

FREE POLAND

DEVOTED TO THE PRESENTATION OF THE CAUSE OF A UNITED AND INDEPENDENT
POLAND TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

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A Free Baltic What It Means to Poland

"At this moment, when the armistice has set the scale on the united efforts of the Allies in the cause of freedom, his majesty's government is more than ever conscious of the loyal cooperation which it received from the Poles during the course of this cruel war. It is a great pleasure for me to beg you, on behalf of his majesty's government, to convey to the Polish people a message of our sincere congratulations."—Arthur J. Balfour, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

THAT the idea of the restoration of Danzig as a Polish port finds favor with progressive statesmen and writers in both the old world and the new is evidenced by the summary of opinions expressed in the premises presented in the last issue of FREE POLAND. Diplomats and editors alike agree that access to the sea is vital to the economic existence of the new Poland and that Danzig must be freed from German control. With that question definitely settled in the minds of leading personages throughout the world, another, bearing directly upon the first, has come in for much discussion, namely, the freedom of the Baltic. It is apparent that, even though Danzig were restored to Poland, its importance would be diminished should the Baltic remain under German domination. If control of the Baltic is not taken from Germany, Poland's maritime commerce would face the same difficulties which confronted Russia before the war with reference to her southern ports, shut off from free access to the world's water lanes by Turkey's domination of the Dardanelles. So long as Germany could place restrictions on navigation to and from Danzig, just so long would that port be of relatively little use to Poland, for Germany would be jealous of the growth of Poland's commerce and would place countless obstacles in the way of her developing an overseas trade. Heretofore the Baltic has been nothing more or less than a German lake. Germany has been able to dominate this body of water almost

absolutely and the advantages derived therefrom by her have been enormous. She has been able to regulate traffic in the Baltic to suit her own ends and, aside from any consideration of the profits which this control has caused to flow into her coffers, she has employed it in a strategic sense to the very limit. Germany's warships in the Baltic have been a constant menace to the Scandinavian countries, as well as to Finland and Russia. When Russia capitulated, the German navy had no difficulty in establishing her supremacy wherever German troops chose to effect a landing.

Fortunately, a change has been effected. The once formidable German high seas fleet has surrendered ignominiously, without so much as offering the semblance of battle to the foe. And with the surrender of her fleet vanishes Germany's dreams of extending her trade abroad. The vaunted German merchant marine, driven from the seas by the Allied blockade shortly after the outbreak of war, is destined to remain idle until set free under such terms as the Allies may see fit to impose. If Germany's hopes for the future lay on the high seas, as her statesmen have so frequently declared, then those hopes are eternally doomed. Germany, as a maritime power, has ceased to exist, and her dominion of the Baltic has passed into history. Is it surprising that Germany's smaller neighbors breathed a sigh of relief when the terms of the armistice, affecting the German navy, were made known? Denmark and Sweden are

now at liberty to seek an extension of their water commerce without fear of Germany's threats. Poland, too, with the port of Danzig, will be able to watch her import and export trade grow and flourish. Polish products can be sent to all parts of the world direct from the very heart of the nation by way of the Vistula, and the markets of the universe will be open to merchantmen flying the White Eagle. No longer will Polish merchants be compelled to conduct their foreign trade through Hamburg or Bremen. In possession of a water route to the oceans, Polish trade will grow by leaps and bounds. It is essential, however, that the Baltic be freed from Teutonic domination. It must in reality be a free sea. As the *New York Times* states editorially, "Much more than the righting of an old wrong is involved in the Schleswig-Holstein question. The future, the economic life of Poland, the new Poland with Danzig as its port, depends upon the freedom of the Baltic. The same is true of the Russian Baltic provinces, of Finland, in some degree of Sweden and Norway. Return Schleswig-Holstein to Denmark, neutralize the Kiel Canal from the Baltic to the North Sea, and the Baltic will be a free sea instead of a German lake, as it was till lately. The surrender of the German fleet is only a temporary incident. The Baltic must be free forever."

THE demand of Poland for Posen and Danzig is not one of acquisition by force but is based upon just ethnological grounds, in the opinion of the *Chicago Tribune*. Historically, its editorial writer points out, Posen is Polish territory, and Danzig the ancient port of the Poles. Under Polish rule Danzig was a prosperous harbor and became established in the world trade of the day. Under German domination the commerce of Danzig has fallen away and the population has decreased. The population is largely Polish, save for the vast German official group. Continuing, this newspaper asserts that "it seems unescapable that Poland must be awarded the Baltic port of Danzig and the territory of Posen. On the surface this is a matter of small importance to us of the middle west, but if we will take the trouble to look up a map of Poland and the Baltic and pursue a few simple inquiries there will appear much reason for our national interest."

"Poland will be a nation of probably 25,000,000 population; sixth and possibly fifth among the nations of continental Europe. Commercial

relations with the world will mean real nationalism, for Poland is the fourth country in the production of wheat and third in corn. The city of Lodz has been styled "a second Manchester" in point of textiles. There are great mineral deposits; and the Poles are a most industrious people.

Without a seaport Poland will be compelled to trade through Germany. There is no other way. There can be no direct commercial advantage, but, on the other hand, Germany will be able to shape Poland's foreign relations, will be able to enforce German commercial and political penetration, and in a measure control its domestic trade.

"Once more. Poland is the natural gateway to Russia and Siberia. That this is supremely advantageous to Germany is emphasized by the isolation of Austria through the formation of the Czecho-Slovak state and the elimination of Bulgaria as a German pathway to the east. Thus, Germany, cut off from its grandly projected Mitteleuropa swath through to the east, is eager to prevent Polish egress to the sea by way of Danzig so that German expansion eastward may not be obstructed.

"Now if the strip of territory called Posen, which extends from Poland to the Baltic along the Vistula river, is ceded to Poland there will be an instant adjustment. Germany will not be deprived of ample sea space, but will be compelled to carry on trade to the east in normal instead of monopolized channels.

"Posen is the neck of the Polish bottle. Controlled by Germany it will serve to effectually throttle the ideas of Polish expansion in commerce and world relation. It is the only point of Polish approach to the sea and it is Polish territory."

The *Tribune* concludes by expressing the hope that America will throw its influence toward advancing the ambitions of Poland, our "prospective world neighbor."

Traffic on the Vistula in what has been known as Russian Poland amounted in 1911 to 864,000 tons, involving money transactions of \$5,565,500, while merchandise exported from the country through Nieszawa, on the Prussian frontier, had a total value of \$7,768,000. Commerce on the Vistula was far greater when the river belonged wholly to Poland than after 1700. Up to that year the transportation of wheat amounted annually to 300,000 tons, while since 1900 it has been only 100,000 tons.

Why Poland Needs Food

Millions Facing Starvation as Result of Germany's Ruthless Policy

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following article is based upon first-hand observations by the author, Mr. Arthur E. J. Reilly, during eighteen months' stay in Poland, under German occupation, as American Vice Consul.

I

The Ravages of War

WITHIN two months of the German occupation of Warsaw, the writer was transferred to that city from Magdeburg, Germany, where he had been the American Vice Consul since May, 1914. Although ordered to Warsaw early in September, he was obliged to wait nearly three weeks in Berlin for his military passports, leaving finally for Warsaw on October 2, 1915. Alexandrowo, the frontier station, was reached at 8 o'clock in the morning, and after a thorough inspection of baggage and papers by the customs and military intelligence officials, passengers were permitted to continue the journey to Warsaw. Nearly every railroad station along the route had been demolished, and as far as one could see, all the dwellings and other buildings on either side of the tracks had suffered likewise during the numerous battles for possession of various railroad junctions. Thus, of what once was the depot at Skierniewice, there remained only a heap of stone and dust. And so it was all along the line to Warsaw. Trenches ran sometimes across, sometimes parallel with the railroad, and miles of intricate barbed wire obstructions gave mute evidence of the attempts of the Russians to stay the onward rush of the German troops. After these uninterrupted scenes of devastation it was gratifying to observe on entering Warsaw at noon that the metropolis itself had suffered very little from the siege, although the outskirts of the city showed signs of recent engagements and the Kowel depot had been practically razed. The main bridges across the Vistula had been blown up by the Russians on the eve of their evacuation of Warsaw. The buildings facing the river on either bank bore traces of machine-gun fire. All the territory east of the river, as far as the armies of occupation advanced, told of the tragedy which had visited Poland under the guise of war. Town after town had literally been "wiped off the map," and the entire landscape, from west of

Warsaw to beyond Pinsk, was indeed a picture of desolation.

It would be different to estimate whether the greater damage during military operations in Poland was caused by the retreating Russians or the onrushing Germans. The Czar's troops in their precipitate withdrawal across the country sought to destroy everything that might be of use to the enemy, while the Kaiser's hordes laid waste whatever came in range of their siege guns. What the Russians had no time to destroy they were careful to render unfit for use by the Germans, as, for example, at Nowo-Georgiewsk (Modlin), where the victors found meat sufficient to sustain an entire army for one year, had it not been spoiled by saturation with petroleum. Acres of crops, stores of grain and countless warehouses filled with products, the fruits of years of hard toil, were destroyed in a few months' time. Of course it is inevitable to prevent a certain amount of destruction where fighting occurs on such an extensive scale as was the case in Poland, and, as has been suggested above, it is no easy task to state positively which side was the more responsible. But whether it was the Russians or the Germans, the fact remains that the countryside was devastated to an appalling degree.

II

Economic "Frightfulness."

Having dwelt upon Poland's ruin as wrought by implements of warfare, let us now consider another phase of the suffering, still more tragic, inflicted upon this unhappy country by one of the belligerents. After field campaigns had exacted their terrible toll, the next cross Poland had to bear was its economic ruin, and here there can be no question as to which of the nations waging war on her soil was the guilty one. The Russians had been driven back to a line beyond the confines of the ancient Kingdom. Poland was left at the mercy of the central powers, and under Germany's leadership, there began a systematic effort to reduce the occupied provinces to a state of economic bankruptcy. The exponents of "frightfulness," whose atrocities in battle made their name anathema among civilized nations, lived up fully to their reputa-

tion in the abominable methods they pursued in the administration of the occupied territory. Inasmuch as no historian, however diligent and thorough, will ever be able to narrate in all their horrible entirety the deeds of those officials of Berlin and Vienna who were placed in charge of Polish affairs, this feeble attempt at a portrayal of their crimes can give the reader only a faint idea of how intolerable the situation became under the ruthless government of Germany and Austria.

One of the first acts of the occupation authorities was the requisition of crops and cattle. It was forbidden to transport foodstuffs from one province to another. The supply of grain and produce in the various localities was commandeered by military and civilian authorities under the pretext of a "just arrangement for distribution among the inhabitants." No one will ever know the number of carloads of foodstuffs, cattle and horses shipped back to Germany from Poland. Anyone who lived within view of the railroads knew that the country was being thoroughly fine-combed to replenish the dwindling stores of supplies in Germany. Owners of horses were ordered to deliver their animals at certain stations where they received in compensation whatever German appraisers chose to pay them. In the majority of instances this was next to nothing. Machines in factories were dismantled, leather belting confiscated and various parts of costly apparatus were removed and sent to Germany so that before very long not a single wheel was moving in any industrial plant throughout the country, unless devoted to German war work. Next a proclamation was issued by the governor-general ordering the Poles to surrender every bit of metal in their possession. This included steel, brass, iron, copper, nickel, aluminum, zinc, tin, etc. German soldiers were detailed to inspect houses without previous warning, in the hope of detecting unsundered objects made wholly or partly of metal. Chandeliers, household utensils, bathtubs, bric-a-brac, and even roofs of dwellings were removed, the owner getting a receipt which entitled him to collect payment for his goods "at some future date." The German authorities made no secret of the fact that they intended to do nothing in the way of compensation until after the war, when they hoped to be able to pay for them out of indemnities Germany would exact from vanquished opponents.

Bells were removed from church steeples and

grips of metal were taken from doors in private homes. The writer recalls returning to his apartment one afternoon to find that the metal grip had been torn off the front door and replaced with one of wood. The janitor informed him that German soldiers had supervised the removing and replacing of grips throughout the house.

When residents of Warsaw attempted to purchase coal, they were advised that the Imperial German Government had taken over all the coal and wood, as well as other kinds of fuel. If a person had influence with the authorities he could secure a very limited supply by submitting an application for his allotment at the police station. Bread, sugar, potato and rice cards soon made their appearance. The people were informed that no staple commodities could be purchased without cards. It would have been more truthful to add that no staple commodities could be purchased with or without these cards, so scarce did all kinds of edibles become. Travel was restricted and so was trade. The markets soon were flooded with German goods of every description and several large business houses of Berlin established branches in Warsaw and other cities. Lodz, the industrial center of Poland, was hit particularly hard by the confiscation of machinery. All the textile mills were forced to close down and thousands of workmen were thrown out of employment. Great quantities of cloth were requisitioned and it was unlawful for private individuals to have any amount of wool, cotton, plush or other materials in their possession. Nor could anyone bring cloth of any kind from Lodz to Warsaw without special permission, which was rarely granted. Cases are on record where persons who had secured such permission were deprived of the cloth in their possession by authorities who disregarded entirely the fact that other German officials had permitted the cloth to be moved.

As a result of these economic measures Warsaw and Lodz were reduced to a pitiful state of poverty. The most significant commentary on conditions was the astonishing number of refined, cultured people who were forced to beg on the streets for their very subsistence. One could not begin to enumerate the instances of persons who collapsed in public for want of suitable nourishment, and a visit to the homes of the poorer classes revealed a state of destitution beyond belief. Statistics from reliable sources show that during the year ended De-

ember 31, 1916, the death rate among children in Warsaw stood in ratio to the birth rate for the year as 3 to 1.

III

Starvation

At this juncture the situation had become extremely critical. Poland was threatened with famine. Fear of starvation seized the people and made their condition even more distressing. The country was practically isolated from the outside world and it was impossible to secure any kind of foodstuffs from the central powers. The occupation authorities had only one object in view, apparently, and that was to starve the people into submission so that they would welcome a Teutonic protectorate. Far from sending supplies to Poland, they did their utmost to drain the dwindling resources of the country to the very utmost. It was rumored at one time that the Allies had begun negotiations with the German high command with a view toward permitting supplies from America to reach Poland. Investigation proved that such a movement had actually gotten under way, but Germany's proposals were so outrageous that the idea had to be dropped. The Consulate learned on good authority that Germany's terms were embodied in what was termed the "Hindenburg treaty." (Hindenburg was at that time in supreme command of affairs on the eastern front.) This treaty called for the sending of supplies to Poland from America, but made no provision for guarantees on the part of Germany that foodstuffs in the country would not be removed. In other words, Germany desired to have America ship supplies and when they should arrive, she intended to say to the Poles: "You have foodstuffs from America, therefore we shall confiscate what we choose from the stores on hand." Great Britain tried for months to secure reasonable terms from Germany in the premises, but in vain. Hindenburg insisted on his original proposition and the negotiations came to nought. One relief commission after another visited the occupied territory and all the members were unanimous in the opinion that immediate succor was imperative, but every proposal struck a snag in the infamous Hindenburg treaty.

The whole civilized world was in sympathy with Belgium, but Poland, cut off from communication except such as was provided under German censorship, had great difficulty in making her needs known. Belgium's geographical position made it relatively simple for supplies to

be sent from the west, but Poland was held in a vise, with the Russian army in the rear and the central powers' forces in the front. It would have been sheer folly for Great Britain or America to send supplies to Poland through Germany. They would never have reached the stricken land. In all the eighteen months from the date of German occupation of Warsaw to that of the rupture in diplomatic relations between Washington and Berlin, only one instance is on record of supplies reaching Poland from any outside source. That was in 1916, when, through the efforts of the efficient representatives of the Rockefeller Foundation, ten carloads of condensed milk arrived in Warsaw from Switzerland. The milk had been sent on the understanding that the cars were to be sealed by American authorities in Berne and that they were to be allowed to pass through, unmolested, direct to Warsaw. When the writer went to the freight yards to open the cars and direct the transportation of the milk to a storage house, he found that seals on three of the cars had been broken and hundreds of cans of milk stolen. This incident merely confirmed the suspicions of those who wanted to help Poland that Germany could not be trusted to keep her hand off any supplies sent into the occupied territory. Nevertheless, this consignment of milk saved the lives of thousands of Polish babies, who would have perished from lack of nourishment but for the timely arrival of the food. The Consulate organized a committee to supervise the distribution of the milk which was dispensed to mothers at public kitchens where improvised laboratories had been established so that the milk could be diluted and delivered to the needy.

The writer left Warsaw on the 17th of February, 1917, almost two weeks after the severance of diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany. Before his departure, he had occasion to confer with various civic organizations in the city and the unanimous opinion expressed by their heads was that unless America could find some way to send foodstuffs, Poland was doomed to starvation. They were deeply appreciative of the generosity which prompted thousands of Americans to send them funds in large quantities, but, as they grimly put it, "one cannot eat money." What they wanted was food, and matters were rapidly approaching the stage where food could not be purchased in Poland at any price.

Just before the writer left Warsaw for Stockholm, whither he had been detailed, he was told

by persons whose integrity cannot be questioned, that some 4,000 German infants had been sent to Poland to subsist on the condensed milk which had been shipped expressly for the relief of Polish babies. This would indicate that even then there was a shortage of milk in Germany, and it also furnishes one more example of the ruthlessness of the German administration in Poland.

Now that Prussianism has been overthrown and the Poles have come into their own, so far as management of their internal affairs is concerned, it will be possible to send food to Poland without fear of its being confiscated by the Germans. When the Allies have completed their occupation of German territory, they will be in a position to come to the assistance of the Poles in the matter of supplying them with the foodstuffs so badly needed. It is to be supposed that the crops of 1918, such as they were, have long since been seized by the central powers. Therefore Poland is in all probability worse off than ever, because so long as the Germans occupied the country, they were obliged to leave a certain amount of food there for the support of their armies, and thus the populace had an opportunity of securing at least small amounts of supplies through purchase. Now, however, they have to face the difficulty of providing for themselves and it goes without saying that the national larders are about empty. Unless food is sent to Poland at the earliest possible moment, the harvest of the Grim Reaper will be terrible in the extreme.

One thought gives rise to the belief that Poland will not be abandoned to this awful fate. The Governments of the United States and the Allies have granted recognition to the Polish Army as a co-belligerent and autonomous force, under the supreme political authority of the Polish National Council, and it may be assumed that in the matter of distribution of food supplies, which Mr. Hoover is to direct personally in Europe, the crying needs of Poland will be justly considered in common with those of other allied countries. Over 20 millions of people, who are to form a state that, in the language of the Interallied Council of Versailles, is to assist in the establishment of "a solid and just peace and of the rule of right in Europe," are at the present time in actual danger of starvation. It is unthinkable that such a catastrophe will not be avoided. "Only Poland," said Premier Clemenceau, "can guarantee peace and retain the political equilibrium in Europe." Surely a country which is to play such a vital

role in the affairs of the Eastern hemisphere will not be permitted to perish for want of food.

It may take some time before the needs of Poland can be met, but there can be no question that so soon as the occasion permits, the people of that country will be rescued from their plight by an abundant supply of food to tide them over until the next harvest.

A. E. J. R.

IGNACE J. PADEREWSKI'S FAREWELL TO AMERICANS

Ignace J. Paderewski, who has spent more than three years in the United States working for the people of Poland, sailed from New York on Nov. 23 for England, carrying with him a power of attorney to act for all the Polish committees in the United States. He was accompanied by Mme. Paderewski and Lieutenant Siegesmund Ivanowski of the Polish Army, and his secretary, Edward Piotrowski.

There were several Poles at the pier with special permits from the Collector of the Port to see their compatriot sail. He will go first to London and then to Paris and probably Rome. Before the liner left Mr. Paderewski gave out the following statement:

"The last three and a half years spent in America have but increased my affection and personal indebtedness to this noble country. I am profoundly grateful to the United States for the generous assistance she has given to the Entente Powers in their gigantic struggle, thus hastening the triumph of freedom and justice. I am deeply thankful to all the Americans for their kindly solicitude for the oppressed peoples, including my own country and nation.

"Poland will be free and so will her inhabitants, as in this majestic and mighty Republic. The democratic Constitution of Poland will assure liberty and equity to every citizen without distinction as to race, religion, or political opinion. Catholics, Protestants, and Jews will all enjoy equal rights, as they will all fulfill equal duties.

"At the present moment, however, Poland is still fighting for her liberty. There is no disorder in my mother country, but a state of war. There is no oppression of any kind, but self-defense. If there were rioting or boycott I would be the first to protest against it and to condemn it."—New York (N. Y.) *Sun*.

The Baltic sea on the north, and the Carpathian mountains on the south form Poland's natural frontiers. Unfortunately, while defending Christianity against attacks from the Turks to the eastward, Poland neglected its western boundaries and the Germans gained possession of Polish territories on the Baltic. They tried to Germanize the inhabitants of these territories, but were never entirely successful. If Danzig is restored to Poland, the Polish sentiment will sweep over this land again with the waves of the Vistula river, which, from her springs to the Baltic, traverses only Polish territory.

Polish Bodies Demand Investigation

The following is a copy of the statement issued and resolutions adopted, by the only two organized bodies of Polish opinion in the United States, which calls for an international commission to make a first-hand investigation of the so-called anti-Jewish pogroms in Poland. The statement and resolutions are self-explanatory.

New York, December—For the purpose of establishing once and for all, the truth or falsity of the stories of Jewish pogroms in Poland, the Polish National Department, and the Polish National Defense Committee have united in a formal demand on the American and Allied governments that they dispatch at once to Poland a special commission, on which the Jews and Polish immigration in the United States shall have membership, to investigate the actual existing conditions, and to report the results of their investigations to the people of the United States and the Allied nations.

The Polish people in the United States have for some time been viewing with distress and alarm, the news items being printed in the American newspapers from Copenhagen, from Amsterdam, from Switzerland and other centers, setting forth that the Poles are promoting general pogroms against the Jews. While many of the dispatches also mention pogroms in Russia, Roumania, and portions of Czecho-Slovakia, the main burden of responsibility is inevitably centered on the Poles. While representative and reputable Poles in the United States, men acquainted intimately with the relations of the Poles and Jews in Poland, have made denials at various times, their letters are often refused and only rarely see the public eye.

It is because of their appreciation that this campaign, wittingly or unwittingly is certain to react against the cause of the new Independent and United Polish State at the Peace table, that the proposition is now advanced for an investigation by an inter-Allied and American Commission.

Inasmuch as representatives of the Jewish organizations in the United States have already petitioned the Allied governments that Poland virtually be denied even a seat at the Peace table or an opportunity to state its case before that august tribunal, the situation is most critical, and in this emergency, the representatives of the Polish National Department and of the Polish National Defense Committee, two organizations, which, since the opening of the war, have differed widely on general programs, have united to present a common front against this particularly insidious attack on the Polish Nationality. The formal resolution calling for the appointment of the Commission and setting forth the need of the same was signed at the Hotel Gotham by Messrs. John F. Smulski, Chairman, P. N. D., Dr. K. Zurawski, Chairman, N. D. C., Dr. Adam Szwaykart, K. Zychlinski, Alexander Debski, and Dr. B. Kolakowski.

Messrs. Smulski and Kolakowski representing the

two organizations, and in explanation of the resolutions, said last night that they had asked for this Commission with every confidence that it would brand as false, the stories being so widely circulated. Poland, they declared, is at war, at war with Bolshevism, at war with various forms of anarchy. It is still at war with the Ukrainians, who, under the leadership of German and Austrian officials, are attempting to seize Polish territory, at war with Germany, which did also send an army against Poland. Unfortunately, perhaps the Bolshevik emissaries sent from Russia into Poland have in many cases been Jews racially, though we appreciate they have long ceased to follow the religious observances of the faith. When it happens that a people are protecting their country and its frontiers from invading, marauding or looting forces, it is impossible to segregate the enemy on religious lines in order that the patriot forces be used only against the Christians. We now solemnly declare that the dispatches setting forth that massacres of the Jews are taking place in Warsaw are false.

We most respectfully ask that the American people picture for the time being, the actual conditions in Poland. German soldiers retreating into Germany, Russian soldiers making their way into Russia, are all traversing the distracted land, ravaging and looting. Willis J. Rose, an agent of the Slovene Government, has, according to the Thursday papers, set forth graphically to Colonel House at Paris, a statement of present conditions in this petition for aid. We are firmly convinced that the assaults upon the Jews, which these troops are committing are assaults which are being charged to Poles. In short, we hope that such a commission when appointed will carefully examine the Polish Rabbis in Poland, men who are Poles but of Jewish faith, and from their lips we expect a vindication.

Meanwhile, we find it impossible to dispel from our minds the feeling that our Jewish countrymen in America who are supplying this information are creating a situation which will be only to the profit of Germany and the Bolsheviks.

In stemming the tide of Bolshevism in Poland, we are advised that the one great saving feature is the united nationalistic sentiment of the people. We fear, accordingly, that if the aspirations back of this sentiment are denied through proper representatives at the Peace Congress, that Poland will cease to be an island of constructive social forces in the sea of anarchy. Despair and distrust are bad councillors.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED

The undersigned, representatives of both political organizations, declare hereby in the name of the Polish immigrants in America as follows:

Following the old-time beaten path of the first attacks against independent Poland, attacks which ultimately lead to Poland's partitions, the enemy's hand dares to touch the unstained honor of the Polish nation and to cause suspicion on the thousand years' old culture of the latter.

The systematic campaign, that was waged against the Polish nation in the beginning of the present war by men like Herman Bernstein, Melamed and other Jewish publicists, is repeating itself. Again, as of old, these calumniators are finding easy access to the American people, and truth is encountering unusual obstacles in its way.

At a moment, crucial for Poland, hostile influences are endeavoring to present Poland as a country of pogroms and of barbarism. These influences are spread on the basis of mendacious dispatches and giving misinformation about race riots, tending to create the impression that Poland is unworthy of an independent existence.

Mr. Louis Marshall, Chairman of the American Jewish Committee declared plainly, that the principles of sovereignty of each people with regard to its own territory, a principle recognized universally, ceased to be obligatory when applied to Poland. He voiced this extraordinary idea at the annual meeting of the American Jewish Committee, November 10th, 1918, when he declared that in the establishment of the free Polish nation, that the compact of the people in their constitution as to equality and freedom of religious and civil rights would not be considered sufficient, but that in addition, pledges and guarantees must be added.

Mr. Julian Mack, Chairman of the Zionist Organization of America, jointly with Mr. Louis Marshall, addressed himself to the Allied governments and to the Government of the United States asking for assistance for the Jews. In their appeal, they betrayed their actual motives, which were prompting on the quiet this campaign of calumny against Poland. They stated therein verbatim as follows:

"We ask that the Government make clear that the claims of only such nations will be recognized, which, by the treatment of national minorities prove worthy of political national independence."

If the Poles are not to govern Poland, to whom do Messrs. Mack and Marshall want to make Poland subject. Their appeals to the Allied governments, are actually appeals that the Poles be denied even their day in court. On the basis of the mendacious news dispatches, they ask that the Poles be actually forbidden even opportunity at the peace table.

Is it the desire of Messrs. Mack and Marshall to have Poland as a whole, turned back to Germany or to Russia, that they even avail themselves of calumnies thrown at the nation as a whole? Prior to the war, the Jews in Europe favored Russia's domination over Poland. After the occupation of Warsaw by the Germans, they in turn, favored German domination over that country. We demand, therefore, a clear and public answer in this matter.

We equally demand from Messrs. Mack and Marshall, a clear answer as to whether here in America, they consider themselves as Jews or as Americans? Whether they are in this country a "national minority" and whether they demand also that in this country "Yiddish" be put on terms of equality with the English language in schools, courts of justice, government and administrative work, or whether they were condemning Poland to serve as an experiment in this respect?

We declare that in accordance with the centuries old traditions of the Polish nation, the Jews will have in Poland exactly the same rights as they have in America, to wit, the full and equal measure of civic rights and obligations, as citizens of the country and absolute religious freedom. But, just as here, the Jews cannot have any special rights and privileges in Poland.

We point out with emphasis the fact, that Jews settled for centuries in Poland had, and have, nothing in common with the anti-Polish propaganda, and that on the contrary, they were vigorously opposing the Jews who arrived from Germany and Russia and who alone were conducting the racial struggle. Thus, foreign Jews, against the will and without the knowledge even of the Polish Jews of Poland, are sowing discord and chaos.

In order to render impossible once for all any campaign of calumnies against Poland, which was the only country in the Middle Ages to afford an asylum for the Jews, we beg to request the Government of the United States and the Governments of the Allied Powers as well, to dispatch forthwith an international commission to Poland, in which commission there should participate representatives of the Jews and also of Polish immigration in America, to investigate and report on the actual conditions.

Signatures:

For the Polish National Department:

John F. Smulski, chairman,
Dr. Adam Sz wajkart, secretary,
K. Zychlinski, vice-chairman.

For the Polish National Defense Committee:

Dr. K. Surawski, chairman,
Alexander H. Debski,
Dr. B. Kulakowski.

POLAND'S TWO GREAT RULERS

Of all Poland's rulers, two only left even a temporary impress on the map of Europe—the one Queen Jadwiga, or Hedwig, whose shrewd marriage with Jagello, Prince of Lithuania, made Poland the greatest state in Eastern Europe the other John Sobieski, whose sword delivered Vienna, and perhaps all of Christendom, from the Turk. Of no other Polish monarch has history any glorious deed to commemorate, and it was perhaps fitting that the last king should have been Stanislas Poniatowski, a once favored lover of whom Catherine of Russia had wearied, tossing him the throne of Poland as a sort of alimony.—Willis J. Abbott in *Munsey's Magazine*.

POLAND'S REVIVAL

With the announcement that the Poles have occupied Posen, in that part of the ancient Poland stolen by the Germans a century or more ago, comes the realization of all true sons of the land of Kosciusko. As he came to help us win our freedom in the revolution, so we have been aiding in the triumph which has the revival of Poland as a nation possible, with something like its ancient boundaries.

A Thrilling Escape

American Soldier of Polish Birth Eludes German Captors

Paris, Nov. 15 (by mail)—To an American of Polish birth goes the honor of being the first Yank to escape from a German prison camp. Frank Sovicki born in Vilna, Russian Poland, July 22, 1893, and latterly of 318 East Central St., Shenandoah, Pa., was captured on July 23, 1918, at Hill 204 near Chateau-Thierry. After being imprisoned at the big American prison camp at Rastatt he was farmed out in a village seven kilometers from the Swiss border. He escaped into Switzerland on October 9, 1918.

Sovicki was in Company C of the Fourth Infantry. Before the war he was a coal miner. He voluntarily enlisted on April 15, 1917, a few days after America declared war. More than a year later, on April 27, 1918, he landed in France and twelve days afterward went with his unit to Chateau-Thierry. At Hill 204 Sovicki with his regiment went in to relieve the French. The Germans were there at the height of their offensive.

According to Sovicki Company B, of the Fourth Infantry, was wiped out by German machine guns. Sovicki who was immediately behind Company B, relayed the signal of a lieutenant in Company C. Then with two survivors of Company B he took refuge in a shell hole. German machine guns were sweeping every inch of the ground. Grenades fell on all sides of the shell hole.

A sergeant who was in the shell hole with Sovicki lifted himself up on his hands intending to crawl back to Company C. A German sniper shot him through the head, killing him instantly. Half an hour later Sovicki and the corporal who remained decided to leave from opposite sides of the shell hole. The corporal scrambled out first and was instantly killed, falling back into the pit. Sovicki decided to remain in the shell hole until dark. Once he lifted up his helmet on the end of his bayonet. Half a dozen bullets rang out against it a second later.

When dark came he crawled out and back toward where he supposed the American lines were. In the dark he saw a group of men. Believing them Americans he shouted: "Don't shoot, I'm American."

The group of soldiers advanced toward him. One of them lit a match to examine his uniform. At the same moment others snatched away his rifle and cut away his cartridge bandolier. Another cut the leather strap from his helmet. Another took three francs, all the money he had, from his pocket. An under officer appropriated his razor and wrap puttees while another got his watch and chain. A soldier started to take off his shoes but as they were muddy and looked old he decided he didn't want them. An officer took Sovicki's overcoat and, giving his own worn one to an under officer, put on the American great coat.

For two days after capture Sovicki was held back of the German lines without food or water. On the morning of the third day with the other American prisoners he was given hot water for breakfast, at noon some soup and three pounds of black bread for

seven men, and at night he was again given hot water.

Sovicki was then taken to Laon where he was kept for six weeks.

After six weeks of semi-starvation at Laon, Sovicki and hundreds of other French and American prisoners were shipped to Rastatt prison camp. The journey lasted three days and three nights. Fifty men were crowded into the tiny boxcars. Each man had one and a half pounds of bread for the journey. They were allowed to fill their canteens only twice on the journey. The sanitary conditions aboard the cars, according to Sovicki, were revolting.

"It was like coming out of hell into heaven when we got to Rastatt," he declared.

There the American Red Cross Help Committee, composed of American prisoners, supplied the American prisoners with all the food they needed.

The prisoners gorged themselves from the stores which the American Red Cross in Switzerland has laid by in Rastatt as they have in every prison camp in Germany awaiting the arrival of new batches of American prisoners.

After spending fifteen days at Rastatt Sovicki was taken to a small town about seven kilometers from the Swiss frontier which, Sovicki says, was Svenson. From there he and a dozen other Americans were farmed out to various farmers. The Americans were locked up each night in the farmer's barns and were not permitted to visit each other.

On Tuesday, October 8, at nightfall Sovicki upon returning from the potato fields, did not enter the barn to eat with the Russians. Instead he ran off into the dusk into the bushes. There he lay in the thick undergrowth until midnight. About 1 a. m. he climbed to the top of a hill in the Black Forest not far from Schaffhausen.

From this hill he saw the guards patrolling the Swiss frontier. They were about 100 feet apart. While they were changing guards he crawled to the brush between their posts and then carefully crawled down to the railroad tracks. He still had a small creek to cross. Attempting to pole vault across it with a tree branch, he fell in the stream and was wet to the skin. For several miles further he crawled carefully on hands and knees. Finally he came to the outskirts of a brightly lit village.

"I watched the people go by and they seemed to be too happy to be in Germany," said Sovicki. "Finally I spoke to a man who knew a few words of English. 'You good here,' he said. 'You in Suisse town'."

The Swiss clothed and fed Sovicki and paid his fare to Berne where American Red Cross men took America's first escaped prisoner in town and outfitted him in a brand new American uniform, got him an American passport, feasted him until his eyes bulged and then prepared him for his long trip back across the Atlantic to see his uncle and aunt in Shenandoah, Pa.

Victory Brings Hope to Poland

America's recognition of the Polish army, under the direction of the Polish National Committee, as autonomous and co-belligerent has caused great satisfaction among the Polish people in this country. Following upon the proclamation of independence issued by the Regency Council of Poland, it encourages them to believe that their hoped-for day of freedom has virtually arrived, now that Germany is defeated.

The document of the Regency Council declaring that Poland is a self-governing state has also demanded the withdrawal of all the German supervisory authorities. The effect of this ultimatum was to start a fire of enthusiasm through the whole country. Demonstrations have been held daily in Warsaw and are spreading to the remotest corners of Polish soil.

In the eleventh hour of its existence, the German regime did everything conceivable to lengthen its life. In fact, the Germans in Poland were forced to the wall, and in their desire to demonstrate the sincerity of their peace talk, they found themselves obliged to abandon the drastic tactics of repression which they have practised until recently.

One evidence of this is the laxity of the authorities with respect to the use of the Polish language. Polish children whose fathers and mothers only a generation ago were flogged in the schools because they refused to pray in the German language were only recently actually petitioned in Polish by the Germans to assist war loans. Although a law stands on the statute books for Prussian Poland that "on and after the first day of 1927, Polish is not to be spoken in the Polish provinces," the Germans resorted to the expedient of printing war loan appeals to the children in the outlawed language. All through Posnania and Silesia, cards were distributed bearing the caption: "He who desires peace should subscribe to the war loan."

The poster further contains a picture of a bell and a few lines of poetry which reads: "Children, if you save the money that you get from your mothers or from anyone else, and invest it in the war loan, then this bell will soon announce that the war is finished and that there is peace again. Then your fathers and brothers will come home, and they will return as heroes decorated with flowers, and they will thank God that you good children have ended the war through your little saving banks!"

It is reported that the Polish children, aroused by these posters, bombarded their German teachers with requests, in the purest of Polish, for information as to what would be done with the money and why it was wanted. Inasmuch as the teachers were forbidden to speak Polish to them in reply within school buildings, under penalty of law, they were undoubtedly placed in an embarrassing position.

One of the promising features of the present Polish situation is the feeling of unity and harmony which is growing daily among the people in all the several regions of partitioned Poland. The subsidence of factional disputes marks the failure of another German hope. In fact, German and Austrian censors have been much exercised in their attempts to conceal from the outside world the news of the public and private meet-

ings which are characterized by general unity and agreement on the part of the entire attendance. Great enthusiasm is always shown at these gatherings when the fourteen principles of President Wilson are mentioned, in which he announced his support of a united and independent Polish state, composed of all indisputably Polish peoples, and with access to the sea, at Cracow, and at Tarnow, the name of the president has been openly cheered in the streets and market places.

Nor do the Poles lose sight of their economic future. The Polish national aims are given greater dignity by the serious program of reconstruction which is being evolved by their statesmen. A plan for agricultural reform has been worked out by farming experts from Galicia, Russian Poland, and German Poland. This calls for the division of the large estates, the abolition of absentee landlordism, credits for the improvement and working of lands, farm loans for the purchase of seeds and implements, and a system of taxation which will lighten the burden on tilled land and new forest growths and increase the rate on idle land which is not being used for any profitable purpose.

TO MAKE POLAND SAFE

The president, in the thirteenth of his fourteen peace conditions, explicitly declared that Polish independence should be guaranteed. Now, so it seems, there is an underground movement on foot to deny the people of the great Polish race the fruits of democracy. Hun propaganda—will we ever reach the end of the ramifications of that insidious thing?—is at the bottom of it all. Germany wants to break up Poland, not perhaps as it was broken up before, but nevertheless to break it up so that it will be a weak, inferior state.

Senator Lodge, who has not hesitated to criticize the president's position upon public matters when his judgment told him they should be criticised, has introduced a resolution pledging the Senate to support to the fullest the president's demand that Poland be guaranteed her independence. We may be sure that Mr. Lodge will give vigorous support to his resolution and that if the Senators do not quickly come through with their endorsement he will ferret out the reasons and give the facts to the country. This may be as good an opportunity as any to run aground any German influence that may still be operating in this country.

POSEN

With Polish soldiers in control of Posen and Americans marching toward the Rhine, Germany is now experiencing invasion from each side. As Posen is principally occupied by people of Polish origin there is not likely to be any great resistance there, serious as this dismemberment will be to Pan-German and Junker dreamers. Undoubtedly the Peace Conference will restore this part of Germany to the new Republic of Poland, to whom it rightfully belongs. Present opposition would, therefore, be largely futile. This seems to be the view of the situation taken by the new government in Berlin.

POLAND

It was just 123 years ago today that the last king of Poland, Stanislas II, resigned his sovereignty, and on the same day, November 25, 1795, a treaty was signed in which Poland's independence was wiped out and the remainder of the country was divided between Russia, Austria, and Prussia. It is a curious fact that the three nations involved in the partition of Poland are the only ones which have been disrupted by the present war. Their rulers have abdicated or have met violent death. On the other hand, Poland, which was not a united nation when the war broke out in 1914, is about to be restored and its people freed from Russian, Prussian, and Austrian domination. But what an awful price Poland has paid to gain this freedom!

That the partition of Poland nothing in all history is more infamous and one of the most joyful of the thoughts that come to us in connection with the final settlement is that in that settlement Poland will find her ancient freedom as a nation, and, as nearly as may be possible, the lines that marked her boundaries when she comprised an area of 375,000 square miles with a population of 15,000,000.

In his resolution a few days ago, asking for an endorsement by the Senate of the President's demand for the political rehabilitation of Poland, Senator Lodge did both the chivalrous and the right thing. In the light of what has been done to Poland in the past by the rough-handed minions of autocracy nothing that we might do for her today would be too good. She deserves the very best that can come to her, for next to that of Belgium her story is the saddest among the annals of the nations.

The division as made in 1795—which followed two previous partitions—effected a distribution of Polish territory as it existed up to the beginning of the war which has just ended.

The last monarch of Poland, which is about to realize its dream of independence of over a century, was Count Augustus Poniatowski, who was elected to the throne in 1764 and assumed the name of Stanislas II. Under this unfortunate sovereign the country became the theatre of a long and devastating war. In 1772 Empress Catherine of Russia, Joseph II of Austria and Frederick of Prussia joined in the first partition of Poland. In 1793 there was a second division of Polish spoils, and in 1795 the last vestige of free Poland was wiped out except for the ancient city of Cracow, with a few miles of adjacent territory, which was left as a monument to the once great and warlike nation. In 1815 Cracow was formed into an independent republic, and so remained until 1846, when the Austrian ruler seized it and incorporated it in his empire.

How stupendous, how frightful have been the wrongs done Poland since Germany launched the great world war! To leave these great wrongs unredressed, as would be the case should she be left without free access to the sea, would be to have fought and won the war in vain, for whatever else may be done, the work will be incomplete if the wrongs of Poland are not righted.

In seeing to it that Poland is avenged and restored even the fine thing we call "poetic justice" will reach its high-water mark, and one of the noblest things growing out of the awful conflict will have been done.

The proposal of Senator Lodge that Danzig be made a Polish port has wide significance. It looks to the security of a Polish Government erected upon a racial as well as an ethnological foundation, with an outlet to the commercial world that will not be contingent upon the option of a former Hohenzollern Government to which it had been subject.

There is yet a large meaning to this step, which is but one of many that must be taken to insure against danger. Our country quite naturally hopes for complete autonomy as sovereign nations of the various peoples so long held subject to the Central Powers.

The real Poland erected upon these bases would be a Government of not less than 30,000,000 people. It would be well equipped for local self-government, first, generally speaking, by a law-abiding population, highly intelligent and learned in the fundamentals of law and order given the freedom of development unrestricted by oppression and repressive measures it would become one of the prosperous nations of Europe. Its close proximity to Prussia, and especially the juxtaposition of Konigsburg, the real birthplace of those notorious elements known as Prussianism, would subject it to a constant danger of being again overrun unless it had security of defense through an organic relationship with its kindred neighbors.—by Congressman Fess, of Ohio, in New York (N. Y.) *Times*.

"New Poland aspires to become the barrier against the Russian red terror, which threatens to spread over Europe," said General Josef Haller, commander-in-chief of the Polish national army, in an interview with the Universal Service correspondent.

Though located in Paris, General Haller commands a Polish training camp in Canada, three divisions formed by prisoners of war in Siberia, another Polish unit fighting the Bolsheviki on the Murman coast and two divisions formed by Polish prisoners in Italy, while a division composed mostly of American volunteers is now marching toward Strassburg.

General Haller was originally an officer in the Austrian army. He trained Polish youths before the war and fought with them against Russia until the Czar fell, then changing front and fighting against the Germans on both the eastern and western fronts.

His adventures sound like a story book of 500 years ago; only the date making them real.

"What particular meaning did the outbreak of the war have for Poland?" I asked General Haller.

"The liberation which our national poets had sung," was his answer. The general was leaning across a little pineboard table, which was the only piece of furniture in his primitive headquarters in an empty apartment on the Avenue Iona. He continued:

"Poland is peculiarly situated. It is split into three parts. Only the world war could liberate her because, if we revolted against Russia, Germany was ready to pounce upon us, and vice versa. Though all three of our oppressors might fight each other, they always agreed about robbing Poland.

"We foresaw the world war after the Balkan troubles, and the young men of Poland began to organize militarily for that day."

Haller resigned from the Austrian army in order to drill his own countrymen secretly, but he did not mention his own role.

"How were you able to prepare militarily without official consent?" the correspondent asked. He replied.

"Sometimes the Austrians looked between their fingers, feeling sure we would attack Russia first, that being the most hated of the countries oppressing Poland. Sometimes we met secretly in distant forests, carrying arms concealed in farm wagons. When we were dispersed at once place, we would go to another.

"When the war started, the Polish Legions joined the Austrians against Russia, fighting until the revolution upset Czardom. Then the Poles refused to continue with the German soldiers, so they were demobilized and interned, except my brigade, which the Austrian Emperor claimed because it came from Austrian Poland.

"I was sent to the Bessarabian front, where I remained until the treaty of Brest-Litovsk was signed. When I saw that this meant only another division of Poland, instead of fulfillment of the promise of our liberation, I gave orders for breaking across the front, passing six lines of trenches while fighting the Austrians.

"Passing through the Ukranian front we fought a German army corps for two months until we were surrounded.

"I was taken prisoner, but escaped and joined the Allies on the Murman Coast, later going to France."

"Now that all three oppressors of Poland are defeated, what is the new aspiration of the Polish army?"
 "Fighting against Bolshevism."

Here General Haller described the cruelties inflicted by the Bolsheviki upon the Poles captured on the Murman coast. He gave the name of a former pupil, an officer, who he said was found buried alive up to his neck, with his eyes gouged out.

PROCLAMATION OF POLISH COMMITTEE

Rome, Italy.—The Polish National Committee has issued a proclamation to the Italians, stating that the revival of Poland has taken place, and that the Polish independent State had been constituted with all its ancient territories, and as the ally of the democracies of the world. The Polish deputies in the Austrian and German parliaments, elected by universal suffrage and therefore the legitimate representatives of all classes of the population, meeting at Warsaw, so the proclamation states, have unanimously proclaimed the union of all the territories subject to Austria and Germany with the Poland formerly under the rule of the Tzar. This vote, taken by acclamation, it continues, expresses the full wishes of the whole Polish nation. "Today there is not a Pole who thinks differently; the hearts of all Poles beat in unison."

Differences of party and of political views have disappeared and there is one nation only, the proclamation states. It goes on to declare that a Constituent will be called which will decide upon the government of the country, and that before long they will have a statute, a Parliament, and a government which are really Polish. "In this way, by the wish of the Polish people and the unanimous consent of the whole civilized world, Poland rises again."

In communicating this great event to the Italian na-

tion, the proclamation declares, it also makes it known that there are no longer Poles who are Austrian subjects, Russian subjects, or German subjects, but only Polish citizens, belonging to a state which is free, united, and worthy of its glorious history. In the interest of the Poles who are living in Italy, we are confident, therefore, it reads, that the friendly and sister nation of Italy and its government will take note of this irrevocable fact which is destined to draw the ancient ties between the two peoples closer together.

Any final persecutions from Germany will not move us. We will resist and conquer now, with the help of all the peoples who have risen in defense of justice and right, as they have resisted during a century and a half of struggle and suffering. The proclamation is signed by Skirmunt, Zamorski and Loret, for the mission of the Polish National Committee in Rome; Rajkiewicz, for the Milan Polish Club; Jasienski and Kociemski, for the Polish Union of Milan and Genoa; and Slemiradzki, for the Rome Polish Club.

WHAT OF POLAND?

Germany is decidedly peeved at the attitude of the Poles in failing to raise an army to come to her assistance on the Western Front. Her papers openly charge Poland with being ungrateful and that after the things the Central Powers have done for her, such as forcing a Hapsburg ruler and a crown form of government upon her. Even the great opportunity to be "bound to the Central Powers, especially to Germany, by military and economic conventions" as the Central Powers have decided when the people wanted a Polish republic, does not seem to have earned the undying love of Poland for her German benefactors which the gentle Hun evidently expected.

Germany is always surprised when people do not love her. She expects to overrun other nations, destroy cities, murder women and children, and in return earn the loving kindness of the sufferers. It may be that Poland as an independent nation "bound to Germany" has in mind what has happened in the past. She may have some remembrance of the partition of herself among the same "loving" Central Powers. Perhaps she has not even forgotten the way Germany treated the Poles of Posen.

One of the Berlin papers laments that the Poles are "waiting on events" before sending an army to reinforce the falling fortunes of the dear, delightful Hun. It may even be that the Poles in Poland await word of what the men exiled from Poland by the same affectionate Central Powers are doing in the form of military organization with the Allies. Perhaps it is word from the Polish army with the Allies which carries that needed assistance the absence of which gentle Germany so greatly laments.

When Germany is licked to a standstill Polish patriots know that Poland will have a square deal and the independence she longs and has fought for. It may be this which holds her new-born army in reserve and it may be also the desire for a force to defend her from her German "friends," for Germany has proven herself just as sincere in Poland as in Russia, a murderer acting under the guise of friendship, a thief in the night.—Boston (Mass.) *Herald*.

Press Comment on Polish Affairs Gleaned From American Newspapers

POLAND'S RESURRECTION

Two items in yesterday's news signalize one of the most extraordinary "comebacks" in history.

One dispatch—from Berne, Switzerland—said: "Count Lerchenfeld-Moefering, the German Civil Administrator, has fled to the headquarters of Brigadier General Joseph Pilsudski of the Polish Legion for protection."

The other—from Copenhagen—read as follows: "Polish troops, according to a dispatch from Berlin, have entered Upper Silesia, Prussia."

Here is the palpable evidence of the resurrection of Poland. That chivalrous, impractical, unfortunate kingdom, once the most powerful in Central Europe, suffered three partitions and one supplementary partition. Her great inheritance was divided up among strangers. Her people were subjected for more than a century to indignity and persecution. As Dr. William Muhlon said, three emperors sat on the coffin of Polish liberty. They purposed sitting there forever.

But suddenly those three guardians of the Polish sarcophagus vanished off the face of the earth. There it no longer a Czar in Petrograd, a Kaiser in Berlin or a Kaiser in Vienna. The doors of the Polish sepulchre have been opened. Poland is alive again. Her armies are on Prussian soil. The German oppressor in Warsaw cries "Kamerad!" and scurries for safety to Polish military headquarters.

The Germans have been accustomed to sentimentalize over the tragedy of Poland's apparent extinction. In the early days of the war Kurt Kuchler, the well known German novelist and dramatist, wrote a short story entitled "The Funeral Pyre"—perhaps the best short story produced in Germany in the war period. It dealt with the disordered fancy of an aged Polish nobleman, whose only son was killed fighting in the German-Austrian Polish Legion against the Russians. The old man brought the body back to the family castle near Lublin and turned the castle itself into a funeral pyre. He despaired, because he saw no other fate for Poland than merely to be turned over from one foreign oppressor to another. All the aspirations of Poland for freedom and self-determination were supposed to go up in the flame and smoke of that symbolic conflagration.

But the German forecast, the Russian forecast and the Austrian forecast of Poland's future have all been mistaken. Russia extinguished her Polish title in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk—revoked a few days ago under the terms of Foch's armistice with Germany. But a return to the pre-war *status quo* in Poland is now inconceivable, so far as Russia is concerned. It is even more inconceivable so far as Germany and Austria-Hungary are concerned.

For a long time Berlin and Vienna were deadlocked over the disposition to be made of the Polish spoils wrested from Russia. Last August Germany gratefully yielded to the Austrian proposal to put the Archduke Karl Stephen of Austria at the head of a Polish

buffer state, which was to be virtually a Teuton dependency. Ludendorff needed Austro-Hungarian divisions on the west front and bargained away for them exclusive German control of Poland. He was selling an imponderable and imaginary possession. Poland was not his; neither was it the Emperor Karl's after the latter acquired it.

The real Poland was something beyond the conception of the materialistic statesmen in Berlin and Vienna. It existed in the minds and hearts of a race which had resolved to survive and to regain a place in the world. The spirit of Poland is imperishable. The machinery of government which the German and Austrian governments created in the conquered Russian territory could never be made to serve German and Austrian purposes. It bided its time. When Teuton power on the west front was shattered by Ludendorff's defeats and Bulgaria drew out of the stricken Quadruple Alliance every Polish instrumentality became militantly nationalistic. The supposedly docile Regency Council in Warsaw asserted its own authority. The Polish Legion raised the flag of the new Polish state. Galicia, Austria's share of the various partitions, was declared reattached to the ancient kingdom and Polish troops invaded the Polish territory of Prussia.

Poland has been recognized by the allies as a co-belligerent. Her independence and restoration as a nation have been guaranteed to her. She is entitled not only to Galicia but to Posen and to most of West Prussia. She will undoubtedly receive them back at the peace conference. Meanwhile she is staking out her claims.

Kosciusko has been avenged. One of the most inspiring and dramatic struggles ever made by a race to regain freedom and to restore its once glorious fortunes is drawing to a happy end in the basin of the Vistula.—*New York (N. Y.) Tribune.*

POLISH FALCONS IN GREAT REVIEW IN FRANCE

FRANK J. TAYLOR,

(United Press Staff Correspondent.)

With the American Troops in France, Oct. 20.—(By Mail.)—Polish Falcons, more than half of whom are from America, have won the admiration of armies in Europe by their consistent service. Recently the French honored these Poles, in an impressive ceremony in Lorraine, when the entire division swore allegiance to the Allies.

The Polish Falcons are volunteers, serving on the same basis as the other members of the French foreign legion. All the Poles from America could have joined the American army, but chose to serve in the Polish legion at five cents a day, and to fight as Poles for an independent Poland. The division is commanded by an Austrian General.

After their training in the rear areas of France,

the Poles had their first taste of front line service in the hills of Alsace. Just before the last German offensive of the spring, they were brought to the Champagne sector, where they fought side by side with the American Rainbow division.

The Yankee troops were delighted to find most of these lively and optimistic fighters in blue uniforms and square topped caps spoke good American slang, and the Poles were open in their enthusiasm at being with doughboys. Since then the Polish division has been in continuous service in several sectors.

The Lorraine ceremony was a fitting climax to a hard summer's fighting. It began with a breakfast on Place Stanislas, Nancy, at which President Poincaré, of France, numerous French notables, and a number of French officers were present.

The door of the breakfast room opened upon a spot on the Place in front of the huge bronze statue of Stanislas, last King of Poland and Duke of Lorraine, renowned for his benefices and cherished in memory by Poles and Lorrainers alike. One hand points north, and under this the group of Poles and Frenchmen stopped.

They say it was not part of the program, and that both the Frenchmen and the Poles fighting against a common tyrant had to stop—impulse dictated it—and the President of France made a short talk to those who grouped around, civilians having joined the party. The prefect of Nancy spoke, and the General of the Polish division, and they shook hands all around. Then some noticed some American officers, bystanders, who had slipped into the crowd, and by common impulse and enthusiasm the Yankees were pulled into the ceremony, which consisted of wildly shaking hands with everyone.

Being short on French words to express themselves, and this part of the ceremony was in French, the Americans followed a happy hunch to shout, "Vive la Pologne." The words were magic and it was a mighty "Vive la Pologne" that rang out from that beautiful Stanislas square in Nancy.

The official ceremony was on a hillside east and south of Nancy. Here three natty regiments in infantry, with clean blue uniforms, shining bayonets and spotless equipment were drawn up at attention on three sides of an altar built in the open. On the fourth side were the machine gun companies and a group of mounted soldiers.

In the center around the altar were some Polish priests, and a group of officials and officers who conducted the ceremony. Overhead a group of French aviators swooped and dived, grazing less than ten feet from the heads of soldiers.

PATRIOTIC POLES

Not the least important phase of the victory of democracy over kaiserism is the long-delayed justice that will be done Poland. The details of Poland's abuse have been related at length many, many times; the general outline of the reparation that is to be made has been considered much of late, and it is not the intention to go into these matters here and now.

The thought that it is wished to put over is this: Poland, through her sons and daughters in every land, has proved loyal to herself and the cause for

which the civilized world has fought. Because of the gross wrong done her in the past, Poland would be entitled to restoration. But if this was all, it would be a sort of negative reason for enforcing tardy justice. It is not all. There is a greater and a positive reason why Poland should be restored. In fact there were 200,000 reasons in Pershing's army alone, each one a healthy and determined Pole fighting for an ideal, only one feature of which was the freedom of Poland.

When the Fourth Liberty Loan was on, these 200,000 Poles united in an appeal to their relatives in America to buy the bonds. In this appeal they said, "We are fighting in France so that Belgium, France, Poland, and the rest of the world may be free from the oppression of the Hun." Not only this. These Poles, out of their scanty army pay, themselves raised \$5,000 and sent it here to buy bonds.

Nor is there lacking a local instance to prove the loyalty and patriotism of the Poles of Rochester in the time of trial. In the line at the subscription window of one of the city banks was a young man, whose clothing and appearance indicated a laborer of very limited means. When his card was handed in, it was signed with a distinctly Polish name and carried with it the \$20 required as first payment on \$200 worth of bonds, and the pledge to pay \$8 a week on the balance. Why he was not in the army is not known, nor does it appear important. That his heart was there was very evident; and that he was doing, "not his bit, but his all," was also evident. And this is but one of many similar incidents in this and other cities, which, coupled with the work of the Poles in Pershing's army, go to show that Poland is entitled to freedom not alone on account of past grievous wrongs, but because of present acts which have earned freedom for those who have been wronged in all parts of the world.

THE POLISH RAMPART

When the settlement comes it will be necessary, if another world horror is to be avoided, to bind Germany with many withes—by treaties and pledges, by enforced disarmament, perhaps by economic limitations, and by new territorial arrangements. The bonds to be fitted to the wild beast of Europe, preventing him from making another outbreak, of course cannot be outlined with precise particularity. Much depends on future events—on the attitude of Germany and the German people when defeat comes. Should Germany spontaneously expel her misrulers she could be allowed more liberty of action than would be safe if her people continue enslaved by the Hohenzollern superstition.

Dismissing for the moment other phases of the problem, let us briefly consider one territorial rampart that must be erected if the German marauder is to be effectively confined. It is the rampart of Poland. A Poland must arise with access to the sea and sufficiently large in area and population to contain all the elements necessary to genuine independence. Not merely to do justice to the Poles, who have kept alive their national spirit during more than a century of crucifixion, but to safeguard the peace of Europe and the world there must be a dyke to the east of Germany strong enough

to hold back the German hordes should the desire for conquest again attack them. If there was not a Poland to furnish the foundations for this barrier it would be necessary to invent one.

For two thousand years the drift of Germany has been to the east. The German tribes from time to time attacked the west, but never were able greatly to penetrate. First Rome and then France was able to confine them to the Rhine frontier. But going against the less resistant Slavs to the east they progressed. Eight hundred years ago Pomerania (Poland by the sea), Silesia, most of Brandenburg, and both West and East Prussia were Polish. Both Austrias were Slavic. The "Drang nach Osten" exemplified at Brest-Litovsk is a most ancient German policy. For thirty generations the German, wherever opportunity offered, has grabbed new areas from a race disposed to peace. In view of the record of constant German aggression nothing was ever more fraudulent than the excuse put forward in the first days of the present war that Germany was menaced by the Slav peril.

Russia, where the mild Slavic temperament was stiffened by a Tartar infusion, has been a bar to Germany since the time of Peter the Great. But now Russia has fallen into disunity and a long time must elapse before she will again be general protector of the Slavs against Teutonism. In these circumstances it is indispensable to have a new rampart—that of Poland. The Poles are the most spirited of Slavic peoples, and, given a fatherland, once more can be relied on to protect it. With a self-sufficing Poland bordering Germany on the east Russia will be effectively saved and given the peace necessary for the development of her new institutions.

But no clipped and confined Poland will be competent to meet the future Germany with the calm eyes and level gaze of conscious strength. The new Poland must include not only those parts of Germany where the majority of the population is still fanatically Polish, but the Galician Poles and the mouths of the Vistula, the river artery of Poland. Along the Baltic, Germany should possess no more than in the days before the conquering Frederic destroyed Poland and linked West and East Prussia with Brandenburg. No compromise such as the neutralization of Dantzic seems possible. A land-locked Poland will not suffice—will not be independent.

The time has arrived for Americans to consider many matters that hitherto they have not bothered their heads over. A reading of history and a study of conditions as they are is a profitable exercise. The future of Poland concerns us most closely, for if the Polish problem is not correctly solved a guarantee of peace will be lacking.—New York (N. Y.) *Globe*.

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GERMANY'S CRIMES IN POLAND

Summary of Wrongs Inflicted Upon Poles by Armies of Occupation

Grave warning has been issued by a prominent Polish patriot in Paris against one phase of the German peace offensive—the secrecy the Huns have thrown around true conditions among the Central European Slavs.

The warning is that the Allies, in their zeal to make Germany restore Belgium, northern France, Alsace-Lorraine and Serbia, must not allow the Huns to blind them on Central European issues.

"I fear," he says, "peoples of the Allied countries do not understand the relation between their own future safety and the aspirations of the oppressed Slavish nations.

"They must understand. Or they will live to rue it—in two or three generations. They will find then, if Germany now is to have her way in those central countries, a Germany twice as large in territory, in population, in wealth, in resources."

It is pointed out that the Huns are keeping a sealed curtain over events in Central Europe. But according to eyewitnesses who have smuggled their information into France, this is the situation in Poland:

Three million persons killed.

Half a million in German captivity.

Three-quarters of a million permanently crippled on the battlefield.

Sixty thousand political leaders executed.

A reduction in wealth of one-third.

Machinery worth \$40,000,000 confiscated and taken to Germany.

All loose metal in the country confiscated.

Mines and oil wells robbed.

Three-quarters of Poland's forests destroyed.

To all of which the Polish patriot says is this contrast: "The numerical strength of the German element and the power of the few rich and selfish cosmopolitan parasites who have never had anything in common with the people's desires, and who always work together with the stronger, have increased with the aid of German rope and bayonet!"

And in Bohemia and other central Slavic countries the situation is said to be similar to the plight of Poland.

"If all this be true," says the Pole, "then the Huns could well afford to give up, for the time being, the world ambition, and to rectify even he wrongs done in western Europe in exchange for the opportunity to keep what they held before the war."

A warning is given against allowing Germany to make a peace that does not include restoration of Poland and neighboring countries and their independence.—Detroit (Mich.) *Free Press*.

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