

FREE POLAND

A SEMI-MONTHLY

The Truth About Poland and Her People

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Above—Mieczyslaw II. (1025-34), whose Death was followed by a Period of Disturbances.—Below: His widow, Ryxa, entrusting her Son Casimir to the Care of a Cloister. Casimir reigned 1040 to 1058, and restored Order in Poland.

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The Plight of Poland

The cultured man from a European country is clear and emphatic when discussing the war and its causes, that Americans fail utterly to comprehend the psychology of the European. That is, the American finds himself short of sympathy with European aims and acts because of his failure to get into correspondence with the European man's psychology.

This is probably true. But there is no such charge against the European for his failure to grasp the Yankee psychology. He has it at his tongue's end, and his finger tips. He wags his tongue and the American responds as the European desires. He raises his hand and the American jumps to carry out his wishes.

Oceans of tears have been shed over the plight of Belgium. Shiploads of food supplies have been sent to the victims of the war in Belgium, and more ship loads are still moving. Millions of dollars have been spent for the relief of Belgians. More millions are being spent and raised for the softening of the miseries in the blighted country.

The world has almost come to the conclusion that Belgium is the only country that has been ravished by the march of armies and the sweep of big shells, destroying everything in their path, animate and inanimate. Hence the world has deluged Belgium with its tears, given to Belgium and her people sustenance and acted in general as if no other country has been seriously torn by the strife and no other people seriously harmed.

Far to the east of Belgium lies Poland, and everything that has happened to Belgium has happened to Poland—in worse form. Belgium has been devastated—Poland has been virtually annihilated. The destruction in Belgium has been great, terrible—the damage in Poland has been worse. It has been complete.

Belgium has been dangerously injured—Poland has been mortally wounded. Belgium has been smashed by the weight of military force—Poland has been crushed to death.

Belgium has been ravaged by the war, destruction has marched through her fertile fields and battered down her industrial plants—but poor Poland has been wiped out of existence. Something still stands in Belgium, in poor Poland nothing.

So terrible has been the havoc in Poland that the inhabitants have not even their tears left. Tears have been dried up in the stunning shock.

Belgium invited the fate that has overtaken her — Poland is an innocent victim.

Belgium could have avoided the destruction that is so evident there now, but nothing that Poland could have done would have made any difference in her fate.

Belgium had a choice between war and no war, and chose war. Poland had no choice—with her and her people it was bitter war, and nothing but war.

Belgium could have kept out of the war—Poland couldn't.

Belgium asks the sympathy and support of the world because she chose the course she did and suffered for it—and gets it.

Poland has suffered more. What is damage to property in Belgium is complete destruction in Poland. Belgium may recover, she has a chance—Poland has none.

Poland has asked for no world sympathy—and gets none, though her suffering is greater than Belgium's and her responsibility is as nothing.

If the world really desires to be sympathetic and place its efforts where the greatest good will follow, it should turn relief work into Poland and stop giving everything to Belgium.

The world owes it to itself and to Poland to give aid to those who have been innocent victims, instead of those who chose the course that has brought such tremendous suffering upon themselves.

Belgium wanted what she is getting—Poland couldn't save herself, she had no choice. But through it all, Americans have seen nothing but the destitution and misery in Belgium. Greater suffering in Poland has not even attracted attention.

The European understands American psychology perfectly. Pittsburgh, Pa., Leader.

Her Part in War is Suicidal

Describing the situation of Poland in the war as suicidal, a prominent Polish resident of East Minneapolis related the contents of a letter he had received from an aunt in Austria, the wife of an Austrian officer. The writer thus described an incident in the conflict which has pitted Pole against Pole.

"During one of the last busy days on the battlefield, my uncle received orders to set out immediately to convey wounded soldiers from the depot to the hospital. He found them in the waiting room of a second class passenger station. Most of them were wounded in the legs and arms, two fatally. They were taken into a moving wagon.

"What a sight! Upon two stretchers were lying two soldiers in German uniforms. Three soldiers to the left were in Austrian uniform and just in front were lying two seriously wounded soldiers in Russian uniform.

"My uncle spoke in German to the men in German garb. They recognized him as a Pole and quickly responded in Polish that they were Poles from Silesia. He asked the Austrian soldiers, 'Woher sind sie?' but they were Poles from Rzeszow. 'Ah vi adkuda?' The Russian phantom was too weak to answer. The other moaned in a low voice: 'We are both Poles, farmers from around Plock.' The other man was unable to speak; half of his face was torn off by a shrapnel.

"My uncle felt the pain of the scene, our great national pain. Who knows but one brother received his wounds at the hands of another brother. Pole killing Pole! A suicide of a nation. Can the Twentieth Century civilization look upon such cruelty with indifference?"
From the Minneapolis, Minn. Tribune.



“The Fatherland” and “Free Poland”— A Comparison

By CASIMIR GONSKI

THE EUROPEAN war has brought forth a great variety of literary by-products in America: the multi-colored diplomatic correspondence books; the pen products of savants and literateurs hurling verbose paper challenges back and forth; articles and books by war-correspondents, veterans and novices, whose impressions and moods were formed and directed, perhaps of necessity, by whatever military authority dispensed hospitality and information; letters and lectures from eye witnesses, neutral and biased and by no means least of all, poetry of every conceivable rhyme and metre.

Occupying a distinctive position in the literary results of the war are two publications, which have been appearing for months past in the cities of New York and Chicago respectively. Both are edited by American citizens of foreign birth or extraction; both are devoted to the interests of the countries of their respective origin: “THE FATHERLAND” to “Fair Play for Germany and Austria-Hungary” and “FREE POLAND” to “The Truth about Poland and her People.”

Mighty Germany pleads for the proverbial American fair play in a way peculiarly her own: aggressively, ruthlessly, with an alternative of demand and threat.

Poland, which a century ago was rent asunder by Prussia, by Prussia's ally Austria and by Russia, Poland which now is in the very vortex of this titanic struggle, asks America to think of her, to read of her history in order to know what fearful fate has become the award of her deserving past.

But it must be remembered that the editors of both publications are citizens of the United States.

It is a natural and normal trait of the human character to feel reverence and sympathy for the land where stood one's cradle. If these ties of mundane origin are loosened by the period of intervening generations, such sentiments may become less fervent but are seldom entirely obliterated. However, when the obligations of citizenship in an adopted fatherland have been assumed, reverence and sympathy for the land of birth must become fully subservient to loyalty and devotion to the country of adoption.

It does not behoove me to criticise my neighbor because his sympathies are different from mine; neither does it become my neighbor to question my sound judgment and status as an American citizen because, perchance, I condemn the German method of warfare. But one thing may be expected and should be exacted from every American, no matter what his origin: unflinching loyalty to America.

In this respect, Messrs. Viereck and Schrader, the editors of “THE FATHERLAND” are found wanting. They measure the standard of American citizenship by the criterion of sympathy and admiration for Germany. To condemn Germany, to show resentment at her submarine warfare, or even to fail in sympathy with her, is to be un-American; to be outspokenly for the Allies is unpardonable. Thus reasons Mr. Viereck in his FATHERLAND, and fails to see that neither one nor the other inclination makes or unmakes an American citizen.

But when our government speaks officially on our behalf in the protection of the rights of its citizens, as it perceives such rights to be, then it becomes the duty of all Americans, no matter what their nationality or sympathy, to loyally support our government, the government created by the people's will.

He who by word or deed at such critical times incites against the government, in sneering terms condemns its course and praises and upholds that of a foreign power in controversy with our government, is not making use of the liberty of speech and press but plays with the tools of treason.

A few extracts from the editorials of some recent numbers of the “FATHERLAND” will bear out the assertion made.

From the “FATHERLAND” of May 5th:

“Because the British Ambassador was busy issuing instructions to the American Ambassador in London, Secretary Bryan had to reply to Count Bernstorff's note himself. It is true that Mr. Wilson assisted him and that it took both these distinguished gentlemen more than three weeks to concoct some excuse for their surrender of the United States Government to Great Britain. Nevertheless, Mr. Bryan's answer is absolutely untainted by reason. The laboring mountains have brought forth a preposterous mouse. A sili-lier or more dishonest statement was never issued by an American official. In fact, the reply of the Administration to Count Bernstorff is the most dishonest document that was ever submitted by one great Government to another. It is not merely a slap in the face of the German people, but a slap in the face of truth.”.....

“Mr. Bryan regrets that the language of Count Bernstorff is “susceptible of being construed as impugning the good faith of the United States in its performance of its duties as a neutral.” Count Bernstorff cannot have impugned the good faith of the

United States for the simple reason that good faith on the part of the United States in its relations with Germany is a thing that does not exist. The Administration has shown bad faith, and nothing but bad faith, and nothing but bad faith, from beginning to end, from the suppression of the wireless to the attack on the Odenwald, from its early subservience to Great Britain to its present insolence toward the representative of the Kaiser."....

"Count Bernstorff is a trained diplomat who could teach both Mr. Bryan and Mr. Wilson the A.B.C. of Statecraft. Mr. Bryan thinks it "inappropriate for a third power to discuss the relations between the Government of the United States and the Government of Great Britain."....

"If this is "inappropriate" then diplomatic relations between Germany and the United States might as well cease at once. But in that case we, as American citizens, have the right to ask some questions of President Wilson."

"Is it the intention of the Administration to denude our country of arms and ammunitions of war so as to make the United States an easy prey for Great Britain's ally in the Pacific?"

From the editorial of May 12th written several days before the sinking of the Lusitania:

"The pro-Ally press affects to regard the Gulfight incident as a matter of serious importance. The alleged attack on the Gulfight—for it is by no means certain that she was torpedoed—is not half so serious as was the attack on the Odenwald. The Gulfight carried contraband through the war-zone. She was bound for an enemy's port. She paid the penalty of her fool-hardiness. Before long, a large passenger ship like the Lusitania, carrying implements of murder to Great Britain, will meet with a similiar fate"....

From the No. of May 19th:

"Last week we predicted the fate that has overtaken the Lusitania. The Fatherland did not reach the news-stands till Saturday, but the editorial in question was written several days before publication."....

"It cannot be said that the Lusitania was torpedoed without warning. Ordinarily a half hour's warning is regarded sufficient. In this case the ship was warned of its fate four or five days in advance. We need only turn to the warning notice issued by the German Embassy on the day before the Lusitania left the Harbor of New York.".....

"When Germany determines upon a plan of action she means business. The Germans are not a nation of poker players. Germany does not bluff.".....

From the No. of May 26th:

"The country has been carefully groomed to applaud Mr. Bryan's note to Germany as a masterpiece. As a matter of fact it is not a masterpiece but the most serious blunder of shirt-sleeve diplomacy."....

"We pride ourselves upon being a democracy, yet we permit the President to seclude himself for several days and then, without consulting with the people, take a step which brings us at once before the greatest danger—both external and internal—that the Republic has ever confronted."....

"The official announcement of the German Admiralty makes it clear that it was not foreseen that the Lusitania would sink so quickly. In fact, the Lusitania would sink not have gone down so quickly but for the explosion of the munitions of war in her hold. If we permit American passengers to embark on floating

arsenals in spite of the warning we have no right to blame Germany for our criminal negligence.".....

"War would lead perhaps not to a revolution but it would create a rift in the heart of our citizenship. It would take centuries to bury the memories of such a conflict. We feel sure that Germany will make every possible concession to avoid a conflict. If a conflict should arise nevertheless, the blame will rest on Washington, not on Berlin.".....

This constellation of extracts does not enhance or make more pointed the meaning of Mr. Viereck's dangerous editorials, on the contrary it weakens them somewhat. No doubt Mr. Viereck is very earnest in his desire to speak on behalf of his fellow citizens of German birth or extraction, for the German government and against ours, but he achieves a result directly opposite from the one by him desired.

The writer, who for many years has lived in Milwaukee, in friendly converse with his fellow citizens of German origin, knows of his own experience, that they are loyal Americans, that they do not need to pass resolutions asserting their loyalty and that despite their love for Germany their status as good Americans should not be questioned.

Milwaukee "Deutschthum" is a fairly good standard by which to judge the other large contingents of Americans with a German origin and it may safely be said that Mr. Viereck's gentlemanly, inflammatory, illogical and absolutely disloyal writings have found no approval, but severe condemnation with men of German blood who are leaders of thought in their respective communities. On the other hand there can be little doubt that Mr. Viereck's activities have had a harmful influence upon public opinion toward the German cause. In times of stress, like the present, we, the American people, resent such attacks as Mr. Viereck's upon our government. If the editor of the "Fatherland" will put his ear to the ground he will hear something that bodes no good for him.

Incidentally, it may be asked in what position Mr. Viereck finds himself now that Mr. Bryan has resigned for the reasons as stated in his letter of resignation. And incidentally, how can the statements regarding the sinking of the Lusitania be reconciled with each other. Mr. Viereck, referring to the official German announcement says, that the quick sinking of the Lusitania was not foreseen; that she would not have sunk so quickly but for the explosion of the munitions she carried. Quare, did the German submarine know that the Lusitania carried ammunition and would therefore sink quickly, or did the German submarine attack the Lusitania in the belief that she carried no ammunition?

Having reached thus far, it occurs to the writer, that this article is not a comparison but a contrast. "Free Poland", appearing since September 1914 has not printed one word of criticism of our government; on the contrary, it has repeatedly declared its adherence to the neutrality requested by Mr. Wilson. While reciting the grievances of Poland, it has appealed to the fairmindedness and generosity of the American people. The editors of "Free Poland" have accepted the citizenship of the United States of their own choice, they understand its obligations. In a controversy with a foreign power brought about as has been the present crisis, their loyalty is not conditional, is not depending upon a policy of our government favorable to Poland's cause, much as it is desired by them, their loyalty is the one and indivisible kind of an American for America on the principle which has made this nation strong: "E pluribus unum!"

Settlements and Poles

*Delivered before the National Federation of Settlements, in Baltimore
at the Conference on Slavs, Friday, May 14th, 1915*



INTERPRETING our neighborhoods to the community at large and vice versa seems to me to concisely define the spirit and purpose of settlements. In order to be most effective in this role of interpreters we aim to know and understand our neighbors. And so, to-day, we are especially interested in the Slavs, who, to quote Mr. Kennedy, "are making up an increasing proportion of settlement neighborhoods". We are interested in their custom, traditions and traits and the effect upon these of and American environment.

I shall attempt to sketch—in broad general outlines—the principal characteristics of my countrymen, the Poles, of whom there are twenty-four millions in the world and two and one-half millions in the United States and who, historians and statisticians agree, are the most intelligent and most representative of the Slavic peoples emigrating to America.

From our Sarmatian ancestors we have inherited our love of color and pageantry, which manifests itself to the present day in the dress of the peasants and our festivals. Only the pen of a poet or the brush of an artist can adequately portray the well-blended riot of color presented by the dress of the peasants on a market or feast day in the "Rynek"—Market Place—of Cracow, the latest modernized of modern cities of Europe and the Mecca of every Polish hearth. In America our Sarmatian traits are preserved in the uniforms of our numerous patriotic and religious societies, in the observations of the feast days, and in patriotic celebrations.

From our Caucasian fore-fathers we have inherited our wild love of freedom, our dramatic, fiery, enthusiastic, impressionable positive temperament, as well as the most stirring of our folk songs. As far back as we can trace the origin of the Slavs, and particularly the Poles, through their history, traditions and mythology, they have been noted for their songs—the oppressed and suppressed Polish peasants forming fourteen-fifteenths of the total Polish population and the handful of free and privileged—and hence highly developed intellectually—nobles. To know and understand our songs is to know and understand us. Our songs have been the only means of expression and education of the peasants until the beginning of the nineteenth century. And, on account of the illiteracy—through no fault of their own in the vast majority of our people, these ballads were handed down from generation to generation or composed extemporaneously on the demands of the occasion—a military triumph or defeat, a wedding, a christening, a death, a feast, or simply to express an emotion or feeling.

No one, and especially a Polish American, who has been so fortunate as I, to hear these songs for a year in my native land—in the fields, churches, at weddings festivals and meetings—can ever erase the memory of those thrilling, soul stirring, sadly sweet melodies portraying the anguish of centuries of tyranny and slavery and our intense love of liberty. I returned to America a better Pole and a better American, with a firmer faith in the ultimate triumph of American ideals which have the support and are fundamentally identical with two and one-half millions of souls, whose ancestors gave the modern world the first crude, but basic, principle of democracy,

who were the first European nation to adopt a tolerant and broad-minded policy towards the persecuted Jews, and at the time of the Reformation, were the first to grant freedom of thought, speech and the press to all within their borders, regardless of race or creed.

Ruinous as the "liberum veto" proved to us as a nation, it forms the basis of two of the most important institutions of civilized nations—the jury system and the executive veto.

We are a liberal and trusting people by nature, and, if contrary to our nature, we have become clannish and suspicious, the one hundred and thirty year extermination adopted by our conquerors has made us so. We ask you, as our interpreters, to remember this and not judge us too harshly when we do not immediately respond and cooperate with you in work of mutual benefit. Personally, I feel you will ultimately succeed in gaining our confidence and cooperation, and once gained our loyalty cannot be easily shaken.

Perhaps the best exponents of our past status in Europe and our past and present status in America are the members of a meeting held in Chicago, the largest Polish city in the world after Warsaw and Lemberg, protesting against the Immigration Bill recently vetoed by President Wilson. I shall take the liberty of reading a few short paragraphs in this connection from an article in "Free Poland," a semi-monthly Polish-American magazine, describing the meeting.

"More than 100 Polish citizens of Chicago held a meeting in the city hall—in the court room of a Polish municipal judge—Judge Edmund K. Jarecki. The Polish bishop sat at the bench and took the gavel. A Polish election commissioner acted as secretary. All the other in the room are prominent in their respective, lines—editors bankers, business men, city officials, lawyers, physicians, priests and educators. They represented powerful Polish societies including the Polish National Alliance, the Polish Alma Mater and Polish Roman Catholic Union.

"They were, nearly all of them, the sons of peasants who had left their homes across the seas to come to America. Many of the old folks could neither read nor write. They were poor. They had no friends here when they landed.

"But they landed together. They worked hard. They saved the money. They bought property. They raised families and when the little ones became old enough they were sent to schools.

"The new generation studied in the school and the home. When they became old enough to work they were sent out to shop and factory and store and office to bring in what money they could. They toiled and they struggled and they accomplished. And to-day they are the judge, the banker, the attorney, the physician, the man of affairs. They have property. They built schools and churches and hospitals. They have made themselves good Americans. They are teaching their children to become better Americans."

In conclusion, speaking as an American Pole and a settlement worker, I should like to emphasize two points, which, in my opinion, are essential to a successful performance of our mission as interpreters of our Slavic

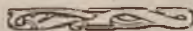
neighbors. First, I think we will all agree, that only a Slav can fully understand a Slav. HENCE WE MUST DEVELOP SLAVIC SETTLEMENT WORKERS. The task is by no means an easy one. Primarily, because we Slavs, who have come to America are poor, and if we happen to be ambitious and desirous of obtaining an education, we are compelled to borrow the money to pay for it and at the same time earn our living while we are studying. After we have succeeded in securing our college or university education, we are triply handicapped from following out—in full—our neutral inclinations—for instance settlement work—by being compelled to earn enough money to pay our debt, to make our living and to contribute to the budget of our families. Can you blame us for accepting, perforce, the best paying position in preference to the one we are most in sympathy with?

Secondarily, very, few of us are fortunate enough in meeting settlement workers early enough in our careers who prove to be our inspirations and guides. I am thank-

ful to say I have been one of those fortunate few and all I am to-day, even to being a good Pole, I owe to a settlement worker, whom you all know, Miss Alice E. Robbins, at present head worker of the U. U. Guild, in Brooklyn, N. Y., and formerly of Lawrence House of Baltimore.

The second point I wish to emphasize is the words of Emily Greene Balch: "let us continue to aim to a higher unity in which we may preserve every difference to which men cling with affection, without feeling ourselves any the less comrades." Personally, I feel that settlements are particularly fitted to arouse a responsive chord in the Slavic nature, because they, perhaps more than any other institution in America, believe in and make the most earnest and sincere effort to live up to the ideals of America, which are fundamentally identical with those of the Slavs—freedom and tolerance for all, regardless of race, creed or status in society.

MARGARET RUSSANOWSKA.



A Beautiful Letter from Canada

To the Editor

"Free Poland".

DEAR SIR—

It is a matter of the greatest regard that the Canadian Government should appear in so unfavorable a light, in regard to its treatment of the hostile nationalities within our borders. Of course we do not know who wrote that most pathetic letter on page 3 of the last Issue of "Free Poland", but he has the deep sympathy of all Canadians. In such a mechanical system as a human Government naturally is, it is inevitable that some individuals be treated unjustly, and we deeply regret such a fact.

That all Poles in Canada are not so treated is an absolute fact, for which I can authoritatively vouch. Some of my dearest friends are of your noble race, and occupy positions of honor second to none in Canada. By all who know anything about them, all true Poles are hailed in Canada as our most welcome friends.

Unfortunately, however, the enemies of our British Empire, have, in a number of cases masqueraded as Poles, as such have had liberty and access to important secrets, (in regard to the movements of troops and transports) which would have been impossible had they revealed their true Teutonic nationality.

The Prussianization of Poland in Prussia has had a terribly far-reaching effect, and in many cases the police court interpreters have classed as German those unfortunate people who have absorbed the Germanic influences better than the "Michas" of whom we have read in your most interesting paper.

In receiving the letter I have referred to, I am extremely sorry to note our friends' distress, but am at a loss to account for it, unless his particular village is positively barbaric in its treatment of our most respected immigrants. Here, in the city of Niagara Falls, there is quite a large colony of Poles, of the day-laborer class, and through a mission and free-meal station for the unemployed, which I established through the winter months, I learned quite a little about their conditions. There were fewer unemployed Poles, than any other nationalities, in proportion to numbers. They are respected, sturdy reliable colonists, and no one had a bad word for the real Poles. But, alas, the dividing line has proved very in-

distinct between Pole and Austrian; only a short time ago, in Toronto, 29 so-called "Poles" were found drilling with loaded rifles in the cellar of a church in that city. The police were called, and took them to station for inspection. Two were found to be well-known Austrians, who have lost no opportunity on other occasions to show active ill-will to Canada. The nationality of the others was difficult to decide upon, so the police gave them the benefit of the doubt and released them, only requiring that they present themselves once a week at head-quarters, as a proof of their good faith. I saw later by the papers that while most of them are working quietly as usual two were found to be agitating among the smaller cities, for pro-German movements of the Austrian, Roumanian, and Polish communities. These malcontents are isolated, it is true, in a district near the famous Cobalt. Here they are engaged by the Government in ordinary occupations, or in some cases allowed to work for themselves as in any other part of the country. In Germany such agitators would probably be shot, but we have followed the more humane method of merely separating them from the rest of the populace till the war is over.

Please pardon the length of my letter, but as a Canadian, I cannot bear to think of any friction between the true Poles and Canada. Being only a private individual of course, one cannot speak for the Government, but for the people of Canada, let me say that we hold in the highest possible esteem and even reverence, the magnificent and talented Polish people, when they are free from the Teutonic influences.

I have seen many Canadians whose eyes were wet with tears of real joy, when the papers told the glad news of United Poland as one of the nations of Europe, where the Allies are victorious.

With the hope that you will print at least portions of my letter, I have tried to be as "neutral" as is possible, for one who signs herself

A Canadian Woman.

(The attitude of the Canadian Government has been explained to the satisfaction of the Polish National Council. For further particulars see FREE POLAND, for May 16, 1915.)

A Prize Competition

We have received from THE TRIBUNE OF LIBERTY, a national weekly published by the League of Liberty in Washington, D. C., the following:

Editor,

FREE POLAND,
Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sir—

We call your attention to a prize for the best essay on a subject that will especially interest you. I hope you can find space to call attention to this competition in your paper.

Russia must not be allowed to break her promise to the Poles. We stand as strongly for that as you can.

Wishing your paper every prosperity, and with our high personal regard,

We remain

Fraternally yours,

H. J. JACKSON.

* * *

THE TRIBUNE OF LIBERTY is in complete agreement with Mr. Chesterton that German Militarism must be crushed, no matter what the cost. It quotes the following from LA PETITE REPUBLIQUE:

"Poland reconstituted! This is the solemn promise by virtue of which this infamous war becomes a holy war; it will give freedom to all peoples and make the primordial right triumph in all Europe, thus uniting them again to their ethnographical groups."

From LA RADICAL:

"It is not only the Polish problem which the Czar's offer affects, but the rights of nations everywhere. The traditional thesis of democracy has received the adhesion of an Emperor."

From Professor SELLA:

"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."

Whatever the new order that shall evolve out of the present chaos, it should respect the individuality of the small nations; it should be effected in strict conformity with the principle of nationality on the basis of a common language, a national history, national aspirations, and a population with well defined geographical boundaries.

In the firm belief that the foregoing views are vital to the cause of Liberty, THE TRIBUNE OF LIBERTY offers a prize of \$25 for the best essay on either of the two following subjects:

- (1) Why Prussian Militarism Must be Destroyed.
- (2) How can the United States or any of its citizens best promote the principle of nationality, especially as it touches the status of the small nations of Europe.

This competition is open to any resident of the United States who is not over 20 years of age.

The essay must not exceed 200 words and may be in any language.

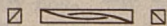
Contestants may submit essays on both subjects.

A 25-cent subscription is a condition of the competition.

All essays must be in the hands of the Editor by September first, 1915.

Payment of the prize will be made to the winner when he or she furnishes a letter signed by two clergymen or business men stating that to the best of their knowledge the essay is an original production and the author is not over twenty years of age. Address:

THE TRIBUNE OF LIBERTY,
Box 1919, Washington, D. C.



Gov. Ferris makes a Plea for Poland

Gov. Ferris has written a letter to the American-Polish relief committee for Poland in which he gives expression to his interest in the work.

"I have read with pleasure the announcement that the American-Polish relief committee is arranging a mass meeting at the Light Guard armory on April 25 for Poland's war victims", the governor wrote. The letter follows:

"I most heartily commend this appeal. We Americans who have had 50 years of peace cannot fully appreciate the importance of helping those who are prostrated by the awful conflict.

"Poland has had her trials like many another nation. Her hopes and her ideals ought to appeal to every American. No one should excuse himself solely on the grounds that we have in America people that need our assistance.

"This awful war really is an awakener. It shows us that in times of peace we can get along with the few

simple necessities of life. We can, therefore, afford to be generous toward the sufferers abroad. It is my wish that this meeting may result in great good.

Very sincerely yours,

WOODBIDGE N. FERRIS,
Governor."

The relief movement is growing rapidly, and it is expected that the meeting at the armory will materially help to minimize the sufferings in Poland. The Detroit real estate board has directed its executive committee to appoint a special committee to solicit funds from its members for the cause.

Headquarters of the relief committee are at 414 Free Press building. Joseph Wedda is chairman and George I. Lawson is treasurer of the committee. **Detroit, Mich., Journal.**

FREE POLAND

A SEMI-MONTHLY

The Truth About Poland and Her People

PUBLICATION AUTHORIZED BY
THE POLISH NATIONAL COUNCIL OF AMERICA

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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.

Paderewski's Plea to Poles

May 30th, 1915, witnessed an impressive patriotic manifestation, held at Humboldt Park, in honor of the "Hero of two Worlds"—Kościuszko.

Mrs. Neuman and the Rev. Ladislaus Zapala spoke. Gov. Dunne spoke of the composite nature of our Commonwealth. Mayor Thompson paid a tribute to the work and character of Polish citizens.

Then Paderewski spoke, — he who with such pathetic eloquence personifies the helpless tragedy of Poland. And in impassioned tones he reminded his countrymen of their duty to war-devastated Poland.

Mr. E. Obecny has kindly translated Paderewski's written appeal to Poles in America.

It reads:

Uplift your eyes, uplift your hearts!

"You ask me to describe Poland's woe and hopes. That is a difficult task. It is not in my power to speak for millions, but I will speak for myself.

"I believe in God, believe in the inexhaustible strength of the Polish Nation, and in its great mission on this earth. — The independence of Poland is a historical necessity, its realization merely a matter of time. The sooner it is brought about the better for all mankind.

"Anent Poland's misery no one can find words to portray it so vividly as Zygmunt Krasinski, prophetically inspired, has already portrayed it in his "Undivine Comedy", eighty-two years ago. Permit me here to quote those words:

"And it seemed to the youth that from every pine in the forest there flashed forth before him the form of a crucified man. He saw a vast array of bodies hanging outstretched in space, bleeding, quivering, and ever more and more of them as far as his eye could reach. In the ghastly light of the moon, multitudes upon multitudes of them appear, here and there, and further on, and still further, one beside the other, one behind the other, extending on in serried ranks to the very horizon—the whole expanse of heaven alive and vibrant with their dying cries. And then it dawned upon the youth that this was his nation, his entire nation, hung in Christlike martyrdom above its own native soil—and tears blinded his vision. Then spoke the shadow to him:

"Avert not thine eyes but behold even though it fill thee with revulsion. To conquer pain thou must steep thyself in pain and know it. Observe that in this immeasurable wood every pine, with studied and immense labor hath been stripped of its branches and converted into a cross! Observe that every tree is propped with a mound of debris and that all this wreckage is the crumbling ruins of churches and castles that once teemed with life. And observe too, the measured space between each mound—neither moss nor shrubs anywhere? As mountains are converted into one vast cemetery of suffering. An arch-executioner alone, could apportion pain with such precision, and order death with such fiendish symmetry! And thereupon the sound of laughter clove the air. And the youth glanced in the direction from whence came the laughter, immediately beneath him, whilst there in the open field, before the first row of Crosses there loomed a lofty pyre of ruins and smouldering embers like the charred remains of a city after a conflagration—from beneath the layers of ashes, scraps of broken cannon and arms peer forth and there rises up a column of dense smoke twining about a giant who bestrides those ruins.

"And just then a moonbeam floated above and illumined the form, revealing a crown of steel as though woven of chains, a soldier's cloak girded with fetters, from which in place of a sword a knouted whip hung dangling to the feet of the potentate. And whenever there arose the moan of the crucified multitudes he eagerly craned his head and listened; and listened; and whenever there rose the sob of women he answered it with clapping of his hands....

"A perfect executioner! Listen, now he will begin to tempt them!

"And it seemed to the youth that the crowned giant leaned forth from the mound, and extending one hand toward the tortured multitudes, with the other resting on his belt of fetters and on the whip, spoke thus: "Renounce your past and future, your country and your God—acknowledge me as your past and future, your country and your God — and as I have ordered you crucified so will I have you taken down from the cross. I will summon my hirelings and they will take you down, and I will make a happy nation of you! I will give you food and drink and ye shall abound in plenty. Your starved and mutilated bodies I will yet make into healthy, fresh, and teaming bodies!"

"But the crucified multitudes answered him not a word—not even a groan escaped them—only a wide stream of blood gushed forth from their midst and flowing on past the first rank of crosses wafted itself

like an ocean wave against the mound upon which towered the despot. And in the reverberation of that wave it seemed to the youth that he heard the word: NO! And the snow-white multitudes of women answered never a word—only when the wave rolled back from the mound they bent and seized from the ground their children — and those serried ranks of children, held up in the air in their mothers' arms, shouted: NO! No sooner had sounded the murmur of those myriad childish voices than a wondrous

brightness flooded the heavens—and the youth lifted his eyes aloft!"

"Uplift your eyes! And when, in a short while you will in accordance with the commendable custom of this country go forth to pay your yearly tribute to the illustrious dead, turn also your grateful thoughts to those who have fought for Poland with other weapons than the sword. Remember those to whom we owe in a large measure the incomparable beauty of our mother-tongue, the immeasurable spirit of freedom that is in us."

An Appeal for Poland

(Written on the occasion of the Polish Tag Day held in Milwaukee, Wis. May 22nd, 1915.)

On Saturday morning, when refreshed from your sleep, your loved ones and friends will gather at the breakfast table, when you will scan the morning paper and read of the millions of aching hearts which are stricken and bleeding in consequence of the savage European war, your thoughts will involuntarily form a prayer, of gratitude that the Omnipotence which rules the world has granted unto you the boon of citizenship in a country which is at peace, and which, with the help of God, will remain at peace.

On Saturday morning, while you thus live and read and pray, could you but see with a magic, comprehensive glance the war-scarred territory of Poland, you would behold such a physical realization of Dante's Inferno, as to make you pause and resolve, that nothing short of the very life of yourself and your beloved shall for one moment deter you from helping to alleviate, as much as is humanly possible within your power, the inexpressible suffering which you thus behold.

Almost directly opposite you on this globe, the tidal waves of this Titanic struggle roll back and forth over 50,000 square miles of what once was a part of the mighty Kingdom-Republic of the East,—Poland.

Poland! the citadel of Christianity, a tower of strength to guard against barbarism and Mohammedan aggression, the beacon light of civilization on the eastern ramparts of Europe, the refuge of a race oppressed and persecuted, the home of religious tolerance, of courtly hospitality, of chivalry and the Muses, the land where the light of liberty has burned with a fervor most intense, the land that has sustained the most cruel strokes of fate—and now the land of suffering and death.

Over a territory nearly ten times as large as Belgium, with a population of more than fifteen millions, rules the monster Minotaur, the beast of war. The soil that has borne and buried so many of her sons for freedom's sake,

reverberates from the martial tread of invading armies, the thunder of hoofs and the crash of artillery. The light of the rising sun is dimmed by the smoke of powder; when the red orb sets in the west the firebrand of war lights up the whole horizon. Homes there are but few and those are occupied by the slaves of Minotaur. The aged, the women, children and babes in arms without shelter, food and the elemental necessities of life, roam the fields and forests, subsisting on roots and the bark of trees. Thousands of those unfortunate have died, thousands are dying. From their husbands, their sons and their fathers has been recruited an army of 1,400,000. To do what? To defend their country from aggression? To protect their loved ones and their homes? No, they cannot die for their country, for they have none. They are compelled to fight for the glory of their oppressors who a century ago have taken their country from them; they are compelled,—oh, terrible fate,—to kill each other, so that their oppressors may live and prosper in the family of nations.

No pen wielded by a human hand, and were it even Sienkiewicz's, no Muse—inspired soul, and were it even Paderewski's, can portray the suffering of and sing the Requiem for that thrice unfortunate nation, now in its throes of death.

With the help of God that nation will survive, but you, too, should and must help.

On Saturday morning, on your way to a day's peaceful work, you will see on the streets and in your places of business the wives and daughters of your fellow Americans of Polish birth or extraction, of men you know, of men you deal and work with. Those wives and daughters will ask you to aid Poland. Give what you think you can, and then a little more. You never gave to a better cause. Much and deservedly has been given for Belgium. Do as much for Poland on Saturday morning.

CASIMIR GONSKI.

The Terror of the Problem

MUCH less is said about the sufferings of Poland in the war, than the importance of the topic ought to command. The distress in Poland is greater than that in Belgium.

The unending trampling of millions of marching men, their hundreds of miles of trenches, tearing up the country, the destruction of railroads and highways, have made the western part of Poland in cold weather, a frozen desert, in thaws an impassable quagmire. The vast armies have swept the country bare of food for men and proven-

der for cattle, and the fate of the Polish peasant is appalling to contemplate.

The terror of the problem is increased by the fact that organized relief for Poland has never made any such headway in the United States, as has relief for Belgium. The Polish scene is more distant, its conditions less familiar, and the intense and sorrowful realization of our Polish-American citizens, that their country is in distress, needs reinforcement by a far wider co-operation on the part of the general American public, than has hitherto been the case. — Buffalo, N. Y. Times.

“Poland Must and Shall Be Free”

SUCH WERE the finishing words of an address, which General James O'Byrne delivered in 1886, in New York, at a Polish National Celebration. They are words, which became to-day the postulate of almost the entire civilized world. And the people of that same civilized world certainly understand that the gigantic military operations and battles, which are carried on at present in France, Belgium, Poland, Serbia, Montenegro, as well as in Asia and Africa, are nothing else than the consequence of the crime perpetrated on Poland—the crime of Poland's dismemberment,—they are nothing else than the work of revengeful historical Nemesis.

It is only now we understand the extent of the inestimably good service that the Polish nation rendered to the whole of mankind and to the civilized world; it is only now we understand also how monstrous was the crime committed against the nation, which, during the nine centuries of its existence had served the world as a shield for the western European nations.

When Poland was forced to a deadly fight at Lignica against the Mongolians who were about to administer to Europe a total defeat; when she was bleeding on the battlefields of Cecora, snatching the weapon from Osman at Chocim; when she saw him with six thousand Turks and Tartars endeavouring to conquer Europe; when she hastened to Vienna in order to come to the rescue of the German Empire and to defend the Christian world; when in some sixty battles with the Turks and Tartars and in numberless encounters she was spending her strength and her life,—Europe could quietly pursue the path of intellectual culture and civilization. And so Europe did; she was making progress and she was getting more and more powerful.

From the nations that had power to reign, there were other states coming forth; cities were being transferred to a direct ownership of the Crowns; strong middle states were being formed; finances were based upon an intelligent system of taxes, upon a wide principle of credit and bank currencies; righteousness was beginning to work with efficiency and regularity, spreading her tutelar wings in all directions; the sword of justice was about to lay hold of every individual equally; trade and industry were developing; and with these transformations improvement was being made also in the intellectual world at large; the progress of knowledge was being promoted into broader spheres; the conception of a union of communities was becoming realized among the more firmly consolidating nations; all the power of the subjects, without establishing any difference of rank, was being used for the good of the State; whilst military forces were becoming the undivided property of governments, united by absolute discipline into one frightful organ of imperial power. In respect to Poland, however, the situation was different. Owing to the incessant attacks of the Turks and Tartars, Poland was unable even to drag herself along with the current of the times, for it was everlastingly on her own spoils that she had to be fulfilling her mission of shielding Europe against an invasion of barbarous hordes.

Those, therefore, who belonged to the inferior nobility of Poland, had no time to devote themselves to the new social tides of the world, because they were engaged in performing military service from the time of their boyhood to a late old age; moreover, a country that was bathing in conflagration and was being demolished by never-

ending invasions, could neither establish a middle state, nor occupy itself with commerce and industry.

The nobility of Poland was taken up with war, and therefore, this class of people could be busy about neither exterior political affairs, nor about the progress of the spirit of the time. Spending their lives in camping, with the object of defending the territories and safety of Europe, they were gaining, like a militia in time of war, ever greater and greater rights and privileges; whilst in France and in England men of this stamp, curbed by their own rulers, were the lackeys of thrones.

Kept under the restraint of obedience by their kings and monarchs, driven away by burgher armies from the fields of battle, they stepped into royal halls as an adornment to the majesty of those in power and they changed the sabre into flirtation and courtly intrigues.

Polish noblemen did not dwell in royal mansions, but from early youth till a later age, they pursued the enemy over wild fields. In time these warriors became powerful in Poland, concerned only about their own interests.

In France as well as in England, kings became the true rulers of their countries, wherefore Louis XIV could say of himself: “L'etat, c'est moi.”

In Poland the kings had gradually become mere figure-heads. Therefore, hemmed in on all sides by neighbouring countries which were developing and growing in power at her expense, Poland commenced to decline in prestige and glory.

Exhausted by incessant wars and failing on this account to keep up with the tide and spirit of the times, after raising the siege of Vienna, Poland fell into a lethargy from which she was to be aroused only by the Prussian, Austrian and Muscovite armies invading and flooding her country. Then she opened her eyes and with a sober eye she glanced at the progress and power of the communities of Europe, enacting then a new code of laws known universally as the Constitution of the Third of May, proclaimed to the nation in 1791.

But alas, it was too late.

England was deaf when she heard of the partition, and France was deaf as well. It was not perceived that by allowing Prussia to grow powerful at the cost of the lands of Poland they were creating for themselves a foe such as Poland never had been with regard to these respective countries.

England had not learned anything from the history of the Teutonic Order in the countries of Poland until Sedan and still more the present gigantic battles in Europe were to teach the world what a menace Prussians prove to be to the whole universe by their aggressive power and ruthless arrogance.

There was another moment during which the crime committed against Poland could have been repaired, and that was at the Congress of Vienna.

The wars of Napoleon should have opened the eyes of Europe sufficiently to view with caution the waxing power of Czar Alexander; yet she had not the courage to press the petition of Lord Castlereagh which aimed “to help to repair the crime of the partition of Poland, by restoring her freedom under a dynasty independent of Russia and Austria.”

Poland was dismembered once more by the representatives of the nations in conference at the Congress of Vienna, although they were unable to kill her spirit.

The love of the Poles for their native land, their devotion to their country strength of resistance, the hatred which they inherited from their grandfathers and great grandfathers towards the Russians as a hostile race, their contempt for the Russians, who up till recently were their murderers and executioners,—all this only helped them to burn their flame of patriotism with an ever clearer light.

Literature and fine arts began to flourish in Poland as never before. Polish authors are read to-day, the world highly values Polish art and Polish music.

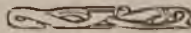
Terribly persecuted for every movement and sign of Polish life shown in Russia and Prussia, the Poles knew how to keep intact the nationality of a common class of people, that was either Prussianized or Russianized in schools, or kept purposely in darkness and ignorance. Being maltreated and exiled from their own land by their usurpers, they went into strange lands with that languish-

ing hope for their country which guarded them against losing their nationality among strangers, in spite of their accumulation of wealth by means of industry and economy.

And despite long repressions, they have never been imbued so much with patriotism as they are now, during the present war, which arouses in them new hopes, a complete faith in the recovery of their freedom and independence. Hence the striving for this greatest good of every nation on earth has become to-day the dogma of the life of Poland. The freedom and independence of Poland will evidently be the greatest axiom for Europe, in order that the peace which will surely come after the present struggles, may be permanent. Russia would be stronger without Poland because in Poland she would have a powerful ally and an honest friend.

After the humiliation that awaits her, Prussia will have lost the essential parts of Poland in favor of the future Polish Government. The Polish Question will be solved for, "Poland must and shall be free."

Press-Bureau of the Polish National Alliance,



Another Plea

Poland now is and has been for some months suffering from starvation and misery. For \$4.00, equal to 8 Russian rubles, a small family of fatherless children can be kept for a week on rye and barley. My country was made desolate by the invading armies which in some provinces crossed and recrossed our country, leaving in their wake only ruin. Where once were flourishing farms, magnificent mansions, thriving towns and extensive factories, are now waste and desolation. Entire districts were depopulated. The inhabitants that were strong and able have been scattered to different provinces and towns, seeking employment or begging. Those who were weak, sick, or with little children, have stayed around their ruined places, living in holes dug out of the ground or in miserable huts made from tree limbs and brush, enduring indescribable poverty and wretchedness. The country is in a dire plight of starvation. General destitution is the lot of countless little fatherless children, poor destitute mothers, helpless aged and sick, doomed to die for want of food and shelter.

The husband and father is engaged in fierce fratricidal strife. Perhaps he is at this very moment with rifle in hands aiming at the breast of his brother Pole who was made to don the Austrian or German army uniform to shoot at his brother Pole in the Russian ranks. Can anybody imagine a more pitiable state of political affairs than that of the Polish people now? To be compelled to look at the robber who takes everything you have and at the same see your brother help him do it.

It seems as if the invaders were bent upon destroying even the vestige of Polish ownership in the invaded provinces. Everything movable that was worth having,

such as furnishings in houses, farming implements, etc., was loaded on wagons or cars. Live stock of every kind, including poultry, was either driven away or carried away on rails. And all that was done systematically, as if performed by persons who were trained to do the work beforehand. While one gang of men was busy pillaging and carrying out things, another set was engaged in packing, loading and despatching; still another gang was occupied with threshing ripe and cut grain—it being harvest time then in Poland. The threshing done, the machinery, horses, harness, and everything available, was sent westward. When the pillaging was done to the satisfaction of the officer in command, there remained only one more thing to be done to finish the work. This finishing touch was accomplished by a specially trained gang of soldiers who were perfect in handling torches. Structures that were not readily ignitable were treated first to a liberal dose of coal oil in order that results might be secured speedily.

The war storm is not over yet. More misfortune is ahead; more fathers and brothers are to be killed; more blood to be shed; more houses burned; more property destroyed; more widows made; more emaciated little arms reaching out for bread. Generosity of noble America spontaneously showed itself at the call of Belgium. Poland, on the contrary, though her ruin is by far greater than that of Belgium, it may be said out of proportion to the ability of her endurance, did not yet find response in the hearts of the American people. I plead for Poland in her need.

DR. S. KOCIELL,
The Catholic Advance, Kansas.

Poland and the Present War



TO THOSE who are not well acquainted with Polish history, and who have not been in touch with the Polish national movement for the last twenty-five years, it must appear strange that in this terrible conflict the Poles as a nation cast their lot with Russia, against Germany and Austria.

Some will attribute it to the effect produced by the manifesto of the Russian Grand Duke Nicolaus, commander-in-chief of the Russian army, promising to Poland the reunion of lost provinces and autonomy under the Russian rule. Such people will say that the Poles are an enthusiastic, impractical people, vivacious and thoughtless, forgetful of their supposed love of freedom and lost independence, leaving all for a mere promise.

Such opinions can exist only in the minds of those who have no knowledge of the political history of Poland for the last three centuries. As a matter of fact, the manifesto played but little part in the decision formed by the Poles — they cast their fate with Russia without having heard what Russia intended to do.

The manifesto of the Grand Duke is without doubt an important document, binding as it does, the Russian government first to reconquer ALL the Polish provinces taken by Prussia and Austria, and second to give them an autonomy. Actually, the manifesto aroused more enthusiasm in Russia than in Poland, and in that way rendered a great service to the Polish people. The Russian people in Russia knew little about Poles and Poland, and what they knew came from sources antagonistic to the Poles. For years in all of Russia there was not a single Russian paper giving reliable information about the Poles or Poland. The policy of the Russian bureaucracy was to misrepresent the Poles before the Russian peoples — to show that they were nothing but a lot of untrustworthy rebels, undeserving of justice or mercy.

The manifesto opened the eyes of the people of Russia to what the Polish people really are—and by doing so rendered a great service not only to Poland but to Russia as well, by helping both peoples to understand each other and bridging the differences made by the bureaucracy and politicians for selfish interests, benefiting neither Russia nor Poland.

The statesmanship of Poland as a kingdom was usually weak, without fixed policy, and that was one principal cause of Poland's fall. The policy of remaining neutral, for a country situated in the very heart of Europe, could bring nothing but disaster to the country. There were times, however, when able and ambitious kings foresaw the necessity for Poland not only to repel the invasion of Turks and Tartars, but to become a conquering nation and to this end their eyes were cast on Russia. That Silesia, then under Austrian Rule, was a strictly Polish province, was overlooked and no attempt was ever made to recover it.

The eighteenth century found Poland unprepared for war—an easy prey for her rapacious neighbors. America has a vivid object-lesson for itself in Poland. The passing of the constitution, called May 3rd in 1791, through the treachery of the King of Prussia, accelerated the complete partition of Poland, which was then erased from the map of nations. But the partition and overpowering by mere physical strength could not annihilate a nation that had existed for more than a thousand years.

The day of the last partition of Poland was the

birth-day of the political party whose aim was the unification of Poland with the help of Russia, as the only power which only was not strong enough to do it, but whose vital interests were such as to make the unification necessary.

The Napoleonic war found the Poles hopelessly divided. On the one side, the Polish Legions under Gen. Dombrowski and Prince Joseph Poniatowski sided with Napoleon, and on the other side, many Poles under Prince Czartoryjski sided with Russia. The refusal of Thaddeus Kosciuszko, the Polish hero, to support Napoleon, to whom Napoleon refused to give concrete promises to rebuild Poland, strengthened the supporters of Prince Czartoryjski, and Czar Alexander I. Already in 1805 the reconquest of Polish provinces taken by Prussia was planned.

The wheel of fortune turned against Poland, and after the Napoleonic war the so-called "Kingdom of Poland" with autonomic government and constitution was formed from ten provinces of Poland. In those times the constitutions and laws of the people were not much respected by rulers anywhere in Europe. The idea of liberal rules in France, Germany, and Austria was so new that it was many years before the kings and emperors accustomed themselves to them, and stopped breaking the constitution to suit their fancy.

The same thing happened in Poland, where neither the vice-roy Grand Duke Constantine, who for the sake of his love for a Polish girl—Jeanne Grudzinski—relinquished the crown of Russia, nor the Czar Nicolaus I, wanted to regard himself as bound by the constitution. But to tell the truth, they did not behave in any manner different from the rulers of other countries on the European Continent.

The Czar Nicolaus I in 1829 contemplated war against Austria to recover the provinces taken by that country from Poland during the first partition in 1772; for this reason he crowned himself in Warsaw, and having called the Diet in May, 1830, in a speech at its opening, asked for 50,000 additional soldiers.

The Polish papers, under the influence of the Polish Secretary of the Treasury Prince Lubecki, started a series of inspired articles depicting the miseries of the Poles under Austrian Rule. But all war preparations were cut short by the outbreak of the revolution started by young pupils of the military school in Warsaw, Nov. 29, 1830.

Up to the present day it is not clear who really was responsible for the uprising—to whose sinister influence the Polish nation owes that war, terrible in its consequences as it was. Those who started it had no part in its conduct. The people of Warsaw dreamed about a great and independent Poland. The Diet and most of the members of the government accepted the responsibility for the revolution, without being guilty of having been its cause, and without telling the Polish nation that the only way to make the uprising successful was to elect Grand Duke Constantine king of Poland—something which they had in mind. He himself waited for a whole week, but nobody dared to proclaim him king.

Without this, the valor of the Polish troops, however great, was not sufficient to crush Russia without foreign help, and this, under the then existing political situation in Europe could not be expected. Prussia had a powerful army, under Generals Gneisenau and Clausewitz, ready for any emergency.

The revolution, doomed from the start, not only did not bring any result, but deprived Poland of its constitution and army, and in Lithuania and other provinces Polish schools, colleges, and the university were closed. Bitter persecution of Poles and of the Catholic religion was started. It was the first instance when the Austrian maxim "divide et impera" was used by Russia, making a Catholic Pole an outlaw and giving special privileges to those of the Orthodox and Protestant faiths.

The Polish Nobility, in the annexed provinces of Poland, tried for years to abolish serfdom, and this action was responsible for the so-called Konarski Uprising in Lithuania in 1846. The leaders, as well as many others, were sent to the gallows by the Russians. The same year witnessed the frightful massacre of the Polish Nobility in Galicia, arranged by the Austrian minister, Metternich. Then there was an uprising in 1848 in Prussian Poland.

The Crimean war having passed peacefully, it looked as though better times were in sight for Poland, when in 1863, through the influence of foreign immigration, helped partly by that part of the Russian **B u r e a u c r a c y** afraid that the favors which the Poles were gaining in St. Petersburg would deprive them of the golden opportunities to enrich themselves at Polish expense, the revolution broke out. This revolution, like that of 1830, was engineered by young men, who, having started the mischief, did not play any prominent part in it, leaving it to the party, which while opposing the uprising, nevertheless fought for nearly two years.

As a matter of historical record, most of those who took part in this uprising did it not because they believed in the success of the enterprise, but because it was regarded a disgrace to stay at home. Pride was their only reason. Why, many thousands of the flower of the Polish nations went into the woods and joined the rebels to fight the Russian armies.

This revolution, the historian says, cost Poland more than 350,000 people killed in battles or at the hands of the hangman, or sent to die in the mines of Siberia. Certainly it put an end to the economical and political development of the country. Poles who served in the army were put on the blacklist and persecution began with redoubled force.

Fortunately for the Poles, the Russian character lacks consistency and perseverance in following an adopted plan of action, so the enacting of the worst laws against Poles, aiming at their extermination, helped to strengthen the growing feeling of nationality, and in that way helped to bridge the differences among all classes of inhabitants in Poland. Besides, the enacted laws were, as is usually the case in Russia, only spasmodically enforced. For instance, in the general government of Vilna, speaking the Polish language in public places was prohibited, but the law was very soon forgotten. There was another law which forbade the teaching, and especially of reading and writing Polish. Still the largest percentage of Poles who come to America from the parts where the law was supposed to be most strictly enforced—that is, Lithuania and Little Russian Provinces—can read and write. For this reason, Russia and the Russians, even at their worst, were not regarded by Poles as enemies who could annihilate Polish Nationality, but rather as thoughtless, irresponsible people who did not know what they were doing.

On the other hand the systematic persecution of Poles by Prussia was a real danger for them, as it planned a slow but sure extermination of Poles in Prussian Poland. Besides this, it was observed that Prussia always did her best to show the distrust of the Russian Government to-

wards Poles, while at the same time being always in readiness to take advantage of any uprising in Poland. The Prussian Government was ready to help Russia in 1831 in exchange for the cession of a part of Poland called "Knesebecker Greuse"—that is the part of Poland up to the Rivers Bzura, Vistula, and Narew—just that part which is now partly in Germany's hands.

In 1864, during the uprising, Bismarck, the Prussian Chancellor, tried to induce the Polish National Government to ask Prussia to intervene. But justly, the Polish representative, A. Klobukowski, said "that no country has done as much harm to Poland as Prussia." The leaders of the Polish revolution preferred the Russian gallows to Prussian help.

The relation of Austria towards Poles in Galicia made little impression in other parts of Poland. It was not a matter of jealousy, because the little political freedom and the limited autonomy enjoyed was bought at such an economical sacrifice that it was in no way an inducement to other parts of Poland. Besides, the Poles in Russian Poland were afraid that the Poles in Galicia would become in time merely Polish speaking Austrians. They way the Austrian Poles used their autonomy was not appreciated. It was regarded that the statesmen were using their abilities too much for the benefit of Austria and too little for the benefit of Galicia.

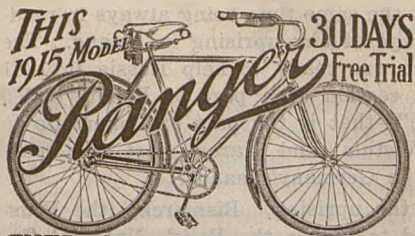
Their attitude towards the Austrians was openly criticised. The Russian Poles could not understand how the Poles in Galicia could so soon forget the persecution lasting from 1772 to 1867 and the terrible massacre of 1846—how they could mix in the private and public life with Austrian officers. In Russian Poland there was no social intercourse anywhere between Poles and Russians. Even Poles serving as officers in the Russian army were ostracised.

On the other hand, the Poles under the Prussian rule in the provinces of Posen, West and East Prussia, and of Silesia, where the Polish national sentiment quite recently began to grow and develop very strongly, were in high esteem.

For years the possibility of a European war was foreseen and preparations were made for it by the "Polish Nationalists"—a party whose aim was to serve no other country than Poland. The main work was not to induce any part of Poland to start an uprising for the benefit of any other foreign country, but to arouse the true spirit of Polish patriotism among the Poles under all powers, and to prevent any uprising in case of war, as such uprising would be likely to benefit the wrong power. The most difficult task was found in the cities of Russian Poland, where the nationalists were persecuted by the stupid Russian officials more than were the members of the Polish Socialist Party (Not social democrats), an organization on the payroll of the German socialists—and if not paid, at least favored by the Austrian government. That organization tried, in 1905, to start a revolution in Poland, but thanks to the efforts of the nationalists it failed. That turmoil is vividly pictured by the great Polish novelist, Henryk A. Sienkiewicz, in his novel "The Whirlpools". They were responsible for a number of robberies, having nothing in common with politics, and for the murder of many Polish nationalists, as well as some Russian officials.

The foolish Russian authorities punished the Polish people for their action, by curtailing the number of deputies to the Russian Duma, and by instituting new repressions.

The war of the Balkan States was a warning that the



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European war was in sight, and the last two years were years of feverish preparation. No time was lost by the Polish nationalists to be ready for any emergency. These two years were years of hard work, and war-incessant war-carried on mostly with pen and ink. The Russian statesmen were, of course, as foolish as ever. The bill for the self-government of the cities of Poland, twice passed by the Duma, was respected each time by the State Council, composed mostly of appointed bureaucrats, and they did everything, as if purposely, to alienate the Poles.

When after the declaration of war, the Duma convened on August 10th, it was a surprise for Russia when Deputy Jaronski, a Polish nationalist, (all Polish members of the Duma are nationalists, with one exception), in the name of the Polish nations, said that Poland wished the Russian armies complete success, hoped for the annihilation of their common enemy, Germany, and assured Russia that the Poles would help them in their efforts, to the utmost. About the same time, in the State Council, speaking to the most inveterate enemies of Poland, Mr. Meysztowicz said practically the same thing. (At the first session of the German Reichstag, not even one of the Polish deputies was present!!)

Russia's answer to these two speeches and for the correct behavior of the inhabitants of Poland during the first few days of the war, was the Grand Duke's Manifesto.

The behavior of the inhabitants of Kielce, where at the start of the war Austria sent a few thousands socialists under the leadership of Joseph Pilsudski, the leader of the turmoil in 1905, was splendid. They could not raise Austrian sympathy, and still less start a revolution in her favor.

Warsaw, which the Russian Government was ready to evacuate, expecting a general uprising, was quiet—and for the first time in century the Poles were treated like brothers. In vain the Austrian agents tried to find something which would help to arouse the Polish people against Russia. They even looked to the life of Kościuszko expecting to find there something, but they found there something which made Kościuszko disgusting to them

"that he gave 1,000 francs to build the triumphal arch for the entrance of Czar Alexander I to Warsaw."

Even the greatest and popular Polish poet, Adam Mickiewicz, himself persecuted by Russia, could not supply them with what they wanted. He had plenty to say about Cultural Prussia and Austria, but nothing terrible against uncultural Russia.

A victory by Germany and Austria in this war means a new partition of Poland, and a political and economical persecution. If Russia—a nation with culture below that of Poland, without the tutelage of cultured Germans, already having the greatest share of Poland, for no other reason than for the sake of her own prosperity, gives Poland autonomy, and equal rights to Poles residing in Russia, then a new era will dawn for both of them.

The union of cultured Poland with Lithuania was beneficial for both parties. It was a voluntary act, and neither has ever had occasion to regret it. Why should the union of Poland and Russia, cemented by the rivers of blood split on the plains of Poland, bring any other result?

If experience teaches Russia anything, she should know that bonds of friendship are stronger than the rule even of the strongest despot. Honest and fair treatment leads to reciprocity.

Now the only wish of the Polish people is the complete victory of Russia, which would bring about the unification of Poland, not only with Galicia and Posen, but also with West Prussia, part of Pomerania, Danzig, and long lost Silesia.

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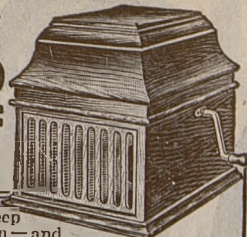
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