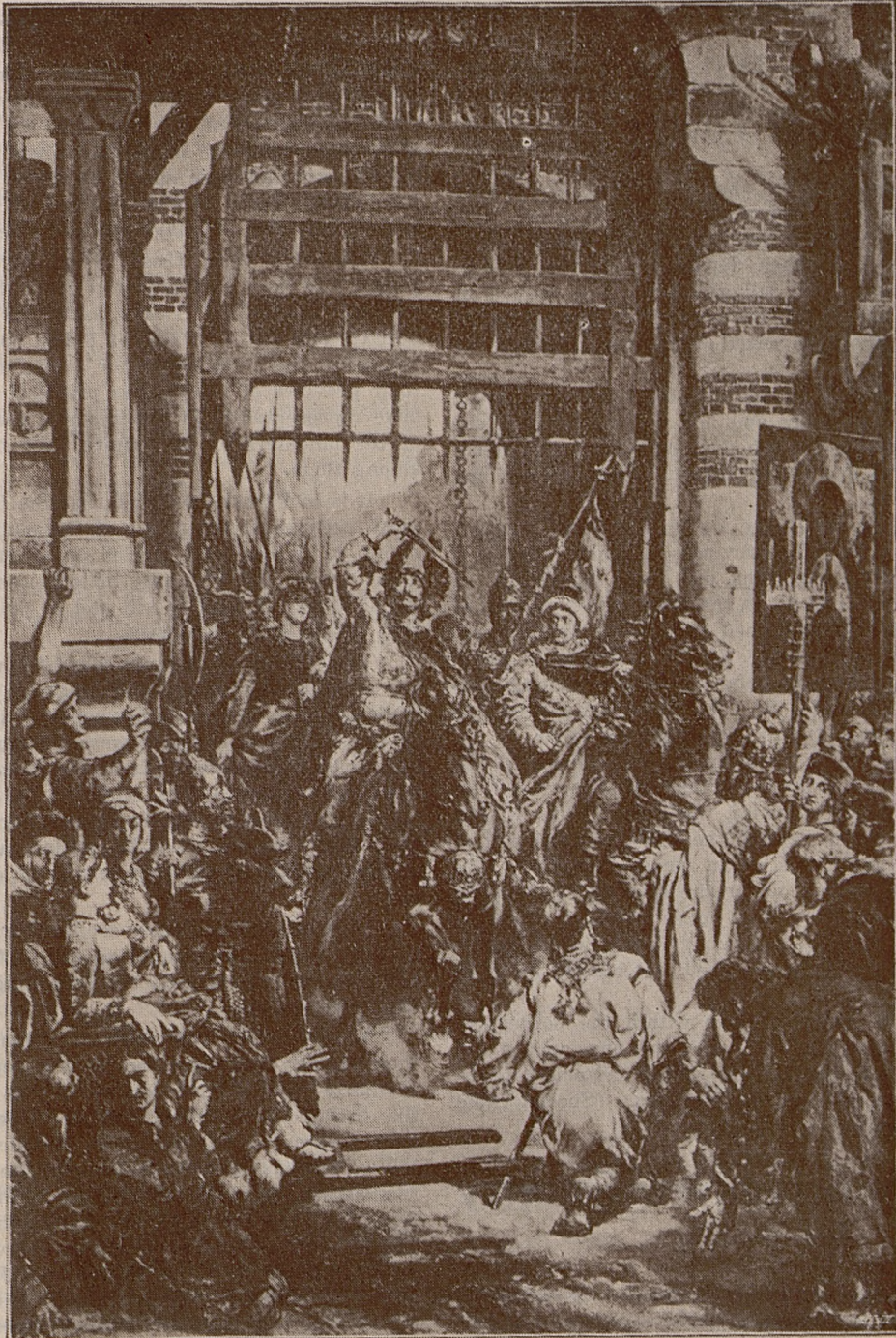
"Entered as second-class matter January 16, 1915, at the post office at Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879."

Vol. I—No. 16

MAY 1, 1915

5 Cents a Copy

Bolesław The Brave Victoriously Entering Kiev.—A Painting By
Jan Matejko (1884)



Bolesław The Brave (992-1025) was the Second Christian Ruler of Poland.

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Wreck and Pillage 1,500 Polish Towns

Terrible as has been the fate of Belgium, it becomes increasingly clear that Poland has suffered more. One hundred thousand square kilometres (38,462 square miles) of Polish territory has been devastated by the Austro-German troops and 1,500 villages have been burned or damaged. Nine out of ten provinces have been occupied by the Germans, who have seized everything, including the peasants' chickens.

More than 1,000,000 horses and 2,000,000 head of cattle have gone to the invaders and not a grain of corn nor a drop of milk remains for the civic population. The homeless peasants have fled to the forests, where women and children are dying.

M. Tchaz, a deputy in the Duma, has made a report on Suwalki, one of the nine provinces occupied. Here 173 villages have been burned and 600 large properties, or farms, have been destroyed. In the towns partly destroyed the Germans have requisitioned everything and the population is facing starvation. To this suffering is added the deeper tragedy that as Poland is divided among Russia, Germany and Austria, the Poles have been forced into three different armies and are fighting each other.

Among the wounded found on the battle fields by the Red Cross nurses are Poles in German, Austrian and Russian uniforms. As Sienkiewicz, the noted Polish writer, said to a friend: "it is against the bible, and the will of God. The curse of Cain is on an innocent people." The noncombatants in Galicia, under the scourge of invasion, have suffered lamentably, but, no so much as those in Russian Poland. The Russian army requisitioned horses, cattle, motor cars, wagons and food, but burned no cities or towns.

Stories of the blight of war within the borders of Russia are spreading far and wide and new armies are coming up for the comprehensive spring campaign, burning with eagerness to eject the invaders. (Special cable to the Daily News.)

War may bring New Country for Poles

That a new state of Poland, equalling in area the ancient kingdom and enjoying the fullest measure of autonomy, if not actual independence, may grow out of the present war is the hope of Poles throughout the world.

Long as they have suffered and dark as has been the prospect for many years, the Poles have taken new heart from the promise of the Czar that the dismembered portions of the country should be united under Russian dominion and that here should be given the Polish people the fullest liberty in the practice of their religion, the use of their own language and self-rule.

For many years these things have been denied the people who have suffered most from the great European conflict. Russia and Prussia, particularly, have done their best to wipe out all traces of Polish nationality. Austria has given the Poles under her dominion more liberty and their province of Galicia has practical autonomy. They have representation in the imperial parliament and some of the ministers of the empire have been chosen from among them.

It is in Prussia, perhaps, that the Poles have suffered most, because of the policy of Germanizing the new territory which has been carried on at great cost and with great cruelty, but with very little success. The individuality of a race is hard to kill and in the case of the Poles they refuse to be eliminated.

The settling of German colonists on Polish lands and the prohibition of the Polish language were the methods made use of by Prussia in her policy of suppression. Thousands of German colonists were brought into the country and given lands secured from the Poles, but they proved indifferent agriculturists, while at the same time Polish immigrants from across the eastern border came in faster than the Germans could be settled, and those who remained insisted on thriving despite all efforts to cut them off.

Poles see in the present conflict the realization of long deferred hopes. For one thing the partnership of Russia, Germany and Austria in the despoiling of their country has been broken.

To lay before the world something of the story of their country and show the present deplorable conditions there, an international committee has been formed with the distinguished author, Henryk Sienkiewicz, at its head and the great musician, Ignace Paderewski, as vice president. Various agencies throughout the United States are representatives of the committee, in Pittsburgh the local branch of the Polish Red Cross Society having it in charge. The general committee directing the work here is composed of Attorney C. W. Sypniewski, John Domachowski and Leon Sadowski, the last named being treasurer. The headquarters are at 616 Smithfield street, in charge of A. S. Abczynski, vice-president of the Polish Red Cross. Pittsburgh, Pa. Gazette.



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The Future War

PROFESSOR Gilbert Murray writes in the HIBERT JOURNAL (Oct. 1914) that among all thoughtful men the present war arouses the general feeling that is best expressed in the phrase: "never again." He says, "Never again must we have to face the possibility of such world-wide catastrophe. Never again must it be possible for the pursuit of merely selfish interests to work such colossal havoc." He is probably right that this is the longing of thoughtful men, but as things stand at present, it is easy to show that this war contains the germs of a much greater war in the future, if never mankind is to reach a lasting peace.

The participation of Russia in this war on the side of western civilization, and the announcement that Russia intends to rule over an increased and united Poland after the war, is the most serious menace to future peace, and it is worth while to understand this thoroughly if we wish to secure the conditions of a peaceful development of all the nations after this tremendous upheaval. Russia ruling over the whole of Poland would be dominating the whole Europe. At present Russia is already equal to the rest of Europe. If we increase Russia by German and Austrian Poland, it will be greater than the rest of Europe.

Russia is as a state very similar to Prussia; it has grown also by conquest and it has oppressed many nations, among which the Poles have suffered most. Russia took an active part in the partition of Poland, which was a crime of the same kind as the violation of Belgium's neutrality. Russia has taken the largest part of Poland which was one of the oldest states of Europe and had an uninterrupted political existence for a thousand years. The Polish Republic before the partition was a larger state than the present France, or Germany or Austria. It extended over more than 700,000 square kilometers, and this was only about one half of all the territories which had ever belonged to the Polish kings between the rivers Elbe, Dnieper and Danube, between the Baltic and the Black Seas.

The Polish nation had at certain times power to prevent the growth of the three empires which conspired to destroy it. In 1525 the prince Albrecht von Brandenburg was a vassal of the King of Poland, and he owed it to the generosity of the Polish Diet that he became a prince of Prussia. Prussia was a Polish province, and no part of it belonged to Germany. The first Hohenzollern who had any connection with Prussia was this Albrecht von Brandenburg who became the Great Master of the Teutonic Order under Polish supremacy. He resigned this dignity when he gave up the Catholic faith of his ancestors, but being a nephew of the Polish King, he was entrusted with the administration of Prussia on the condition that all his successors should forever remain vassals of the Polish Republic. He could not have wrested this privilege by force from the Polish King who then was one of the most powerful kings of Europe. The Polish Diet,

though formed of Catholics, allowed the nephew of their king to become a Protestant prince and to keep Prussia which wholly belonged to Poland. When hundred thirty five years later Poland was weakened by a long war with Sweden, in 1660, Friedrich Wilhelm of Brandenburg emancipated himself from Polish sovereignty and very much against the will of the Prussians made himself a sovereign prince of Prussia. His son, ambitious of taking the title of king, did not dare to call himself king of Brandenburg the home of his ancestors for centuries, for Brandenburg, belonged to the German Empire and the German emperor, who then was not a Hohenzollern, did not agree. So he used the name of Prussia over his German territory, so that now the true meaning of this name after 200 years of misuse is nearly forgotten and all the Germanized Poles of North Germany are called by the utterly non-German name of Prussians.

This growth of the power of Prussia might have been arrested by the Poles many times, had they fore seen the aggressive military and dangerous character of the new kingdom. But they instead had elected in 1697 as their king another German, Augustus of Saxony, who soon began to conspire against Poland with the new king of Prussia and the Czar of Moscow. They prepared the conditions for the crime perpetrated two generations afterwards by Frederic called the Great, the grandson of the first king of Prussia, who gave the initiative of the first partition of Poland (1772).

In a similar way had grown the power of Moscow on the eastern frontier of Poland. The Czars of Moscow were humble vassals of the Khans of Tartary, beaten many times by the Poles. At one time in 1610, the Poles had conquered Moscow and a son of the Polish King was asked by the Muscovites to rule over them, but he declined this honor, as he did not wish to give up the faith of his ancestors nor to simulate the Byzantine faith. A century later, when Peter called the Great, being the first czar of Moscow with a certain amount of western education, was ashamed to use the discredited and servile name of Moscow, the sought in Poland a title unspoiled by the bloodthirsty cruelty of Iwan the Terrible. He made use of the name of Russia, a Polish province, part of which had been conquered by the Muscovites. This name of Russia, which for centuries belonged only to a part of Poland, was now extended over the Muscovite dominions, so that now all the Muscovites are called Russians. This is even further from historical truth than the use of the name of Prussia given to a German kingdom, for the Germans or the Germanized Slavs of Brandenburg were at least of Aryan race like the Prussians whose name they usurped; but the Muscovites were Turanians, of the same race as the Finns, Turks and Tartars, and they now pretend to be Aryans and even to belong to the oldest Aryans called Slavs, merely because they use an Aryan name and have accepted a Slavic language, manifesting thereby an utterly un-Aryan neglect of tradition.

The third neighbor of Poland was Austria, and also this depended upon Polish generosity once, when in 1683 the Turks besieged Vienna and the Polish King Sobieski was called upon to save Christianity. Sobieski might have obtained considerable advantages from the Turks if he had formed an alliance with them in order to destroy Austria. The Poles believed in the Christian feelings of the Austrian dynasty and saved Vienna, whereby they increased the power of a dangerous neighbor and were later rewarded by Austria's participation in the partitions of Poland. Austria owing to Poland's preservation was the first to invade lawlessly in 1771 the Polish province of Zips, even before Prussia and Russia moved their troops into other parts of Poland.

Thus a great Christian republic, after more than a thousand years of existence was divided by three greedy neighbors, and the rest of Europe looked at this injustice without interfering, as then nobody understood that such violation of international equity was a danger and menace to the peace of Europe in the future. The partition of Poland having been confirmed by the Congress of Vienna in 1815, Prussia had won a valuable precedent for future partitions and annexations of lands belonging to other neighbors, as Hanover, Saxony, Denmark, Austria and France. The history of Prussia is a succession of such deeds like the recent destruction of Belgium and Russia has accepted the same political methods since Peter the Great. These two states were allies for many generations and their ambition was to rule over the greatest number of subjects regardless of justice and law.

As long as such states exist, no peace in Europe can last. If Prussia is destroyed and the power of Russia is thereby increased, Russia will not be satisfied until she conquers the whole of Europe, for Russia has always imitated Prussian methods and after Prussia's annihilation will be the heir of Prussian ambitions just as after the defeat of Great Britain America would be the heir of its liberties.

This is clearly announced by the Russians themselves when they proclaim to the Poles that they will grant them an autonomy without a national army, and with the Czar as Polish king. They want to use the Poles as soldiers in their army for the successive conquest of Bohemia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, and Germany. All these countries ruled by Russia would give to Russia a sufficient power for the conquest of India which has been for generations the cherished dream of all Russian politicians and rulers.

There is no other way to prevent this formidable succession of wars than the reconstitution of a powerful Poland between a weakened Russia and Germany. If Europe now at last understands that lawless aggression for the aims of conquest is a political crime, the crime of Poland's partition must be proved to have been of no avail to those who committed it. They must restore to Poland not only every inch of the territory they have taken between 1771 and 1795 but also a considerable part of their earlier acquisitions. The eastern limit of Poland, if Europe want peace, should be at least the same the time of the Westfalien peace, a generation before Sobieski saved Vienna, Europe and Christianity by his victory over the Turks. The Poles were the defenders of Europe against Asiatic invasion for centuries. They arrested by the battle of Liegnitz the wave of the Tartars in 1241—they kept back the Turks and Muscovites for centuries afterwards and they were the most eastern recipients of western culture and civilization.

The Poles never led aggressive wars of con-

quest, which were against their constitution. They merely defended their own territory against aggressive neighbors and in their struggle with Muscovites the frontier underwent periodic oscillations, but the towns of Witebsk, Minsk, Smolensk, Kiev were generally the landmarks on the eastern frontier of Poland. The restitution of these Russian towns to the Polish republic, the reconstitution of the Union of Russia and Lithuania with Poland as distinct and independent from Moscow would be the safest settlement of a permanent peace in Europe.

No fact in the European history was more contrary to the ideals of international law for which the present struggle is going on than the partition of Poland. But the partition of Poland was only the ultimate result of a process started much earlier by Prussia and Russia, and therefore Poland needs older limits than those it had at the time of the last partitions. We ask not too much if we claim in the East the limits of 1648—but in the West we must go further back to obtain safe and durable limits and prevent ulterior wars forever. We do not ask to extend the western limit of Poland to the river Elbe which belonged to the Slavs a thousand years ago—but these and Bautzen in Prussia, offer an opportunity to reawake Polish national consciousness in the Germanized Slavs of western limits must redeem the Slavs still existing around Pomerania and Silesia.

There should not be a German province between the Slavic states of Bohemia and Poland. Silesia was a Polish country and has been Germanized for centuries in vain, for even now in Breslau the majority of inhabitants have Polish names. Pomerania was an old Slavic state which has been Germanized for centuries, but would now under Polish rule very soon be restored to its Slavic character, as most inhabitants are of Slavic descent. It is a necessary part of a strong Polish state because it would limit essentially the German dominion of the Baltic Sea, which should not be chiefly a German sea. The Poles were a seafaring nation in the past and they have in their language old Polish terms for all kind of activities and tools of mariners. Every nation needs access to the sea and a share in the mastery of seas. Poland could not be strong without a strong hold of the Baltic and it needs on its northern shores the ports of Stettin, Dantzig, Koenigsberg, Libau and Riga. The Polish fleet on the Baltic would forever prevent the fulfillment of German ambitions.

Such a Poland, within the limits of 1648 in the east and those of 1018 (peace of Bautzen) in the west would certainly be a guarantee of a durable peace in Europe. But such a Poland is not likely to be created after the present war. Now the western powers need the help of Russia in order to reduce the ambitions of Germany, and Russia will be paid for its help by an extension of its territory. Russia promises to Poland autonomy, but such promises were given already in 1815 and they were not kept. An Aryan nation cannot be free under Turanian rulers.

After more than a century of enslavement Poland is not strong enough to fight for its independence. It will submit to the new wrong inflicted on her not only by Russia but by the western powers who will pay Russia at Poland's expense for the help in the present war. Such a success will encourage Russia to further conquests in Europe. And it may last a generation until France and England notice that Russia is a menace to the peace of Europe. They will then have a closer alliance not only among themselves but with Italy and Germany which once defeated will be converted to the ideals of western civiliza-

tion. These four powers, assisted by Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Denmark and Japan will declare a final war on Russia in order to preserve the independence of Europe. And after this war the reconstitution of Poland in its limits of 1648 will become an evident necessity.

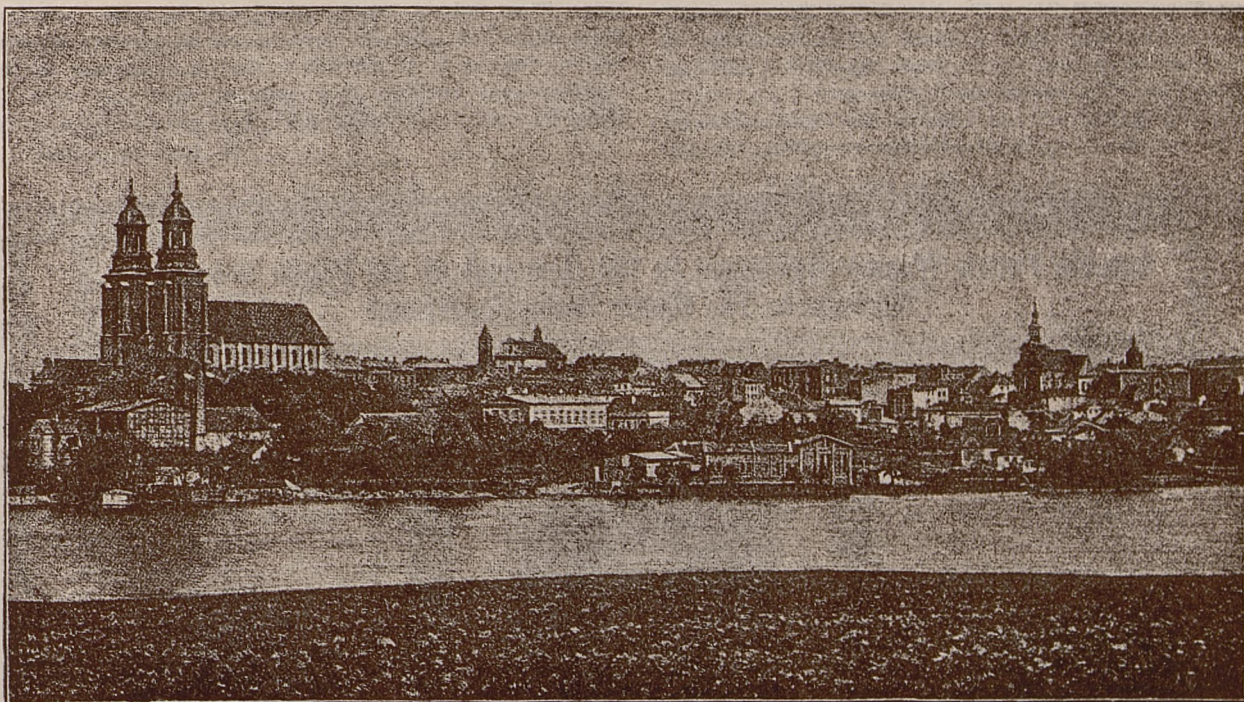
Could this future war be prevented? It there another price to be paid to Russia for her help in the present war? There is perhaps one only solution possible in order to prevent the calamity of the next war. If Turkey defies Europe it must give up the conquests of the Turks in Europe and Asia. Constantinople and the shores of the Marmora Sea might be taken by the Russians in this case, together with the southern shores of the Black sea. This might fill the greed of Russia for more subject at the expense of another aggressive old military conquering power. But even this solution, consecrating the right of conquest in Europe, would not be satisfactory, as Constantin-

whose inhabitants preferred to form one whole with France than to belong to the German empire.

The unforgivable sin of Bismarck was not the mere annexation of Alsatia and Lotharingia which in older times belonged to the German Empire, but the fact that the inhabitants of these countries were not consulted about it, as the inhabitants of Savoie were asked when they were united with France.

Between the Poles and Muscovites are living the true Russians, now named Ruthenians since the name of Russians has been usurped by the Muscovites. The Ruthenians enjoyed a great freedom when they belonged to the Polish Republic—they had the use of their own language and religion, but the Ruthenian Cossacks were kept back in their military ardor and encouraged to settle on the land. Moscow gave to the Cossacks their opportunity of military life and used them for the conquest of Poland and

A VIEW OF GNESEN WITH CATHEDRAL



Gnesen, six Miles North of Posen, is a historic Town with a Cathedral containing the Remains of St. Adalbert, murdered by the pagan Prussians, in 997.

ople by right belongs to Greece and should return to the Greeks who had founded it.

Russia is the spiritual heir of Byzantine tradition. But this is not a reason to give her power over Greek lands and subjects. Every such concession to the Prussian principles leads to future wars. If the present war is to be the last war for a long time, the conditions of peace should aim at a reconstitution of national states destroyed by aggressive war of conquest.

The spirit in which Prussia declared the present war is not specially Prussian—it was the spirit of many wars in Europe, and even of the long English wars in France. Every state used its opportunities to increase its territories at the expense of neighbors, and might went above right many times before the present national states, containing a uniform population could arise. Alsatia was a French conquest before it became a French country,

Siberia, but forbade for generations printing books in the Ruthenian language, obliging them to accept the so called Russian language which is the Slavic language accepted by the Turanian Muscovites and spread over the whole of northern Asia.

While the true Slavs in the West used a great variety of linguistic forms and created many languages, the Turanians accepted one form of Slavic speech passively and have done little for its development. The most gifted Russian writers are Ruthenians who have adopted the great Russian language in order to have a larger reading public. The future war must decide whether the Ruthenians will belong to Moscow or to Poland or whether they will form an independent state. If once the principle that each people has to decide as to its political conditions is accepted as the international law of Europe, then no po-

litical ambition of a conquering people will justify the oppression of one nation by another.

The history of the Polish Republic has given the example of voluntary unions of neighboring nations, and Poland with Lithuania and Russia had formed such an union. Whether they will continue to be united or whether their union will be dissolved like the union of Belgium and Holland or that of Norway and Sweden, that cannot be decided by anybody except by themselves. But in their struggle for independence against Russia they will certainly be united, and in this struggle the independent nations of Europe will be drawn for the same reason that England was drawn into war by the violation of Belgium.

In order to understand this necessity we must remember that the struggle between national independence and the military spirit of conquest began very long ago in Europe by the wars between Greeks and Persians. The Persians were overcome in the long run, but they were succeeded by the Mussulmans who conquered a great part of Europe in the southeast and who threatened France in the west until they were defeated by Karl Martel between Tours and Poitiers. The invasion of Mussulmans in Europe aroused long wars in Spain and on the border of Poland—they even now still occupy the Greek towns of Adrianople and Constantinople in Europe.

The Muscovites are the heirs of the Tartars and are animated by the same spirit of conquest which has also

invaded the Prussians. The Prussians have spread this unhealthy contagion over the whole of Germany and when they are defeated there will remain in Europe only one aggressive conquering nation, the Muscovites called Russians. It is unlikely that they should be converted already in this war to western views of the independence of nations. They will remain a menace to the freedom of Europe until the nations oppressed by them are finally emancipated from their dominion.

Between Germany and Russia there are a full dozen nations, not sufficiently strong each by itself to resist German or Muscovite conquest, but capable of forming an union which would maintain the rights of nationalities in Central Europe. Greeks, Bulgarians, Servians, Rumanians, Bohemians, Hungarians, Poles, Ruthenians, Lithuanians, Danes, Norwegians and Swedes are all loving their independence and they can form the nucleus of the future United States of Europe. But it will require another great war for the final abolition of slavery among nations, unless the western powers succeed in a miraculous conversion of Russia to the principles of the independence of each nation. Then only a lasting peace can be made and last for a long time. For the present we see already Moscow sending legions to its officials to Galicia to destroy all the constitutional working of a national autonomy even in those very restricted limits which were granted by Austria.

W. LUTOSLAWSKI.

Notable Polish Women Mentioned in the Memorial of the Polish Women's Alliance to The Hague Peace Conference



MARYA KONOPNICKA

Born 1846, is the popular Lyric Poet in Poland



ELIZA ORZESZKOWA

(1842-1911) is another popular and prolific Writer whose Works comprise over forty Novels and Stories, and numerous ethical Essays



HELENA MODRZEJEWSKA

Modjeska (b. 1842)—classic Actress, was known on the Stages of both Hemispheres

Courtesy "Dziennik Zwiqzkowy"

A Memorial Addressed to the Women's Peace Conference at The Hague

By the Polish Women's Alliance of the United States of America

While the whole of Europe is bathing in blood presenting at the same time a huge conflagration; while the groans of this wholesale murder and tears of despair rend the air of the world, striking the shores of even the most distant lands, then comes the illustrious news that the women of the nations of the world are announcing their Peace Conference at The Hague, a city of world-wide fame, and are all hastening thither, amid the storm of war, as the first harbingers of spring, of the rebirth of humanity.

We greet you with all our hearts, we Polish women, citizens of the free Republic of the United States of America,—we, daughters of historical Poland, whose children, because of the crime of partition, have been scattered throughout the world, in search of hospitable shelter and asylum.

We greet you, Honorable Delegates of divers Nations, as marking the entrance of sublime justice and moral law into the terrible conditions of the world, over which lords it over the savage fist of brutal strength. That brutal strength has violated the behests of a civilization centuries old, the ancient laws of nations, their inflexible will to live their own lives, to labor for humanity with their own national soul, unbound, inviolate in its own growth, its impulses and its free luxuriant expansion.

Greeting you in the new role of the apostles of peace for bleeding humanity, we believe that, with you eminent women and through you, there shall come a new era in the history of the world, which like the roseate break of day shall shine upon the far horizon, auguring a relief from wrongs, despair, struggle, and soothing the sore spots of humanity now engaged in mortal combat.

As women, by descent belonging to the nation on which was committed a crime unequalled in the annals of history, we urge you to direct your mind, feeling and attention to the horrible conditions of our Fatherland, of Poland, in the name of the sublime idea of inaugurating peace in the events of the world.

We call to you aloud and declare with all our conviction, before all the powers of the world, that universal peace cannot be introduced into the lives of nations as long as the annals of mankind are tainted by that terrible crime of partition which committed an historical nation to systematic persecutions and repressions with a view to killing the national spirit.

One hundred and twenty one years have elapsed since Poland had been stricken off the map of Europe, and still Poland lives. Empires are fragile, but nations are indestructible. The spirit of nations is inflexible—Poland to-day lives a life which though divided is more intense than ever.

All the strata of society are enlightened, whereas a century ago the Polish people found themselves in a deep slumber. The middle class, now powerful and ardently patriotic, had just then begun to develop, and the nation was personified by only one class—the Equestrian Order and Landed Nobility.

Poland has ever struggled, on all sides, now as the bulwark of Christianity in the defense of Vienna, now as a defender of civilization against Western barbarism, now

as defender of any people in danger of losing its freedom, as it happened on the fields of Hungary in the year of 1848, or during the Union of Italy, or at the barricades of Paris, or in the United States during the War of the Revolution.

To-day Poland, over the wrack and ruin, plunder and destruction of her lands, extends to you her helpless hands. Poland lies like a bleeding terrain between the huge millstones of contending powers. Abuse, cold, hunger, starvation await the unhappy people of Poland. Their homes are levelled with the ground by the instruments of war. Over twelve thousand villages are completely destroyed. The peasants have been deprived of their livestock and farming implements. Fire, shell, bomb, bullet, rapine are all about. There is none to help, there is no place to go. The war means nothing to the Poles but added suffering and misery. In a word, twelve million people are homeless, and widows, orphans are starving in what constitutes the tragedy of the century.

But in these darkest hours to Poland, we are morally convinced that there dawns, that there is coming a justice which brings sweetness and light into the chaos of the world. That justice is represented by you, Worthy Delegates of different peoples.

Poland, torn limb from limb, appeals to you to raise your voice in her behalf, to help solve the Polish Question by insisting on her sacred and inviolable rights as a nation.

At the times of her independence, Poland again and again enrolled her name in the scroll of fame. Her cultural conquests are known to the world. And now, though in her thralldom, (for you may kill the body not the spirit) Poland again shines through names illustrious and conspicuous in the world. To the Pantheon of Fame She has entered such Spirits as Mickiewicz, Krasinski, Slowacki, Wyspianski, Henryk Sienkiewicz, Prus, Żeromski, Matejko, Siemiradzki, Moniuszko, Szopen, Paderewski; and such Women Geniuses as Orzeszkowa, Konopnicka, Curie-Skłodowska, Modrzejewska, and others too numerous to mention. Not with empty hands, then, stands Poland before you, though fettered and shackled with the chains of bondage, when she appeals to you for justice. Not only the men have created and are building the culture of the nation, but the edifice is being built by the Polish women as well, whose names illustrious are known to the world at large.

But to-day hosts of Polish mothers, whose condition seems hopeless and helpless, call to you, Women Representatives of various nations, crushed and harassed and down-trodden as they are in the maelstrom of war.

They urge you, you who are yourselves givers of life, to try to compensate for the numerous wrongs committed, to soothe their despairing hearts, and to grant them and their sons freedom, independence, and the inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

They call on you to witness the fratricidal war that the Poles of necessity are engaged in and to attempt with might and main to right an historical wrong.

Universal peace is out of the question as long as historical Poland lies down-trodden, bound and oppressed.

Talk of justice and freedom is a farce as long as that question remains unsolved.

The enlightened opinion and the awakened consciences of the leading Women of the world shall proclaim with a powerful voice the injustice rendered unfortunate Poland. Otherwise, the question of universal disarmament cannot be brought to a successful issue.

To bring the Polish Question before the forum of the world is the sacred duty of you Women, who are a new factor, a creative and spiritual one, to be reckoned with in the events of history.

Poland extends her helpless hands to you in the belief that you shall inaugurate a new era, one doing away with the ill-omened principle—"Might makes Right."

We, who are experiencing the charm of liberty; we, who are born on the free soil of the great Republic of the United States; we, who are under the protection of the Star and Stripes which have opened their hospitable shores to our suffering brethren, appeal to you in behalf of Poland. She, suffering on her territory from the Vistula to the San, from the Carpathians to the Baltic, needs your help and implores you to right an historical wrong.

Let justice be done, let the hands of representative women of the whole world raise aloft their collective ban-

ner of sunny peace, life and liberty. Let the banner of freedom, the banner of liberty, the banner of independence be reared on high. We are assured that the leading Women of this twentieth century have matured politically enough to perform great tasks, to bring about a realization of lofty and sublime ideals. We believe in you, and that belief in your love for justice we offer before the tribunal of your consciences.

Signed:

ANNA NEUMANN, President
ANGELINA MILASZEWICZ, Vice-president,
A. EMILIA NAPIERALSKA, Gen. Sec.
LUCYA WOŁOWSKA, Treasurer,
DR. M. O. KACZOROWSKA, Med. Adv.
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Chicago, Ill. April 10, 1915.



CURIE, NEE SKŁODOWSKA,

Was born November 3, 1867. The Widow of Pierre, she shared with him and A. H. Becquerel the Nobel Prize for Physics in 1903, for Research in Radioactivity

Italy For Poland



AT THE BEGINNING of this terrible war, after the historical proclamation of the Grand Duke Nicholas Nicolaievitch promising the re-constitution of the Kingdom of Poland, the Review "L' ELOQUENZA" published in Rome, via Calamatta, 16, addressed the following referendum to Italian statesmen and men of letters:

"DO YOU BELIEVE THAT THERE ARE SUFFICIENTLY STRONG, POLITICAL, MORAL AND HUMAN REASONS FOR THE RECONSTITUTION OF THE POLISH NATION?"

"WHAT ADVANTAGE TO EUROPE IN GENERAL AND TO ITALY IN PARTICULAR COULD BE DERIVED FROM THIS RE-CONSTRUCTION?"

Many answers were received from eminent politicians, professors and journalists.

What first strikes us in the answers which we here publish, and gives them a singular political value, is that all the replies are based on two well-established modern principles—the principle of nationality and that of political equilibrium. It is upon those two political conceptions that those best fitted to judge—the elite of Italian thought and science—base their claim for the reconstitution of Poland.

According to them, Europe cannot pretend to reconstruct itself on the basis of the principle of nationality, if the most unfortunate and most oppressed nation among them continues to be impeded in its development.

Some affirm that Poland has force enough to constitute an intermediary state between Germany and Russia; others insist, further, on the cultivating and civilizing importance of Poland.

We cannot pretend, in so limited a space, to give the whole of the opinions set forth, so confine ourselves to as short and comprehensive a resume as possible.

Prof. BENINI of the University of Rome maintains "that Poland is politically ripe for self-government. If it has hitherto resisted Germanization and Russification, that means that it possesses a latent force which ought to be developed, not suppressed. The world has not so much of this force that it can afford to neglect it. Therefore the German expropriators of Polish land must be themselves expropriated.... We have faith in the accomplishment of the promise made to Poland."

Senator CARLE of the Turin University considers that "the great contemporary events give convincing proof that the idea of nationality is the great and irresistible organizing force of modern states, and that it is therefore time for unfortunate Poland to become once more the Polish Nation.... Historic principles such as that of nationality do not stop in their action until they have done their work."

Prof. GROPALI of the University of Modena wishes that the Polish nation should again become free and independent and "that Italy, by contributing to its redemption, should pay its debt of gratitude and consolidate those ties of sympathy which have always united the two peoples."

Professor SELLA of the University of Cagliari thinks that "the time has come for Poland, too long sacrificed to the necessities of the imperialist policy of Europe, to regain her full independence. This is of the greatest importance, not only to the Poles themselves, but to the whole

of Europe; which can only really subsist through future ages by permitting individual nationalities to develop themselves autonomously and freely."

"The solution of this serious European political problem" says M. BEVIONE, deputy, "upon the only really solid basis that exists, that of nationalities, would eliminate a source of future conflict."

For Prof. TEDESCHI of the University of Turin, the reconstitution of Poland, "representing a new triumph of the principle of Nationality, would, on that account, alone be advantageous to Europe." Prof. BARIARI of the University of Naples is of the same opinion.

Prof. RAMPONI, of the University of Bologna, affirms "that the reconstitution of Poland is necessary for political reasons which affect Europe in general and Italy in particular, and make it necessary, that all the nations should obtain their natural boundaries." Basing his opinion upon the principles of nationality, Prof. OTTOLENGHI of the University of Turin declares "that a reconstituted Poland would minimize the eventual Slav peril."

Prof. RAGNISO, of the University of Rome says: "It would be the blackest shame if Poland should not again become a nation at the end of this war through which a peace founded on the right of nationality will force its way."

Prof. RONCALI, of the University of Genoa, sees in the resurrection of Poland "the possibility of contributing to the realization of that ideal of a peace between the peoples restored to liberty."

"This peace" — exclaims Signor CICOTTI — "will never be assured whilst there remains in Europe one morsel of land separated from its national state."

Prof. MAJORANA, of the University of Palermo, maintains that "an impendent Poland, besides contributing to the equilibrium and civilization of Europe, would be on the road on which every nationality in Europe should find itself in the future."

Prof. COLAJANNI, Deputy, recalls the fact that—"Poland resuscitated will represent the triumph of the principle of nationality and of that international political system for which Mazzini fought for forty years.... It will constitute one of the strongest elements in favor of a just and durable 'Pax europea'."

Senator GABBA has no doubt that "the reconstitution of Poland would be an advantage for the whole civilized world and for Italy in particular."

Senator MAJNONI d'Intignano is sure that "it would be an element of concord and of peace in the European concert."

Prof. ABATE LONGO, of the University of Catania, declares that "the reconstitution of Poland as a political unit would be a gain for Europe and a real step towards political equilibrium, not of a fictitious nature, but based upon laws more in conformity with the laws of nature."

"For a lasting peace things must be put in their natural order", Prof. SABBATINI says, and he adds: "Poland would serve as a buffer between Russia, Germany and Austria."

That is also the opinion of Prof. MUSATTI, according to whom "the unification of Poland would mark a new era in the peace of the world."

To the first question Prof. VIDARI, of the University of Turin, answers with a decided "yes." "To claim the reorganization, in a free and independent state, of those

people who have preserved their feeling of national unity through all the vicissitudes of history or have re-awakened and revived it in the present time, is the moral duty of all" and he considers—"that the political reconstitution of the Polish nation in a free and independent State would be a new and extremely strong element of equilibrium, because it would serve as a buffer to deaden or prevent conflict between those two rival powers, Germany and Russia."

"An independent Poland would give the solution to one of the weightiest problems of modern Europe" is the opinion of Prof. RICCOBONO. According to Prof. MERENDA, of the University of Palermo, the reconstitution of Poland would be advantageous to the whole of Europe "as, from its geographical position, it is made to be a hindrance to direct contact between the two great powers of different race, both eager for expansion; in other words, Poland would cement the new European equilibrium at the end of the present war."

Signor BORELLI remarks that it will be necessary to resolve "these most complicated national problems", and that "an independent Poland would represent an admirable

fashion that there shall be no possibility of the promises made during the war being afterwards violated... A reconstituted Poland would prove a powerful rampart against certain possible invasions."

According to Prof. VITTA, Poland is "worthy to be an independent state between the three colossi who have squeezed it in on all sides." And Signor Vitta demonstrates the rôle of Poland to be that of "a rampart in the East."

Signor MEDA, Deputy, also says that "a reconstituted Poland would be an element of peace in the future balance of power in Europe, and placed as it is in the very centre of the Continent, it could exercise a moderating influence in the conflict between those races who struggle for pre-dominance."

Prof. VECCHIA is of the same opinion.

"All the sympathies of the Italians, the Latin and the Western races", — asserts Signor CAPPÀ, Deputy, "turn towards a resuscitated and independent Poland which would diminish the peril of Slavism."

Prof. COGLIOLO, of the University of Genoa, admits



Kalisz — Nadworna and Babina Streets, (Ulice Nadworna i Babina.)

element of equilibrium between the Russians and the Germans in their lust for predominance."

Prof. ORESANO, of the University of Palermo, declares that "it would be indisputably advantageous to the European Powers if Poland had always existed and were in existence to-day. The policy of the three great empires would then have been more reciprocally sincere and less characterized by animosity.

"A strong and independent Poland would have served as a barrier in the East and in the West as a medium for changing 'Slavism' into a civilized energy pre-eminently Western."

According to Prince di FRASSO DENTICE, Senator, "This new state would be an obstacle to the immense territorial preponderance of Russia."

Count EDWARD SODERINI, Deputy, observes: "that it is especially important that the re-awakening of conscience in the peoples of Europe, which seems now to have taken place, should not be a mere passing phase, and that they must insist upon the reconstitution of Poland in such

that "If the reconstitution of Poland takes place, we ought all to recognize that in that nation are to be found all the ethnographical and social characteristics of a united and independent people."

Prof. BRINI, of the University of Bologna, also declares that "all reason, human and divine, demands that the Martyrdom of the heroic Polish nation should cease."

Senator DI LORENZO acquiesced in all the questions.

For Prof. CARLO ARNO "the Italians who have preserved the ideal of Garibaldi and Francesco Nullo cannot be indifferent to the future of Poland."

"Italy" exclaims Prof. COSTA, of the University of Bologna, "remembers all the Polish blood shed for its liberty and would hail a reconstituted Poland with fraternal joy."

"This would be a title of honor and an indication of civilization", observes Signor FERRIANI.

According to Signor COORADINI also, "Poland deserves to be free and great on account of its heroism."

Prof. ACHILLE LORIA, of the University of Turin, repudiates with energy any other solution to the problem than "an independent Poland," for any other "would merely perpetuate, in disguised form, the present slavery which it would be worse than useless to support or encourage."

"I have little faith in the promises of Kings", avows Prof. MANZATO in his fine reply, "however, if the word of the Emperor has been given before his friends, his enemies, and the whole world, under such terrible circumstances, it must be made good.... Polish Friends! Your faith was constant: the promise cannot fail you! You will be, or rather you will again become, a people! A race of heroes!"

Prof. ZOCCO-ROSA, of the University of Catania, declares that "in the future Congress, which will gain for Europe the benefits of a peace, the legitimate and time-honored aspirations of Poland cannot be forgotten. Who dare dispute that the national resurrection of Poland will contribute to reestablish the political tranquillity and equilibrium of Europe upon a solid basis?"

According to Prof. PAOLO ORANO, "the Polish problem does not exist. What alone exists is the intangible right to its liberty and independence of one of the noblest and most spiritual peoples of the world. For me it is a sacred duty to give my pen, my words, and my arm for the cause of Poland. Those who know what Poland has thought, wished and done for the Italian cause, know that this is only a just return."

To conclude, we give the interesting declaration of Signor LUIGI LUZZATTI, former President of the Ministry: "The final conqueror, whoever he may be, will have an infinite number of sins to be pardoned by offended humanity; the restoration of Poland with its organization as a constitutional kingdom, tardy reparation for an age-long martyrdom, will be but a partial expiation before God and before history.

"All the Poles, reunited in one free State, will be able to develop their admirable virtues which until now have been choked, and will make good the time wasted in slavery by helping the advance of civilization.

"They will be just towards these of different religions comprised in the new nation. In this they may take example from the Swiss who have created a solid political unity, by respecting the rights of four races, distinct in origin and religion. In a word, they will be the Italians of Eastern mid-Europe."

"Whilst recalling the sublime songs of their national poet Adam Mickiewicz, I send to-day a fraternal greeting to those now emerging from their long bondage. This great poet, having survived the death of Poland, will be with it in its glorious resurrection.

"In that solemn day of redemption which all hope may be at hand and the precursor of other deliverances, those who still believe in the eternal principles of morality, liberty and democracy, whilst recalling the tragedies of this barbarous war, will exclaim with a sigh of joy: 'BUT AT LEAST POLAND HAS BEEN FREED!'"

* * *

The Italian Press, on its side, has cordially maintained its tradition of sympathy for Poland. It has strongly condemned the policy of Russification and Germanization of the Poles; the barbarity of Prussia specially has stirred it deeply.

It must be acknowledged that the proclamation of the Grand Duke Nicolas has been received in Italy with a mistrust which is without doubt justified by the past. The CORRIERE DELLA SERA of 16th August, in pu-

blishing the proclamation, comments upon the attitude of the Germans and of the Russians with regard to the Poles, whose support they both seek to gain. "The ancient Kingdom of Poland, the Calvary of national torture", where the game of political claims, promises and flatteries rivals in importance the clash of arms, is quite as important to conquer as by force of arms; for the "mute hostility" of the country which must become the seat of war "can assume a thousand dangerous forms."

The GIORNALE D'ITALIA of 17th August publishes a commentary on this in which it points out (in accordance with an avowal of this by the powerful co-partners in the partition of the country) the importance of Poland as a political factor in the present war. "The Poles receive promises and flatteries from three quarters, but national independence is carefully excluded from all the promises."

In concluding, the anonymous author says: "We shall see if, after the horrible butchery now going on, Poland will really regain the freedom she has prayed for in vain during so many centuries."

Signor Luigi Luzzatti, former President of the Ministry, in a searching article in the CORRIERE DELLA SERA of 28th August ("A tardy reparation to Poland") recalls the intolerance and the persecutions of the Germans and Russians in Poland. The author mistrusts promises made "by those Governments who for so many years treated all classes with injustice but only perceive this when they hear the effects of their iniquity; and once the hour of peril is past, they repent of their repentance."

Signor Arthur Labriola, professor and deputy, in a weighty article entitled "Poland and Democracy" published by the ROMA of 24th August, and quoted in many papers, examines the present state of European democracy in presence of the territorial aggrandizement which Russia expects to realize in Europe. "It is necessary to maintain", writes the author, "that until the public opinion of the Western countries is assured that they will be in a condition to obtain for the future Kingdom of Poland an autonomy so complete that it cannot be distinguished from independence, except for the simple personal union under the sovereignty of a common monarch; until that moment it will be necessary to be on guard that the former treachery should not be again committed towards Poland. This time it will not be Poland alone who will be betrayed, but with her the whole Western democracy." The author then examines the motives for this mistrust with regard to the reforms promised to Poland. "It is therefore essential to see that the new autonomy should not resemble the old." The author ends by affirming that the preponderance of Russia in Europe would lose much of its disquieting character if Poland were again independent.

The MESSAGERO of 17th August expresses the warmest wishes that Poland 'a land of artists and knights' always so sympathetic to Italy, may be resuscitated after so much suffering; this would at least be one "good deed" in the balance of this war.

Signor V. Bruschi, in the CORRIERE DELLE PUGLIE of 16th August, considers the reconstitution of the Polish nation useful for the peace of Europe and the equilibrium between Germany and Russia. "Is this the hour for Poland"? ask the CORRIERE DEL MATINO of 17th August, in a violent article in which it recalls the long martyrdom of Poland under Russian domination. In its opinion the promises of the Grand Duke can only excite mistrust.

In L'ITALIA of Milan, 16th August, under the title "Poland's Hour" Signor B. Mondada expresses the hope

that Poland revived will form the nucleus of a confederation of the Slavs of the South and the West.

Signor Paul Scarfiglio, in the *MATTINO* of 19th August, "Will Poland be reconstituted? — comments upon the noble intention of the Tsar, in promising Autonomy, and the proclamation of the Grand Duke "which cannot be withdrawn."

The *SCINTILLA* of 20th August, cries: "As Trieste will be restored to Italy, so Poland will tomorrow be again independent. Poland will be the centre of moral illumination on the Russian frontier.... We believe and we foresee this."

In an article "The Resurrection of Poland" of the *CORRIERE D'ITALIA* of 20th August, Signor Joseph Margotti shows clearly the situation of the Poles, the persecution which they have suffered both from Russia and Prussia, and their importance as factors in the present struggle. "Nicolas II may take his place in history with the glory of having freed the Poles, but for that, promises alone will not suffice. The Polish people wish to be at once reassured of the intangibility of the concessions granted to them. The fact accomplished should follow the promise without delay." On the 3rd of September he returns to the same subject in the *CORRIERE D'ITALIA*, observing that "the action of the Emperor is without doubt magnanimous, but can only be considered as tardy, and inspired by the interests of his Empire at this critical moment, rather than by consideration for the Poles."

L'IDEA DEMOCRATICA of 23rd August, points out the role of Poland as "the precursor of modern peoples, predestined to be an advance-guard of Europe in the East."

In *L'UNITA* of 28th August and of 4th September Sig. Giorgio d'Acandia publishes an excellent article which is an accurate resume of Polish-Russian relations. "The time has come", says the author, "for the free voice of Europe to insist on the independence of Poland.... A free State extending from the Baltic to the Carpathians, whilst acting as an energetic promotor of internal reform in Russia, will also serve as a point of union and concord between Germanism and Slavism, a mission which will assure the right of citizenship to Poland in the young Europe of the future. The same author devotes a series of articles to the Polish question in the *VITA ITALIANA ALL'ESTERO*, (15 November 1914, Jan., Feb. 1915.)

Sig. Sigismondo Kulczycki publishes an interesting article in the *TRIBUNA* of the 30th August, on Italian Art in Cracow; and in the *CORRIERE D'ITALIA* of 8th September, a vivid description of Lwow "the advanced sentinel of Western civilization."

Signor Ugo Ojetti in the *CORRIERE DELLA SERA* of the 27th September, speaks with ability in favor of the monuments of Cracow and insists strongly that they should be respected.

Prof. Felice Momigliano in the *Gazetta del Popolo* of 30th August, speaks of Poland and its poet Adam Mickiewicz.

The *RASSEGNA CONTEMPORANEA*, of the 25th August, inserts an article by Alexander Dudan on the Polish question and an anonymous one upon the social transformation of Poland after the partition, both authoritative. Sig. Dudan has besides published a remarkable article in the *TRIBUNA* of 11th August, under the title of "Poland is not Dead."

Signor Enrico Bacchiani, in an article in the *LUCIFERO*, of Ancona of 30th August, entitled "From Slavery to Liberty" greets the fall of German feudal Imperialism, and the resurrection of Poland."

L'ILLUSTRAZIONE POPOLARE, 3rd September, declares that "it is a new and almost greater torture for the Poles not to dare to place confidence in the promises of the Tsar."

The Marquis Filippo Crispolti gives a resume in the *MOMENTO*, 2nd September, of the history of the relations between Poland and Russia, and draws special attention to the calamitous influence of Prussia at Petrograd in all that concerns Poland. The author also recalls the religious persecutions in Posen.

Signor Ezio Gray, speaking in the *DOVERE NAZIONALE* of Venice, 5th September, of the "German method" of teaching in the schools, cites as example the brutalities practised on the Polish children by the masters in Posen.

The *SECOLO* of Milan publishes an article on the same subject entitled "Pan-Germanism and the School."

Signor Vincenzo Pasquario in an article on "Poland and Russia" in the *CORRIERE DI CATANIA* in which he shows a thorough knowledge of the history and literature of Poland, going back to the time of Bismarck, condemns the whole policy of Germany in Poland.

Signor Morichini, in the *RASSEGNA CONTEMPORANEA* 10th September, in an article called "A small Kingdom" praises the modern and exemplary methods by the Poles of Posen in agriculture, notwithstanding exceptionally difficult political conditions.

Signor Pietro Geminiani, in a clear-sighted article in the *PATRIA DEL FRIULI*, 17th September, recalls the abominable treatment of Poland by Prussia and remarks aptly "the present war is more a war between Poland and Germany than between Germany and Russia."

According to the *POPOLO DI BRESCIA* 17th September, (For Polish Liberty) "promises alone are not sufficient."

In a letter to the *GIORNALE D'ITALIA*, 18th September, Count Edward Soderini: "One forgets that the reconstitution of unhappy Poland, which we ought all to desire and strive for, would form an excellent and advantageous barrier for the Latins and would help in the progress and civilization of the Slav race."

Signor Franco Caburi in the *GIORNALE D'ITALIA*, 20th September says: "We should rejoice if the Poles should succeed in realizing their national unity and we also hope that Russia may keep its promise.... Of all the Slav peoples, the Poles are those who have least opposed the national aspirations of our compatriots, they have even supported them in recent years although in vain."

Prof. Sergi, in the *GIORNALE D'ITALIA*, 19th September, recalls the Prussian barbarism of the compulsory expropriation in Posen to prove that "Germany does not fight for civilization."

In the *GIORNALE DI SICILIA*, 21st September, the deputy Napoleon Colajanni speaks of the German oppression of Poland as more terrible than that of Russia, because so much more systematic.

One of the last articles of the lamented Senator Alessandro d'Ancona in the *GIORNALE D'ITALIA*, 25th September, was devoted to the Polish question (The Nemesis of the Polish Nation). The eminent historian, in commenting on the promise of the Tsar, is reminded of the time when Alexander I. wished to repair the wrongs of Catherine II. towards Poland. The heritage of Alexander seems to be taken up by Nicolas II. in the present manifesto. "It remains a fact", concludes the illustrious Senator, "that after the century and a half of persecution, the Power who wrought the most evil to Poland recognizes the wrong and wishes to repair it."

Prof. Augusto de Benedetti, in the *NUOVO GIORNA-*

LE 4th October, speaks of "Poland and the War." The Tsar had all to gain and nothing to lose... in a word, his great concession of autonomy amounts to putting in vigor again the compacts of the Congress of Vienna." The author finishes his vigorous and weighty article thus: "for the rest we are persuaded that the present monstrous European war cannot end without offering at least one compensation for so much ruin, the resurrection of a great and heroic people."

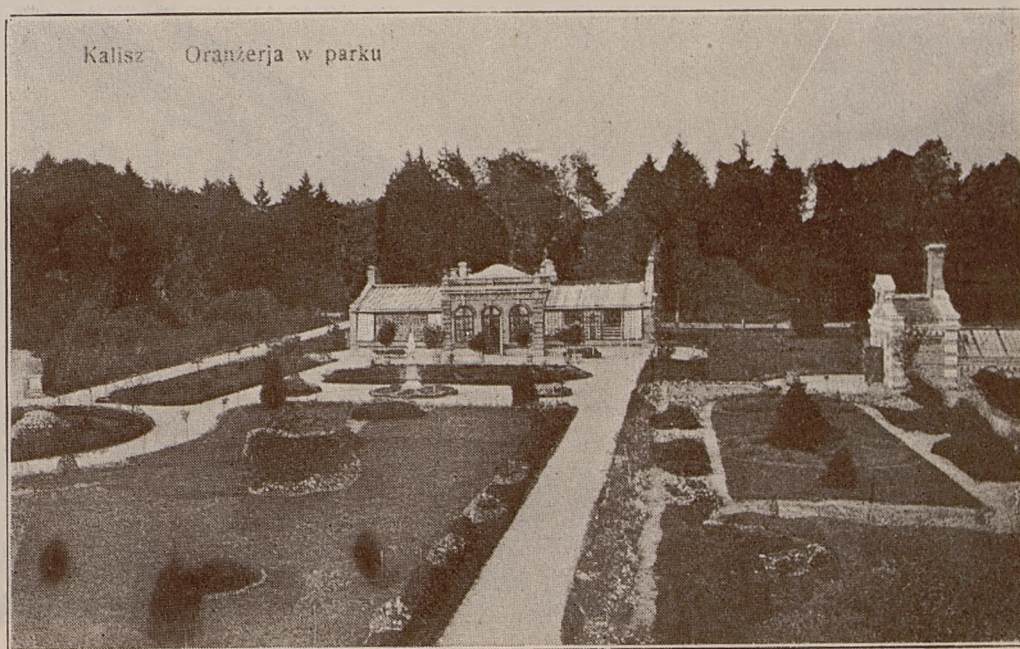
Astor in L'ORA of Palermo of 10th October, ("Future Poland") expresses the hope that "the spirit of the Latin race which animates the people of the Vistula, will find in its latent energies, the necessary strength to uplift them to their ancient grandeur."

Signor Angelo Piccoli states, in the *POPOLO ROMANO* of the 26th October, that the oft-deceived Poles are sceptical about the fulfilment of promises made.

Signor Michel Saponaro in *NATURA ED ARTE*, ("For Poland") and in *L'ILLUSTRAZIONE ITALIANA* ("The great Martyr") of October, publishes two most in-

the German atrocities at Kalisz, whole provinces destroyed, houses, farms, factories razed to the ground, in a word, the author gives us a harrowing description of this till lately so laboriously cultivated country.

In the *STAMPA* of Turin, of the 4th November, we find a remarkable article by Sig. Concetto Pettinatto ("The Resurrection of Poland") which shows how important for the success of the Russian army is the friendly attitude of Poland. The Russian at the beginning decided not to wage war in Polish territory.... Europe cannot but desire the creation of an independent Poland. Anyhow it will be necessary to come to some radical solution, which will adjust the balance of power not only in Europe, but also in the Slav world. "There could not be a more favorable moment than the present for the emersion from the great Slav nebula, of new groups, solidly constituted, capable of forming a counterpoise to the Russian menace. The Western and Southern Slavs should be used as a barrier against Russia. Any other policy is only provisional and imprudent.... So much greater will be the resistance they



Kalisz — A Park in the City.

teresting articles in which he analyses the Polish character with its idealism developed to a fault. "The Poles, wandering Jews of liberty, settled in all the European countries, lighting the flame of idealism in the homes of others." The author hopes to see "in the heart of Europe, a free, independent people, strong enough to put an end to two mad ambitions: pan-Slavism and pan-Germanism."

Signor Luciano Magrini sends to the *SECOLO* of 3rd November, a letter from Warsaw, which testifies to the atrocities committed by the Germans in Russian Poland, which, on the other hand, justifies the scepticism of the Poles in regard to the Russian promises by some striking facts; among others, the bureaucracy of Warsaw refusing to admit the official nature of the Grand Duke's proclamation. On December 13th in the same newspaper M. Magrini describes the tragic destiny of Poland, the fratricidal strife between Poles forced to fight in opposing armies,

will be able to oppose to the overwhelming strength of the Russians. Italy, whose future depends on her success in gaining the friendship of the Slav States, cannot do better than send friendly greetings to Poland.... Let us hope that the European Powers will insist on the definite establishment of the Kingdom of the Jagellons, the existence of which will undoubtedly help to prevent the speedy recurrence of the conflict which is now going on."

"Will Poland now come to life again?" the Abbe Vercesi asks in the *CORRIERE D'ITALIA* of 10th November. He then proceeds to examine the importance of Poland's position in Europe. "France and England are much interested in the autonomy of Poland... We ought also to rejoice in the resurrection of that country, not only as Catholics, but as Italians.... We must, at the right moment, demand the fulfilment of the promise made to Poland... Europe must insist on a neutral and independent Poland

having nothing in common with Russia, because", remarks the author "the Poles do not form part of Russian Slavism." In another article of 17th November, the Abbe Vercesi "does not deceive himself" on the question of whether the promises made before the war will be fulfilled when peace is made, and he cites as an example the Tsar's ukase during the Russo-Japanese war.

The VANTI of 4th December ("Poland and the Polish Question") considers it quite possible that "events may oblige Russia to give Poland its autonomy, but that she will never give it voluntarily."

A letter from Warsaw to the IDEA NAZIONALE of 7th December, testifies to the enthusiasm of the Russians for the efficient help which the Poles give to the army, adding that it is also gratefully acknowledged in high military circles. Still, on the other hand, the author

hopes for justice". The same newspaper of 28th December, in inserting the proclamation of the National Committee of Warsaw, lays great stress on the admirable spirit of sacrifice shown by the Poles.

The GIORNALE D'ITALIA of 26th December, publishes interesting statistics on the Polish population. It shows how "the population has always increased, in spite of the violent and artful measures adopted to try to uproot and disperse it."

In NOI E IL MONDO of 1st January, 1915, M. Bergeret (Ettore Marroni) publishes an article on Russian-Poland. Ignotus, in MARZOCCO (a Florentine paper) of 3rd January ("The Poles and the "Kultur") stigmatizes the so-called German culture in Posen.

Signor Ezio M. Gray contributes a forcible article to the GAZZETTA DI VENEZIA, 1st February, "From Po-



The Public Square in Kalisz.

remarks "that the feeling of Government authorities and their attitude toward the Poles, have not undergone any change."

In the PROVINCIA PAVESE of 17th December, Signor Maggi Spartaco ("The groans of Poland") traces for us a striking picture of the vicissitudes and disillusionments of the Polish nation, and ends by addressing himself to Europe, whose duty he deems it to be, to give back to sorely-tried Poland the liberty it so richly deserves.

Signor Ettore Mari in an article in the CORRIERE D'ITALIA of 21st December, on the military operations, speaks of the innocent victims of the war—Belgium and Poland, — and ends thus: "The awful misery of Belgium has been shown up; the whole human race has been stirred to rebellion and pity and has done what she could to alleviate it. But who has troubled about Poland?"

In the GAZZETTA DI VENEZIA of 18th December, there is a touching article on "The heroic martyr who still

land to the Argonne". He recalls the memory of the Garibaldian Colonel Nullo, who died in the insurrection of 1863 and unites the Garibaldian ideal, which has never ceased, but comes ever to life again in the history of humanity, with the reconstitution of Poland, left in oblivion until now.

In the February number of the SECOLO XX of Milan we find a historical article by M. L. Siliprandi upon "Poland devastated". The author remarks that the enemies who are now fighting on Polish soil are the very people who dismembered it!

Signor Orazio Pedrazzi in the NUOVO GIORNALE of Florence, 4th January, thus concludes his enthusiastic appeal ("Long live Poland"). "When one has proclaimed liberty to a people there is no turning back.... It has been given the hope of a renewed existence, will never rest until it has attained it."

(To be continued)

Invocation To Poetry

From The UNDIVINE COMEDY—By ZYGMUNT KRASINSKI



ZYGMUNT KRASINSKI, the heir of an old aristocratic family, whose father Count Vincent Krasinski was an adjutant of Napoleon's, was born at Paris on February 19th, 1812. Zygmunt received a very careful education and at the age of fourteen he wrote two novels in the style of his favorite author, Walter Scott. At Geneva in 1830 he met Mickiewicz, and thereafter turned his mind to poetry. In 1833 appeared his first poetic tale, AGAY HAN, and later he wrote one of his greatest works, NIEBOSKA KOMEDYA (The Undivine Comedy). NIEBOSKA KOMEDYA deals with the loftiest themes of social and spiritual life; the pursuit of a phantom ideal instead of the path of plain duty; the clash between aristocracy and democracy; the ultimate salvation brought about by Christianity. The old aristocracy is represented by Count Henry; the ideals of the materialized democracy are embodied in the character of Pancras. In this poem Krasinski's philosophy is brought before the reader in concrete forms, with sublime imagery and an insight into the future almost apocalyptic.

His highest achievement is the half epic, half dramatic poem, IRYDION, written in Rome and published in 1836. The degeneracy of Rome under the Caesars and the enthusiastic patriotism of the Greeks are contrasted in glowing colors. In conception and execution the poem recalls THE UNDIVINE COMEDY. Rome is pagan and the Greeks disregard Christianity through which alone their salvations can be wrought. Poland is always before the poet's eye, and the application to her case is obvious.

He also wrote several prose works of a symbolic character, but the prose is dithyrambic and impassioned. His POKUSA (Temptation) exhorts the Poles holding governmental positions not to lose their national dignity and beseeches Poland to pardon those misled—a strange vision of grief and hope with passages of thrilling power. NOC LETNIA appeared also, in 1841.

His PRZEDŚWIT (The Dawn) is a series of beautiful canzone in which he praises the moral elements of the Polish Past, and again proclaimed the necessity of reviving them. In the three famous PSALMS OF THE FUTURE (1845-48) he glorified the heroism and self-sacrifice and martyrdom of Poland.

Krasinski died in Paris on February 23rd, 1859 — the last of the triumvirate of poets. He is another illustrious example of that "every Polish poet was a Polish patriot". Krasinski taught the philosophy of non-resistance and self-abnegation. With serene confidence he left the future in the hands of eternal justice, and insisted that the moral regeneration of Poland must precede her political reestablishment. In all his works this note of lofty morality is struck, and Christianity is put forward as the only reconciling power between conflicting forces.

Krasinski was no lover of art for art's sake; poetry must have a living purpose, and in this spirit the Invocation to the Muse was written which opens The Undivine Comedy.

To ears which heed thy lays, thou givest joys,
Raptures ineffable! Thou weavest hearts
Together, then untwin'st them like a wreath,
As wild caprice my guide thy flame-lit fingers!
Thou forest tears, then driest them with a smile;
Thou scar'st away the smile from paling lips,
Perhaps but for a moment, a few hours,
Perhaps for evermore!
But thou! — What dost thou feel, and what create?
A living stream of beauty flows through thee,
But Beauty thou art not! woe, to thee!
The weeping child upon the mother's breast,
The field-flower knowing not its perfumed gift,
More merit have before the Lord than thou!
Whence com'st thou, fleeting shadow? to the Light
Still bearing witness, though thou know'st it not,
Hast never seen it, nor wilt ever see!
In anger or in mockery wert thou made?
So full of self-deceit that thou can'st play
The angel to the moment when thou fall'st,
And crawl'st like a reptile upon earth,
Stifled in mud, or feeding upon dust!
Thou and the woman have like origin!

Alas! thou sufferest too, although the pangs
Bring naught to birth, nothing create, nor serve!
The groans of the unfortunate are weighed;
The lowest beggar's sighs counted in heaven,
Gathered and sung upon celestial harps:
But thy despair and sighs fall to the earth,
Where Satan gathers them; adds them with joy
To his own lies, illusions, mockeries!
The Lord will yet disown them, as they have
Ever disowned the Lord!
Not that I rise against thee, Poetry,—
Mother of Beauty, of ideal life!
But I must pity him condemned to dwell
Within the limits of these whirling worlds,
In dying agonies, or yet to be
Doomed to sad memories, or prophecies,
Perchance remorse, or vague presentiments,—
Who gives himself to thee! for everywhere
Thou ruinnest wholly those who consecrate
Themselves, with all they are, to thee alone,
Who solely live the voices of thy glory!

Blessed is he in whom thou mak'st thy home,
As God dwelt in the world, concealed, unknown,
But grand and mighty in each separate part:
The unseen God, before whom creatures bow,
And kneeling cry, "Behold him! He is here!"
A guiding star, he bears thee on his brow,
And no unfaithful word will sever him
From thy true love! He will love men, and be
A man himself, encircled by his brothers!

From him who keeps not with thee perfect faith,
Betrays thee to the hour, or his own needs,
Devotes thee to man's perishable joys,
Painting the sensual with thy hues divine, —
Thou turn'st away thy face, while scattering
Perchance upon his brow some fading flowers,
Of which he strives to twine a funeral crown,
Spending his life to weave a wreath of death!
He and the woman have one origin!

Translation of MARTHA WALTER COOK.

Stars circle round thy head; and at thy feet
Surges the sea, upon whose hurrying waves
A rainbow glide before thee, cleaving the clouds!
Whate'er thou look'st upon is thine! Coasts, ships,
Men, mountains, cities, all belonging to thee!
Master of Heaven as earth, it seems as naught
Could equal thee in glory!

FREE POLAND

A SEMI-MONTHLY

The Truth About Poland and Her People

PUBLICATION AUTHORIZED BY
THE POLISH NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICA

Business Manager: STANISŁAW OSADA

Edited under the supervision of the Press Committee
of the Polish National Council:

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CASIMIR GONSKI.

Subscription \$1.00 per year.

Single Copy 5 cents

ADDRESS ALL COMMUNICATIONS TO
"FREE POLAND"

Polish National Council of America
984-986 Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
TEL. MONROE 1806.

To Editors and Publishers

The Polish Question is a timely one throughout the world. The contents of this publication will furnish, we hope, adequate material for use at opportune moments.

An Eventful Fate

The current month will witness a number of patriotic festivities to be held in connection with the 124th anniversary of the proclamation of the Constitution of the Third May. The first partition of Poland, in 1773 was followed by a period of regeneration resulting in the drafting of the famous document.

In brief, the Constitution established religious toleration and made every citizen equal before the law. It created a hereditary limited monarchy, and mitigated the system of serfdom which in time was to be abolished entirely. I did away with all class distinctions and extended franchise to the towns. It abolished the liberum veto — a dangerous policy which enabled one member to disrupt the proceedings of the Diet.

The Constitution marked the dawn of a new national era, and what is more, its adoption did not result in popular outbreaks and revolutions.

"The Constitution of May 3rd, 1791," writes Sir James McKintosh, "was the first constitution in the history of civilization abolishing serfdom and the privileges of nobility without the shedding of one drop of blood."

But Russia and Prussia saw the danger of the liberal movement and lost no time in crushing the new life, and ever since they have tried to kill the national spirit — in vain!

Do not forget to read to-day's installment of Sir MacKintosh's ACCOUNT OF THE PARTITION OF POLAND.

* * *

?

What is Russia's intention with regard to Poland? Is a lasting autonomy, not to mention independence, assured by Russia to Poland?

The writer in the article entitled RUSSIA'S PROMISE TO POLAND, which appeared in the last issue of FREE POLAND, pointed out that in the actual state of Russia a real autonomy for Poland is quite impossible. Whatever autonomy the Czar may grant, he says, will be quickly annihilated by the reactionary movement ruling Russia. He concludes that in the interest of a lasting peace Poland must be independent and neutral.

Italian opinion, especially as expressed by Antonio Russo, also fears the reactionary bureaucrats of Russia, and is strong, as so many Italian newspapers have expressed it, "per la Polonia una, libera, indipendente, e contro lo czarismo russo e l'imperialismo austriaco."

In the midst of all this discussion comes the Russian grant of municipal and local autonomy. "Municipal autonomy," writes the CHICAGO TRIBUNE "with the free use of the Polish language in the city and town councils, cannot fail to stimulate national hopes and aspirations. An era of suppression and compulsory Russification is closed and an era of progress toward true autonomy is opened. The most powerful of the conservative Petrograd papers, long anti-Polish and anti-Semitic, recognizes the transformation and gracefully welcomes it. It calls the Poles brothers and congratulates them on the equality they have gained at last with reference to management of local affairs and the privileges of using their own language.

"May local autonomy prove there," the TRIBUNE concludes, "as it is elsewhere, a school for wide and genuine national autonomy and self-government."

The CHICAGO JOURNAL is more optimistic and calls the grant of local autonomy "a boon to Poland."

"Russia", it says, "has taken another step in the liberation of Poland. She has passed a law giving Polish towns and cities the same rights of self-government possessed by Russian communities. Contrary to the usual belief in this country, Russian cities and vilages enjoy a large measure of local independence; so the boon to Poland is very great, in spite of some vexatious regulations on the score of language.

"The law is of value, likewise, as showing that the Russian government means to keep its pledge. The first step was executive, a relaxation of the autocratic rules framed to keep Poland in order. The second is this present grant of local self-government. The next should be autonomy for the Polish people in their complete national capacity."

Mr. Wachtel, associate editor of the Chicago Polish Daily News, commenting on the Russian grant of local autonomy, chafes under what seems to be the accepted opinion of the world that autonomy is the only desired goal of Polish aspirations.

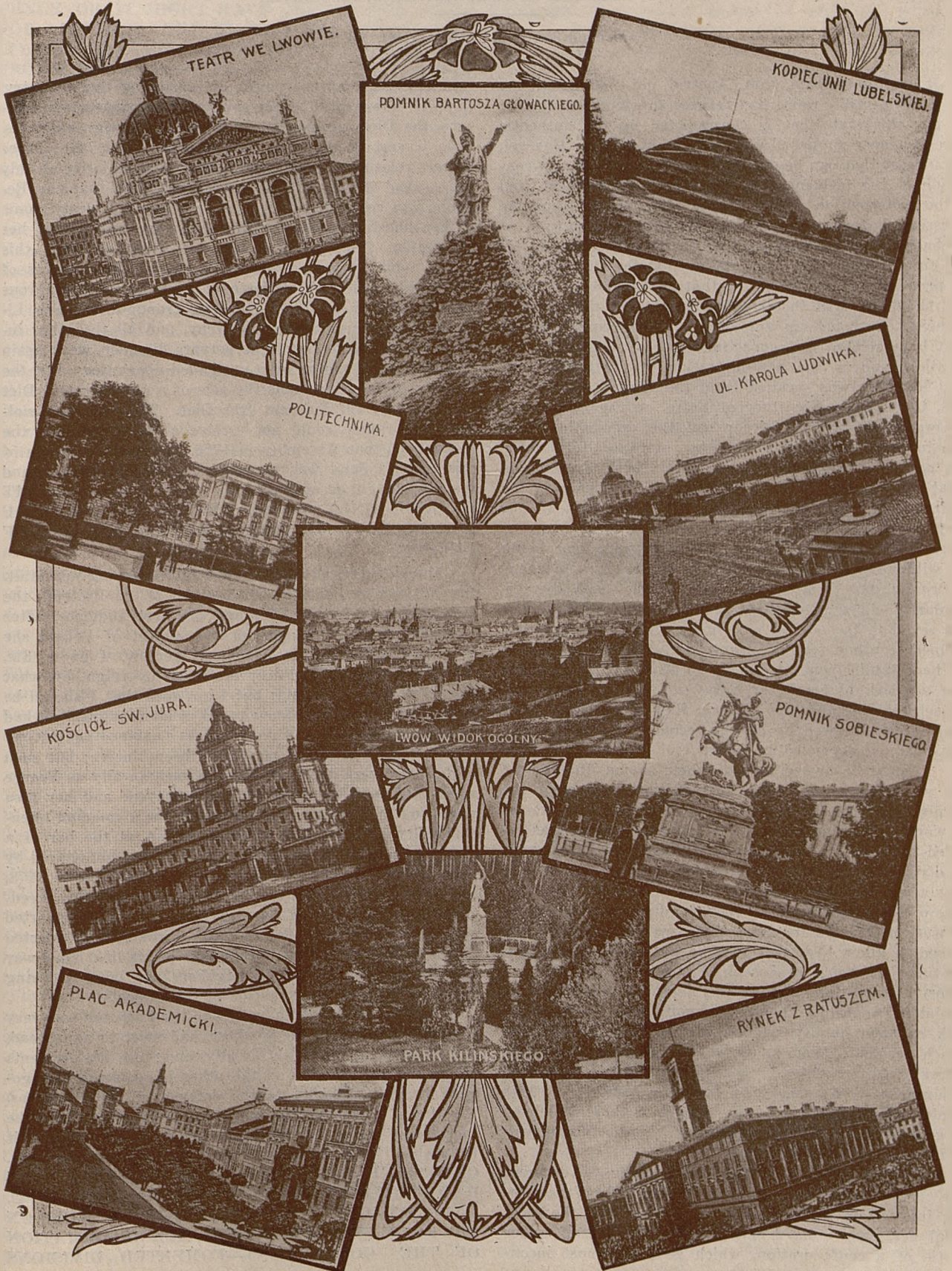
"As a matter of principle", he writes in his editorial entitled "The First Step of Russia," "autonomy is not enough. There are nations, less numerous, less united and less cultural than we, yet enjoying a full measure of independence. Poland should be free and independent under a concert of European Powers, not only under Russia. Only Europe must recognize that a free and independent Poland is entitled to its place in the sun."

Yet one thing is certain—that Russia has at least given local government to Polish cities. If this should lead to a complete autonomy, will the Russian reactionists

again succeed in whittling away the concessions granted to Poland by the Czar? And will a future historian again write that France and England were "alike deserters

of the right of nations, and betrayers of the liberties of Europe", and that they "saw the crime consummated without stretching forth an arm to prevent it?"

VIEWS FROM LEMBERG—Said to be threatened with compulsory Russification



TEATR WE LWOWIE.

POMNIK BARTOSZA GŁOWACKIEGO.

KOPIEC UNII LUBELSKIEJ.

POLITECHNIKA.

UL. KAROLA LUDWIKA.

KOŚCIÓŁ ŚW. JURA.

LWÓW WIDOK OGÓLNY.

POMNIK SOBIESKIEGO.

PLAC AKADEMICKI.

PARK KILINSKIEGO.

RYNEK Z RATUSZEM.

An Account of the Partition of Poland

By *SIR JAMES MacKINTOSH*

(Originally Published in the *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. XXXVII.)

(Continued from *FREE POLAND*, No. 15)

It has been said that Austria did not accede to the Partition till France had refused to cooperate against it; but this statement is contradicted by the authentic correspondence published by Goertz, as well as by Georgel. The utmost that can be supposed to be true is, that a conviction of the feebleness of the French government, and of the indisposition of the French ministers to incur the necessary hazards, was among the principal motives of the base and fatal resolution of the Austrian Court. It has, on the other hand, been stated, that the Duc d'Aiguillon proposed to Lord Rochfort that an English or French fleet should be sent to the Baltic to prevent the dismemberment. But such an application, if it occurred at all, must have related to transactions long antecedent to the partition, and to the administration of d'Aiguillon, for Lord Rochfort was recalled from the French embassy in 1768, to be made Secretary of State, on the resignation of Lord Shelbourne. Neither can the application have been to Lord Rochfort as Secretary of State; for France was not in his department. In truth, both France and Great Britain had, at that time, lost all influence in the affairs of Europe;—France, from the imbecility of her government, and partly, in the case of Poland, from reliance on the Court of Vienna; Great Britain, from being left without an ally, in consequence of her own treachery to Prussia, but in a still greater degree from the unpopularity of her government at home, and the approaches of a revolt in the noblest part of her Colonies, which was destined to atone for the triumph of tyranny in Europe, by the establishment of liberty in America. Had there been a spark of spirit, or a ray of wise policy in the counsels of England and France, they would have been immediately followed by all the secondary powers whose very existence depended on the general reverence for justice. It must be owned also, to their shame, that ample time was afforded for their interposition, even after the conspiracy of the Three Powers was made known to all the world. The completion of the dismemberment was retarded both by the usual quarrels among banditti about the distribution of booty, and by the stand made by the Poles after they were abandoned by all Europe. The disputes of the Three Powers about the division of the plunder were protracted for more than two years. Catharine refused to allow Frederick to take possession of Danzig. The turbulent spirit of Joseph II suggested a still more extensive partition; and, in the midst of professions of inviolable friendship, they were more than once on the brink of open enmity. Panin at one time said to the French resident, "You know we are not yet in a state to break with our allies." The great advantage promised by our proverb to honest men from the quarrels of their enemies, might still have been reaped, if there had been one government in Europe capable of vigorously performing its duty to civilized society.

The Poles made a gallant stand. The Government were compelled to call a Diet, and, though the Three Powers insisted on the necessity of unanimity in the most trivial act, they obliged this Diet to form itself under the tie of a confederation, which gave the most incon-

siderable majority the power of sacrificing their country. In spite, however, of every species of corruption and violence, the Diet, surrounded as it was by foreign bayonets, gave powers to deputies to negotiate with the Three Powers relating to their pretensions, by a majority of only one. And it was not till September 1773, that the Republic was compelled to cede, by a pretended treaty, some of her finest provinces, with nearly five millions of her population. The conspirators, not satisfied with this act of robbery, were resolved to deprive the remains of the Polish nation of all hope of establishing a vigorous government, or attaining domestic tranquillity. The *Liberum Veto*, the elective monarchy, and all the other institutions which tended to perpetuate disorder, were again imposed on the nation by a pretended guarantee. But the ancient Constitution made the acts of a confederative Diet binding, only till the next free Diet. These acts of violence and rapine could not receive a legal form till the meeting of that Assembly in 1776. During the whole of that time, Poland was occupied by Russian troops; and the kind language of Catharine to Stanislaus was,—"IT DEPENDS ONLY ON ME WHETHER THE NAME OF POLAND IS TO BE STRUCK OUT OF THE MAP OF EUROPE."

Maria Theresa had the merit of confessing her fault. On the 19th of February 1775, when M. de Breteuil, the ambassador of Louis XVI, had his first audience, after some embarrassed remarks on the subject of Poland she at length exclaimed, in a tone of sorrow, 'I know, Sir, that I have brought a deep stain on my reign, by what has been done in Poland; but I am sure that I should be forgiven, if it could be known with what repugnance I had to do it, and how many circumstances combined against my principles.' Her regret may have been sincere; but such professions were due in decency to such an ally as France which had been so deceived and betrayed; and her plea would not have obtained an acquittal for a common offender guilty of a far less atrocious crime, at the bar of a court of justice. If she felt remorse, it was not shared by her son, who, at the period of the Bavarian war in 1778, and at the death of his mother in 1780, proposed to Frederick II the Partition of Germany, which though supported on both occasions by Prince Henry, was firmly rejected by the King, who, in the latter years of his life, made war only for the security of his neighbors, and labored during peace to improve the condition of his subjects.

The guilt of the three parties to the Partition was very unequal. Frederick, the weakest, had most to apprehend, both from a rupture with his ally, and from the accidents of general war; while, on the other hand, some enlargement seemed requisite to the defence of his dominions. The House of Austria entered late and reluctantly into the conspiracy, which she probably might have escaped if France had been under a more vigorous government. **CATHARINE WAS THE GREAT CRIMINAL. SHE HAD FOR EIGHT YEARS OPPRESSED, BETRAYED, AND RAVAGED POLAND—IMPOSED A KING ON THAT COUNTRY—PREVENTED ALL REFORMATION OF THE GOVERNMENT—FOMENTED DIVISIONS**

AMONG THE NOBILITY—AND, IN ONE WORD CREATED AND MAINTAINED THAT ANARCHY, WHICH SHE AT LENGTH USED AS A PRETENCE FOR DISMEMBERMENT. HER VAST EMPIRE NEEDED NO ACCESSION OF TERRITORY FOR DEFENCE, OR, IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN HOPED, EVEN FOR AMBITION. YET, BY HER INSATIABLE AVIDITY FOR NEW CONQUEST FROM TURKEY, SHE PRODUCED THE PRETENDED NECESSITY FOR THE PARTITION. In order to prevent her from acquiring the Crimea, Moldavia, and Walachia, the Courts of Vienna and Berlin agreed to allow her to commit an equivalent robbery on Poland, on condition that each of them should rob the same country to the same amount,—thus preserving the balance of power by an agreement that their booty should be equal, and preventing Russia from disproportionate aggrandizement, by seizing on the provinces of a State, with which they were all three at peace and in amity, and whose territories they were bound by treaties, and pledged by recent declarations, to maintain inviolate. Monstrous as this transaction was, it is evident that, whoever first proposed it, **CATHARINE WAS THE REAL CAUSE AND AUTHOR OF THE WHOLE.** This blame which she was daring enough to take on herself, will blacken her memory in the eyes of the latest posterity; and should any historian, dazzled by the splendor of her reign, or more excusably seduced by her genius — her love of letters—her efforts in legislation—and her real services to her subjects, labor to palliate this great offense, he will only share her infamy in the vain attempt to extenuate her guilt.

It must be owned, that the unfortunate structure of society in Poland, and the vicious constitution of its government, rendered it more easy for its unprincipled neighbors to dismember its territories. The danger of an elective monarchy, and especially of foreign candidates, was great. The law, which required unanimity, and sanctioned armed combinations of individuals, was at variance with all the principles of good government. But many states, with institutions equally objectionable, have continued for ages safe and powerful. Villanage has been considered as one of the causes of the downfall of Poland; and it has sometimes been perfidiously used to lessen our indignation against the Partition. Unquestionably, every country is weakened by so detestable an institution as personal slavery, which renders it impossible to arm the greatest part of the inhabitants in the public defence. But it should be considered in this case, that the peasants of the neighboring nations were serfs as much as those of Poland; and that she never was at war with any country but Sweden, where the body of the laborers were free. The Polish serfs never revolted against their labor, nor joined the enemies of (what could hardly be called) their country. Their condition was only a deduction from the military strength of the state, and cannot be regarded as more than as negatively contributing to its ruin, and rendering its reestablishment more hopeless. The intolerant laws against the Dissidents were an immediate agent in the destruction of the Republic. Among the other evils of such laws, it is none of the least that they create a body of disaffected citizens; and, in times of danger, tend to drive them into the arms of an enemy. The cause of the Dissidents was the fatal pretext for the interference of Russia; it gave her policy a specious color of liberality; and, for a time, rendered the Poles unpopular throughout Europe for their resistance to the tolerant principles of the age. It is very remarkable that the laws against the Dissidents began not long after the commencement of the laws against the Catholics in Ireland, at the moment when

all other enlightened nations were beginning to adopt the principle of religious liberty. There are, indeed, several other resemblances in the character and fate of these two unfortunate nations, who were both torn in pieces by religious bigotry, — who both possessed an ingenious, accomplished, and gallant gentry, — who gave a refined exterior to the community; while in both, the body of the people, amidst all the beauty of nature, presented a general scene of disorder and beggary;— with this extraordinary difference, however, that the policy of Great Britain in Ireland, discovered the art of lowering the Irish peasants, though enjoying the legal rights of freemen, to as abject a state of ignorance, vice and wretchedness, as the boors of Poland, who had no pretence to any privilege, but were bound to the soil, and abandoned by the law to the pleasure of their masters.

The defects of the Polish Government probably contributed to the loss of independence most directly by their



Odessa, on the Black Sea, is now an important Market and Chief Grain exporting seaport of Russia. It was the scene of much Fighting during the Crimean War. — Once under the Suzerainty of Poland.

influence on the military system. The body of the gentry returned the power of the sword, as well as the authority of the state, in their own hands. They were too jealous of the Crown to strengthen the regular army, though even that body was more in the power of the great officers named by the Diet than in that of the King. They continued to serve on horseback as in ancient times, and to regard the *Pospolite Ruszenie*, or general armament of the gentry, as the impenetrable bulwark of the Commonwealth. Unless, indeed, they had armed their slaves it would have been impossible to have established a formidable native infantry. Their armed force was adequate to the short irruptions or sudden enterprises of ancient war; and their mode of war was sufficient for their security and even greatness, while their enemies pursued a system nearly similar. But a body of noble cavalry was altogether incapable of the subordination and discipline, which are the essence of modern armies; and the military system was irreconcilable with the acquisition of the science of

war. They were unfitted for long hostilities, and for comprehensive plans of operation; they remained ignorant of the arts of attack and defence; they disdained fortifications; and, in fine, adopted none of those military improvements which have rendered civilized war an arduous and extensive science. It was impossible for them, therefore, to encounter the armies of neighboring states. In war alone, the Polish nobility were barbarians. War was the only part of civilization which the Russians had obtained. In one country the sovereign nobility of half a million durst neither arm their slaves, nor trust a mercenary army. In the other, the Czar, who ruled on the principles of Eastern despotism, naturally employed a standing army, which he, without fear, recruited among the enslaved peasantry. To them, military conscription was a reward, and the station of a private soldier a preferment. They were fitted by their previous condition to be rendered, by military discipline the most patient and obedient of soldiers, without enterprise, but without fear; equally inaccessible to discontent and attachment, passive and almost insensible members of the great military machine. The despotism of Russia, in short, easily adopted military improvements. The aristocracy of Poland stubbornly rejected them. Why these different forms prevailed in the two countries, is a more difficult question. There are many circumstances in the institutions and destiny of a people, which seem to arise from original peculiarities of national character, of which it is often impossible to explain the origin, or even to show the nature. Denmark and Sweden are countries situated in the same region of the globe, and inhabited by nations of the same descent, language, and religion; very similar in their manners, in their ancient institutions, and modern civilization. He would be a bold speculator who should attempt to account for the talent, fame, turbulence and revolutions of Sweden; and for the quiet prosperity and obscure mediocrity which have formed the character of Denmark.

There is no political doctrine more false or more pernicious than that which represents vices in internal government as an extenuation of unjust aggression against a country, and a consolation to mankind for the destruction of its independence. As no government is without great faults, such a doctrine multiplies the grounds of war, gives an unbounded scope to ambition, and furnishes benevolent pretexts for every sort of rapine. However bad the government of Poland may have been, its bad qualities do not in the least degree abate the evil consequence of the Partition, in weakening, by its example, the security of all other nations. An act of robbery on the hoards of a worthless miser, though they be bestowed on the needy and the deserving, does not the less shake the common basis of prosperity. The greater number of nations live under governments which are indisputably bad; but it is a less evil that they should continue in that state, than that they should be gathered under a single conqueror, even with a chance of improvement in their internal administration. Conquest and extensive empire are among the greatest evils, and the division of mankind into independent communities, is among the greatest advantages which fall to the lot of men. The multiplication of such communities increases the reciprocal control of opinion; strengthens the principles of generous rivalry; makes every man love his own and separate country with a warmer affection; brings nearer to all mankind the objects of noble ambition; and adds to the incentives to which we owe works of genius and acts of virtue.

There are some peculiarities in the condition of every civilized country which are peculiarly favorable to some

talents or good qualities. To destroy the independence of a people, is to annihilate a great assemblage of intellectual and moral qualities, which no human skill could bring together, which forms the character of a nation, and distinguishes it from other communities. As long as national spirit exists, there is always reason to hope that it will work real reformation. When national spirit is destroyed, though better forms may be imposed by a conqueror, there is no farther hope of those only valuable reformations which represent the sentiments, and issue from the heart of a people. The barons at Runnymede continued to be the masters of slaves; but the noble principles of the charter shortly began to release these slaves from bondage. Those who conquered at Marathon and Plataea were the masters of slaves; yet, by the defeat of Eastern tyrants, they preserved knowledge, liberty, civilization itself, and contributed to that progress of the human mind which will one day banish slavery from the world. It is impossible to estimate the loss which the whole human race may suffer by the destruction of the moral being called a nation with all the characteristic faculties and qualities which belong to it, and all the susceptibilities of improvement which may be interwoven with the structure of its character. How many germs of excellence may thus be crushed! How many powers extinguished which were to be unfolded in a more advanced period of national progress! Each people have peculiarities, and some of these peculiarities may be virtues, for the loss of which no other people can make adequate amends to the general society of mankind. Among nations, as among individuals, an unpromising youth is sometimes succeeded by a respectable manhood. Had the people of Scotland been conquered by Edward II or by Henry III, a common observer would have seen nothing in the event but that a race of turbulent barbarians was reduced to subjection by a more civilized state. It is only now we know that such an event would have destroyed the seeds of the genius and virtue which they have since displayed, and which the conscious dignity of national independence contributed to unfold.

After the first Partition of Poland was completed in 1776, that devoted country was suffered for sixteen years to enjoy an interval of more undisturbed tranquillity than it had known for a century. Russian armies ceased to vex it. The dispositions of other foreign powers became more favorable. Frederick II now entered on that spotless and honorable portion of his reign, in which he made a just war for the defence of the integrity of Bavaria, and of the independence of Germany. It has already been stated, that, on that occasion, he preferred a war in which he could win nothing, to a share in the Partition of Germany, with which he was tempted by Joseph II. Attempts were not wanting to seduce him into new enterprises against Poland. When, in the year 1782, reports were current that Potemkin was to be made King of Poland, that haughty and profligate barbarian told Count Goertz, the Prussian ambassador at Petersburg, that he despised the Polish nation too much to be ambitious of reigning over them. He desired the ambassador to communicate to his master a plan for a new Partition, observing that the first was only child's play, and that if they had taken all, the outcry would not have been greater; sentiments and language perfectly worthy of the leader of a gang of banditti. Goertz unwillingly communicated this proposal to his master. Every man who feels for the dignity of human nature, will rejoice that the illustrious monarch firmly rejected the proposal. Potemkin read over his refusal three times before he could believe his eyes; and at

length exclaimed, in language very common to certain politicians, "I never could have believed that King Frederick was capable of romantic ideas." As soon as Frederick returned to counsels worthy of himself, he became unfit for the purposes of the Empress, who in 1780, refused to renew her alliance with him, and found a more suitable instrument of her designs in the restless character, and shallow understanding, of Joseph II, whose unprincipled ambition was now released from the restraint which his mother's scruples had imposed on it. The project of re-establishing an Eastern empire now occupied the Court of Petersburg and a portion of the spoils of Turkey was a sufficient lure to Joseph. The state of Europe tended daily more and more to restore some degree of independence to the remains of Poland. Though France, her most ancient and constant ally, was then absorbed by the approaches of those tremendous mutations which have for more than thirty years agitated Europe, other powers now adopted a policy, of which the influence was favorable to the Poles. Prussia, as she receded from Russia, became gradually connected with England, Holland, and Sweden; and her honest policy in the care of Bavaria, placed her at the head of all the independent members of the Germanic Confederacy. Turkey declared war against Russia; and the Austrian Government was disturbed by the discontent and revolts which the precipitate innovations of Joseph had excited in various provinces of the monarchy. A formidable combination against the power of Russia was in process of time formed. Circumstances became not long after so favorable to the Poles, that in the treaty between Prussia and the Porte, concluded at Constantinople in January 1790, the contracting parties bound themselves to endeavor to obtain from Austria the restitution of those Polish provinces, to which she had given the name of Galicia.

During the progress of these auspicious changes, the Polish nation began to entertain the hope that they might at length be suffered to reform their institutions, to provide for their own quiet and safety, and to adopt that policy which might one day enable them resume their ancient station among European nations. From 1778 to 1788 no great measures had been adopted; but no tumults disturbed the country: reasonable opinions made some progress, and a national spirit was slowly reviving. The nobility patiently listened to plans for the establishment of a productive revenue and a regular army; a disposition to renounce their dangerous right of electing a king made perceptible advances; and the fatal law of unanimity had been so branded as an instrument of Russian policy, that in the Diets of these ten years, no nuncio was found bold enough to employ his negatives. At the breaking out of the Turkish war, the Poles ventured to refuse not only an alliance offered by Catharine, but even permission to her to raise a body of thirty thousand noble cavalry in the territories of the republic.

In the midst of these excellent symptoms of public sense and temper, a Diet assembled at Warsaw in October 1788, from whom the restoration of the republic was hoped and by whom it would have been accomplished, if their prudent and honest measures had not been defeated by one of the blackest acts of treachery recorded in the annals of mankind. Perhaps the four years which followed present a more signal example than any other part of history, — of patience, moderation, wisdom and integrity, in a popular assembly,—of spirit and unanimity among a turbulent people, of inveterate malignity in an old oppressor,—and of the most execrable perfidy in a pretended friend. The Diet applied themselves with the utmost dilig-

ence and caution to reform the State. They watched the progress of popular opinion and proposed no reformation till the public seemed ripe for its reception. When the spirit of the French Revolution was everywhere prevalent, these reformers had the courageous prudence to avoid whatever was visionary in its principles, or violent in their execution. They refused the powerful but perilous aid of the enthusiasm which it excited long before excesses and atrocities had rendered it odious. They were content to be reproached by their friends for the slowness of their reformatory measures; and to be despised for their limited extent by many of those generous minds who then aspired to bestow a new and more perfect liberty on mankind. After having taken measures for the reestablishment of the finances and the army, they employed the greater part of the year 1789 in the discussion of constitutional reforms, which, besides their own evident necessity, the Diet was called on to adopt by the King of Prussia, who offered, in December 1789 to enter into an alliance with the republic, on condition of an increase of the army to 60,000 men, and of the establishment of a new constitution.

A committee had been appointed in September 1789, who, before the conclusion of that year, made a report which contained an outline of the most necessary alterations in the government. No immediate decision was made on these propositions; but the sense of the Diet was, in the course of repeated discussions, more decisively manifested. In the year 1790, it was resolved, without a division, that the Elector of Saxony should be named successor to the Crown. This determination, which was the prelude to the establishment of hereditary monarchy, was confirmed by the Dietines, or Electoral Assemblies. The elective franchise, formerly exercised by all the nobility, was limited to landed proprietors; and many other fundamental principles of a new constitution were perfectly understood to be generally approved, thought they were not formerly established. In the meantime, as the Polish Diets were biennial, the assembly approached to the close of its legal duration. It was dangerous to intrust the work of reformation to an entirely new assembly; it seemed also dangerous to establish the precedent of Diets prolonging their own existence beyond the legal period. An expedient was adopted not indeed sanctioned by law, but founded in constitutional principles, and of which the success afforded a signal proof of the unanimity of the Polish nations. New writs were issued to all the Dietines, requiring them to choose the same number of Nuncios as usual. These elections proceeded regularly; and the new members being received by the old, formed with them a double Diet. Almost all the Dietines instructed their new representatives to vote for hereditary monarchy, and declared their approbation of the past conduct of the Diet.

On the 16th December 1790, the double Diet assembled with a more direct, deliberate, formal and complete authority, from the great majority of the freemen, to reform the abuses of the government than perhaps any other representative assembly in Europe ever possessed. They declared the pretended guarantee of Russia in 1776 to be "null, an invasion of national independence, incompatible with the natural rights of every civilized society, and with the political privileges of every nation." The Diet now felt the necessity of incorporating, in one law, all the reforms which had passed received the unequivocal sanction of public approbation. The state of foreign affairs, as well as the general voice at home, loudly called for the immediate adoption of such a measure. It was accordingly determined to lay before the Diet, on the 5th May 1791, a law, entitled the Constitution of Poland. The

apprehension of violence from all the Russian faction, now provoked by the smallness of their number among their own countrymen, one unfortunately encouraged by the condition of their wicked accomplices abroad, determined the patriotic party to anticipate the execution of their plan; and the new Constitution was presented to the Diet on the 3rd of May, after having been read and received the night before with unanimous and enthusiastic applause by far the greater part of the members of both Houses, at the palace of Prince Radziwill. Only twelve dissentient voices opposed it in the Diet; so small was the number of those enemies of their country whom the whole power and wealth of Muscovy could command. Never were debates and votes more free. These men, the most hateful of apostates, were neither attacked, nor threatened, nor insulted. The people of Poland, on this great and sacred occasion, seemed to have lost all the levity and turbulence of their character, and to have already learnt those virtues which are usually the slow fruit of that liberty which they were then only about to plant.

THE CONSTITUTION CONFIRMED THE RIGHTS OF THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH, TOGETHER WITH RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, AS DICTATED BY THE CHAR-



House of Industries, Posen. Posen, now a strongly fortified City, became the Seat of a Bishopric in the tenth Century, and was the Home of the early Polish Kings. Its Cathedral contains a golden Chapel and bronze Statues of the first two Christian Kings of Poland

ITY WHICH RELIGION INCULCATES AND INSPIRES. IT ESTABLISHED AN HEREDITARY MONARCHY IN THE ELECTORAL HOUSE OF SAXONY; RESERVING TO THE NATION THE RIGHT OF CHOOSING A NEW RACE OF KINGS, IN CASE OF THE EXTINCTION OF THAT FAMILY. THE EXECUTIVE POWER WAS VESTED IN THE KING, WHOSE MINISTERS WERE RESPONSIBLE FOR ITS EXERCISE. THE LEGISLATURE WAS DIVIDED INTO TWO HOUSES, THE SENATE, AND THE HOUSE OF Nuncios, WITH RESPECT TO WHOM, THE ANCIENT CONSTITUTIONAL LANGUAGE AND FORMS WERE PRESERVED. THE NECESSITY OF UNANIMITY WAS TAKEN AWAY, AND, WITH IT, THOSE DANGEROUS REMEDIES OF CONFEDERATION AND CONFEDERATE DIETS WHICH IT HAD RENDERED NECESSARY. EACH CONSIDERABLE TOWN RECEIVED NEW RIGHTS, WITH A RESTORATION OF ALL THEIR ANCIENT PRIVILEGES. THE BURGESSES RECOVERED THE RIGHT OF ELECTING THEIR OWN MAGISTR-

ATES. ALL THEIR PROPERTY WITHIN THEIR TOWNS WERE DECLARED TO BE INHERITABLE AND INVOLABLE. THEY WERE EMPOWERED TO ACQUIRE LAND IN POLAND, AS THEY ALWAYS HAD IN LITHUANIA. ALL THE OFFICES OF THE STATE, THE LAW, THE CHURCH, AND THE ARMY, WERE THROWN OPEN TO THEM. THE LARGER TOWNS WERE EMPOWERED TO SEND DEPUTIES TO THE DIET, WITH A RIGHT TO VOTE ON ALL LOCAL AND COMMERCIAL SUBJECTS AND TO SPEAK ON ALL QUESTIONS WHATSOEVER. ALL THESE DEPUTIES BECAME NOBLE, AS DID EVERY OFFICER OF THE RANK OF CAPTAIN, AND EVERY LAWYER WHO FILLED THE HUMBLEST OFFICE OF MAGISTRACY, AND EVERY BURGESS WHO ACQUIRED A PROPERTY IN LAND, PAYING 5 L. OF YEARLY TAXES. TWO HUNDRED BURGESSES WERE ENOBLED AT THE MOMENT, AND A PROVISION WAS MADE FOR ENNOBLING THIRTY AT EVERY FUTURE DIET. INDUSTRY WAS PERFECTLY UNFETTERED. EVERY MAN MIGHT FREELY EXERCISE ANY TRADE.

THE ANCIENT PRIVILEGE OF THE POLISH NOBILITY, THAT THEY SHOULD NOT BE ARRESTED TILL AFTER CONVICTION, WAS EXTENDED TO THE BURGESSES; A MOST INCONVENIENT PRIVILEGE, BUT OF WHICH THE EXTENSION WAS PECULIARLY WELL ADAPTED TO RAISE THE TRADERS TO A LEVEL WITH THE GENTRY. THE SAME OBJECT WAS PROMOTED BY A PROVISION, THAT NO NOBLEMAN BY BECOMING A MERCHANT, A SHOPKEEPER, OR ARTISAN, SHOULD FORFEIT HIS PRIVILEGES, OR BE DEEMED TO DEROGATE FROM HIS RANK. NUMEROUS PATHS TO NOBILITY WERE THUS THROWN OPEN. EVERY ART WAS EMPLOYED TO MAKE THE ASCENT EASY. EVEN THE ABUSIVE PRIVILEGES OF THE HIGHER CLASS WERE BESTOWED ON THE LOWER. A TEMPTATION WAS HELD OUT TO THE INDIGENT NOBILITY TO REMOVE PREJUDICE AGAINST INDUSTRIOUS OCCUPATIONS, BY EMBRACING THEM; THE BURGESSES WOULD VERY SHORTLY BE ENNOBLED IN CONSIDERABLE NUMBERS; WHILE, ON THE OTHER HAND, THE SUBSTANTIAL RIGHTS OF NOBILITY WERE TAKEN AWAY FROM A GREAT PART OF THE NOBLES, BY THE LIMITATION OF THE ELECTIVE FRANCHISE TO THE LANDHOLDERS. NO BETTER EXPEDIENT FOR BLENDING THE TWO ORDERS COULD BE IMAGINED. THE ONLY MODE OF RAISING THE LOWER CLASS, WAS TO BESTOW ON THEM A SHARE IN THE HONOR AND ESTIMATION IMMEMORIALY ENJOYED BY THE HIGHER. SUCH INSTITUTIONS MUST HAVE GRADUALLY BLENDED THESE HITHERTO DISCORDANT ORDERS INTO ONE MASS. THE BARRIERS WHICH SEPARATED THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF SOCIETY WOULD HAVE BEEN BROKEN DOWN. THE WISDOM AND LIBERALITY OF THE POLISH GENTRY, IF THEY HAD NOT BEEN DEFEATED BY ATROCIOUS AND FLAGITIOUS ENEMIES, WOULD, BY A SINGLE ACT OF LEGISLATION, HAVE ACCOMPLISHED THAT FUSION OF THE VARIOUS ORDERS OF SOCIETY, WHICH IT REQUIRED THE MOST PROPITIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES, IN A LONG COURSE OF AGES, TO EFFECT, IN THE FREEST AND MOST HAPPY OF THE EUROPEAN NATION.

HAVING THUS COMMUNICATED POLITICAL PRIVILEGES TO HITHERTO DISREGARDED FREE-

MEN, THE DIET OF POLAND DID NOT NEGLECT TO PAVE THE WAY FOR THE FINAL COMMUNICATION OF PERSONAL LIBERTY TO SLAVES. THE CONSTITUTION EXTENDED TO ALL SERFS THE FULL PROTECTION OF LAW, WHICH BEFORE WAS ENJOYED BY THOSE OF THE ROYAL DEMESNES; AND IT FACILITATED AND ENCOURAGED VOLUNTARY MANUMISSION, BY RATIFYING ALL CONTRACTS RELATING TO IT—THE FIRST STEP IN EVERY COUNTRY TOWARDS THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY — THE HIGHEST OF ALL THE OBJECTS OF HUMAN LEGISLATION, BUT PERHAPS ALSO THAT TO WHICH THE ROAD IS STEEPEST AND MOST ROUGH.

The effect of this glorious revolution was not dis-

honored by popular tumult, by sanguinary excesses, by political executions. So far did the excellent Diet carry their wise regard to the sacredness of property, that, though they were in urgent need of financial resources, they postponed, till after the death of present incumbents the application to the relief of the State of the income of those ecclesiastical offices which were no longer deemed necessary for the purposes of religion. History will one day do justice to that illustrious body, and hold out to posterity, as the perfect model of a most arduous reformation, that revolution which fell to the ground from no want of wisdom on their part, but from the irresistible power and detestable wickedness of their enemies.

(To be Continued)



Craców — The City Theatre

Many Poles Will Come To Us, Will We Treat Them Wisely?

Thousands of Poles—blood brothers—are fighting in the armies of Germany, Russia and Austria. Whichever side wins, Poles will be oppressed by the conquerors and many of them will turn to America as the refuge for the oppressed.

What of Poles in America?

There are already 4,000,000 Poles in the United States. Chicago probably has more Poles than any city in the world save Warsaw. Cities like Cleveland, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Buffalo and Milwaukee have over 40,000 each, with larger numbers in New York and Philadelphia.

The Pole in America exhibits himself as an economizer as to his his living, and a saver on small wages. Really especially fit for agricultural pursuit, he has "herded" in the cities, or ought the mines, and it is Uncle Sam's pressing business to direct the promised influx to the country region. The Polish-American always discloses a strong ambition to own his own home and it is said on good authority that they are more generally home-buyers than any other nationality that comes to America. Poles are a sturdy people, and hard workers.

What Uncle Same prefers, and needs, is immigrants who are agriculturists, hard workers and ambitious to own their own homes. Such make patriotic citizens, citizens with a strong regard for the rights of man. Moreover, it is from such traits of character that something more than farmers spring. From Poland have come some of the brainiest men in history, as well as some of the most progressive.

Copernicus founded modern astronomical study. Sobieski saved Europe from the Turks. Kosciuszko and Pulaski will live in American and European history, always. Sienkiewicz's writings are on most every bookshelf. In music, Paderewski and Chopin are among the immortals.

It is a great people. A great part of it is bound to come to us. It is our great problem to direct and establish it to the best advantage. Let us steer them away from the mines and the wretched haunts of the cities! **Detroit, Michigan Times.**

Mr. Bernstein's Open Letter to H. Sienkiewicz

MR. HERMAN BERNSTEIN, president of THE DAY PUBLISHING CO. of New York, has recently written an open letter to Henryk Sienkiewicz, author of Quo Vadis.

Here are some of the more striking passages from the letter:

"Poland is the storm center of the present war. But out of the ruins the Poles hope to build their future; out of the madhouse of slaughter the Poles expect their freedom, their national regeneration and independence.

"Among you people there is another people—about three millions of Jews. They, too, are slaughtered on the 'field of glory'.... They too, drench the soil of Poland with their blood. Their fathers, mothers, sisters, children also drench the soil of Poland with their tears as they die of hunger at home, or as they are driven from pillar to Post.

"Your people are brave in battle. So are the Jews. Your people are at this time a people without a home. So are the Jews. Your people are undergoing tortures in consequence of the war—they are without roofs overhead and without food. So are the Jews. Only your people have hope for freedom at the close of the war; your people have a promise for a home, while the Jews are without a home and without a hope.

"Even Russia, in the Grand Duke's manifesto promising autonomy to your people after war—reminds you that you should treat upon terms of equality the other nationalities with whom history has bound you. Russia reminds you to be tolerant! Could there be a more cruel irony of fate?

"But it was necessary to remind your people of this. What your people have done to the Jews during the past few years constitutes a record of cruelty and oppression that surpasses even Russian tyrannical methods and barbaric anti-Jewish devices. The boycott against the Jews throughout the Russian Polish provinces was a shameless plot by one oppressed nationality against another, by one enslaved people against another."

The author of the letter continues by giving some specific instances of the boycott. He concludes as follows:

"The Polish people are now seeking the sympathy of the world. So long as these anti-Jewish outrages are committed by the Poles you cannot expect the world's sympathy."

Mr. Bernstein has sent in a copy of his letter to the office of FREE POLAND, to which Mr. Osada, business manager, replies as follows:

Mr. Herman Bernstein,
Pres't "The Day" Publishing Co.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir—

Acknowledging the receipt of your subscription for FREE POLAND, I at the same time take the opportunity to state that I have read your open letter to the author of "Quo Vadis" with interest.

I am frank enough to admit that your letter has first explained to me the cause, or at least one of the causes, of the wholesale arraignment of Poles on the part of some of the Jews.

"Poland is popular now", that was the title of one of the editorials of the Chicago Daily Journal. Is the popularity of the Polish Question the cause of these bitter accusations and vituperation?

I am sure, and so every rightly minded man is sure,

that the Poles cannot be accused of pogroms, of crimes which only the Black Hundreds are capable of. You are well aware that our people are not so blood-thirsty as your reports would have every one of us believe.

You and other of your compatriots are well familiar with the causes for which Poland has resorted to honorable methods of self-defense, and which you are pleased to call by the name of "boycott."

Is it not a fact, Mr. Bernstein, that the Jewish question in Poland began to be loudly discussed when thousands of Jews were driven, like cattle, from the interior of Russia into the confines of Poland? Since these invaders appeared in the role of Russifiers and looked askance upon the Polish Jews who, for centuries settled on our territory, lived in peaceful concord with the Poles,—can you blame the Poles and many Polish Jews for protesting vehemently against spreading this Gospel of hatred and race prejudice?

You Jews, in spite of what has been said by Mr. Zangwill, are not melting away because "a sort of racial feeling", as Dr. Morris has recently pointed out, "that you must come again to rule the earth keeps you together." And if you read the Talmud, you find that this longing of Israel for a future domination of the entire world is there emphatically expressed.

We Poles, who have always maintained an ardent patriotism and who have successfully resisted for a century and a half all the efforts of our conquerors to assimilate us, are less aggressive. We do not dream of World Power—ours is the modest dream of an independent, reunited Poland, under the protection, perhaps, of a Concert of European Powers.

Your racial solidarity and coherence is most astounding — and yet you protest against our modest and honorable national rally!!

When Mendel Beiliss was being tried for murder, you raised a howl of protest against the inhumanity of the Russian government. Now instead of clamoring for your rights and privileges of freedom of settlement in the entire Empire of Russia,—for there are too many Jews in Poland,—you center your attack upon poor innocent Poland! The interior of Russia commercially is poorly developed, and yet your combined journalistic effort is not directed towards capturing this undeveloped territory for your business enterprise and acumen, but bent on slandering poor Poland!

Conditions will be normal if the Jews will have a right to settle and live in any part of Russia they may see fit. The influx of Russian Jews into Poland was bound to produce unnatural and strained relations between the two peoples.

The clipping which you kindly enclose along with your subscription, I have sent to Mr. Sienkiewicz. What he will answer, I do not know; but I am convinced that he will not pass up your open letter without reply.

I personally think that with mutual good-will this misunderstanding can in some way be adjusted. If as a result of the present European war an easement of your and our lot under the regime of the Czar will follow, I am quite sure that we will be able to sink our present differences in an intensive work for our future common good.

Respectfully yours,

STANISLAW OSADA,
Manager Chicago Press Bureau
of the Polish National Council.

Necessity of Poland's Independence

“**P**OLAND is the keystone of Europe”. It is in these words that Napoleon, at St. Helena, in summing up the general effect of his work, shows what he considers to be the most important part of it. These words, so true a hundred years ago, are as true at the present day. The Polish question, seemingly modest, secondary, lost in the mass of other world-important and European questions, has in reality kept its secret power and its internal significance. It is the keystone, the centre of gravity, of the balance of power in Europe.

The partition of Poland, about a century and a half ago, was not only a national catastrophe, but still more a deplorable event for the whole of Europe. In doing away with Poland as a national unit and as a state, she was torn from the midst of the European kingdoms, of which she was an ancient, indispensable and organic element. The mid-European racial family is not a mechanical and accidental conglomeration, but an organism of which the elements guided by natural selection had come gradually together during the course of centuries. The vivisection of Poland was like the amputation of a limb, the absence of which always brings suffering and trouble.

Poland has played an important part throughout the whole history of modern Europe. In the XVIIth century, she occupied one of the principal places in the concert of the European powers. In the XVIIth century she maintained her eminent position by defending under John Sobieski, both Vienna and European civilization against the Turks. In the XVIIIth century, just before her death-struggle, she showed her power of political regeneration by proclaiming the Constitution of the 3rd of May, and in defending it by the heroic insurrection under Kosciuszko: then, invaded by Russia, she saved revolutionary France.

Poland thus always took her place in the life and international struggles of mid-Europe — when suddenly by a merciless blow she ceased to exist as a European State.

Prussia planned the partition of Poland, Russia carried it into execution, Austria was an accomplice in the crime and a sharer in the spoils. Threatened by her two neighbours, she sullied herself by this act foreign to her primeval traditions. Russia apparently, as regards quantity, was the greatest gainer, but she was deceived. She acted against the principles of Peter the Great who would not join with Prussia in the partition of Poland, but preferred to exercise a direct influence over the whole of Poland — either by means of a personal or of a dynastic union. Prussia's part in the division was the most advantageous the most durable and the most fundamental. For her, it was not simply territorial aggrandizement but the first stage towards the establishment of a preponderance of power in Germany, on which hegemony and an overwhelming contemporary superiority would follow in due course. In acquiring Eastern Prussia, by the first partition, the Hohenzollerns united their two great capitals: Königsberg and Berlin. Later, at the second partition, Great Poland rounded off and guaranteed their Eastern frontier, whilst the acquisition of Dantzic made them masters of the coast line. Later still, at the third partition Prussia, by the occupation of the greater part of ethnographical Poland, with its capital Warsaw, became a menace in the East; and by the consolidating the whole of her Polish conquests, she opened up for herself possibil-

ities of a still greater preponderance in Eastern Europe.

These radical transformations entirely upset the balance of power in Europe in favor of the three participating Powers and to the disadvantage of the Western Powers. The changes of frontier brought about by the wars of the Revolution were the direct consequences of this upsetting of the balance. In all the negotiations made by France during these wars, either by Danton or by Napoleon — a little known and characteristic fact — the changes brought about by the partition of Poland were cited as a reason for France receiving adequate territorial compensation.

The consequences of the partition of Poland left their mark on the history of the XIXth century. After the factitious calm arranged by the Congress of Vienna, the European political system, being unable to find a stable footing, was subject to the most violent explosions: the Crimean War, the Austro-Prussian War, the Franco-German War, the Russo-Turkish War. Continual rivalries prevented peace: rivalry between France and Russia in the time of Napoleon, between England and Russia during the Crimean War, later between Austria and Prussia, between Prussia and France, between England and Prussia, between Austria and Russia, and lastly between Prussia and Russia. No attempt to establish a just balance of political power could be crowned with success, because in the centre of Europe, the organic factor, placed there, as it were, by the laws of history, was wanting; in other words, Poland was missing.

It is thus that a crime committed more than 100 years ago, has become one of the elements of the terrible war which is now raging. “Bad actions bring about their own course by engendering evil.” Thus the words of the poet have been verified in the crime committed against Poland.

They are equally applicable to Prussia. Prussia was obliged to give up part of her conquests at the treaty of Tilsit in 1807 for the settlement of the Duchy of Warsaw; she only recovered part of this territory by the Congress of Vienna in 1815, and was forced to cede the remainder to the Kingdom of Poland. She has never forgotten this loss and, in consequence, is always trying to put the Polish Kingdom at a disadvantage in the eyes of Russia. All her diplomatic efforts have tended to take from Russia, pacifically, the whole of the Kingdom of Poland — or at any the Western part of it. The day after the defeat of Napoleon at Moscow, Prussia by the intermediary of General von Knesebeck, proposed to Russia a plan for readjusting their boundaries, which would have given back to the Hohenzollerns a part of the Duchy of Warsaw (the actual Kingdom of Poland.) By this plan, Prussia was to obtain the natural boundary-line of the Vistula, the Narew and the Niemen. It is known as the famous “frontier of Knesebeck”, a question destined to be revived twice during awkward moments for Russia: in 1831, in an amplified form, it was put forward by Count Bernstorff; in 1862 Bismarck again presented it to Alexander II. It is by the force of arms that Prussia is today trying to obtain what she has not succeeded in getting by diplomacy. In penetrating into the Kingdom of Poland, her armies have for their objective Warsaw, possessed by her from 1796 to 1806.

Austria is becoming, in the present war, the ally of Prussia, is acting in distinct contradiction to all her political and historical traditions. Since the latter half of the 18th century, these two Powers have been enemies. Everything separated them: they represented rival dyn-

asties, they struggled for supremacy in Germany, and fought with tenacity over the spoils of Poland. Indeed it must not be forgotten that Austria was altogether left out at the second partition, and that, at the time of the third partition, an Austro-Prussian war nearly broke out, when Prussia wished to take Cracow and Western Galicia. Moreover, in the second half of the XIXth century, notwithstanding Prussia's violent opposition, and the threats and protestations of Bismarck, Austria alone of the three powers, gave autonomy to Galicia, in consequence, it is true, of internal political necessities, and made peace with the Polish population; Austria did this even at the moment when Prussia was waging a deadly war against the Poles of Posen.

Russia, who in many acts of her foreign policy, was influenced for a century and a half by Prussia, was even more submissive to the latter's ill-omened influence with regard to Poland. Prussia well understood how hurtful to the Russian interests, and how favorable to her own, was the oppression of the Poles by the Petrograd Government; how much easier and more natural it would have been for the Russian Colossus of which the point of gravitation is in the East and extends to the Pacific, to be on good terms with Poland on a basis of justice and reciprocal interest. But it was also well understood at Berlin that following on an entente Polono-Russe, an autonomous Poland, free in its development, would necessarily daw toward itself the Polish provinces still under Prussian dominion. This is the reason why Prussia tried at all costs, to prevent any improvement of the Russian policy in Poland.

On the contrary, she tried to widen the breach between the two nations, on the one hand fanning into flame the suspicions and acts of violence of the Russians, and on the other keeping up the just rancor of the Poles. This programme was vigorously carried out, sometimes by personal influence rendered easy by the blood relationship between the Romanoffs and the Hohenzollerns, sometimes by anti-Polish denunciations and warnings sent in official or semi-official messages, sometimes even during the imperial meetings of William I. with Alexander II. and III. or of William II. with Nicholas II. To these means must also be added the authoritative counsels, considered infallible, of Bismarck to Gortchakow and to his successors.

One of the principal missions of the German ambassadors in Petrograd, has always, even to the present day, been by daily insinuations, to prevent autonomy being granted to the Kingdom of Poland. German influence added to the hatred of the Russian nationalities and of the bureaucracy, arrested the practical effects of the religious tolerance proclaimed by the Emperor Nicholas II.; so that in Poland the Catholic Church does not even yet enjoy these privileges; and these same influences have used every possible obstacle to prevent any favorable educational concessions in the Polish schools and Universities, and to prevent the use of the Polish language. It is thus, that the present war finds Poland a prey to new persecutions: the Polish school and clergy are stultified, there are fewer Polish members in the Duma, the railways are Russified; the government of Chelm has been snatched from Poland.

The Grand Duke Nicholas's proclamation was the first ray of an unexpected dawn. But the eyes of the Poles, accustomed to the darkness of sorrow, were almost dazzled by this first ray of light, without being able to discern if it were illusive or real. Their state of uncertainty continued. Since the lofty words of the Grand Duke there has not been even the faintest realization of the promises made; on the contrary, many disturbing

symptoms, unfavorable to Poles, have shown themselves. Poles must have experienced a new and painful shock on learning that after the taking of Leopold by the Russians, in this town wholly Polish, the work of Russification was immediately commenced. The Polish University, Polytechnic, Gymnasiums and primary schools were closed. Looking at these facts even from the most intolerant Russian nationalist standpoint one cannot help remarking that such an action during the war, at the commencement of the Russian occupation of Galicia and immediately after the proclamation of the Grand Duke was inopportune and premature. It was, at the same time, therefore, favorable in a certain degree to Prussia. Indeed the Government at Berlin and the Prussian military authorities are now, in their turn, promising the Poles to reorganize their country under the shield of Germany and are doing everything in their power to convince them that the Grand Duke's proclamation was nothing but an illusion.

On the other hand, the feverish activity of the Russians at Leopold to change and abolish all the Polish institutions of the country, must have produced an impression all the more painful in that it coincides with the very reserved attitude of Warsaw, where the Government considers any change, that is to say, any concession made to the Poles, to be premature and inopportune.

But, it is possible to argue, that during the war, whilst the State and Nations are fighting for their very existence, it is not possible to bring about internal reforms. To this, we would answer, that if it had been impossible to ask for the immediate realization of the Grand Duke's promise, surely it is to be expected that, at least that proclamation should at once put a stop to all anti-Polish tendencies, and it is not too much to hope that above all, it would eliminate from the Russian Government system, the anti-Polish spirit which has heretofore held sway. Far be it from us to doubt the excellent intentions of the Russian Monarch or the chivalrous sincerity of the Grand Duke's words, — but with those same reactionary elements which for more than a century have warred against Poland at Court, in the army, and in the bureaucracy, and which for the last ten years have continued to pursue their aims in the parliamentary assembly, how can one be sure, that after the war, they will not re-appear stronger and more determined to continue their fatal work? The history of the Constitution given to the Kingdom of Poland by the Congress of Vienna and by the will of the Emperor Alexander I. is extremely instructive. This Constitution did not last 25 years. Exposed from the very outset to the attacks of Russian nationalist and reactionary elements, undermined by intrigues and perfidious insinuations from the Court of Berlin to Alexander, and above all, later, to Nicholas I., son-in-law of the Prussian King Frederick William III., and finally violated by the Crown, it came to an end in the Polish Revolution of 1831.

Poland, in the present crisis, has given proof of entire self-negation and of great political prudence. A sacred obligation therefore rests with the friends and the Western Allies of Russia to so influence her, that she may henceforth rise above all temptation to oppress a sister-nation and by that means free Poland from all idea of vengeance or resentment. This must happen, "if", according to the words of Winston Churchill, "this present war is to readjust the map of Europe according to the principles of nationalities, and the actual aspirations of the races." The immense majority of the Polish nation belonging to the Russian Empire, has, since the beginning of this war, sent nearly 800,000 soldiers into the ranks of the Russian army; by great sacrifices she has rendered to Russia and consequently also to the Allies inestimable

moral and material services, acknowledged warmly even by the Russian military authorities and above all by the impartial evidence of the Italian, French and English war-correspondents. Germany to-day understands the help she too might have had from the Poles.

The partition of Poland is a crime for which amends must be made, unless Europe is to continue to be the theatre of the same rivalries, the same violences and the same shocks. The importance of Poland as an international factor has been clearly shown in the present European conflagration, and has been confirmed by the Austro-German proclamation and by that of the Grand Duke Nicholas. The whole of Europe applauded the wise and noble words of the Grand Duke. But Europe at the same time also expressed her firm conviction that the co-dividing Powers should never again, in critical moments, use Poland as a bogey, and that this time, in the words of the Grand Duke, "Poland shall indeed live again."

It is alike important to European and to Russian interests that "the sacred dream" of the Poles should be fulfilled. But to accomplish this, it is of the highest importance that Poland's relations with her two neighbors should be definitely settled, and that she should obtain such boundaries and such a constitution as to enable her to continue in her important position as a barrier between the German and Slav nations, a part she has hitherto played under the most difficult conditions.

In the nature of things, by her central geographical position, her Slav origin, and her ancient Latin culture, she is better able than any other nation to perform this service for the good of Europe. The truth of this is so clear and simple, that even Russia, Austria and Prussia must acknowledge it. Each of the three states would be forced to acknowledge that the annihilation of Poland, according to the well-known saying of Talleyrand "was worse than a crime, it was a folly." The truth of this

has long been understood in Russia by Alexander I., by the Grand Dukes Constantine Petrovich and Constantine Nicolaevitch, in Austria by the Archduke Charles and by Field Marshall Radetsky and even in Prussia by Prince Henry, brother of Frederick the Great, the Chancellor Hardenberg and other Prussians more far-seeing than the rest. And in spite of everything, to this great truth it will be necessary sooner or later to return.

To be able, however, to act effectually as a barrier between neighbors infinitely stronger than herself, Poland must obtain such political, economical and social conditions as will enable her to develop freely and independently. The thrifty, hardworking Polish people have proved their capacity by organizing in Posen cooperative societies considered models by English economists; they possess great and original culture and are gifted with the remarkable fecundity of a young race, which must be taken into account. They are therefore able to accomplish, and will undoubtedly accomplish the mission entrusted to them, provided their human and political rights be restored to them.

Such is the interest of the Polish nation and such also we insist, is the interest of all the other European states. France, England and the United States are equally and specially interested in Poland's liberation; and Italy no less so than other nations. She is, on the contrary, better able to understand the rights of Poland and to feel them deeply in her heart. These two nations have gone through the same vicissitudes, they have suffered the same anguish, they have experienced the same hopes, they have shed their blood in the same struggles and disappointments.

Let us hope that Poland, like Italy, may rise renewed from the tomb where she has so long lain buried, to rejoice in the light that illumines the nations of the free!

ANTONIO RUSSO.



WAR is symbolized by the Herculean Woman on the Steed. She carries a Sword in one Hand and a Torch in the other, and is accompanied by the three Figures personifying Misery, Death and Despair—From Grottgér's War.

Death of Poland's Grand Old Man



IN THE DEATH on January 10, at Lausanne, Switzerland, of Colonel Sigismund Milkowski, patriot, soldier and writer, the Poles have lost their *Pater Partiae*. His death ought to be mourned by Hungary also; for, like Generals Bem, Dembinski, Wysocki, and other Poles, Milkowski shed blood in her fight for freedom in 1848. And in his departure the South Slavonic nations have lost him that began their struggle; for, before Europe had yet occupied herself with the Serbians, the Bulgarians and the Albanians, Milkowski pleaded for them and incorporated their history and traditions in many of his novels, seeing a cruel analogy between their lot and that of the Poles.

At the interment of Milkowski the national obsequies were conducted by Henry Sienkiewicz and Ignace Paderewski, the former delivering an exalted address.

Milkowski was the guiding star of the Poles since the last armed revolution in 1863, shining for them with the charm of his immaculate person as an example in the conception of their duties. The services rendered the Polish nation in thought, word, and deed by this most meritorious son of the present and the past generation, are immortal.

More than once, Milkowski, at the call of his brothers, hastened, whether from his native land or from exile, to take active part in the struggle for the rights of his beloved Fatherland.

For this the Polish nation pays homage to his memory.

Entire generations have been reared on the remarkable works from his pen, which not only constitute a real adornment of Polish literature, but also are the source of noble and profound thoughts, sustaining in the Poles love of the Fatherland, of freedom, and of justice, and stimulating in the nobles love of the peasant. Whether proclaiming in those works bitter and unvarnished truth to the nobles "Wasył Holub", "Handzia Zahornicka", "The History of The Great-great-grandfather", "Countess Dynia", and others; or presenting pictures from the past of the Slavonic nations suffering in Turkish captivity; or describing incidents in the heroic struggle of the Hungarians for freedom and independence; or returning in his recollections to his native Podolian and Ukrainian steppes, which it was not given him any more to view — Milkowski was ever the faithful son of the nation that gave him to the world.

For this the Polish nation pays homage to his memory.

But the greatest reason for the Poles' revering this worthy old man was his faith, deep, sincere, unshaken, in the future of his nation; his unwavering certainty that Poland must again rise, great and grand as before, — whole, free, independent, democratic. For him there existed only one path, — the path of the active claiming not of favors, not of concessions, but of the indestructible Polish rights to full national existence.

He did not strike the banner of Poland's independence in the moment of the general decline of the spirits after the failure of the revolution of 1863; for he always believed that "a battle is not lost until one considers it as lost." He did not cease to serve Poland and the cause of freedom further, if no longer with arms, then at least with the pen, — fortifying his despondent brothers by the portrayal of the struggles waged for freedom by the other Slavonic nations. With a voice sounding not like a complaint, but like the sharp note of the war trumpet, this *invincibilis* roused his countrymen out of their torpor

to action with his most important work in the post-revolution epoch,—the sounding of the slogan of "active defense."

In 1886, at the moment of general depression: when in Prussian Poland the inexorable war-cry "*Ausrotten!*" was proclaimed by Bismarck at the end of Prussia's policy towards the Poles; while in Austrian Poland the policy of toadyism was triumphing; and in Russian Poland the policy of conciliation was beginning to prevail, — Milkowski turned the healthier strata of the Polish community upon new paths by his "*Dissertation on Active Defense And A National Treasury*", in which he manly bid his countrymen "roll up their sleeves and betake themselves to work."

The idea embraced in Milkowski's book was incorporated thru the organization of three institutions, — the Polish National Treasury, the Alliance of the Polish Youths in Western Europe, and the Polish National League.

The Polish National Treasury (founded in 1887) has actively defended the Polish cause in the virulent struggle waged against the Poles by their foes, by furnishing the sinews of war. It has grown steadily too slowly, thanks almost solely to contributions from the Poles outside of Poland; for the German and Russian Governments had hounded those who collected for, or contributed to the Treasury. Owing to the increasing interest taken in the Treasury by the German and Russian Governments, it was removed a few years ago from Rapperswil, Switzerland, where it had been located since its foundation.

The Alliance of the Polish Youths in Western Europe is a secret organization for the purpose of training the youths for future political workers.

The Polish National League was a secret organization of a higher degree for the purpose of directing the policy of the Polish nation as a self-active unit occupying its own place in the family of nations. Beginning its work in Russian Poland, the National League gradually embraced all three sections of the former Polish Republic, educating the peasantry and preparing the nation for whatever the future might bring. It was from the Polish National League that there sprang the new Polish National Democratic — or, as it is called, the Pan-Polish — movement, the object of which is to create a strong and compact Polish nation, — to lay, as far as external conditions permit, the foundations of the Polish State of the future.

Conformably to the conditions of time and place, the National League pursued a policy of active defense — that is, such a policy as, in a given case, could be converted into aggressive action. This defense lay especially in the paralyzing of the endeavors of the Governments of the States that dismembered Poland in the sphere of education, — in the counteracting of the poison administered by those Governments to the Polish children and peasants. In this field there was waged between the National League and the Governments of the despoilers a continuous strife. This strife was marked on the Polish side by numerous victims. Without a struggle, the Poles have believed, Poland cannot be freed; without victims, there is no struggle; a struggle requires means; and it was for this that the Polish National Treasury was established. Milkowski knew that in order to liberate Poland from bondage there is needful, first of all, a treasury, — for the want of which

the finest efforts of the Poles to liberate Poland were ineffectual.

Calling for contributions to the Polish National Treasury Milkowski cried to his countrymen: "Who love the Fatherland service, — let us perform it!"

These words, succinct and brief as the order of a commander leading his hosts to the attack on the enemy's intrenchments, comprise the entire sphere of the duties, aspirations, and work of the Poles. In this sentence is compacted everything: the thundering shout summoning to battle; the entreaty for succor for the Fatherland; the reminder that in giving this succor, the Poles are simply discharging their duty; and the order that they discharge this duty. As in the historic words of Nelson at the battle of Trafalgar: "England expects every man to do his duty!" and in the words of Napoleon at the battle of the Pyramids: "Soldiers, from the summits of yonder pyramids forty centuries look down upon you!" there is comprised everything that stirs the soldier to action and leads him to victory, — so in these words of Milkowski there rings the spirit of a commander that has not desponded even for a moment that his Fatherland can and must be free.

"We owe the Fatherland service, — let us perform it!" — where is there a slogan more manly, more heroic, than this beautiful sentence that contains the pith of the ideas propagated by the Poles' *Pater Patriae*?

Hence, his countrymen venerated this gray-haired leader of their cause.

No eminent Pole of latter times was so dear to the Polish peasant as Milkowski, since none so long and so valiantly championed the cause of the peasant, voicing the sentiment that all Poles are equal and that all ought equally to work for the Fatherland. And Milkowski saw his idea realized in his lifetime, — fifteen years after his career in the Russian army was ended (in 1848), as a result of an address written by him on the endowment of the peasants with land.

To the demands of the Lithuanian patriots that the peasants be endowed with land, — Tsar Alexander II. replied with the paltry ukase of March 3, 1861, that allowed the peasants to buy their freedom and that promised the abolition of service twelve years later, that is, in 1873. This edict was to take effect on March 3, 1863.

But in 1863 the Polish National Government began the Revolution with its Manifesto of January 22, which perfected the work of the Polish Constitution of May 3, 1791, that had set an example to Poland's neighbors in greatly ameliorating the condition of the peasantry. The Manifesto of January 22, 1863, proclaimed all sons of Poland "without distinction of faith or race, descent or estate, free and equal citizens of the country." The land that the agricultural people held by the right of rent or service "becomes from this moment their absolute ownership, perpetual fee-simple; the proprietors that have sustained loss will be compensated from the general funds of the State."

Tsar Alexander II. is extolled as a benefactor of the serfs by those ignorant of the fact that it was this immortal Manifesto of the Polish revolutionary Government which constrained the Tsar to issue the ukase of April 4, 1864, endowing the peasants with land. Of this reform the Tsar would long not have thought, had it not been for fear of the revolution spreading to Russia. Thus did the Polish democratic movement coerce the Russian Government into granting freedom, and endowing with land, not only the Polish, Lithuanian, and Ruthenian peasants, but also twenty millions of Russian peasants.

Being an ardent adherent of the idea of universal peace and of the brotherhood of peoples, Milkowski with word and pen advocated the indispensable need of forming the United States of Europe.

On the death of General Bosak Hauke (uncle of Prince Alexander Battenberg of Bulgaria) at Dijon in the Franco-Prussian War, Milkowski was called, as his countryman, to fill his place in the Central Committee of the League of Freedom and Peace. At the Congress of that League in 1871, Milkowski held a lecture on the "Polish Question", in which he pointed out the impossibility of the maintenance of peace in view of the wrongs done to nations having the right to live their own life. Thru this lecture he secured an honorary position in the League, which regarded the Polish question as one of the most important.

But after the death of Charles Lemonnier, (for many years the President of the League), the League entered upon other paths. There prevailed the principle of "Peace at any price", — with the disregard of the cause of the liberty of oppressed nations; and its new President, Armand, united the action of the League with "peace" propaganda undertaken by the Russian Government. As Milkowski did not belong to those who desire peace "at any price", — even at the price of leaving the oppressed nations in *status quo*, — he resigned from the League of Freedom and Peace, which had proved faithless to its cardinal principle "*Si vis pacem, para libertatem and justitiam.*"

Milkowski was born on March 23, 1824, at Saracea, in Podolia, Russian Poland.

As stated above, he fought in the Hungarian Revolution, for he believed as the Polish Democratic Society of London, that the cause of the liberation of the European peoples is the cause of the liberation of Poland.

During the Crimean War, Milkowski effected numerous important and perilous undertakings in the interest of Turkey. His attempt to form a Polish legion that would fight for Turkey, was foiled by Austria, which on joining the alliance in December, 1854, stipulated that the Polish question should be left out of consideration. He was commissioned to incite the Rumanians to revolt against Russia, but his plan was balked by the apathy of the Rumanians and by Austria's occupation of Moldavia.

Milkowski's greatest military exploit was on Rumanian territory during the Polish Revolution of 1863. On July 14, at Kostangalia, a Rumanian force of 1,320 cavalry and artillery barred the way of a division of 300 Poles, which Milkowski had formed in Turkey on the outbreak of the Polish Revolution and with which he intended to invade Podolia. The Rumanian force was routed. In the conflict, more than 40 Rumanians were killed and 100 wounded, while Milkowski's loss was only 6 killed and 13 wounded.

In 1864 Milkowski went as the diplomatic agent of the Polish National Government to Switzerland, Hungary, Italy, and the South Slavonic nations. At that time there was preparing, in understanding with the Italian Government, a Hungaro-Slavonic revolution against Austria, regarding which Milkowski conferred in Turin with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and in Belgrade with Ilija Garashenin, President of the Ministry. His efforts were defeated by the downfall of the Polish Revolution, which had been dealt a mortal blow by Austria's declaring of Galicia in a state of siege.

Milkowski then went into exile. In Switzerland, where he died, he had lived since 1873.

(To be continued)

The Story of Poland



THE STORY of Poland is a fascinating one. The very fact that a great nation which had existed for eight hundred years should disappear from the map of Europe and be absorbed by three of its neighbors is in itself very unusual. Poland was at one time greatest power in Central Europe. At the period of her greatest expansion, the kingdom of Poland extended from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea; it reached from the heart of Prussia almost to the heart of Muscovy. It was as large as Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Kentucky, combined. It was far more expansive than modern Germany or France, and its population numbered probably twenty millions of people.

A Pole ruled for a while in Moscow, and the sacred Kremlin was occupied by Polish soldiers. Prussia asked help from the Polish king against her enemies at one time and acknowledged her dependence upon Poland. Leopold I of Austria nearly got down on his knees to ask John Sobieski, the Polish ruler, to come to Vienna and drive away the Turkish hordes. These are the three countries that absorbed Poland and effaced her from the map of Europe a little more than a century ago. Poland was called a "republic", with unusual liberties for the individual. The trouble was that it was a liberty only of the nobles, who refused to pay any taxes. The usual form of address among them was "brother". The peasants and merchants were absolutely ignored. Although there were five classes of society, according to the law, the aristocrats divided the entire population into the noble and the ignoble. The king gradually became merely a figurehead. Because he was king, he naturally stood higher than anyone else, but he owed his position to election by the privileged classes.

The earliest authentic account of the "Polaki" is about A. D. 830. A century later, a Polish ruler, named Mieczyslaw, was converted to Christianity and is called the first Christian ruler. Mieczyslaw broke down with his own hands the idols of his country and compelled his hearers to half draw their swords whenever the gospel was read, to show their readiness to defend the Truth. The first formal edict of a Polish ruler that is recorded in history is an order that a Christian hymn should be sung before engaging in battle. The real greatness of Poland began with the union of Lithuania and Poland. With the marriage of Jagiello, the ruler of Lithuania, and Hedwiga, the Polish queen, the two countries were united under one sovereign, and the Lithuanians became Christians. Jagiello was publicly baptized at Cracow in 1386 and assumed the name of Wladyslaw II. Thousands of his subjects were divided into groups and then sprinkled with holy water. To one group would be given the name of Peter, to another Paul, and to another John. Jagiello himself overthrew the idol Perkun and extinguished the sacred fire. The change of capital from Cracow to Warsaw was a result of his union of sovereigns and nations.

Sigismund Augustus, who was almost a contemporary of Henry VIII, of England, was one of the great rulers of Poland in the earlier days. He was the last independent monarch, and the era of elected kings begins. After his death, in 1572, the Polish crown became a prize of competition among foreign princes. The Diet, as the Congress was called, had become supreme, and was able to impose its will upon the candidate for the throne. Polish magnificence and prodigality was making a profound impression upon Europe. The *Liberum Veto* had become

well established, and with it had grown up corruption. If a noble said, "I protest", every bit of legislation was blocked. The principle of independence had been carried so far that the caprice of the individual outweighed the will of the multitude. "A free man", said the Pole, "cannot be governed or taxed contrary to his own expressed will." Therefore unanimous consent was demanded for all measures. Utopia had been realized for the nobles, about one twentieth of the population. A new coronation oath was prepared, by which the monarch was stripped of all actual power and could be removed at any time. The first king under this strange arrangement was Henry, son of Catherine de Medici. A most imposing embassy was sent to Paris to notify the newly elected king. The retinue was so numerous that they filled fifty carriages. Henry accepted the Polish crown, although he hesitated a little about the clause granting absolute religious freedom. After a reign of five months, however, he decided he did not like this crown and left the royal palace in Cracow between two days, like a thief in the night. He was pursued by the Poles, but had left Polish territory before they caught up with him. He afterward became Henry III of France.

An interval of a year or two generally occurred before a new sovereign could be chosen, and during this time the archbishop was the ruler. There are many other rulers whom it would be impossible to mention in a short article. Some have been forgotten by all save the Poles themselves. In 1648, John Casimir, who had at one time been a monk, and had actually been created a cardinal by the Pope, was elected king of Poland. At most times there were a number of wars and rebellions within the Polish territory, which kept him busy. At last Casimir grew tired of wielding the scepter and resigned in the following words: "Fatigued by the labors of war, the cares of the cabinet, and the weight of age; oppressed with the burdens and solitudes of a reign of more than twenty-one years, I, your king and father, return into your hands what the world esteems above all things a crown; and choose for my throne six feet of earth, where I shall live in peace with my fathers"

One of the greatest men ever produced by Poland was John Sobieski, who succeeded Casimir after an intervening reign of a few years. Sobieski was not a man of royal birth, but had distinguished himself greatly in war. The people had become tired of foreign rulers, and Sobieski was chosen king on the 19th of May, 1674, and assumed the title of John III. Ten years later came his greatest military triumph, the rescue of Vienna from the Turks. The Austrian emperor had fled in terror from his capital. Sobieski was looked to as the only man to save all Europe from being conquered by the Turks. Soon after Sobieski approached Vienna, the decisive battle occurred. Sobieski kept himself in the thickest of the conflict, crying, "Not to us, not to us, O Lord, but to thy name be the glory!" The Turks were overpowered by the fiery onslaught of the Poles and fled in confusion. The people in the city went wild over the Polish hero. In a letter to his wife, Sobieski says: "I have been in two churches where the people kissed my hands, feet, and clothes; others who could only touch me at a distance cried out, 'Ah, let me kiss your victorious hands.'" A service was held in the cathedral, and the preacher used these words for his text: "There was a man sent from God whose name was John." Sobieski's troubles as king are well illustrated by his re-

marks when he was asked to make a will. He said, rather sarcastically: "My orders are not attended while I am alive; can I expect to be obeyed when I am dead? Have not the regulations made by the kings, my predecessors, been despised after their death?"

After the death of Sobieski, the real decline of Poland began. Heretofore there had been at least flashes of grandeur; now all was gloom, turmoil, and decay, with complete annihilation less than a century distant. The successor of Sobieski was Augustus, who was also ruler of Saxony. He owed his election to several thousand Saxon soldiers, who stood behind him. At the end of his reign, and that of his son, Augustus III, public business was practically at an end, because of the inactivity of kings.

When the throne of Poland became vacant, by the death of Augustus III, Catherine the Great and Frederick the Great decided upon a young noble by the name of Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski for the Polish throne. When the Convocation Diet met on the 7th of May, 1764, Warsaw wore a strangely splendid aspect. "Beside the bayonets of the Russians and the carbines of the Prussians," says a writer, "appeared the bow and arrows of the Tatar." The crowded halls and banquets, the beauty of the women, the splendor of the assemblies, seemed to be token a great national festival.

Everyone was armed, everyone trembled lest an accident might prove the spark which should cause a terrible explosion."

Some turbulent scenes immediately followed. The deputy Mokranowski arose and said: "I protest in the name of twenty-two senators and forty-five deputies" because "Russian troops have entered into the very midst of the assembly of the republic." This act legally dissolved the Diet; but technicalities did not stand in the presence of Russian troops. The old Marshall, Malachowski, a man of fourscore years, refused to open the Diet. "Gentlemen", said he, "since the liberty no longer exists among us, I carry away this staff, and I will never raise it till the republic is delivered from her troubles". Threats were of no avail. "Strike! I shall die free, and in the cause of liberty", said the aged patriot. Nevertheless, Stanislaus was elected king of Poland and took the title of Stanislaus II. In the following August, some thousands of electors assembled on the field of election and recorded their votes in his favor. Eight thousand Russian soldiers, judiciously distributed, has something to do with this result. The coronation took place on the 25th of November. For the first time in Polish history the vain king refused to sacrifice his curls and appear with his head cropped, as had always been the custom.

"I knew right well what I ought to do", Stanislaus wrote a friend, "but the whole situation is terrible. Patience, caution, courage; and again patience, courage, caution! There you have my motto. I foresee that I shall have a difficult reign; I shall find only the thorns, while I leave to others the flowers. Perhaps, like Charles I, of England, I shall suffer a long imprisonment." No king ever assumed a crown under more perplexing circumstances. He was not formed of the clay of which heroes are made. So long as he could save something for himself from the wreckage, he was content.

The beginning of the end of Poland had now arrived. Three ambitious rulers of as many nations surrounded her, Catherine the Great of Russia, Frederick the Great of Prussia, and Maria Theresa of Austria. They bargained

over the territory of that country like a merchant over a bale of goods. The map of Poland was placed before the royal freebooters, and they marked out the portion of booty to be assigned to each of the three parties.

"So be it", said Maria Theresa, "as so many learned men desire it; but when I have been long dead, the consequences of this violation of all that until now has been deemed holy and just will be experienced." She seemed to be the only one of the three conspirators who had any compunction of conscience, and her compunctions seem perfunctory rather than sincere. It was like the robber who takes your purse and then says, apologetically, "beg your pardon." But he keeps your purse. "A prince can only study his interest", said Frederick.

The troops of the allies began to pour into the coveted territory, each one occupying its portion, and each contributing a contingent to encompass Warsaw, the capital. The Diet was convoked on the 19th of April, 1773, and, by a majority of two votes, and under the pressure of foreign bayonets, ratified the plan presented for its own spoliation. Five opposing patriots held the hall for a time, and the rest held the session outside to agree to the terms. The Diet was nearly a month coming to the agreement, and commissioners were then formally appointed by the king. These sovereigns had the audacity to say that this movement, which deprived Poland of a third of her territory, was "for the restoration of the prosperity of Poland."

Poland emerged from the first partition, in 1772, humiliated in her own eyes and at the mercy of Russia. A more sensitive man than Stanislaus would either have died from humiliation or abdicated. His position was secure, but he had to pocket many insults. On one occasion a noble said to his face: "It is all very well for your Majesty to keep a stiff upper lip, for you are safe upon the throne. Your Majesty runs no risk of injury to honor, wealth, or children, because you have none of these things already." Anything he did or proposed aroused opposition, simply from the fact that he was king, although he had considerable tact and infinite patience. He was kidnaped on one occasion by a band of conspirators of whom Casimir Pulaski, who afterward served in the Revolutionary War, was the chief. But he was saved for even greater humiliation.

One Diet sat from 1788 to 1792, and is known in history as the Four Years' Diet. If enthusiasm alone could have saved Poland, the country would have been preserved. But there was no self-discipline.

Prejudice, public parsimony, intolerance of discipline, excessive individuality—all these elements contributed to the turbulence of the Diet, and these were the real national evils. But Poland actually seemed to have started on a new lease of life when a new constitution had been prepared, passed by the Diet, and signed by Stanislaus, on the third day of May, 1791. Stanislaus took the oath to the new constitution from the Bishop of Cracow, and he said with emotion: "I have sworn, and I will never swerve from it. I call on those who love their country to follow me to the church and take the same oath." Cries of "Long live the king!" "Long live the constitution!" greeted this act. Vague promise were made to the peasants. It was declared that anyone upon setting foot in Poland becomes immediately free. When pressure was brought from the outside a little later, however, the vacillating Stanislaus annulled the new constitution and national anarchy followed.

At the time that preparations were being made in Warsaw for the celebration of the first anniversary of the new constitution, a formal declaration of war by Russia was brought by a messenger. The Diet declared the king dictator. Prince Joseph Poniatowski, with the few troops that he could gather, advanced against the enemy. He had few officers of any great ability to aid him; but there was one notable exception, and that was Kosciuszko. These two men, so dissimilar in tastes and so unequaled in birth, proved to be good working comrades. At this time Kosciuszko was in the inferior capacity, but later the prince served under him. Jealousy of each other seems never to have entered into these two patriotic spirits.

Stanislaus used to review his troops and administer patriotic oaths, which they took with tears of enthusiasm. But the result was certain. At the request of Catherine, a new Diet was summoned, although Stanislaus burst into tears as he signed the manifesto. A spirit worthy of better days was manifested on this occasion. Seduction, intimidation, and bribery were restored to, but some of the deputies remained firm.

Men armed with bayonets were stationed around the castle and artillery was trained upon it, but nothing could move the patriots. The crisis came when four members were dragged from their homes by Russian soldiers. The house decided that no business would be transacted until the members were released. Every member remained silent. Hour after hour the silence continued. The king sat upon his throne, while the gloomy and silent deputies sat or reclined upon the benches. One day passed by and then another. At length a timid deputy proposed that silence should be considered as a consent to the treaty. The motion was read three times without an answer. "I take it, then," said the presiding officer, "that it is agreed to unanimously, for silence gives consent."

The deputies of this "Dumb Diet" left the hall with streaming eyes, for it meant a further spoliation of her territories. This second partition was in 1793. Soon afterward there was another unsuccessful revolution led by Thaddeus Kosciuszko. The final partition of Poland was agreed to by treaty on the 24th day of October, 1795, and then Poland was no more. Stanislaus was left without a kingdom and retired to Saint Petersburg, where he died a few years later. Since then the Poles have been Russians, Austrians, or Germans in a technical sense. They are now fighting against each other, because of these events of a century ago. It is no wonder that they resist the efforts of their overlords to wipe out their beloved language and deprive them of all that they hold sacred.

The Poles have never forgotten the old kingdom. They never cease to sigh for their lost independence. The hope of independence at some time in the future is as strong in the Polish breast as is that of another Zion among the scattered Israelites. The Poles in many places still chant on bended knee,

"So long as we can live and sigh,
Our well-loved Poland cannot die."

NEVIN O. WINTER.

MRS. HELENA STAS, representing Free Poland, is authorized to receive subscriptions for **FREE POLAND**. At present Mrs. Stas is in the State of Wisconsin and will, we hope, meet everywhere with a favorable reception.

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