

FREE POLAND

A SEMI-MONTHLY

The Truth About Poland and Her People

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BOLESWAW V. THE BASHFUL (WSTYDLIWY) REIGNED FROM 1227-1279

THE LOWER SCENE REPRESENTS THE DISCOVERY OF THE FAMOUS SALT MINES AT WIELICZKA, THROUGH THE EFFORTS OF BOLESWAW'S WIFE, QUEEN KINGA.

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The Saddest of All

All the stories which come from war-stricken Europe are sad stories, but the saddest of all are those which come from the war zone in Poland. The Polish people have no part in the great war, save only to fight as commanded by their conquerors, and often members of the same household are compelled to enter the army of one monarch to fight against other members of their family under the flag of another monarch. Many of the sons of Poland march under the eagles of Austria, and many under the black banner of the Russian bear. Yesterday a Nebraska man of Polish birth interpreted to me a letter from his old home in a village near Warsaw. I do not know how the letter escaped the censor, for indeed it is an awful indictment against the oppressors of Poland. The letter recited a tale calculated to put tears on the cheek of a stoic. I shall not try to reproduce anything more than the outlines of the story, but enough to breed sympathy in every heart not dead to sympathy. When the Russians invaded Poland they forcibly enrolled two Polish boys in a Russian regiment. Two other brothers were away from home at the time, and so escaped impressment. But later came the Austrians on their eastward drive, and the two remaining brothers were enrolled in the Austrian army. On went the eastward drive. One day there was a great battle. The Russians were routed, leaving thousands of dead on the field. In the evening the two Polish boys in the Austrian ranks were

detailed with others to bury the Russian dead. Guided by dim torchlights they went about the field, gathering the dead into great trenches. The two Polish boys worked together in carrying the dead bodies. They had picked up the body of a little soldier, not much larger than a thrifty school-boy. Stanislaus carried the body by the feet, and Peter by the head. On their way to the grave-trench they passed an army automobile. The glaring headlight fell full upon the face of the dead soldier the boys were carrying. Instantly the body dropped to the ground, and the two brothers to their knees in the attitude of prayer. It was the body of their own younger brother, Martin, whom the Russians had compelled to fight for the czar. Pleadingly the two soldiers asked that they might be permitted to bear the body of their brother back to the old home for burial. Their plea fell on deaf ears, and curtly they were commanded by an Austrian officer to throw the body in the grave-trench, along with all the other victims of the day's battle. Of all the war stories I have read this seems the most hellish. Sometimes I hear men say they do not understand why the Polish people should have in their hearts such feelings of bitterness toward their oppressors. Sometimes I hear men say they cannot understand why a sane person in those countries will place his own life on the altar in order to plunge a dagger into the heart of some military chief by whom his land and his people have been oppressed. After reading that story I marvel that the men of Poland do not swear by the God of their fathers to rest not at all until the world shall shelter no longer a single military chief who has had part or share in the spoliation of unhappy Poland and her peaceful people. — Edgar Howard, Editor of Columbus Telegram. (Nebr.)

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Germany's Outposts in Russia

Sir:—That it is not the Germans in the trenches, the Germans at the front, that present the hardest problem of this war has become clear to more than one member of the coalition fighting Germany. Far more dangerous than the foe at the front has been found the domestic foe—the Germans living in Russia, France, England and Italy, who act as spies for Germany and who years or months in advance have, for anticipated German use, clandestinely built forts, constructed submarine bases, installed wireless plants, etc., in the countries now at war with the Teutonic allies. When to this is added the inciting to sedition of the workmen and the subject races of Germany's enemies, it will not be difficult to account for the tardiness in the overcoming of Germany and her allies.

Most infested with the Germans has Russia found herself. Indeed, Russia has been called by German political writers "Neudeutschland" (New Germany). That the German colonization of the Russian Empire was directed and subsidized by the German government has only in the most recent years become evident to Russian publicists and statesmen. These German colonists are most numerous settled in Russia's Baltic and Polish provinces—that is, in territory adjoining the German Empire. Until latter times the Germans had been of most predominant influence in Russian policy. Highest among these had stood the Germans of the Baltic provinces. Now, the Baltic Germans have verified on themselves the proverb that the wheel of fortune turns. Once the privileged citizens of the Russian state, they are at present losing their national rights and privileges.

Almost daily do there appear in the Russian journals reports either of the deportation of prominent Baltic barons to the eastern governments of the empire or of their being called to account for illegal activity during the mobilization, or of the closing of German schools and societies and the suspension of German newspapers, or of the prohibition of speech in German in the streets and public places and the suppression of German signs, etc. Heavy repressions have fallen on this element that had passed for and had represented itself as the most loyal of the loyal. As to this loyalty there has begun to be expressed a doubt in the Russian press and in Russian public opinion, and there is being underscored the fact of the excessively large percentage of the Baltic Germans in governmental posts, especially in some departments and in some sections of the state.

"With the beginning of the war", observes the Polish "Gazeta Warszawska" ("Warsaw Gazette"), "the Baltic Germans became, as the Russian proverb says, 'stiller than water, than grass.' They had already passed through various vicissitudes of fortune, but thanks to their organization, their solidarity and their ramified relations, they had always weathered out the storm gathering over their heads and had again found themselves on

top. Up to latter times they had managed to save a considerable part of the privileges they had known how to secure to themselves at the time of the annexation of the Baltic provinces to the Russian Empire, though in the reign of Alexander III German was done away with as the language of instruction in the higher and intermediate institutions of learning, and the Russian language was introduced in the autonomous bodies. The Baltic Germans appreciated not so much legal forms as the possession of authority. Bound with the closest ties to the culture of Germany, they did not fear denationalization by injunctions of the laws; on the contrary, thanks to their unity and material power, they had carried on with success a denationalizing work among the Letts and Esthonians. What they always were most concerned for was that, not only in their part of the empire, but also in the influential grades of the state authority, they should occupy the most numerous possible posts. Whatever wind blew above, even though it were the most unpropitious for Germany, they remained in the government outposts.

"In Courland, Livonia and Esthonia the Germans constitute a fleeting numerical minority, but an economic power, as the stratum of large agrarian possessors, pastors and wealthy burghers. They endeavored to restrain the elemental expansion of the aboriginal population, the Letts and Esthonians, by accusing the democratic, popular movement—persecuted by them, wherefore it assumed radical forms—of revolutionary, anti-state tendencies. Thus, in 1905, the riots in the Baltic provinces, which had, strictly speaking, a social, agrarian character directed against the exceptional privileges of the German barons, were, in consequence of the influences of these barons, represented as an insurrectionary movement directed primarily against the state. Upon the Letts and Esthonians fell unusually severe repressions (the punitive expeditions of Baron Meller-Zakomelski, the military Governor General), while the barons received generous compensations for damages and losses from the Russian Treasury. Today, in turn, the Letts and Esthonians are repaying the Germans like for like, and are accusing them of a long series of transgressions and misdeeds that are to prove the disloyalty of the Baltic Germans in the present war."

Based on privileges, economic predominance and the possession of authority, the position of the Baltic Germans required a close solidarity with the governmental policy, and the exerting on that policy of a quiet influence, says the "Gazeta Warszawska". These German subjects of Russia never clearly revealed their national physiognomy. They were loyal and zealous officials; they considered that they were fulfilling a cultural mission by taking a prominent part in the direction of the affairs of state and administration. The influence of the Germans on the development of Russian statecraft from the times of Duke Biron, Muenich and Ostermann has lain above

all on the support of reactionary directions. This tendency emanated primarily from the design of preserving the best possible relations with Prussia, and the friendship with Prussia was based on the propagation of the conviction that, beside Russia, the state of the Hohenzollerns is in Europe the sole home of monarchism, the sole dam against democratic revolutionary currents.

The good relations with Prussia produced the effect that the barons of the Baltic provinces, while remaining good Germans, were sincerely able to be good subjects of Russia. In the families of the Baltic barons a division of roles occurred. One of the brothers generally entered the service of the Russian state; thanks to his relations, he made a rapid official career, frequently received Russian culture, and was assigned to the Russification of the Poles. But he preserved his native ties and supported his compatriots. Another brother remained a complete German, although managing a government estate and occupying administrative posts in his native land; while a third brother oftentimes became a subject of Germany and made his career in Prussia, even in the army. "These relations", says the "Gazeta Warszawska" in conclusion, "did not cause any conflicts, external or internal, as long as there continued the traditional Russo-German friendship. A spiritual tragedy and a terrible strife on the political ground appeared only with the moment of the outburst of the war. Then it was necessary to choose between loyalty and national sentiments, between duties to the state and ties of blood."

About the relations of the Germans in Russia's Baltic Provinces with the "Vaterland" interesting data are supplied by Mr. Ksiunin in the "Novoye Vremya" of Petrograd. These data Mr. Ksiunin draws from the edition for 1907 of an address almanac published in Darmstadt, German—the "Adresbuch fuer die ausserhalb ihrer Heimat lebenden Balten. Herausgegeben von Verbands deutscher Balten in Darmstadt."

From this source (the "Novoye Vremya" deplors that it has not at its disposal the later editions of the Darmstadt almanac) it appears that in 1907 there were living in Germany 1,746 and in Austria 56 Germans from the Baltic provinces who had kept the closest relations with their relatives remaining in the "land of the eastern lakes." Of the best known families there lived in the "Vaterland": von Hoiningen-Huene, 4 persons; von Samsohn-Himmelstern, 6; von Manteuffel, 6; von Beer, 9; von Keyserling, 9; von Wrangel, 9; von Engelhardt, 10; von Lieven, 10; von Stackelberg, 10; von Tiesenhausen, 10; von Gruenwald, 11; von Vletinhoff, 11; von Fierks, 12; von Grothus, 13; von Meidel, 16; von Wolff, 15; von der Kopp, 21, and von Osten-Sacken, 24.

From the Darmstadt almanac it may be learned that in 1907 there served in the German army about thirty Germans from Russia's Baltic provinces, namely: Baron Merscheidt, personal adjutant of Prince Frederick William; Count Lamsdorff, wing adjutant; Otto Burst, lieutenant, adjutant, 32nd Regiment infantry; Frederick Brutzer lieutenant colonel; von Krusenstern, lieutenant colonel; Wilhelm Adolph, lieutenant; Baron von Aschenberg, lieutenant; Max Berngruen, lieutenant; Gustave Brutzer, lieutenant; Baron Dirschau, lieutenant; Arthur Getgens, lieutenant; von Holander, lieutenant; Baron Hoiningen-Huene, lieutenant; Partennius, lieutenant; Victor Serafin, lieutenant; Schiemann, lieutenant; Count Stenbock, lieutenant; Count Tiesenhaus, lieutenant; von Tilling, lieutenant; Baron von Wigand, lieutenant; Baron Wrangel, lieutenant. So many were there in 1907; how many are there now?

Besides this, the Darmstadt almanac mentions a

whole series of names of wives of German officers who have come from Russia's Baltic provinces, among others the Baroness Wolff, now Countess Zeppelin. Count Zeppelin, as is known, built his first dirigible with the money of his wife, who for that purpose mortgaged her estate, Alt Schwanenburg. "At present", observes the "Novoye Vremya", the destinies of this estate are unknown. Will it be confiscated by the Russian government or will it be left in peace?"

WACLAW PERKOWSKI.

New York, Oct. 20, 1915.



MICKIEWICZ'S MONUMENT, WARSAW—By C. Godebski.

Our Correspondence

Editor "Free Poland"

Chicago, Ill.

Dec. 22nd, 1915.

Dear Sir:—

Some years ago I secured permission from Count Stanislaus Tarnowski to translate his "Polish Literature" into English. I was told, however, that people at large would not care to read six volumes of Polish Literature, but a small volume with numerous illustrations. For various reasons I was obliged to discontinue the project. If you can make use of the enclosed manuscript you are welcome to it.

Respectfully, C. SMOGOR.

(The translation will appear in the next issue — Editor.)

Reflections on the Polish Problem

By Jan KUCCHARZEWSKI

(Translated from the French by JOHN S. FURROW)

IV.

The Partitions and their Consequences for the Polish Nation.



IN the second half of the 18th century the reformatory current was more and more in evidence; it aimed to strengthen the central power of the State, to establish a hereditary monarchy, to regulate the finances, to augment the number of military forces. The neighboring powers had firmly resolved to oppose, through force and intrigue, all attempts at reformation. The treaty of Petersburg, concluded April 11, 1764, between Catherine II and Frederick II, contained certain secret articles where the two sovereigns guaranteed the Polish constitution, — that is to say, they swore to maintain the system of anarchy. The first partition in 1772 brought about a solid front against the three States, accessory to the crime. Frederick II wrote April 9, 1772, to Prince Henry: "This will reunite the three religions — Greek, Catholic and Calvinist (Russia, Austria and Prussia), for we share a like eucharistic body, which is Poland, and if it is not for the good of our souls, it will surely be a grand object for the good of our States". And Prince Henry answered: "If all this will conduce to a durable alliance of the three powers, this alliance will make law for Europe."

The other western powers, witnessing the partition, were either indifferent or powerless.

"Choiseul contributed more than anybody to the misfortunes which were overwhelming Poland", said a French historian (A. Rambaud). "One word from Choiseul would have encouraged Austria, prevented Frederick from signing the treaty of 1764, curbed the audacity of the czarina. This word, he failed to pronounce."

The king of England George II, while replying October 27, 1772, to the last letter of the king of Poland, found only these words of vain compassion:

"I fear that these misfortunes have arrived at the point of being only able to be redressed through the hand of the Almighty and I do not see any other intervention which could remedy them. Justice ought to be the invariable guide of sovereigns... But unfortunately temporal interests prevent it sometimes; we should hope that it will again retake its place amid more favorable conjunctures."

And the virtuous Maria Theresa also participated in these spoliations with the appearances of affliction; she "took while weeping", but nevertheless she took and strove to take as much as possible.

This was a spectacle without example—the absolute powers, with their harsh despotism, their contempt for individual liberty and the people's rights, their aversion to all attempts at opposition and free discussion, playing the role of the defenders of Polish liberty.

Read how the tableau of this tragicomedy is depicted by Michelet:

"It is at first regard for its interest, attention of good neighbors, the fraternal disquietude which present to Russia the dissensions of Poland.

"And so much does she love Poland that she cannot

suffer Poland to be oppressed by others. Philosopher, enthusiast in tolerance, she particularly interests herself in the Dissidents; she comes to succor religious liberty.

"This is not all, the empress does no less protect the Poles, who are faithful to their former barbarous laws, to their former anarchy.

"This is the second means of dissolution.

"Admiring the ancient constitution of Poland, she will not tolerate that the country be transformed, nor that the government therein take any force....

"The third operation, more harsh, is no more only political, but social as well. From 1794, at the time of Kościuszko, Russia entered Poland only to make sure the well-being of the innocent inhabitants of the country. She urged the cry of Spartacus—the appeal for servile wars: this is the first sample of the system applied by Austria in 1846, in the massacres of Galicia."

* * *

In 1788, the famous "Four Years' Diet" assembled at Warsaw. It became a great effort to reform the State; the principal result of this reform was the Constitution of the Third of May, 1791. This constitution, which could save Poland, came too late; her neighbors were too watchful to allow the State, which they considered since some years as their prey, to strengthen and to regenerate. "While the French constitution of 1791, proposed to remove from the royalty its excessive powers, the Polish constitution of 1791, aimed to restore the essential prerogatives", says the French historian, A. Rambaud. The one put an end to absolutism, the other to anarchy. The Polish constitution, which admitted two Houses, is, though a monarchical parliamentary one, superior to ours. It accords the king more prerogatives than the constitution of France... It is this Polish constitution which Catherine II proceeded to denounce in Europe as a plot of the revolutionary Jacobins...."

The Polish patriots well conceived the danger which threatened their country. The king of Prussia played at first the role of Pontius Pilate; read for instance, the letter of March 15, 1791, to Count Goltz, his minister in Poland: "I could not describe to you my astonishment upon hearing of the rumors concerning the partition of Poland, and, since I have been attributed with like views, upon hearing that the people give credence thereto. My desire is that you at once guard, in my name, against such news, and that everywhere and at all occasions you declare in a positive and solemn manner that it is a rumor invented solely out of ill-nature, to sow the seeds of discord between the Diet and myself. I affirm boldly that not only has there been question in any manner of a new partition of Poland, but that I myself will be the first to oppose it."

The catastrophe neared in quick strides. On May 18, 1792, Russia declared war on Poland and 100,000 Russians invaded Lithuania. "The liberty and independence of the most serene Republic of Poland have at all times excited the attention and interest of all its neighbors." These words opened the declaration. "Her Majesty the Empress, who, to this title, adds the assurance of her formal and positive pledges made to the Republic, was still more

interested in watching over the entire preservation of these so precious attributes of the political existence of the kingdom."

And then, passing to the constitution of May 3, 1791, which, as we have seen, abolished the anarchy, the document claimed that this constitution "overthrew from top to bottom the edifice of government in the shade of which the Republic has flourished and prospered for so many centuries."

"This day (May 3, 1791,) saw it disappear, and over the ruins there is reared a monarchy which does not even allow the Poles the vain phantom of this liberty and these prerogatives of which they have ever shown themselves so jealous. The throne, elective as it was, is declared to be hereditary; and this law which the wisdom of their ancestors had dictated and which forbids, during the life of a king, to attend to the choice of a successor, has been violated as audaciously as all who guaranteed the permanent stability of the Republic."

You see that the autocratic empress on the eve of the second partition, was a most ardent admirer of the Polish liberties as J. J. Rousseau and Mably who considered them a little extreme.

Soon followed the second partition of Poland. And on the eve of the third partition, December 2, 1794, the empress, replying to the desperate letter of the last king of Poland wrote: "The fate of Poland, such as Your Majesty has depicted, is an inevitable consequence of the destructive maxims of every order and of all the social institutions which the Poles have borrowed in the example of a people abandoned to all disorder (that is of France). All my solicitude, all my troubles have been repayed with ingratitude, with hatred and treason."

Thus, insult was added to injury.

* * *

The sufferings of Poland, which had commenced with the partitions and which have lasted to our days, are without parallel in the modern history of civilized peoples. A French author rightly said that in comparison with Poland, Silvio Pellico had not suffered. The division of the nation by three States is in itself an immense misfortune; besides, the fate of Poland under the three scepters was deplorable, excepting certain periods of partial relief, as in the kingdom of Poland in 1815-1830 and in 1861-1863, in Galicia since 1867, and to a certain degree, in Prussia, from 1840 to 1848.

After having destroyed the Polish State, the three powers strained their utmost to annihilate the Polish nation and soul. The desire of the Poles to preserve their nationality, their resistance to all attempts at denationalization were henceforth a mortal sin. They considered this resistance as a Polish intrigue, as Polonism, as if the phenomenon of national vitality were something artificial and culpable.

Every time the political bonds against the sovereign States were tightened, the fate of Poland would become extremely harsh. The epoch most tragic for the Polish nation, in the three provinces, was that which followed the treaty of Muenchen-Graetz, concluded in 1833, and by which the three partitioning powers mutually agreed to stifle all attempt of the Poles to recover their national rights. Soon, in 1835, there occurred the famous meeting of the sovereigns at Kalisz, accompanied by a grand review of Russian and Prussian troops and by solemn fetes, which sealed the fraternity of the two armies. It was after these celebrations that Czar Nicholas I, while passing the city of Warsaw, delivered, October 16,

1835, an address before the deputation of Warsaw, who had come to present their humble homage. "If you persist in preserving your dreams of a distinct nationality, of an independent Poland and of all your chimeras", he said, "you invite nothing but great misfortunes. I have reared this citadel, and I declare unto you that at the least commotion, I will batter this town with cannon and mortar, I will destroy Warsaw, and to be sure, you shall never find me rebuilding it." These words, quietly pronounced, well characterize the pitiless regime of the period.

In partitioned and oppressed Poland, they tried to extirpate the nationality; public education was the principal instrument of this denationalization. From the first years of instruction, they incalculated upon the youth this view that what is considered by the other nations virtue, honor, heroism, is considered crime, treason or folly by the Poles. The most natural national aspirations were branded as anarchy, as revolutionary principles subversive of order and decency.

The Pole in the Prussian school was obliged to study and recite the exploits of a Frederick II, one of the spoilers of his country, to admire the patriotic courage as manifested in the *Befreiungskrieg* of 1813, to eulogize Scharnhorst, Gneisenau, Bluecher, and later, Moltke and Bismarck. In Russian Poland he would learn by heart the glorious events of the reign of Empress Catherine II, the feats of arms of Suvaroff, of Paskevich, or of Skobelev, he would read in this history of examples expressing the Russian pride in the abolishment of the Tatar yoke, and in the subsequent strifes against the invaders of Russia.

In the Austrian schools he was taught admiration for the history of the glorious house of Habsburg, for Eugene of Savoy, for Maria Theresa, for Radetzky.

But at the same time — save in the periods of relative liberty above cited—no mention would be made of the heroic and tragic history of the Polish struggle for independence, and if anything would be said it was merely a contemptuous remark on the folly and treasonable character of these struggles. You can imagine the feelings of the Pole hearing his national heroes, such as Kosciuszko, Jasinski, Kniaziewicz, Dombrowski, Prondzynski, Bem, Dembinski, branded as rebels, adventurers or fools!

In the respective States, all those were named renegades who would refuse to serve foreign interests and to embrace the cause of a hostile nation. But at the same time the Poles were witnesses of a frequent phenomenon; notably, those among them who renounced their nationality, and sometimes their religion, and who served the cause of their rulers, would succeed in reaching high office; they were ostensibly favored to the detriment of those who remained faithful to their fatherland.

In this manner, the powers taught them to despise what was the noblest expression of their national soul; in this manner they would try to tear from this soul what was most sacred — love of fatherland. Their dreams, forsooth, were insane, their hopes criminal.

Patriotism is the most elementary social bond; to pluck this sentiment from the human soul is to make man egoistic, to remove conscience from his social duties, and to hurl him into a veritable anarchy of spirit. The partitioners, while hypocritically arraigning the anarchy in Poland, would do everything in their power to develop it, and if they have not succeeded therein, it was thanks solely to the indomitable resistance offered by the Poles to all these attempts at their disorganization and corruption.


(Continued on p. 9)

The Ukraine and the Ukrainian Question

By JOHN S. FURROW

(Continued from No. 8)

History.

T was the city of Kieff that had first succeeded in combining these various South-Ruthenian tribes into a political organization more or less lax. Cultural influences were exerted upon Kieff by Constantinople, whence it had received its Christianity and alphabet.

There are no detailed historical data from these early beginnings of Kieff; we tread, however, upon surer ground with the 9th century, when we meet with the princes of Kieff in the character of conquerors and adventurers, making incursions into distant lands — to the very walls of Constantinople, to Bulgaria, to the Caucasus. It was first Vladimir who endeavored to systematize the resources of the country, and towards the end of the 10th and in the beginning of the 11th century he introduced the Christianity from Constantinople, established the basis of ecclesiastical organization in Ruthenia, adopted Greek culture and education, spread the fine arts and literature, and withal yearned to form a strong centralized empire.

His son, Jaroslav, continued the excellent work of his sire, but with less success. He even failed to hold together all the lands left him by his father, and finally, the latter half of the 11th century marks the dissolution of the great kingdom of Vladimir. The city of Kieff declined in power, riches and prestige, and eventually was plundered by hordes of the Polovtsi. The population thinned and scattered in different directions: some settled in the north, in the land of Rostov-Suisdal with its capital of Vladimir on the Klashma — the nucleus of the future Russian empire; others left for the west — to found the principality of Halich (Galicia), and Vladimir, (Lodomeria) to the lot of which fell, after the conquest of Kieff by the Tartars, the task of concentrating the South-Ruthenian nationality.

Tartar invasion had completely overwhelmed Kieff. Internal dissensions, furthermore, so sapped the principality of resisting power that its inhabitants, farmers and tradesmen, harried with the continuous strifes of the princes and princelings, preferred the authority of the Tartars (“to plough wheat and millet for the Tartars”, to use the words of the chronicler) to that of the incessantly changing princes.

The land of Halich had early distinguished itself from the rest of South Russia and identified itself (just as the province of Volhynia) with Western culture and civilization — with Poland and Hungary.

The extinction of the local Halichian (Galician) dynasty contributed in joining Halich with the adjacent principality of Vladimir, in Volhynia, at the very end of the 12th century. The ruler of the new state, Prince Roman Mschislavich, strengthened his position by means of armed forces, restrained the violence of the **boyars** (the nobility) and aided in the prosperity of his country. Educated in Poland, at the court of Casimir the Just, bound politically with his western neighbors, married to a Catholic woman, he adhered to Western culture and brought over

German colonists, who raised the economic level of the country.

With the death of Roman, killed at Zavichost (1205), the boyars again became all powerful, and among them the Hungarian party. Hungarian influence made itself felt, and Andrew II, guardian of the sons of Roman — Daniel and Vasil — assumed the title of king “Galiciae et Lodomeriae” (sometimes written “Wladimiriae”), occupied Halich and crowned therein his son, Koloman, as king of that province. Henceforth Hungarian domination continued in Halich, with certain breaks in 1219, 1222-27 and 1230 to the year of 1234, and the influence of the West increased with each year.

Hungarian prestige, however, was threatened by a pretendent to the throne of Halich — by Daniel Romanovich, who having firmly established himself in the principality of Vladimir, began a stubborn struggle with the Hungarians, and made friendly advances toward Rome in order to secure its assistance against the Hungarian usurpers. He finally succeeded in driving out the latter and in combining Halich with Vladimir, but this happened at the period of the Tartar invasion. In 1240 Batukhan conquered and devastated the lands of Vladimir and Halich together with their capitals and subjected them to his authority.

Daniel recognized the danger of the Mongol invasion, and though he submitted to the Tartars, he at the same time sought friendship with Poland, Hungary and the Pope and in his endeavor to realize the idea of a Christian League against the Tartars, he agrees to a union with the Church of Rome in return for aid against the Mongol and for permission to occupy territory held by the “infidels” (i. e. Lithuanians and Jadzvingians).

Pope Innocent IV took into consideration the demands of Daniel and sent in 1252 a royal crown, but was unable to furnish him material help. His project of an anti-Tartar League was brought to nought, and to cap the climax, in 1251 Mendog was baptized according to the Roman rites, in consequence of which he was no more an “infidel”, his lands having ceased to be lawful prey for any “Christian” conqueror that happened along. Daniel’s dreams, therefore, of creating a powerful State vanished like a bubble; he was obliged to remain subject to the Tartar yoke, the numerous disappointments and failures finally hastening his death in 1264.

His demise marks the rapid decline of South Ruthenia. Its growth and expansion was hampered in the east by the Tartar Horde, in the north by the increasing importance and power of the State of Lithuania, in the south by Hungary, and in the west by Poland which adopted a more and more aggressive policy with regard to the heritage of Daniel.

In the first quarter of the 14th century there died the male representatives of the dynasty of Roman. The Galician “boyars” then called the Polish prince Boleslaw Troydenovich to the throne. As Boleslaw showed a strong sympathy toward Catholicism and the Poles, who began to settle Ruthenia in increasing numbers, the boyars form-

(Continued on p. 11)

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justice and fair play to all.

Poland demands peace with freedom.

Poland, as a buffer State, will be one of the greatest
guardians for the future peace of Europe.

In fact, Poland "asks nothing for herself but what
she has a right to ask for humanity itself."

Co-operation

The Polish National Council of America was among
the first to start effective relief work with a view to meet-
ing the situation in war-stricken Poland.

The resolution of Senator Kern, signed by President
Wilson, provided for a holiday fund for relief work in
Poland. The day of Jan. 1, 1916 was set aside whereon
to appeal to the sympathy of all American citizens.

Again, the Polish National Council was first to act.
It sent an earnest appeal to the Governors of the States,
and on the strength of that appeal several issued eloquent
proclamations, calling on their fellow-citizens to help the
unfortunate, the starving in Poland. These notable in-
stances of humanity we shall publish in the succeeding
issues of Free Poland.

In brief, these gubernatorial proclamations were ex-
cellent examples of co-operation.

* * *

On the other hand, the Polish National Council sent
a letter Dec. 23, 1915, to the American Red Cross of Amer-
ica, in which among others it stated:

The task of collecting relief funds for war-stricken
Poland has been entrusted to one of the greatest human-
itarian agencies in the world—the American Red Cross.

The Polish National Council begs leave to inquire of
what help and assistance it can prove to the American
Red Cross.

The Polish National Council is eager to co-operate
with the American Red Cross in this humanitarian work
on behalf of Poland.

We feel the need of wider publicity in the American
press with regard to the President's message. We feel
there is too little attention given to the suffering of the
Polish people in this dreadful war.

We feel that if the Red Cross would draft an eloquent
appeal to the American People, this great Republic, once
more to be weighed in the balance of compassion, benevol-
ence, humanity and charity, would not be found wanting.

May we expect from you a speedy reply as to our
course of procedure in this matter?

To which Mr. E. P. Bicknell, Director General of Civ-
ilian Relief, answered Jan. 4, 1916, as follows:

The Communication of the National Council, address-
ed to the American Red Cross on Dec. 23rd, should have
received an earlier acknowledgment. It did not, however,
seem wise to the Red Cross to supplement President Wil-
son's proclamation fixing January 1st as a day for con-
tributing to the people of Poland. That proclamation was
so clear, strong and adequate that it was the feeling of
our officers that any supplementary appeal by the Red
Cross would be useless. This was regarded as especially
true because of the fact that President Wilson is also
President of the Red Cross....

....It is probable that the returns will not be so great as
may have been hoped for because of the fact that the Am-
erican people have received so many urgent appeals since
the beginning of the war for suffering people in Europe
that they are no longer so instantly responsive as former-
ly...

* * *

This letter is quite significant. Since the American
people "are no longer so instantly responsive", Mr. Bick-
nell considers further publicity useless.

President Wilson's proclamation was an official act
"setting aside a day in the holiday season for all to con-
tribute to a much-needed holiday fund for relief in Po-
land."

We beg to differ with Mr. Bicknell and to point out
that under the circumstances the American Red Cross
should have given more widespread publicity to the pro-
clamation.

As it was, several of our Governors knew nothing
about the "Polish Day", and we received many telegrams
requesting us "to send copy of Kern's Resolution."

Furthermore, even some of the local branches of the
Red Cross were blissfully ignorant of the said official act
of President Wilson. The *Kuryer Bostoński*, a Polish
publication in Boston, for instance, had telephoned to the
branch of the Red Cross in that intellectual center and
received reply that "it knew nothing of any such procla-
mation of Wilson's."

The Polish National Council has done more than its
share in giving due publicity to Kern's Resolution. It
sought the help of the American organization, offering
it its services, and only met with a series of rebuffs and
unpardonably procrastinated information.

The latter was an extremely poor example of co-
operation.

Reflections on the Polish Problem

(Continued from p. 5)

The disorganizing action of the governments was extended in all domains of public and private life in Poland.

Poland ceased being a State at the very moment when it entered the path of grand social reform. The law of April 18, 1791, removed the citizenry from aristocratic jurisdiction, opened the way to public office, and facilitated the ennoblement of the plebeian. The constitution of May 3, 1791, the political and social testament of the Republic, draws a vast plan of reform, creates a wide gap in the ancient system founded on the rule by the nobility, and takes a big step toward equalizing the citizens. It aims to replace the patrimonial authority through the conventions of landlord and peasant, obligatory for the two contracting parties; it solemnly proclaims that the tillers of the soil "constitute the principal force of the Republic." The general proclamation of Thaddeus Kosciuszko, May 7, 1794, pushed the reform still farther; the peasant was henceforth a citizen, enjoying the protection of the law and personal liberty; the privileges of the landed nobility were considerably limited, their power curbed through the intervention of the State, intervention which was regulated and minutely specified by this document.

But it was the song of the swan. The State was suppressed and the nation passed under foreign yoke without having experienced the reconciliation of landlord with peasant, the two principal classes of the Polish society, which was mostly agricultural. The dominant States knew how to profit by the latent social rancor, which was inevitable in the rural relations founded on serfdom; they envenomed those relations in order to throw, at the opportune moment, one class against the other.

Austria, after the partitions of Poland, was the most skillful and most persevering in this game of *divide et impera*, played, besides, by the two other States, but with less success. The Austrian regime in Poland, changed radically enough since 1867, was disastrous in its methods and its effects since the partitions to this date. "The bureaucracy, mean and insolent, recruited mostly from the scums of German and Bohemian society, sowed in the lower strata of the nation the seed of hatred of the upper classes, caused the serfs to revolt against the lords, the workmen against their masters, and meddled with the relations between child and parent", says one eminent historian. "The prefects and other officials of the State treated the landlords with injustice, imposing on them immense fines for imaginary crimes..." The climax to these underhand dealings was the infamous jacquerie, instigated by the authorities in Galicia in 1846.

At the same time they throttled on the Polish lands all propaganda and all movement bearing the stamp of democracy. It is only at the time of the great emigration, which followed the defeat of the uprising of 1831, and which headed towards France, that the Poles could propagate their democratic ideas. They founded in 1832 a democratic society which had for its motto—"Through a free people to a free Poland." All attempts to establish a national government in Poland after 1831 were ever opened with a decree of peasant enfranchisement and with an abolition of all social privilege. Such was the manifesto of the national government of Cracow, Feb. 22, 1846, and that of Warsaw, January 22, 1863. These proclamations reflected without doubt the true disposition of a great majority of the people. Which did not hinder the dom-

inant governments, after the abolition of servitude, from spreading the opinion, through their agents among the rural population of Poland, that the upper classes of Poland desired the return of serfdom, and that in case of Poland's restoration the latter would again profit by its re-establishment.

Read the description of this disorganizing activity on the part of the rulers, as described by a French author:

"Prussia and Russia undertook the task to destroy her (Poland's) moral qualities, to discourage, to corrupt, to enervate her. They were not satisfied with repressing their loyalty to political and religious traditions, with averting the respect of child for parent, with dividing the classes by the various agrarian laws devised to widen the gap between nobleman and peasant, with their officials perpetually fomenting dissensions. They pursued the laborer while flattering the idle, confiscated their savings, brutalized the individual, terrorized the family, the society." (M. A. Leblond).

* * *

Let us pass to another field of this disorganizing activity. Save in the periods of autonomy as stated above, the Poles were excluded in their own fatherland from the exercise of public office. All State offices fell under the jurisdiction of the powers. Poles were eliminated first from the high positions, then from the less important offices, and finally in Prussia and Russia, even from the menial positions under State control, as railroad employes, porters, ushers in the State offices, etc. There exists, however, a whole series of exceptional laws, which strike at the Polish nationality. Let us set aside the political and moral iniquity of this order of things; let us consider solely the question of influence as exercised by such a regime upon the national character of the people oppressed.

First, it is evident that a people holds the laws in force in respect, if they are just and equal for all. Nothing exasperates and demoralizes a people as much as privilege based on caste, nationality, creed. This is an axiom of political psychology.

It is, moreover, not to be doubted that participation in the management of public affairs, as well as legislative, judiciary, administrative and municipal, constitutes for all classes of society a permanent school of order and discipline. But excluding the Poles from public function placed them in a humiliating position. Everything was done to kill in them the sense of loyalty, to render execrable in the eyes of the nation this power of which it is only the object without force while being a constitutive element.

Finally, the contempt for legality and the disdain of the population, characteristic features of bureaucracy established in a country treated for a long time as a conquered province, naturally were not conducive to feeling for order in the inhabitants. And if the Polish nation has not become a people without principles, without morale, without sense of order and legality, it is due solely to the great vital force, to the social and the inborn spirit of solidarity. If the Poles have not become anarchists under foreign domination and oppression, so favorable to engender anarchy, it is because they are not such either by their nature or by their historical traditions. The theorists on anarchy ascertain this characteristic trait that Poland is a country where one meets with least anarchy. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu noted that very few of the nihilists were of Polish origin. And here is the opinion of the French who visited the kingdom of Poland some years ago and who had arrived there under the impression that anarchy was all prevalent in Poland: "Anarchy.....

The public has dread of the anarchy with which you are menaced by some revolutionaries badly armed; there is an anarchy to be dreaded after another manner, not an anarchy which dissociates, but which asphyxiates in making the gap disgraceful without excuse, administratively criminal, an anarchy organized by the bureaus, the effects of which make themselves felt without much noise, an anarchy instituted as a system of government: that is the nihilism of the State." (Marius-Ary Leblond).

But can you conciliate this dread of anarchy among the modern Poles with the story of the anarchy which is alleged to have reigned in former Poland? You must reduce this story to its just proportions. Some foreign authors who describe the Polish State at the decline of its existence, at the epoch of its extreme feebleness of government, point out that this diminution of power was not at all followed by dissolution of morals, of society, of family. The society remained intact; only executive power was missing.

Rulhiere, who severely criticized the Polish incapacity of government in the 18th century, recognized, on the other hand, in the nation its great civic virtues and solid qualities. "Despite the misfortunes which we have undertaken to describe, there is still some pleasure to contemplate through what respect for former customs, through what profound and durable feeling for law among the citizens, there was maintained for a thousand years the government of foremost Europeans, in a country where there were successively introduced a most holy religion, a most perfect civilization, most polished and corrupt morals and relations, most extended and dangerous, with the neighboring nations... There is ever seen among them, in the midst of partisan frenzy, ease of conciliation with all other peoples; the most tumultuous brawls dissolved in threats: all is in arms, and all is appeased and reconciled..."

And in describing the saddest epoch of Poland, the reign of August III, contemporary of Louis XV, Rulhiere says:

"What is scarcely comprehensible is that amid such anarchy Poland seemed happy and peaceful. Security reigned in the towns, travellers could, without any fear, traverse most solitary forests as well as most frequented thoroughfares. You would never hear of any crime, and nothing can do more honor to human nature nor better confirm the philosophical opinion that man is naturally good. All religious prejudice seemed suppressed. Fanaticism was nowhere in evidence. At most, taunts, resentment, manifested, however, by no torture or persecution.

Weakness of government, decentralization of power, these defects, which, it is true, facilitated the partitions, have in some way contributed to the future renaissance of the nation. Michelet well understood this phenomenon: "This is what rendered the partition so easy: Russia was a government, with or without a nation, and Poland a nation without government. Poland found herself in the midst of strong centralized empires. She displayed much energy, which, however, was scattered over much territory. This lack of centralization, though it had brought the downfall of the State, had not succeeded in killing the national spirit."

This immanent force of the Polish society has remained indemnified — it has permitted the nation to maintain and even consolidate its existence during the long and sorrowful period of its subjection, when, according to the words of Rulhiere, "this republic, exposed to all the disorders of its anarchy, shall resent all endeavor on the part of a foreign despotism to kill it."

(To be continued)



THEY FELL FIGHTING IN THE INTEREST OF FOE AND OPPRESSOR

The Ukraine and the Ukrainian Question

(Continued from p. 7)

ed a conspiracy, succeeded in imprisoning Boleslaw, who reigned under the name of George II (1340), and organized a wholesale massacre of his Catholic proteges.

Thereupon, the Polish king Casimir the Great occupied the city of Lemberg. His act had initiated the conquest of Ruthenia — a process which lasted over two centuries. In the meanwhile the boyars of Galicia and Lodomeria had summoned Lubart Gedyminovich to occupy the vacant throne; as Lubart was a Lithuanian prince, by this event Lithuania gained access to Ruthenia and later played in history the important role of combining into one whole the South-Ruthenian (the Ukraine) and the West-Ruthenian lands (White Ruthenia).

Poland, on the other hand, made further progress in the lands of Roman and Daniel. From 1346 Casimir the Great assumed the title of heir to Ruthenia, but his possessions had at most included to 1349 the lands of Sanok and Przemyśl; and only later in the same year, having taken advantage of the defeat inflicted upon Lithuania by the Knights of the Cross, did he occupy the land of Halich along with a part of Volhynia and its capital, Vladimir. But soon after the Lithuanians again ravaged the Ruthenian possessions of Poland, Lemberg was wracked and ruined, and Volhynia retaken. The expedition of Casimir and Louis of Hungary in 1352 was a signal failure, and Poland, wearied with the long war, agreed to an armistice, giving up a large part of its acquisitions of 1349. Casimir simply kept Lemberg, while Vladimir, Luck, Belza, Chelm and Brest remained in Lithuanian hands.

Lithuanian domination, however, did not put a stop to Poland's aggressive policy. The principality of Halich (Eastern Galicia), a Polish-Hungarian possession, from the year of 1387 was an exclusively Polish one, while Volhynia was held by Lithuania. Further acquisitions in Ruthenia Poland owes not so much to its military power as to the skillful diplomacy of its statesmen.

Lithuania, on the other hand, was gradually acquiring control over the rest of the Ukraine and White Ruthenia.

Lithuania (see FREE POLAND for Sept. 16, 1915) was quickly organized into a powerful kingdom, and by force of arms soon secured the small White-Ruthenian principalities near the Niemen, Pripet and Berezina. The heirs of Gedymin increased in power and importance at the expenses of Ruthenia, but, on the other hand, submitted to the strong influence of Ruthenian-Slavic culture. In fact, White-Ruthenian ("White-Russian") became the official language, so much so that Lithuania found itself completely denationalized.

The Ruthenization of the Lithuanians facilitated their further conquest of the Ukraine, and in fact, they were welcome as they freed the population from the oppressive yoke of the Tartar. During the reign of Gedymin (d. 1341) and later under Olgierd (1345-1377) the whole of Kieff submitted to Lithuania, and later the lands of Chernigoff and Podolia followed suit.

Powerful as compared with the divided Ruthenian princelings, terrible to the Horde, Lithuania, however, felt too weak in the face of the ruthless policy of the Knights of the Cross. And this historical necessity, as we have seen, brought about the rapprochement with Poland. The cautious Polish lords of Little Poland, who steered the

ship of State since the death of Louis, arranged the marriage of the youthful Jadwiga (Hedwig), the daughter of Louis, to Jagiello, Olgierd's heir to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. This was an excellent diplomatic stroke, as it later united the vast possessions of Lithuania to Poland into one powerful State. The Union of Horodle (1413) realized this idea, and though united, Poland and Lithuania preserved their respective independence. The Knights of the Cross, on the one hand, and the growing importance of Moscow, on the other, compelled the leading circles of Lithuania to stand together with Poland. Of course, Polish diplomats and statesmen took advantage of this state of things and succeeded in rounding out Poland's possessions with those of the Grand Duchy.

Podolia, for instance, already during Jagiello, became a Polish province, but only for a brief period of time. With the death of Witold (1430) the western part of Podolia became ultimately joined to Poland. The Union of Lublin, 1569, marks a still closer bond between the two countries, and the rest of Podolia, Podlasie, Volhynia and Kieff fell to the lot of Poland. In this manner the whole expanse of Ukrainian territory found itself under Polish domination, while Lithuania was holding only a narrow edge of the province of Brest. Even the province of Chernigoff, a Moscow possession since 1503, was occupied by Poland at the beginning of the 17th century.

The significance of this event can easily be imagined. Lithuania as well as the Ukraine became influenced with the culture and civilization of Poland. There was a wholesale Polonization of the Ukraine, helped, furthermore, by the Ecclesiastical Union—between the Ruthenian (Greek) Catholic and the Polish Catholic—in 1569. The upper classes spoke Polish and were imbued with Polish thought and ideals. Only the peasantry and most of the Orthodox clergy struggled to conserve Ukrainian national characteristics.

And it seemed that the cause of the Ukrainian nationality was for ever drowned by this assimilation; but there came about one factor — and a very disturbing one to the interests of Poland — which played a decisive role in the fate of the Ukraine. And this factor was the Cossack.

Who are the Cossacks? The very word "Cossack" is of Turanian origin. The Cossacks were reared amid the conditions as obtained on the southern frontier, inhabited by Ruthenian people, where continuous conflict with the invading nomadic tribes had caused the formation of an armed band of minutemen — ready at a minute's notice to repel the threatening foe. Various adventurous elements would here congregate, carrying on incessant strife with the nomads and really independent of any organized state. And this population, settled on the lower banks of the Dnieper, open to attack, had of necessity assumed a semi-military character, inasmuch as agriculture could thrive only under armed protection.

This floating population coming from the north to the Dnieper and facing an everlasting struggle with the Tartar, must needs have created such a military camp in that country.

The life of the Cossack appealed to the various elements amid different nationalities — such as the White-Ruthenians, Poles, noblemen, peasants; but with the beginning of the 16th century the Ukrainian element is there most prominent. The Cossacks, with the beginning of the 17th century, were recognized as Cossacks, and were of great service to the Republic inasmuch as they repelled the encroachments of the Tartars.

The free life attracted the peasantry in increasing numbers, and to prevent the escape of the peasants from

their possessions the Polish landed nobility had thought fit to introduce a system of registration, which later caused several revolts, ultimately magnified into a terrible struggle with the Republic. In this struggle the Cossack was regarded as a liberator of the oppressed Ukrainian peasantry, as its defender against the Polish magnates and of its religion. Gradually the struggle became a clash between Pole and Ukrainian, between Roman Catholic and Orthodox (Greek) Catholic. In this conflict, which filled in most of the 17th century, the Cossacks sought the help now of the Crimea, now of Turkey and finally of Moscow. The Cossacks attracted the Ukrainian masses and secured the aid of the Orthodox Clergy. The leader of this movement became Bohdan Chmielnicki.

Chmielnicki had at first simply defended the special privileges of the Cossacks against their curtailment by Polish magnates. But his phenomenal success, his great victories won over the armies of the Crown, the warm reception he met at the hands of the Orthodox Clergy, directed his thoughts in another direction — he began to dream of an independent Ukraine and refused to negotiate with the Republic.

He relied upon the help of the Tartars of the Crimea, but was shamelessly betrayed by them. He then entered into diplomatic relations with the Porte, with Moscow, with Moldavia, with Transylvania and even Sweden, in order to further his plans and secure their aid against Poland. But he was unsuccessful in all his ambitious plans, and the campaign of 1650 was terminated by general defeat. Finally, Chmielnicki turned his attention to Moscow and recognized its authority in 1654.

But Moscow failed to understand the autonomous ambitions of the Cossacks and proposed to abolish the privileges they had enjoyed when under the protection of the Polish Republic.

Chmielnicki, therefore, cooled in his relations with Moscow, was less eager to engage in a war with the Republic.

In fact, he severed his connections with Moscow and began to consider himself an independent ruler, completely ignoring the centralistic plans of Moscow with regard to the Ukraine. The realization of his further plans was thwarted by his death, in 1657. His successors continued

to act along the lines of his policy and defended the autonomy of the Ukraine, while, on the other hand, Moscow, with ruthless inflexibility of purpose, aimed to curtail and ultimately to abolish the authority of the Cossack "hetman" (chief).

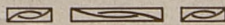
By fostering internal dissension among the Cossacks (as, Jurek Chmielnicki with Wyhowski, Doroschenko with Samoylovitch), Russia succeeded in weakening and undermining the strength of the Ukraine, which, engaged in continual brawls, proved in addition a most disturbing factor to the safety of the Republic, involving it, in fact, in a humiliating war with Mahomet IV, disgracefully terminated in 1672.

Poland was obliged to sign quitclaim to Kieff and Zaporozze. Mazepa, who succeeded Samoylovitch in 1687, was strictly enjoined upon by Russia to try "to unite the Little Russian people by all means with Great Russia." His subservience to Russia snapped and he sought aid of Sweden. But the defeat of Charles XII at Poltava (1709) caused Mazepa's escape for Turkey, and the plan of an autonomous Ukraine was once more unsuccessful. Russian domination reigned supreme.

Following the war with Sweden Peter I subjected the interests of the Ukraine to those of Russia. Catherine II abolished in 1764 the office of hetman, while the free, independent life of the Cossack was humiliatingly subordinated to Russian authority.

With the partition of Poland, Austria occupied the whole of Ruthenia—Eastern Galicia, Russia took over (in 1793) the provinces of Kieff, Volhynia, Braclav and Podolia, and, on the strength of the decision of the Congress of Vienna, the province of Chelm. In 1774 Turkish Bucovina passed under the domination of Austria, and in that manner the lands inhabited by the Ukrainian population became Russian possessions, on the one hand, and Austro-Hungarian dependencies, on the other. The ambitious dream of Hetman Chmielnicki was dealt a decisive blow, which, however, was not a death-blow by any means, as we shall see in the next issue of FREE POLAND.

(Next — The Present Political Aspect of the Ukraine.)



The Plight of Poland

The following communication, by N. L. Piotrowski, appeared in the CHICAGO HERALD, Tuesday, Dec. 1915:

Berne, Switzerland. — The average American can hardly realize the appalling tragedy which befell the Polish nation in this most dreadful war the world has ever seen.

To understand the conditions it should be remembered that Poland was once a free and independent nation, having occupied for centuries the foremost rank among the nations of Europe.

One hundred and fifty years ago she became the victim of the greed and rapacity of her three neighbors, by whom she was despoiled and divided into three parts. She ceased to be an independent state, yet she remained a nation and 25,000,000 of her people, although shackled, passionately cling to her past with faith in her future.

It is not easy to understand the unnatural and monstrous position of a nation pure of race, single of purpose, fictitiously divided within itself by unnatural boundaries

and subjected to the usurpation of her sovereign rights over her one body by three separate masters.

There are 14,000,000 Poles under Russian dominion, 4,000,000 under Austria and 5,000,000 under the German yoke.

These three powers are Prussia — which is now Germany — Russia and Austria. Although at heart they always hated each other, in the oppression of the Polish people they always were in full accord. They treated the Poles like some stepmothers treat their stepchildren.

The Polish territory was regarded by them as a proper field for their exploitation and was always used as such.

The cruelties and humiliations which the Poles suffered during their 150 years of bondage at the hands of their oppressors is very little known outside of Poland, for the outside world has taken but little interest in the sufferings of that downtrodden nation.

It is only just that I should mention here that of the

three powers Austria was most lenient, and under her rule the Poles enjoyed a certain measure of freedom. But this freedom was obtained only after 1866 after Austria was licked by Prussia, her present ally, and when she needed the support of the Poles and at a sacrifice of their industrial prosperity, for Galicia became more than ever a territory for Austrian exploitation.

Now what was always expected to happen actually did happen. Two of these powers, Germany and Austria, have fallen upon Russia, their third partner in the crime. And these three brigand nations that ravaged Poland have suddenly turned upon one another and are engaged in mortal combat on her very body.

Three gigantic armies, numbering millions of men, are marching and counter-marching over the full length and breadth of the Polish territory, leaving in their wake death and desolation.

As if this tragedy were not enough, 1,500,000 of the sons of Poland have been drafted to fight in the armies of their oppressors, and often against each other. There were actual cases when brother met brother and father a son in the opposing ranks. Can anything more tragic be imagined?

The Germans, doubting the loyalty of the Poles, whom they have cruelly oppressed, force them to hold the first line and sent them in the most dangerous positions. In consequence they are being exterminated by thousands.

And yet there are German professors and philosophers who continually prate that they are the most cultured of nations, whose special mission is to spread their "kultur" throughout the length and breadth of the world. In war-devastated Galicia I have seen some of the fruits of their vaunted "kultur."

From the way this war has been carried on by the three powers, almost exclusively on Polish soil, it looks as if those powers among whom Poland was divided are bent upon the extermination of the Polish people.

That purpose is most apparent in the German conduct. Germany does not want Polish subjects, especially those who believe in the independence of Poland. What Germany wants is the fertile soil of Poland, without the Poles, for the German colonists.

In my letters from Galicia I have but feebly described the ruin and devastation of that country and the sad plight of its 8,000,000 of people, half of whom at least are on the verge of starvation.

To watch the crowds of wretchedly clad women with their hungry and crying children on these chilly mornings, often in a drizzling rain, standing outside of some municipal building and waiting for their turn to obtain a little measure of flour which the authorities dole out to them at a reduced price, is a picture that moves a heart of stone to pity.

There was no milk and no butter in Lemberg or in Cracow when I was there. Potatoes and cabbage, which constitute the chief food for poor people, are very high. I have seen in Przemyśl, where one krone was asked for an ordinary head of cabbage, but after considerable bargaining it was sold for 80 hellers, which is about 15 cents in our money.

In normal times cabbage sells for about 10 hellers a

head. Potatoes were about the only thing that the poor peasant women were able to raise this year, and there is no surplus of them. In fact, the output was small. Yet the authorities have requisitioned thousands of car loads of potatoes from Galicia, which were shipped to Vienna. Meat is luxury in which only the rich can indulge.

The prices of meat are absolutely prohibitive. Ham is sold 14 kronen a kilo (two pounds), which means about \$1.10 a pound, according to the present value of Austrian money. Before the war 5 kronen were equal to \$1. Now you can get 6¼ kronen for \$1. Flour sells a kilo for 1 kronen and 60 hellers, which is 14 cents a pound, according to our money.

I believe I already wrote about the bread cards, according to which an adult is entitled to 210 grams of bread a day, which is less than a half pound. These cards as well as the sale of flour are controlled by the authorities, and there are penalties attached. Without a bread card no bread can be obtained.

This condition is bad enough for all the people in Austria-Hungary but for the people in Galicia it is simply intolerable.

These have their homes in ashes, their farms are furrowed by deep trenches; their crops requisitioned or destroyed; their horses, their cattle and even their chickens were taken from them; and every industry and business in the country is dead.

But terrible as is the fate of the Poles in Galicia, the fate of the Poles in Russian Poland is still more appalling. The ruin is more complete and on a vaster scale. More than 40,000 square miles of Polish territory has been devastated by the German and Austrian troops and when the Russians were withdrawing they destroyed the rest.

Nearly all that territory was fought over three times. First came the German army, which nearly reached Warsaw. Then the Russians drove them back almost to their own frontiers. Then the Germans and the Austrians came from two sides and drove the Russians back again and seized Warsaw.

What was not destroyed in battles the Russians burned while retreating, driving thousands of the native population with them into Russia.

The cities and villages of Poland disappeared from the face of the earth and thousands of square miles of Polish territory is a vast graveyard.

All horses and all cattle, numbering more than 5,000,000 heads, have been taken from the people by the Germans, the Austrians and the Russians alike. Everything was seized by the invaders and taken from the people. The homeless peasants are seeking shelter in forests and live in dugouts, where women and children are dying.

When in Lublin I was told a committee of representative Poles went to General Mackensen and remonstrated with him to have some consideration for the civil population and to stop the requisition of all the food supply, otherwise the civil population will starve. The general with brute frankness told the committee that the civil population concerned him but very little, that he must provide for his army. Yes, let the civil population starve, and the bread be taken away from women and children and given to those who do the murdering.

An Offering

By WACŁAW SIEROSZEWSKI

(Continued)

"Silence."

"Oh, Goloron! Oh, the fiery one! Pass over the earth, proclaiming thyself!"

Silence.

Oltungaba struck the drum once and then began to shower upon it blows upon blows: a whirl of sound seemed to writhe about and from it came words, singly, penetrating, forceful, like the beating of a hammer.

"Give your leavings to the dogs. Let the tribes fall down in humility; let the man obey. Else you shall vanish like the morning mist."

"Oh, what can we give, possessing nothing ourselves?"

"Must I tell you the way of olden times? It must be he who is proud, he who is rich; whose sons are fleet like arrows, whose daughters are beauties; whom everybody loves, whose thoughts are kind, whose advice is wise, whose heart is brave; who has an open hand and a well wishing soul... We must feed on the awe of terror, on the paleness of death, on the tears of eternal parting."

Oltungaba let fall the drum, not a word left his lips; dead silence reigned. Then he said in a different tone:

"No, I shall not tell you the name... They will say: 'Oltungaba is jealous'. Why should I wish for blood of any man? A magician needs only his drum. That is all..."

He completed the ceremony hurriedly; gloomy and spent, he regained his seat. Tea was served immediately to him and to more distinguished guests; for the crowd the venison was prepared. The reindeer were slaughtered and large kettles hung over the fire. But all this was not accompanied by merriment and lively chatter that fill the Tungus gatherings on such occasions. All talked with great reserve, sometimes barely whispering; all treated the members of the Seltichan family with unusual politeness but avoided looking at the host himself.

Seltichan was calm and hospitable, as usually, as if he did not notice anything... he tried even to start a conversation with Oltungaba, but the sorcerer preserved a dismal silence; then the old man began to relate in a loud voice his experiences of the last year behind the mountains. Hunt stories came one after another and he related them with such wit and humor that soon he was surrounded by smiling eyes and laughing faces. Only Miore, his favorite son, stood behind the father and gazed gloomily at everybody.

Soon the feeling that generally precedes feasting became general. When finally the fragrant and savory meats were distributed among the crowd all uneasy thoughts took flight; then only the traits of Seltichan's face fell momentarily into lines of gloom; this again deepened the expression of wretchedness in the eyes of Miore who watched his father with solicitude.

He could not contain himself any longer and approaching Oltungaba he burst out with angry sarcasm.

"Truly, I see, you would like to eat up the old man!"

Oltungaba looked at him with astonishment and scorn.

"You are young and inexperienced."

"All right! But you will gain nothing!" The young

hunter replied and stepped hastily aside. This conversation was generally noticed and provoked comments.

Seltichan, however, regained his equanimity and with heartiness of a genial host entertained lavishly.

But that night in his own tent, he did not conceal his anxiety: he sat before the fire sunk in deep thoughts, giving no heed to anything around; he did not even see the supper that his wife placed before him.

"Eat, Seltichan. Do not sorrow, dear master; we are your faithful servants..." She addressed him at last, tugging slightly at his shoulder. The old man turned an inquisitive look upon his family and repaid with a smile their loving glances. He ate much and with great relish, because according to Tungus ideas nothing in life is important enough to spoil the taste of a fat reindeer.

Next morning he awoke before everybody else, and neglecting to light the family fire, for the first time since he became the head of the household, he slipped out noiselessly taking care not to waken the others.

The sun did not yet appear from behind the mountains, but it shone already somewhere above the earth. The rosy dawn passed into daylight. Here and there upon the surface of the snows, among the purple shadows of the passes stood out the glittering mountain tops. In the valleys below everything reposed in the silence of the night; the woods stood still wrapped in fogs, the tired people slept, the fire slumbered in the ashes and the reindeer in the bushes reclined sleepily against the mosses and chewed their cud. Only the water in the river gurgled and the mountain partridges called to each other rising to the dry tree tops from the dewy grass of their nests in the meadow.

The old man gazed long and earnestly upon the well known country; suddenly he started: far, next to one of the distant tents he espied a man who also seemed to examine the valley. The sharp sighted Seltichan recognized Oltungaba and the tent belonged to "kniaz". With a clouded face he returned home.

"Get up, children! Ey! Chun-Me... make the fire... no more sleep this day!"

All jumped up and scattered to their various tasks, not without some fear. The head of the family gazed with placid satisfaction upon activities regulated by the tradition of centuries. Without a word each performed his or her share of household duties: women placed upon the fire kettles and large copper vessels, spread bedding out of doors; men cleaned their arms put them to order and were getting ready to depart for the woods to attend to the cattle. All movement stopped when tea was served.

The whole family sat about boards that served them for a table; the father was silent and no one else dared to speak, although they were all uneasy, not even excepting the old Nioren. Young women and girls watched the face of the father of the family with marked fear; Miore was angry and morose and the "Gleam of the Snows" looked at his father with respect mingled with a shade of curiosity.

Seltichan finished his tea, ate a little, lit his pipe and then turned to the younger son.

(To be continued)

News from Lodz

Lodz, Poland, Dec. 31. — By no means the least of the problems which the Germans have to solve in Lodz is the school question. On their occupation of the city a year ago the Germans found hopelessly inadequate school facilities and a shortage of teachers so great that it was out of the question to supply entirely the deficiency from Germany.

The city has a youthful population of some 80,000 and facilities for only 25,000 pupils. Some 20,000 of these attend the Polish folk or common schools, where they are instructed by men who themselves have nothing more than a high-school education and practically no pedagogical training. The remaining 5,000 attend private schools and come from better classes of the population.

In all the Polish folk schools, which are terribly overcrowded, there are in all but 450 underpaid, illy-prepared teachers. Aside from the number of children who attend the public and private schools, there are uncounted hundreds whose only educational opportunities lie in the 300 old Jewish "cheders."

In company with the educational chief of the city, an Associated Press correspondent recently made a tour through Lodz, specially bent on seeing the "cheders" and their hordes of pupils. There was revealed a condition of things almost unbelievable. The first school visited was in the second story of a building overlooking a stable and was large enough to accommodate thirty children at the outside. Sixty-seven youngsters, however, were jammed into the little

apartment and sat in each other's laps to avoid standing.

Dirt, scraps of bread and pieces of vegetables—remnants of bygone lunches—covered the floor. Such of the clothing as was not ragged was dirty.

The teacher was a middle-aged Jew whose wife teaches on alternate days a class of girls in her bedroom under conditions that appear no more favorable than in the boys' school. Each child pays 30 cents a month for the instruction he receives, consisting principally of a smattering of religion.

The teacher was sternly ordered to reduce the size of his class, to eliminate all children under 7 years old, and to clean up the floors and desks. He promised readily enough, but it was only too plain that he did not at all understand why such measures were necessary.

Helping Poland

Washington, Dec. 24. — The Red Cross has begun an active campaign through its agencies in the United States to make successful the appeal for funds for the Polish relief work asked by President Wilson in a proclamation issued from the White House Dec. 18.

The collection is to be taken up New Year's day, and the Red Cross soon will issue an appeal to clergymen throughout the country to ask special contributions at church services on that day for the relief of suffering and destitution in Poland. The appeal is to be based on assistance given this country in 1776 by Polish patriots.

Miss Boardman, president, and Ernest P. Bicknell, director of the Red Cross, are expected back in Washington to-morrow. They will take up immediately the publicity work necessary to have the country informed of the needs and purpose of the contributions and the pressing demands for assistance to be given starving and freezing Poland.

The chief sufferers are the women and children, and many will die this winter unless help is given them from this country. It is said their need is as great as was that of the Belgians. (See Editorial).

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Opinion of the Press

BOSTON GLOBE:—One of the most significant events in Polish history since “freedom shrieked when Kościuszko fell” is the issue on United States soil of a journal devoted by its title and program to a “Free Poland”. The new periodical comes from the Polish National Council of America, and may be said to represent the views of thoughtful Poles in all parts of the world.

BUFFALO COURIER:—“Free Poland” is the title of a periodical the publication of which has been started by the Polish National Council of America. The current number is replete with interest.

Walter J. Ballard in **LOS ANGELES TIMES:**—“Free Poland” is the proper title for the publication just begun on behalf of Poland and her people because they should aim at nothing less than the highest, even if they resort to arms to realize it at once after they have been accorded the rights and the privileges promised by the Russian Emperor.

ROCHESTER DEMOCRAT AND CHRONICLE:—Of the numerous partisan publications that have appeared since the beginning of the war, quite the most interesting and ably edited is a semi-monthly periodical called **FREE POLAND**. The articles in it are free from bombast, and two or three of them are first-rate literature. **FREE POLAND** presents interesting facts which are probably unknown to, or forgotten by a large number of Americans.

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