

# FREE POLAND

A SEMI-WEEKLY

*The Truth About Poland and Her People*

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WEST POINT MONUMENT TO KOŚCIUSZKO—THE  
HERO OF POLAND AND AMERICA—ERECTED BY  
THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES



KOŚCIUSZKO, THE FATHER OF AMERICAN ARTILLERY, WAS ENGAGED,  
DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, AS CHIEF ENGINEER IN  
CONSTRUCTING THE FORTIFICATIONS AT WEST POINT AND  
LATER BECAME ADJUTANT TO GENERAL WASHINGTON

(See page 19)

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## A Letter from Warsaw

Warsaw in November.

Warsaw as well as the whole of Poland has had varied experiences. Not so long ago Warsaw really felt no war — there was everything in abundance, and the Russian “generously” put his money into circulation. With his retreat he of course took everything along — everything which could be of use to the invading enemy. As a result, upon the entry of the German-Austrian forces, there was general lack of the necessities of life. There is no flour, no dairy products, eggs, sugar, salt, and, above all, no naphtha and coal and wood. The introduction of bread cards availed but little. There is bread indeed but its quantity is insufficient for the million population of the city and its quality fails to satisfy even the most modest requirements. Local wits are saying that the contents of this bread consist of acorns, chestnuts, potatoes, sand, clay — everything but flour. Cold and hunger reign supreme. And it is very cold, coal is given by the bushel basket from time to time, only turf of a very poor quality can be secured. Warsaw then is freezing, the laborer, the watchman, the gendarme, the lawyer — each is freezing. The greatest advertisement for a “movie” picture theatre consists in hanging out the sign: “Warm inside.” The newspapers contain “ads” of this sort: “A young man is seeking an intelligent lady with a barrel of naphtha and 60 bushel baskets of coal.”

Despite all, Warsaw's spiritual life is doubly intensified. When times were opportune, the first step of

the Polish capital was to stir the seats of education into full swing. The university along with a polytechnic school was open. The rectors of the university and the polytechnic school are still the recipients of addresses and congratulations from many other Polish institutions. Congratulations were sent among others by the university of Lemberg, and the Society of Popular Libraries in Posen. The day of October 16, 1915 marks the opening of study. The first lecture was given by Prof. Adam Krynski on the subject — “The Polish tongue.” Twenty-two students were present. The same day work was begun by Prof. Koszembar, Lyskowski, and Joseph Kallenbach, the following day by Prof. Handelsman and W. Paszkowski.

To the 16th day of November for the various departments of the institution there were enrolled: 26 students for the department of law, 12 for philosophy, 22 scientific-mathematic, and 100 medical. The rest of those enrolled are subject to completing examinations in Latin and a Polish.

First lecturers at the school of polytechnics were professors: Rudnicki, (mathematics), Malinowski (botany), Braun (chemistry), Kowalski (physics). 398 students were accepted, and in that number 142 for mechanical engineering, 86 architectural engineering, 36 electro-technical, 19 agricultural engineering, 84 chemistry, and 34 architecture.

Theatres are well attended, and numerous national and historical plays are given, as Melezkowski's Paul I, Zapolska's Tamten (That man), etc. The artists are so perfect that they ought to go on a tour around Europe. Their artistry seems to be enhanced by the events around.

The opera, however, is limping. Warsaw is to be congratulated that it succeeded in opening the Grand Theater at all. — Alas, some of the artists are missing, and the ensemble suffers. There are no eminent voices, there is no musical director, because Prof. Melcer is not a director and accepted the post only to save the situation. Acknowledgment is due to Mr. Grabczewski for his skillful directing and general efforts to better the theatre.

Dr. Reznitz from Katowitz was summoned to the post of school inspector.

There were branches opened in Lublin of the Austro-Hungarian bank; they will control sub-agencies to be opened in other towns.

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# Help Poland

Think of it — there are now 5,000,000 people less in Poland; over 1,200,000 Poles are engaged in a fratricidal conflict; and what enhances the enormity of this unheard-of tragedy is the fact that Polish children under seven years of age are all gone.

Think of it — and do not have your strict neutrality mean strict selfishness.

See what you can do for these children of sorrow and despair, the most helpless and hopeless in all the world.

Do not content yourself with a mere abstract feeling of sympathy for the friendless and destitute Poles.

But help — because by helping Poland, you help humanity.

Send yours to-day.

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# The Peasants and Nobility of Poland

**S**INCE the memorable year 1794, when Kosciuszko the great martyr in the cause of freedom and of Poland fell, — and the name of that unhappy country was sacrilegiously erased from the map, — continual efforts have been made to justify that dismemberment.

A host of speculative writers have endeavored to do it and one of the most used pretext is that the mass of the people of Poland were slaves subjected to a few nobles. On this plea it has been falsely asserted, that the dismemberment of Poland has injured only the interests of a few nobles — petty tyrants.

Such falsely asserted ideas are reported even nowadays, and whether they are intended to justify the infamous act of the spoilers of Poland, or only produced from ignorance on the part of their authors, they have always been, and continue to be the source of great mischief to the whole country of Poland. In order to correct in the public mind those prejudices and errors it is sufficient to make only a few explanations.

All regular slaves and serfs, which means the prisoners of war and their descendants in Poland, were emancipated and declared to be free by the great National Assembly, held in the City of Wislica, in the year 1347.

The Polish peasants looked upon by some writers as the serfs were from time immemorial a free and independent but poor people.

They were mostly the tenants.

The owners of land used to build entire hamlets and villages, and the poor people who wished to settle in them, used to take a lease of as many acres of land as they pleased and paid their rent by working on other land of the owner. Generally from two to four days' work per week was demanded for each fifty or sixty acres, which rent the tenant could pay laboring personally or employing his servant or a hired man.

All these Polish tenants or peasants were under the protection of national law, as well as the nobles; possessed entire freedom of action and would move whenever and wherever they pleased,—provided they fulfilled the obligations which they had voluntarily contracted.

It is true, however, that the peasants, even while Poland boasted of the republican form of government, were not admitted to any legislative or executive office. This necessarily made them a subordinate class, and they were often abused by the nobles, but this evil was in the nature of the things of that time.

Poland, like other countries of Europe, having been formed on the ruins of savage tribes, the sovereignty of the democratic principle could not be extended to all her people at once.

A reform of mind was necessary to extend it, — and there is something truly sublime in the measures which the Poles adopted to accomplish this purpose.

Military merit and education—these were the two means to become a nobleman in Poland. By these means in the course of the fifteenth century about one eighth of the population of Poland became nobles.

In the sixteenth century, when her population did not exceed 15,000,000, she boasted of about 480,000 voters.

This speaks very highly for her, considering that France in the nineteenth century after so many bloody revolutions, with a population of 35,000,000 numbered only 180,000 voters.

Such historical facts show that the character of the

Polish nobility differs entirely from the feudal nobility of the rest of Europe.

The nobility of Poland sprang from among the country people, and were the creation of an adopted reform of the nation, while the feudal nobility of the rest of Europe originated in the ascendancy of a conquering race over the original inhabitants.

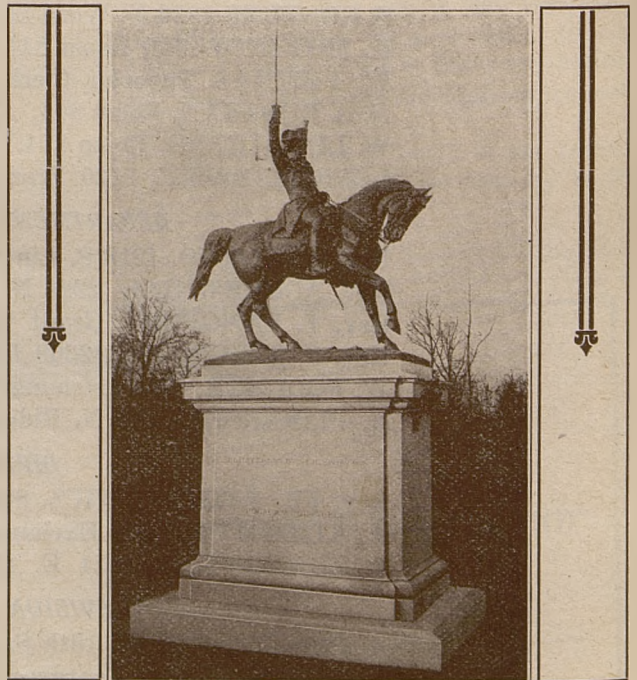
This difference will be better understood when it is known that there are in Poland many hamlets and villages, inhabited by a population of nobles only, who are as poor as the peasants, and till the soil with their own hands, and who before the division of Poland, notwithstanding their poverty, were always in the enjoyment of political rights — equal with nobles worth millions of dollars, and to whom thousands of peasants paid rent.

In regard to those rich nobles in the sixteenth century, all the titles of Princes, Counts, Barons and others, which had in former centuries, in consequence of foreign influence, found their way into Poland, were abolished. Only one order of nobility, called the equestrian order, was recognized, and every nobleman, rich or poor, without distinction, was eligible to the office of king.

The development of liberal principles was so rapid in Poland that at the commencement of the fifteenth century, the Poles boasted of a law stating, "Neminem captivabimus nisi iure victum aut in crimine deprehensum"; that is: none shall be arrested, until legally indicted or taken in the act of the crime.

When we reflect upon all this, and then compare the condition of the Polish people with that of their contemporaries in Western Europe where the feudal system was predominant, we cannot wonder that Poland gave birth to a Sobieski, a Kościuszko, a Pulaski; and never to a Cromwell, a Robespierre, a Frederick the Great.

A. S. SYSKI.



KOŚCIUSZKO—MILWAUKEE, WIS. MONUMENT

# Mr. Asquith's Answer



PRINTED in the last issue of "Free Poland", Asquith's answer to the representations of the Polish organizations for a safe transportation of supplies to Poland is couched in polite phraseology, in no way justifiable in view of the gravity of the situation.

Mr. Asquith accuses Germany and Austria of a systematic confiscation and export of provisions from Poland into Germany.

Most inexact, in the first place, is the statement that the present famine in Poland is the result of German and Austrian relief work in Poland. From the various reports of correspondents to American newspapers from the theatre of war, as well as from the numerous private correspondences and letters, one easily gains the conviction that the present devastation and misery has been visited upon Poland as the result—in equal measure—of the activities of both the Central Powers and Russia, the latter of which, in its retreat last spring and summer before the German-Austrian offensive, for military reasons burned and destroyed everything which might have proved of value to the enemy. Military considerations induced the Russian staff to enter upon this path of destruction in order to render difficult the advance of the victorious invader. With fire and sword did the Russians mark their retreat.

We are also aware that as a result of the Russian autumn offensive Austria evacuated almost the whole of Galicia in 1914 and was far from applying ruthless methods with regard to the civilian population. The better grade of horses were requisitioned, it is true, but cattle, poultry and grains were not cruelly snatched from the poor people, and the latter were not given over to cold, famine, and disease. In this respect the conduct of the Russian army was most inhuman, and Russia along with Germany is responsible for the fact that to-day the whole of Poland is nothing but a desert, bespattered with blood and tears and ruins, seemingly crying out for vengeance to the skies.

Consigning millions of women and children to the pangs of hunger is an unheard of act in the annals of mankind. Therefore, if you demand the return of stolen sup-

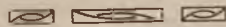
plies from Austria, you should, to be consistent, make similar demands of Russia. But as it can easily be foreseen that neither in the first case nor in the second instance such request would be granted, why quibble, why juggle the fundamental facts?

As regards the accusation that permission to import from overseas would only stimulate the requisition of the enemy—Germans and Austrians, that belief finds no justification in view of the fact that there is nothing which could be exported from Poland. It is known that the unfortunate country was repeatedly devastated, levelled with the ground for the purposes of war. Poland finds itself in need of live stock, milk, poultry, eggs, corn—what else could the Germans or Austrians requisition? The population lives on roots dug up in devastated forests, on carrot soup freely distributed, on frozen and half-rotten potatoes. Does Great Britain believe that even these poor specimens of food will be requisitioned by Germany?

A few days ago it was reported that Germany agrees to distribution of supplies from America only among the civil population of Poland — and that under the control of the American-Belgian Relief Committee, which, to be sure, gives a strong guaranty against any abuse on the part of Germany. All the more preposterous in the face of this German easement appears the statement by Sir Edward Grey recently made public in a correspondence with Mr. H. C. Hoover, chairman of the committee, to the effect that German warrant is worthless. It is obvious to any but the English diplomat that the American committee would raise a hue and cry against any German abuse; but apparently — even American assurances and presentations are mere bubble in the eyes of British long-winded diplomacy, while the American humanitarian agency is unworthy of English consideration.

The existence of millions of people is at stake. These millions are innocent sufferers in the conflict. Will England waste time on diplomatic bluff and bluster while millions starve? The Poles are expectant and still assured that Great Britain will allow safe transportation of supplies to Poland for humane reasons if for no other.

W. W. PAPARA.



## Poland

Belgium was fought over once, suffered from invasion and occupation of its economic resources, from indemnities imposed, towns destroyed, fields made bare. Then, under the rule of an efficient but hard conqueror, it was encouraged to return to as nearly the normal of its life as it could under an alien, and, while it struggled to its feet, it was helped generously by the nations of the world.

Belgium was a dramatized victim of aggression. It stood in the theater of the world with all its wounds and wants showing.

We have an idea that as the perceptions of folk in the western hemisphere travel towards the lands of the east they lose vitality. Sympathy and the desire to help are products of intimate association.

Poland is not the east, but it is far enough east to be veiled to our complete understanding. It has been accepted as a land given over to sorrows.

It has been fought over not once but several times. It has seen the flux of war. It has not merely, like Belgium, received an invading army, sustained the first shock and settled down as best it could. It has been harried, almost destroyed. Armies have swept over it and have been thrown back across it.

Military needs asked for destruction. Towns and food supplies — fields and granaries were obliterated. The people were left starving. They have not regained their feet. The greatest sum of human misery is in Poland, unless it be now in Serbia.

It clamors for the help of happier people. (From the Chicago Tribune.)

# Reflections on the Polish Problem

By Jan KUCHARZEWSKI

(Translated from the French by JOHN S. FURROW)



THE periods of reaction and repressions had been marked by a stable premeditated character as well as by an implacable consistency. This was not the case with the periods of concessions (1815-30 and 1861-63) which ever up to the present had something temporary, precarious and fragile.

What characterizes these two periods, and above all the first, the most important in point of view of its duration and extent of concessions granted, is that the amelioration of the lot of the Poles was each time due to the contingencies of foreign policy. There was ever found a foreign power which sought to gain the sympathies of the Poles, protecting whom could prove a direct or indirect menace to Russia. In order to prepare for this coup Russia would appropriate the method of its adversary and would seek to forestall it. There came about an outbidding of concessions and promises; but their realization was ever beneath the hopes provoked.

This extrinsic and transient origin of concessions, based on a temporary rivalry with an exterior adversary, was one of the principal causes of the weakness of the political combination which therefrom resulted. The realization of promises and pledges, lavished upon the people at the hour of danger, sometimes exceeded the power of those who had granted them. The Poles had a natural tendency to take these promises seriously in all their extent; the opposite party, on the other hand, reduced them to the minimum and postponed their realization to an epoch which was indefinite and never came to pass.

What was still more serious, was the fact that in Russia were elements who considered as a mistake, as an unpardonable policy, if not the promises themselves, at least their realization, and made possible the ruin of all reconciliatory work.

Hence the fatal, inevitable conflict.

\* \* \*

It is necessary to seek the origins of the constitution, granted to the Kingdom of Poland in 1815, in the rivalry between Alexander I and Napoleon I.

After Friedland and Tilsit, Napoleon created the duchy of Warsaw, which he considered the vanguard of his supremacy in the east. Alexander dreaded this creation bordering upon his country, and attributed to Napoleon the project of reconstituting ancient Poland at the expense of the immense Polish provinces taken by Catherine. Alexander unceasingly demanded of Napoleon reassuring guarantees, the signature of a treaty, the first words of which would have been: "The Kingdom of Poland will never be re-established."

In this too categorical and general form, the stipulation would have seemed unacceptable to Napoleon; the conferences dealing with this treaty lasted a long time, unable to end in any result.

In 1809 the war broke out between Napoleon and Austria. Russia in its quality of ally of Napoleon, carried on this war reluctantly, the true sympathies of the governmental spheres going to Austria; there was on the part of Russia only a show of war. Let us quote from an eminent French historian:

"In 1809, during the war with Austria, when the army

of Prince Galitzin, after long tergiversations, had finally crossed the frontier, a group of Warsaw noblemen and Galician magnates had addressed the Russian generalissimo in the greatest secrecy and had communicated the following suggestion: If Emperor Alexander consented to reform the Poland of old, while planning it under his scepter and by restoring its ancient boundaries, the noblemen would immediately recognize him their king, and their example would draw the rest." (A. Vandal).

General Galitzin accepted this offer, considering it very favorable and profitable to Russia, and at once dispatched a letter to Emperor Alexander June 16, 1809. He supported the Polish propositions as follows:

"Without wandering from the point, it seems to me that there would be no reason to decline a dignity which is offered us by a whole people unanimously. Moreover, by this means would be won over the good-will of a great kingdom, which would remain, though under a different form, a Russian province. "This kingdom would be formed of the whole of former kingdom, with the exception of White Russia and territories making part of the governments of Kieff and Podolia."

Under the date of June 27, 1809, Count Roumiantsoff gave, by order of the emperor, the following answer to Prince Galitzin:

"However flattering be the acquisition of Poland in its totality, His Majesty the Emperor, without desiring any advertising, has directed his particular attention to the consequences which this acquisition would have for Russia."

The consequences would rather be injurious to Russia, concluded the author of this letter. He examined this question and resumed it in some points. At first, the re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland could bring about the retrocession by Russia of the former Polish provinces and the total separation from Poland.

"Then, the bonds between countries of different origin could not be solid and durable. Finally, the evident and immediate consequence of the re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland and of its reunion with the empire of Russia would be that the union of powers—co-partitioners of Poland and naturally interested in holding out—would be entirely dissolved."

"Such are the motives for which His Majesty, satisfied with the portion of Poland which fell to his share, prefers to see the country in its actual state and not to consider conformable to the interests of the empire the reunion with Poland in its former extent..."

One would presume that the general had received order to teach the Poles of the true decisions of the Russian government. Far from it, for this is the continuation of the instruction:

"Nevertheless, in the conjectural state in which Europe is found, His Majesty is of the opinion that, on the one side, taking into consideration the representations of Your Excellency, one could, while flattering the Poles with the hope of re-establishment of their country, maintain them in quiet and obedience, while on the other hand, they could address Napoleon and demand of him the constitution of a separate state, composed of the duchy of Warsaw and Galicia, which would be extremely harmful to us. Con-

sequently, His Majesty the emperor authorizes Your Excellency, after having acquired the certainty that they have really the intention to form from the duchy of Warsaw and the Galician principalities a separate State under the title of the Kingdom of Poland, while entrusting ad aeternum the scepter to His Majesty the emperor and his successors; you are nearly assured that such an act and proposition on their part will not remain unsuccessful, and that you, from your side, will take upon yourself in this affair the role of a zealous solicitor.

"In giving these promises to the Poles", says a French historian, "Alexander did as much as in his power to secure from Napoleon the signing of the treaty of which the first words, as desired by the czar, should have been: The Kingdom of Poland will never be re-established.

\* \* \*

Napoleon did not allow these words to enter the treaty. The relations between the two emperors became strained. Poland was the trump card in the game. Alexander I began conferences with Prince Adam Czartoryski while extending large promises to the Poles. In the letter of February 12, 1811, the emperor outlined a vast plan of a reconstituted Poland (the Dvina, the Beresina and the Dnieper forming the frontiers in the east). This State would be endowed with a liberal constitution, would have its government, its administration, its national army; its union with Russia would be purely personal, dynastic.

At the Congress of Vienna, Alexander demanded the reunion of all Polish territory with Russia. The other States, excepting Prussia, dreaded this aggrandizement of the Russian power. England, France and Austria pleaded the return to the limits marked off by the partitions of Poland, or its reconstitution in an independent State.

"If the moral duty exacts that the position of the Poles be ameliorated in as decisive a manner as the re-establishment of the monarchy", wrote Lord Castlereagh to Emperor Alexander, October 14, 1814, "let this work be undertaken upon a large and liberal principle, while making anew an independent nation, instead of making more than two-thirds a formidable military instrument between the hands of a unique power."

The dispute was regulated by a compromise. Russia received, more than its former acquisitions, a part of the grand duchy of Warsaw, which, under the title of the Kingdom of Poland, was united to it by its constitution. This was a new partition of Poland, the sixth. The Poles underwent a cruel disillusion. The kingdom of Poland, so created, was, according to the bitter words of the old Polish hero, "a small portion of territory, emphatically decorated with the name of kingdom of Poland".

To better understand the ulterior events and, above all, the Polish revolution of 1830, it is not necessary to forget that this "small portion" was not considered by the Poles as the nucleus of their future country; they had the firm hope that Alexander I would unite to the kingdom the vast territory taken by Catherine II and incorporated in the empire.

The emperor neglected nothing to nurture these hopes. One of the articles of the final act of the Congress of Vienna stipulated that "His Imperial Majesty purposed to grant this State, in its enjoyment of a distinct administration, the interior extension which he will judge suitable"; Alexander I said openly that this extension aimed at the Polish territory incorporated in Russia at the time of the dismemberment of Poland.

While inaugurating the first Diet at Warsaw in 1818, the czar announced: "The results of your labors will advise me if, faithful to my resolutions, I can extend what I have already done for you." In his conclusion: "You have justified my expectation", he said, while inviting them to "advance in great steps towards the honorable goal."

At the opening of the second Diet, in 1820, he uttered these serious words: "Still some steps guided by the wisdom and moderation, set off by the trust and integrity, and you will reach the end of your hopes and of mine."

At the close of the third Diet, in 1825, he pronounced no less significant words.

None of the promises was accompanied with facts. Alexander died in 1825; as to Nicolas I, he ever manifested an evident repugnance to the realization of the promises of his predecessor.

The Poles acquired the conviction that it was necessary to abandon definitely the hopes nourished and encouraged during those years. Such was the principal cause of the revolution in 1830.

Why had Alexander failed to realize his promises? The hesitating character of this monarch and his need to please men, as well as the people, are here only of secondary importance. There are facts of a general significance, leaving a permanent impression in the relations between the government and the subjects, which should be considered here. It is without doubt that the current political power would have opposed in Russia the Polish fancies of Alexander. The Czar well understood this fact; he said once, during one of his sojourns in Poland, in a private conversation: "It is necessary to juggle Poland into the hands of Russia." Had he truly the firm will to realize his vast Polish plan, or not—that is a question which only interests his intimate psychology.

But to appreciate justly the Russo-Polish relations, it is not necessary to lose sight of the significant fact that the very announcement of imperial projects was enough to raise an opposition which came from the two camps apparently opposed: the bureaucracy and the secret revolutionary societies. The attitude of the latter is more characteristic. Upon the death of the czar, their liberal tendencies approached the revolution of the Decabrists. During his life these same organizations were the center of a latent discontent, excited chiefly by his plan of reconstituting Poland in its ancient boundaries.

Much more serious appeared to the emperor the opposition with which was met his Polish policy amid the high bureaucracy itself. The constitutional regime, in Poland, was suspicious to him, because dreaded by the Russian autocracy. With greater reason, the rumor of an extension of the boundaries of the Kingdom of Poland excited in this center a veritable panic.

These same personages, who suffered without murmur the despotism in its most excessive manifestations, dared raise their voice against the Polish policy of the emperor in making a critical appeal of the imperial will to the high reason of state.

The son of Paul I felt seriously menaced by this usually crafty opposition, which occasionally was open. With the overthrow of Napoleonic power, already during the Congress of Vienna, some Russian bureaucrats dared remonstrate with him. They expressed the conviction that the reconstitution of Poland was incompatible with the vital interests of Russia. Several memorials draughted in this sense had been presented to the emperor by Lan-

skoï, president of the provisional government in Poland, by the general Tchernycheff, by the diplomat Pozzo di Borgo. "The destruction of Poland as a political power, resumes the political history nearly in its entirety," reasoned the latter: "The conquest of Poland has been accomplished principally with the project of multiplying the relations between the Russian nation and the rest of Europe, with a view to satisfying the ambition of the former, its passions and its interests." The historian Karamzine, several years after the Congress of Vienna, presented to the czar a memorandum, drawn up in energetic terms. He upheld the thesis that the sovereign had not the right to reconstitute Poland, a country which due to the fact of its having been incorporated by his predecessors in Russia, thereof forms an integral and inalienable part.

The spokesmen of the high administration did not dare demand openly the Russification of the kingdom, such as had been defined by the treaty of Vienna. What they feared was the reconstitution of Poland in its former boundaries, comprising the provinces situated to the east of the kingdom (Lithuania, Podolia, Volhynia, the Ukraine).

The bureaucracy regarded with little benevolence the constitutional liberties of Poland which presented a too striking contrast with the Russian regime.

In virtue of the constitution of 1815, all the public functions of the kingdom had been reserved for the Poles. Besides, a Russian, Novosiltzoff, confidant of the emperor, succeeded in securing a rather important office and thereby was able to play a destructive role in the destinies of the country. On the other hand, Grand Duke Constantine, generalissimo of the Polish army, usurping a quasi-dictatorial power, exasperated the people by his abuse of office. The supreme authorities tolerated and occasionally even upheld this veritable abuse of power.

Novosiltzoff, by force of intrigue, Constantine through his violences, brought about the insurrection of 1830, in which foundered the constitutional edifice, elaborated fifteen years before.

\*                    \*

It was necessary to wait until 1861-63 (under Alexander II) to have the recurrence of a second tide favorable to the Polish claims. The change in the attitude of the government with regard to the Poles was again due to the considerations of foreign policy which this time corresponded with the tendencies of the reformatory movement in Russia. There resulted a short period of national concessions, much more restrained than those in 1815.

The defeats of the Crimea discredited in the eyes of the Russians themselves the despotic and reactionary system of Nicholas I. When then a vast program of interior reform had been elaborated, Poland was not called to share in these advantages and its lot had not been improved. It is only in a more advanced period of the reign of Alexander II that a change in the exterior relations attracted the attention of the Russian government to the Polish affairs.

Another result of the Crimean war was a strong ill-will against Austria, which, saved by Russia in 1849, "astonished the world by its ingratitude" in 1854. This rancor became the pivot of Russia's foreign policy during the subsequent years.

Besides, this ill feeling did not at first find expression in acts; Russia "collected itself", according to Gortchakoff's expression.

Gradually the ulterior events constrained the Russian

government to modify its attitude toward Poland. We wish to speak of the Napoleonic policy based on the principle of nationalities; of the change in the interior policy of Austria after its defeat in Italy in 1859, and of the re-echoing of these events in the Russian-Polish relations.

The campaign of 1859 for the freedom of Italy marked the apogee of the Napoleonic system. Russia then offered a quite paradoxical spectacle. The Russificatory government appeared to sympathize with the awakening of nationalities abroad; this absolute State took part of the cause of the Italian revolutionaries in their struggle against Austrian domination. Alexander II was inspired by the policy of Napoleon III, as formerly Alexander I had been by that of Napoleon I. In following the path traced by his uncle, Napoleon III employed the principle of nationalities in order to heighten the prestige and power of France. The czar sought to make use of the same means to heighten the prestige of Russia well put to the proof after the Crimean war.

An important fact precipitated his decision. Upon its defeat in 1859, Austria abandoned the system of extreme centralization, of absolutism and of Germanization. An imperial decree, published in October 1860, inaugurated an evolution towards federalism. Though this event had been followed almost immediately by a powerful centralistic reaction, the Austrian countries, in virtue of the letters patent of February 1861, had been granted a provincial autonomy. Thus a new era was opened for the Poles — Austrian subjects.

The principle of nationalities, proclaimed by the conqueror of Solferino and Magenta, gave a new impulse to the Polish claims under the Russian scepter. Besides, their situation presented at first a striking contrast with that of their brethren in Austria. Despite the accession of a new sovereign, which coincided with the inauguration of interior reforms in Russia, the regime of terror and oppression, sad heritage of the preceding reign, lay heavy upon Poland. Several significant symptoms of a national fermentation were manifest in the kingdom of Poland. There was serious trouble breaking out in Warsaw. It was not a commotion of the urban populace which was quelled by force of arms, it was a vast and deep movement which swayed all classes; a patriotic enthusiasm with a religious imprint took possession of the Polish population. (See *A Nation in Mourning*, by Charles de Montalembert.)

At Petersburg these patriotic manifestations caused a great embarrassment. It was extremely inopportune to give the world the spectacle of a Russia at the threshold of its political renovation and at the same time dealing vigorously with Poland. This contrast would have been all the more striking as the Polish protests were expressed only in patriotic and religious hymns, sung in the churches.

The government granted some concessions, insufficient and imperfect though they were, which awakened hope without satisfying it. The most inconsistent tactics were chosen: those of tergiversation and hesitation. Now the government renounced the ancient regime, then it adopted them; concessions and measures of oppression orders and counter-orders followed and opposed one another. The people gradually lost their patience. The calm and the faculty of discernment and just appreciation of the way to be followed in the national policy gradually disappeared.

The principal cause of these destructive hesitations was a stealthy resistance, or even apparent, with which

(Continued on p. 16)



# Psychology of the Slavic People

By PANE R. RADOSAVLJEVICH, Ph. D. Pd. D.

Professor at New York University.



IN regard to the WOMAN QUESTION, Slavs are comparatively more progressive than many nations of Western Europe. So, for example, the *Zakonik* (code) of the famous Serbian ruler Tzar, Dushan Silni (Dushan the Mighty) \*) (published in 1340) says: "If a husband abandons his wife, he must pay penalty. . . . If a wife abandons her husband, the penalties are the same. . . . The husband has the right forcibly to take her back. In case the husband abandons his wife he is forced to return to her. If he has meantime cohabited with another woman he shall be forced to abandon that woman and return to his wife."

Parents were forbidden to encourage a daughter to abandon the husband's home. Marriage is a sacred matter among Slavic people, and legalized by the church only. The church alone, and that in rare cases, could pronounce divorce, a usage which still obtains among Serbs and Russians of to-day. According to Tolstoy, marriage is indissoluble. Nothing, not even a wife's unfaithfulness authorizes a man to abandon her, and if he puts her away he cannot marry another without himself committing the crime of adultery. The present marriage cannot be stopped, by Free Love, according to the Slavic conception of marriage, but by education and the joining of those who were meant to be joined.

The ideal of the Slavic woman is to be true to her husband. Pushkin in his "Eugene Onegin" describes a scene of love. In a country place, where Onegin has retired for the sake of solitude, Onegin meets the artless love of a young girl (Tatiana) living in a neighboring manor-house. He is bent to look down upon her, but she takes the initiative and writes to him, offering her love. Onegin is not touched, and says to her: "I am not the man for you." They part for several years. When they meet for the second time, the scornful hero finds himself in the presence of a fair princess, flanked by a gouty husband and surrounded by a circle of adorers. He recognizes Tatiana, and this time it is he who writes. She replies in her turn:

"I love you, — feigning would be useless, —  
But now, Onegin, I am another's,  
And will be true to him for life."

Hobert says that the Serbian peasants have a principle of one girl, one dress. Serb proverbs say: "Until a man marries he is only a half a man" and "The woman homes the house." Nekrasov gives the following description of the Slavic ideal of women:

"In many a Russian hamlet we may find such women  
With quiet earnestness of face,  
With a grace of strength in their every movement,  
As they go by with royal gait and queenly look,

With beauty that even the blind may see,  
And those who see it will mutter to themselves,  
Such bring sunshine with them wherever they come."

National unity is not a Slavic virtue at the present time or throughout the period covered by history. Burgess condemns Slavs as being essentially unpolitical, as being unable to rise beyond the clan or the community organization. But we have to take into account the long story of Slavic peasantry, which is melancholy history of trial, sorrow, suffering, and despair. If Slavic people are going to unite in a national sense, this unification will not be based on clannishness, nor on the principle of economic *ubi bene ibi patria*, but on the principle of human sympathy and knowledge of the lower classes. A Slavic patriot is that man who is able to tell the truth to his country, like Gogol:

"Russia! Russia! From the beautiful distant places where I dwell" (he was living at that time in Italy; he wrote while abroad the second part of the "Dead Souls", and left Russia after the publication of the first part. "I see thee, I see thee plainly, O my country! Thy nature is niggardly. In thee there is nothing splendid, in thee, Russia, nothing marvelous; all is open, desert, flat. Thy little cities are scarce visible in thy plans, little points, like specks. Nothing in thee is seductive, nothing even delights the eyes. What secret mysterious force, then, draws me to thee? Why does thy song, melancholy, fascinating, restless, resounding throughout all thy length and breadth, ring forever in my ears? What does this song contain? Whence come these accents and these sobs which find their echo in the heart? What are these dolorous tones which strike deep into the soul, and wake the memories? Russia, what desirest thou of me? What is the obscure, mysterious bond which unites us to each other? Why dost thou look at me thus? Why does all that thou containest fix on me this expectant gaze? My thought remains mute before thy immensity. Thy very infinity, to what forebodings does it give rise? Since thou are limitless, canst thou not be the mother country of thoughts whose grandeur is immeasurable? Canst thou not bring forth giants, thou who art the country of mighty spaces? This thought of thy immeasurable extent is reflected powerfully in my soul, and an unknown force makes its way into the depths of my mind. My eyes are kindled with a supernatural vision. What dazzling distances! What a marvelous mirage unknown to earth! O Russia!"

The famous Russian Herzen says that "the Russian people is a fresh people, a nation which carries within itself a hope of future life, because it contains an immense wealth of vital energy and power. . . . An intelligent man in Russia means the most independent and most prejudiceless man of the globe." He believes in the Slavic community ideals and Slavic people, people who do not care for centralization. He hopes that the Slavs will unite on the principle of federation. Such a Russian Slavophilism is satisfactory to every progressive Slav and to every man. The Czech thinker, Josef Holocek, is right in saying: "If there is not a Russia there would be no Slavdom." The most cordial relations have existed from time immemorial between the greatest Slavic state, Russia, and the small-

\*) The Austro-Hungarian Consulate General in New York published and distributed freely a pamphlet ("Austria-Hungary and the War", New York, 1915) where this great ruler is called "The Strangler" (p. 23). If the learned authors worked in the latest (11th) edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (vol. XXIV, 1911, p. 691) they might know that "Dushan" is a term of endearment, derived from *dusha*, "the soul", and not, as formerly believed by Western philologists, from *dushiti*, "to strangle."

est Slavic state, Montenegro. On October 11, 1895, Mr. Gladstone said the following words about the Montenegrins (who are Serbs), called Scottish Highlanders of the Balkans: "In my deliberate opinion the traditions of Montenegro now committed to His Highness (Prince and now King Nicholas) exceed in glory those of Marathon and Thermopylae, and all the war-traditions of the world." The slight differences which exist between different Slavic tribes, are those of degree rather than those of type. Curtin says that the difference between the Russians and Poles seems to be the following: "that the former saw through the policy of their enemies, and then overcame them; while the latter either did not understand the Germans, or if they did, did not overcome them, though they had the power."

\* \* \*

How to explain this Slavic Nature? It is, no doubt, due both to the inherent psychological traits of Slavs and to the bigness and variety of their environment. To what degree we do not know exactly. No doubt the immense size of Russia produces an element of a certain comfortable largeness of mental vision in Russian character. The nature of environment in which the bulk of Slavic people lives is much poorer, and the conditions for living are much harder, than the nature and conditions in which other nations live. On the confines of Asia, in the parched Kirghiz steppes, under the latitude of Central France, the mercury congeals and remains congealed for several days, while in July the thermometer may burst in the sun. Characterized by a sudden change from extreme heat to extreme cold, and by a low average temperature, the eastern half of Europe is called upon to work much harder than other European nations for its daily bread and warm clothing. Accordingly, the expenses of a poor Slav are much greater than those of a poor man in Western Europe.

Physical conditions under which Slavic people (especially Russians) live involve a greater percentage of mortality than in other European countries. It amounts to about 34 per thousand inhabitants. This figure in England amounts to 22.5 per thousand, in France 31.4, in Germany 36.5, in Austria 31.3, in Italy 30.25, etc.

The physical surface in Eastern Europe is coarse and poor in regard to the impressions which affect the human soul. It is, therefore, remarkable that deep emotion could be developed in the soul of a people who live in such a swampy and monotonous country, almost without any of those charms and natural colorings which are so common to the rich countries of Europe. How could such a uniform, monotonous country develop such a great national soul? This fact is a real psychological puzzle. Thanks to its geographical position between Europe and Asia, thanks to its historical situation, between a series of anvils whereon the Byzantine priest, the Tartar soldier and the German free-lance have taken turns to hammer out its genius, Slavic people, especially Russians, young and old at once, have not yet found their orbit nor their true balance. In the past and the present of Slavic life we see a waste here and an extreme refinement there. Some have called it rotten ere it was ripe. Prematurely ripe, indeed, with a distracting medley of savage instincts and ideal inspirations, of intellectual riches and moral perjury. But Nature must be given time to perfect her own work — Natura horret vacuum. The longer national infancy, the better national manhood.

The outer nature of the great European valley, giving to its inhabitants no comfort in temperature, no wind

and strong impression, has forced the bulk of Slavic people to look at its own inner self to find impressions which will uplift the human soul. I should say that it will not be exaggerated if we state that the Slavs are characterized by their inclination toward inner observation, inner analysis, especially toward moral introspection. The outer shinings do not very much attract a Slav. He is able to live without the comfort of an Englishman, without the fineries of a Frenchman — he is satisfied with simplicity, he does not care for luxury, and above all things he likes a warm soul and a sincere heart. A careful observation of international galleries of paintings will involuntarily disclose the pale coloring of Russian paintings, but, on the other hand, their psychological insight is found in the works of Slavic master-writers (Lermontov, Turgenev, Gogol, Dostoyevski, Sienkiewicz, etc.), where the deep psychological analysis comes first, and then the description. Accordingly, the Mental Culture (in contrast to Natural Culture) is the most fundamental trait of the Slavic national genius. It is a habit of moral analysis.

To prove this great quality of Slavic soul, we might use also the statistical facts on international suicides, crimes, and felony. We have seen how large a percentage of Russian people die in the struggle with physical nature. The mortality due to sickness exceeds the death cases of all other European nations. But it is wonderful to see how the same people show an immense power of moral self-preservation which is saving them from such great evils as suicide and crime. A comparison of suicides in different European countries shows that the Slavs are least affected by such an act. In a million of inhabitants there are

(1) in Saxony .....	311	suicides
(2) in France .....	210	"
(3) in Prussia .....	133	"
(4) in Austria .....	130	"
(5) in Bavaria .....	90	"
(6) in England .....	60	"
(7) in Russia .....	30	"

That such a great difference is due not to the degree of education of the inhabitants and other external causes, but to the character of the races, is shown by the fact that where Slavic people are mixed with Germans (Austria and Prussia) the number of suicides is not equal for both nations — Slavic people show a much smaller number of suicides than the Germans. This is especially true of mixed Slavic settlements in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The presence of the South Slavic element in Austro-Hungary also influences in a negative sense the inclination to suicide: those provinces where there are many Slavs (in Dalmatia, 89 perc.; in Slavonia and Croatia 94 perc) give the smallest figure of suicides,—25 per million, a figure very near to the Russian figure. In the northern Slavic provinces of Austria (Bohemia and Moravia) where there are many German settlements, the number of suicides is 147 per million.

Morseli says that the Slavic element decreases the figure of suicides, and the nations of Finno-Altic stock have a great influence on the northern Slavs, in the same manner as the Germans have on the South Slavs, i. e. they increase the number of suicides. A careful study of suicides during a long period of time in both Slavic and other European nations, shows a very interesting fact, that the number of suicides in Russia for the last 30 years is almost the same, while for other European countries it has been increased from 30 to 40 per cent. Judging from the figures and statistical facts, we might safely con-

clude that the suicides committed by Slavs are mainly due to physical causes, while the causes for the nation of Western Europe are moral vices. But regardless of the proofs for the causes of suicide, it is a fact that Slavic people are characterized by a high moral endurance, which might be called the summum bonum of Kant, the highest good, the best thing for a nation.

But a greater vice than death is a criminal act. Socrates said that it is easier to save ourselves from death than from crime. Figures given by moral statistics and figures for suicides might serve as a measuring rod for moral suicide. Comparing the figures which refer to the terrible forms of crime in different nations, we get this tabular presentation:

Country:	Crimes per million inhabitants:
(1) Italy .....	96
(2) Spain .....	55
(3) Austria .....	22
(4) France .....	15
(5) Russia .....	10
(6) Germany .....	9
(7) England .....	6

The number of those who have been convicted for theft is shown in this table:

Country:	Convicted in theft in a million inhabitants:
(1) Germany .....	1840
(2) England .....	1385
(3) France .....	1128
(4) Russia .....	482

In regard to the moral crimes, and according to Montesquieu, they are worse for a state than a violation of the laws — we have the following figures, per million of inhabitants:

(1) France .....	21.4
(2) Italy .....	7.4
(3) Russia .....	3.7

Of course, to preserve such a moral height is not an easy task. It requires much painstaking work and effort. A nation living according to the rule — **It is better to die than to fall morally** — has to use much physical power and energy for its moral self-preservation. This energy is not measured by the number of palaces, or railroads, or any other material wealth. It is not, moreover, measured even by the intellectual abilities. Such an energy cannot be identified even at the cost of some higher factor, but is exhibited in the form of a collective moral perfection, in the form of a moral instinct and moral behavior, which includes all phases of the mental life of a nation. To keep awake this high human instinct is the greatest and the hardest task, a task which cannot be reached without painstaking expenditure of physical powers. It is a natural law. Nobody will deny that in the struggle with the coarse nature we have to expend much physical energy. Physiology and psychology show also that moral self-preservation demands an expenditure of physical capacities, and even more than any hard physical work. An animal uses much energy in order to hear with the ears, to see with the eyes, and to be alert with other sense organs. How much energy is needed for care of the national consciousness! We might, therefore, say with full

right, that a higher moral self-preservation of a nation involves a higher expenditure of physical energy. The Serbian moral maxim: **“Rather lose your life than that the soul should have a stain thereon”**, might be used as a real and not as a metaphorical characteristic of the direction of the moral life of all Slavs.

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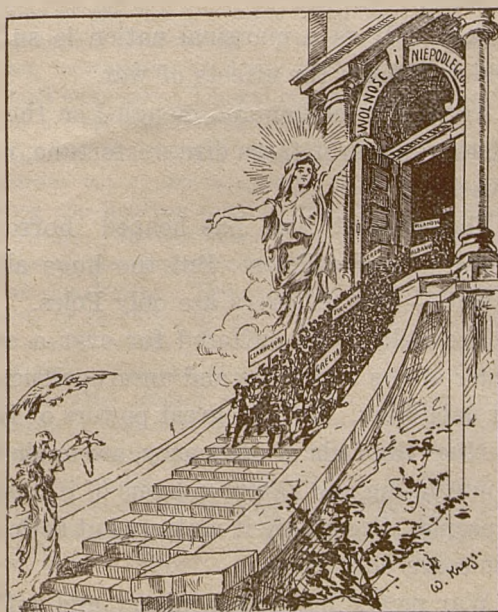
Taking into account all the foregoing facts, only a psychological Don Quixote or a political Ding fuer Alles has courage to say that the Slavs are barbarians. As a Serb, as a Slav, as a citizen of a great and free country, the United States, and as a student of international psychology, I wish that the following words of Ernst Renan might be verified by all who love the truth and are willing to serve humanity:

“The coming of Slavic tribes on the world’s stage is a remarkable phenomenon of this age. Slavic people begin to have a decided influence not only in the political but also in the cultural life of nations. The future will show what humanity will get from this wonderful Slav genius, with its ardent faith, its depth of intuition, its individual idea of life and death, its martyr spirit, its first for the ideal.”

It is interesting to note that even as early as 1713 the great philosopher Leibnitz said to Peter the Great: “We are both of Slavic ancestry. You have wrested the world’s mightiest powers from barbarism, and I have founded a realm of equal extent. The originators of a new epoch, we are both descendants of that race whose fortunes none can foretell.”

What means it? Nothing more but the anticipation of Herder’s prophecy a century ago, prophecy that “a great future lay before the Slavic peoples, an era of territorial expansion and of peaceful devotion to arts and economic progress.”

Who are then the Slavs? At any rate, they are not barbarians!.....



WILL POLAND ENTER THE TEMPLE OF FREEDOM?

(Reproduced from the Polish Daily News)

# FREE POLAND

A SEMI-MONTHLY

*The Truth About Poland and Her People*

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## Remember

Poland asks to be reconstituted along the lines of 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."

## They Are Only Poles

POLAND as a marginal nation is suffering untold pain from the effects of war.

Again it is broken and mangled on the wheel of history, again it faces dire misfortune, misery, starvation.

The present war has heaped horrors on horrors upon the Poles. But the huge alliances care not — the sufferers are only Poles.

The Poles have suffered for over a century because of the ambitions and unscrupulousness of their neighbors. But the great powers of Europe, to further the ends of diplomacy, are again maiming, mutilating and killing millions of innocent Polish people. Seemingly it matters but little — the victims are only Poles.

War means but added misery and suffering. Lucky the soldier if he battles for his own fatherland. But what a tragedy if he is compelled to engage in fratricidal conflict and to fight in the

interest of foe and oppressor! Brother is killing brother. Europe worries but little — those killed are only Poles.

One year ago proclamations were issued to the Poles, in which, as a return for their loyal support, they were promised a recreation of the kingdom of Poland with practically the boundaries it had had before the Prussian-Russian-Austrian partition. But it is easy to feed these people on vain hopes — they are only Poles.

The Polish organizations have done everything in their power to relieve the dire distress of the war-stricken abroad. They have urged the proper authorities to use their good office to remove the embargo on food stuffs, so that provisions could be sent to Poland. The powers that could relieve this appalling distress are engaged in diplomatic squabble, bluff and bluster. Meanwhile, millions of innocent people — men, women and children — are starving. There are no Polish children under seven years of age. More than 1,500,000 Poles, impressed in the armies, have been killed or wounded. Over 5,000,000 people have vanished. But apparently it matters but little — they are only Poles.

Again we must exclaim with Tennyson:

How long, O God, shall men be ridden down,  
And trampled under by the last and least  
Of men? The heart of Poland hath not ceased  
To quiver, tho' her sacred blood doth drown  
The fields, and out of every smouldering town  
Cries to Thee, lest brute Power be increased....  
Us, O Just and Good,.....  
Forgive, who smiled when she was torn in three;  
Us, who stand now, when we should aid the right,  
A matter to be wept with tears of blood!

## Paderewski's Playing

By his lecture and concert, Sunday Feb. 6, 1916, Paderewski again exhibits that he is an artist, and, above all, a patriot.

The whole world has felt the spell of his genius, has seen him in his triumphs, and now when Poland is bled to death, when brother is killing brother, Paderewski, with his genuine depth of feeling, with his intensely ardent patriotism, typifies in a striking manner the tortured soul of a nation of 24,000,000.

He has given his all to war-stricken Poland. Now he plays and he speaks — for Poland. He begs and he weeps — for Poland. All his thoughts, acts, art and genius are for Poland. Verily, is there a greater almoner in behalf of that unfortunate country?

# What of Poland After the War?

By HENDRIK WILLEM VAN LOON

in the New York Times

It was during the last days of the Polish Revolution of 1906. Outside in the warm air of early Spring the newsboys cried their "Extras!" There had been many extra papers during the week that had gone before. "Perhaps," I said to an old Polish friend, "perhaps there is some good news for you to-night."

His answer was an epitome of Polish history. "News in Poland is always bad news."

On the 5th of August, 1915, there were other extras. Warsaw had been taken and the Russians had left Poland in the hands of Hindenburg and Mackensen. Immediately after the last attacks upon the outer fortifications of the former Polish capital the German officer commanding the advance retired and the first entry into the city was made by the King of Bavaria, the representative of the largest Catholic State in the German Empire.

For several days only Polish-speaking Austrian regiments marched into town. The old Polish colors were hoisted upon public and private buildings and Polish citizens were elected to act as guardians of the peace. Rumors appeared in the foreign and German press about the imminent reorganization of the ancient Polish Kingdom. It was to be under the rule of one of the Habsburg Princes who through his marriage with a Pole was closely related to the Polish people. It was whispered about that the Teuton powers were to fulfill the promise made last year by the Czar of Russia. After a hundred years of suppression a new semi-independent Polish nation was to be established. This deception lasted only a few days. The Polish-speaking regiments left the city and marched on. The Imperial Chancellor made a statement which killed the hope of the Polish people. Poland remained what it had been before, a conquered province at the mercy of its master.

Once more "news in Poland was bad news."

It may not be out of place to say a good word on behalf of a nation which has suffered a punishment out of all proportion to its past mistakes. If other countries have escaped a similar fate, they owe their present liberty to their geographical situation.

For ten centuries Poland was the buffer State of Europe. It acted as guardian of the eastern frontier of the European Continent. The wild hordes that overran the Russian plain were brought to a standstill on the vast tracts of land between the Vistula and the Oder. When the final assault of the Osman power occurred, an army of 64,000 men under Sobieski defeated 300,000 Turks, and in September of the year 1683 the name of John, the King of Poland, was identified with that of John the Apostle, who had also come to save the world from the heathen.

A country with natural boundaries might have been able to bring about the necessary reforms and defend itself against foreign aggression. A country exposed on all sides to the attack of powerful neighbors was bound to suffer defeat in a struggle against Russia, Austria, and Prussia. Surrounded by two clever scoundrels (Frederick of Prussia and Catherine of Russia) and one wellintentioned but futile reformer, there was no hope for Poland. A few years after the establishment of the American Republic, Poland was quietly divided among her three neigh-

bors. The courage of the people in their last struggle for their independence was of no avail. Kosciuszko, in the fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul, could contemplate the days when he fought at Yorktown and Saratoga. The Polish nation ceased to exist.

An act more brutal in its coldblooded indifference to the rights of human beings has never been performed.

Then came the time of Napoleon. The same men who so cheerfully had crossed the ocean to fight for the liberty of the American colonies now took the side of the one nation which seemed to promise a redress of their abominable wrong. The devotion and the loyalty of the Polish armies, fighting for the French Emperor, were rewarded with callous indifference. Poland was used as a pawn upon the Napoleonic chessboard, to be sacrificed at will. When the Napoleonic power was overthrown Poland was once more treated as conquered territory by the victorious Allies. There followed a century of bloodshed. It is a well-established historical fact that no nation can be definitely conquered upon its own soil. It can be exterminated. But it cannot be subjugated.

The Polish people as an independent nation had ceased to exist. Polish national aspirations, however, were as vital as ever among the millions of men divided among three foreign nations like so much cattle.

Fifteen years after the Congress of Vienna the first revolution occurred. It was a failure, and on the 5th of October of the year 1831 the remains of the Polish army crossed into Prussia. There were the obligatory executions and confiscations, followed by the wholesale exile of the better elements of Polish society. A heartless reactionary system was introduced which tried to turn the country into a Russian province. The Polish language was forbidden. The few existing schools were closed. On the other side of the line the same thing happened by order of the Prussian Government. Whenever the situation became too unbearable, as it did in 1846 and 1848, there were small outbreaks. The gallows settled all such aspirations for a more human existence.

The union of Italy and the development of strong new nationalities out of the ill-assorted possessions of the Habsburg and Bourbon families gave the Poles hope of a better future. In November of 1860 and February of 1861 popular demonstrations in Warsaw indicated the trend of this feeling. The particularly brutal system of recruiting of the Russian Government in January of 1863 caused a new revolt. It was even less successful than that of 1831. Cossack fury hacked Chopin's piano to pieces and used ancient libraries for heating purposes. The dealers in rope once more did a thriving business, and in endless procession the Polish people wandered along the dismal roads which in Russia all lead to Siberia. The Code of Napoleon was abolished. Russian laws were instituted. Even the name of Poland must disappear and the new Vistula districts became an integral part of Russia.

It will not be necessary to say much of the last thirty years. With a semblance of autonomy in Austria, the fate of the Poles in Russia and Prussia was almost identical. On the one side of the line which divides their ancient country the Poles are treated with brutal stupidity. On

the other side with brutal cleverness. Those who have lived under both forms of oppressions know that there is little to choose between the two. And now we write the year 1916, and as unwilling recruits of all the armies the Poles are obliged to do murder upon their own brethren. The ancient Polish domains are destroyed. Nobody cares. What difference does it make? Burn down some villages and send the inhabitants to perdition. They are only Poles.

No longer is it necessary to send clothes for the small children of the Polish refugees. The small children have all died.

For over a century Europe and America have looked on with indifference at the destruction of a country to

which it owed the protection of its own civilization against the attacks of Asiatic savages. As long as order was established in Warsaw, Europe did not intend to listen to the wail of small children flogged because they refused to say their prayers in a foreign tongue.

When the present war is over, can the world allow the continuation of the most unpardonable crime of our history?

This is not an academic question. The answer will decide the fate of many generations to come. For there never can be a lasting peace until each racial unit be given free scope to develop its own powers and its own free will and to the best of its own ability.



## Remember Poland

(This eloquent editorial appeared in the CHICAGO HERALD.)

There is a powerful appeal in Senator Kern's resolution asking for a special day during the holidays when Poland's welfare may be considered.

The United States enjoys a national prosperity unparalleled. Poland, swept and reswept by mighty contending forces, is indeed bereft. Unless it be Serbia no nation in Europe has suffered as has Poland. None is more stricken. Rich and poor have paid a terrible penalty for a war which was not of their choosing.

So this suggested action, which has behind it all the force of a plea from the highest deliberative body in our land, cannot be denied. For some 1915 hastens to its end having bestowed undreamed of riches. For millions more Christmas has meant a relief from anxiety. For most Americans this closing year has brought bright hope.

Out of the great affluence which has come to the country, riches accumulated in no small way from Europe's losses, America can well afford to heed the anguish of poor Poland. In Serbia, in Belgium, already American generosity has built up a new respect and a new friendship for things trans-Atlantic. Poland now calls. The comfortable people of the United States will honor their nation by responding to the cry.

Remember Poland, the land which has contributed generously of its own stalwart sons and daughters to America's upbuilding. Remember Poland, the land of brave spirits, the country where freedom is a passion. Remember Poland, the land of Paderewski, of Leschetizky, of the wonderful musicians whose genius has made all the world a happier, more beautiful place. Great and humble are desolate now.



## Poland Shall Rise Again

POLAND, your star shall rise again,  
 If true to God and Rome;  
 For God will bless your faithful men,  
 Who love their native home.  
 The wicked flourish for a day,  
 In all their pride and crime;  
 Then like the chaff are swept away,  
 In God's avenging time.

What mighty empires rose and fell,  
 In ages long ago;  
 The names they bore, how few can tell,  
 Or where they flourished know!  
 The countries that to-day are great,  
 With armies, trained and strong;  
 Shall pass away, for such is fate,  
 With all their deeds of wrong.

POLAND, thy sons for ages stood  
 As soldiers of the Cross;  
 They were the bulwarks, strong and good,  
 Which saved the West from loss.  
 They beat the haughty Moslem host,  
 With Crescent high unfurled;  
 They humbled proud Mahomet's boast  
 And saved the Christian world.

POLAND, thou has been sorely tried,  
 By every kind of wrong;  
 From Russian greed and Prussian pride, —  
 God keep thee, firm and strong!  
 For faith and Fatherland unite,  
 In time you shall be free;  
 By union, you shall conquer might  
 And gain your liberty.

BR. THOMAS REILLY.

# The Present Political Aspect of the Ukraine

By JOHN S. FURROW



HE accepting by Ruthenia (toward the end of the 10th century) of the Greek form of Catholicism from Constantinople left its traces upon the development of its culture and progress. Under its influence the alphabet was formed, beginnings of Ruthenian literature were felt.

Such writers as Theodosius, Prince Vladimir Monomach (1053-1125), the chronicler Nestor (d. cc. 1114), Clemense Smolatic, Cyril Turowski (in the 12th century), the chronicles of Kieff (*Povist' vremennykh lit*), the *Pravda Ruska*, and Old-Ruthenian legal document, the poem, 'The Story of Igor's Regiment', the development of Ukrainian folk-lore, the interesting *dumy*, were important factors in keeping alive, even during the long periods of wholesale denationalization, Ukrainian traits and characteristics.

As in other instances, the peasant proved the conserving factor, and it was he who returned to the educated Ukrainian his lost language and restored his love therefor.

One of the first works of the new Ukrainian movement was a travesty, *Eneida*, by Ivan Kotlarewski (1769-1839—the father of modern Ukrainian literature. Again, Polish men of letters, enthusiastic over Ukrainian folk-lore, were instrumental in awakening the nationalistic consciousness of the average intelligent Ukrainian. Autonomous tendencies were given expression to by W. Poletka, while Peter Hulak-Artemowski, Gregory Kvitka-Osnovy-anenko, Ambrose Metlinski and Eugene Hrebinka did their share in attracting attention by their works to the melodiousness of the language.

But the real representative and creator of Ukrainian literature is that remarkable self-made genius, the real exponent of Ukrainian sorrows, joys, dreams and memories — Taras Shevchenko. With his poems, such as *Kobzar*, *Perebendia*, *Kateryna*, etc., Shevchenko (b. 1814), along with his followers, Pantalemon Kulisch and Nicholas Kostomaroff, played the leading role in the awakening of the Ukraine.

Furthermore, indefatigable workers for Ukrainian nationality, such as Schaskevich, Dragomanoff, numerous student circles and societies promoting and fostering Ukrainian aspiration, the various publication societies of Petrograd, Kieff and Chernihoff, aided in welding more or less the activity of Little Russians in nationalizing the masses.

Perhaps the movement is not so strong as generally believed, yet awakened consciousness is there, and the Poles cannot remain indifferent to Ukrainian hopes.

The Ukraine is thickly settled by Poles, and in the political field the two nationalities should work in harmony in their endeavor to reach the desired goal.

And what are the aims of the Ukrainian? Perhaps Ukrainian social democrats gave best expression to their aspirations. (See M. Porsch's "Pro autonomiju Ukrajiny"). A few years ago their nationalistic demands were formulated as follows:

We demand that real constitutional democracy be introduced into Russia. The Ukrainian language should be introduced in schools and institutions, in court and in office.

The Russian empire is immense, inhabited by many nationalities. It is difficult to rule such a conglomeration from the capital, and many needs of a people are thus never satisfied. Therefore, each country inhabited by a people must needs have its own national council which would take care of the needs of that country and enact local legislation. That means, these countries and peoples should be granted autonomy. The Ukraine must have such autonomy in order to progress with the rest of the people of Europe.

\* \* \*

The Ukrainian nationality, therefore, is not a temporary contraption, but well worthy of our serious attention. I for one welcome this new factor, ever growing in importance, in the affairs of Europe, just as I cheerfully welcome any event that tends to abolish the absolutism of the "Czar of all the Russias."



## Why Paderewski Plays Again

(From the CHICAGO HERALD)

Ignace Paderewski is returning to the concert stage, to which he bade farewell some time ago. Doubtless many will smile, more or less satirically, when they read the news.

By the power of his genius and through the universal admiration it excited the great pianist reaped golden harvests. When he retired he was more than a millionaire. His accumulations were close upon \$2,000,000.

But to-day Paderewski is so poor that he must go to work again. What has become of his ample fortune? Squandered? Lost in bad or foolish investments? Neither,

unless it be foolish to feel acutely a spectacle of human distress and spend all without sparing or thought of self to relieve it.

Paderewski has given away his whole fortune—every dollar he had—to help his stricken fellow Poles, to lift from them the crushing weight of war and famine. He has literally stripped himself for suffering Poland. He has "owned the ties of blood and race" as have few men.

Having given away all he had, Paderewski plays again that he may live, and still give to his native land's people.

## Reflections on the Polish Problem

(Concluded from p. 8)

the phalanx of Russian bureaucrats opposed tentative reforms. The Moukhanoffs, the Soukhosanets, the Gerstenzweigs, the Lueders played during the period 1861-1863 a role analogous to that of Novosiltzoff in 1815-1830.

In 1862, the way of concession was finally decided upon. The government committed a grave fault in entrusting the civil power to a man extremely unpopular in the country who bid defiance to public opinion by his open expressions of his contempt. During a year and a half of tergiversations on the part of the government, the ultra-republican party of "reds", which professed a complete mistrust in the government and which at the beginning was only in the minority, gained much prestige in the eyes of the people. The chief of the civil authorities wishing to annihilate their influence, found no better means than to decree the forcible and immediate enlistment of all those designated as "reds" upon a previously prepared list. This irrational measure, illegal and provocatory, was executed with premeditated precipitation and brutality. It would have been difficult to find a more efficacious means of bringing about a revolution. The revolution was quelled with extreme cruelty and brought in the ruin of the autonomy of the kingdom. Different would have been the turn of events if the reforms had been granted a year before, if the government had shown at the first the firm desire to realize them and maintain them without any policy or shuffling.

A half-century after the tragic failure of the reconstitution of autonomy, we come to the threshold of analogous effort. Of a more vast unfolding it comprises a territorial stretch extending virtually to all the former provinces of Poland, even to those to-day outside of Russian jurisdiction. The nation, which is there directly interested, has the right and duty seriously to examine the situation. It would be puerile and dangerous to treat this serious problem in a superficial manner, without reaching at the bottom of the question, through fear of hurting susceptibilities. On the contrary, it is necessary to foresee the obstacles to be surmounted and to give importance to all difficulties to be overcome. It is not the question of creating fleeting manifestations of enthusiasm, but of preparing and rendering possible a transformation of the existing state of things.

Though it be premature to enter into the details of future relations, one can say by this time in general that a "reconciliation" supposes the reconstitution of national rights, the return to justice and respect of the political individuality of a great nation. Since the beginning of the war, the assertion that unified Poland will recover its free and autonomous existence has become a truism proclaimed with emphasis by the statesmen and writers of all countries. As to the Polish nation, it is evident that the ultimate goal of its time-honored aspirations can be no other than the reunion of all its parts in a free and independent existence. This is only possible in a separate state or one united to another state on the express condition of reciprocally safeguarding their interior independence.

Another arrangement, such as local and limited autonomy, under a foreign government, would only be a partial and palliative solution of the national problem. It would determine a *modus vivendi*, preferable to the actual *statu quo*, without definitely solving the question in all its extent.

But then that this partial solution should effect an amelioration of the regime in force, this sort of autonomy must be real and not illusory.

But even limited autonomy implies a distinct administration and legislation, in the sufficiently vast sphere of internal affairs of the country.

Then, the national autonomy of Polish territory, whatever be its extent and sphere with regard to the state, would mean at all event the return to the Polonization of public life in all its fields, like that of Austrian Galicia, which possesses, by the way, a rather narrow and insufficient autonomy, in point of view of the sphere of the local authorities and their relation to the central government.

This then would be contrary to actual regime in force in the Kingdom of Poland.

This would be reduced, besides, to municipal and common councils discussing, under the surveillance of Russian employes, the question of improving the roads, bridges, pavements, sidewalks, etc. That is to say that all the governmental posts should in Poland return to the Poles. That would be calling them to the use of legislation, of administration, magistrates, of public instruction, treasury, communications, etc., after a half-century of banishment from these fields. It would mean also the grand exodus of Russian bureaucracy, actually living on the country. One should take account of the absolute necessity of this measure, for, if it were not taken, the autonomy so solemnly proclaimed and so frequently repeated, would become a word without meaning.

The number of Russian employes in the Kingdom of Poland was increased to an enormous proportion during the last half-century. At first the national institutions were suppressed and the governmental system Russified, then the Polish personnels gradually removed. After the returns of 1897, the number of state functionaries in the Kingdom of Poland is relatively much more considerable than in the other parts of Russia. The territory of European Russia surpasses fourfold that of the Kingdom, while the number of employes is only eleven times more than that of the Kingdom. In immense Siberia it does not come to half of that of the Kingdom. These thousands of bureaucrats form a phalanx of partisans convinced of the *statu quo*, so favorable to their interests. Moreover, this bureaucracy, placed at the confines of the state, is intimately connected by manifold bonds of interest, family, class solidarity with their confreres of the whole empire. They consider the whole country, before uniting with the empire, as a natural field of their future activity and an abundant source of appointments and revenues.

Undoubtedly there will be found, even among them, a certain number of men who understand that the interests of the Russian nation, as those of justice, are incompatible with the bureaucratic regime, but are they numerous?

Certain individuals may elevate themselves above the interests of their caste, but the great majority follows ever the path of immediate interest. *Senatores boni viri, senatus autem mala bestia.*

And so it is that before the serious problem of tomorrow the thought is directed to the past of a hundred years ago, evokes spontaneously the memory of the Russian rule — that great seducer of men and peoples, pronouncing in his seducing and wheedling voice: "It is necessary to juggle Poland into the hands of Russia."... These Russians, in the words of Alexander I, did not moreover represent the nation as a whole, but the high bureau-



cracy. Beside the latter, there is to-day, with greater reason than formerly, a considerable number of citizens, capable of discerning the whole abyss deepened between the high interests of the nation, of civilization and the narrow egoistic interests of a powerful caste. In this immense empire, of which the natural riches are in a great part lying fallow or exploited by foreigners, the candidates to state employ in Poland would abundantly find occasion for applying and utilizing for the profit of their own country their faculties and their work.

It is not that we doubt the sincerity of promises granted, or the good will and enlightened spirit of the friends of Poland in Russia, that we express these apprehensions. It is to cry out to the partisans of a just cause, that whatever be their nationality, including the Russian nationality, **caveant consules.**

And if the consuls, despite their vigilance and hopes, generally nourished, were unable to do anything? What then? Continue the state of oppression, which is a calamity for the oppressed, a misfortune and crime for the

oppressor? If the execution of the minimum national program would be revealed as utopian or as still more utopian than that of the maximum programme, what would be the reason for its adoption? In this case, it would be necessary to admire the perspicacity of the great French historian, who, in a deep study of the Napoleonic period, expresses the opinion that the partition of Poland alters and turns from its normal path the entire policy of Russia.

"The partition of Poland, in causing an insurrection of their victim to be dreaded by Russia, while troubling them with a fear as possessed as a remorse, is found in the origin of all those movements which hurled their policy outside of their natural paths. Let us herewith recognize this providential justice which, extricated sooner or later from events, knows how to overtake and strike the guilty." (A. Vandal.)

It belongs to the future to solve this serious problem and to find for it an equitable issue.



## Mayor's Edict Calls on Citizens to Aid Polish War Victims

Mayor Thompson issued the following proclamation for the day of Jan. 1, 1916:

Whereas, The President of the United States, in response to appeals directed to him and after due deliberation and investigation, has set aside Saturday, Jan. 1, 1916, as the day upon which charitably inclined persons are urged to contribute through the American Red Cross for the relief of the starving people of Poland, made destitute by the war now raging in Europe; and

Whereas, Conditions in this unfortunate country are such that hundreds of thousands are destitute, without food or clothing, and must die of want unless relief reaches them speedily;

Therefore, I, William Hale Thompson, urge that at

this time, when so many blessings have been showered upon the people of Chicago, they recognize the dire need of this suffering nation and give from their abundance as freely as their means may permit.

The people of this city should not be unmindful of the important part that has been taken in its upbuilding by the great number of Polish citizens, who have been active in its progress and willing at all times to strive for its advancement.

Subscriptions should be sent to the Red Cross Society, 112 West Adams street.. Any subscription sent in care of this office will be forwarded.

WILLIAM HALE THOMPSON, Mayor."



PRZEMYŚL—POWDER WORKS

# Poland—the Key to Peace

(From the CHICAGO HERALD)

N. L. Piotrowski, the CHICAGO HERALD'S commissioner, has returned to America from seven months' tour of investigation of the plight of war-ravaged Poland. He has seen all parts of the country save the section that was within the German military lines from Warsaw westward. The Berlin authorities were apparently fearful of letting him see the workings of "kultur" there.

If the pledges of statesmen mean anything happier days are in store for the Poles after the war, if any Poles are left alive in Poland. Mr. Piotrowski found in every capital—barring Berlin, where he was denied opportunity even to present Poland's cause—a conviction that all efforts to absorb the Poles into any of the neighboring nations had failed, and the only final settlement that would assure the future peace of Europe must include either the

complete extinction of the Poles, as Turkish-German policy has attempted the extinction of the Armenians, or permission to the Poles to reunite with some degree of self-government.

The real question is whether any Poles will be left alive in Poland when the war ends. At present the Poles are between the upper and nether millstones of Germany's need to feed her soldiers and of England's need to keep food from reaching the German army. It should be possible to make some such arrangement as was made in the case of Belgium. Our own government will, of course, do all it can to promote such an arrangement. The Americans of Polish blood are straining every resource to help Poland. They are appealing for help to all other Americans, and the response should be as generous as the need is appalling.



HENRYK SIENKIEWICZ—The Author of *Quo Vadis*

## Kościuszko—the Lover of Liberty

In Washington and Kosciuszko America and Poland meet for the first time. It was in the memorable year of 1776 that Kosciuszko embarked for America. Letters of recommendation from Benjamin Franklin obtained for him a colonel's commission, Oct. 18, 1776. He was attached to General Gate's army in northern New York. The excellent strategic position taken by the American army at Bemis Heights, near Saratoga, was largely planned by Kosciuszko. Engaged as chief engineer in constructing the fortifications at West Point, he later became adjutant to General Washington. In 1780-81 he served under General Greene in the South, and after the conclusion of peace received the thanks of Congress with the brevet of brigadier-general and became a member of the Society of the Cincinnati. He returned to Poland in 1786.

When the Poles rose in arms against the foreign oppressors, in 1794, Kosciuszko was made Dictator, and on April 4th, with about 4,000 peasants, mostly armed

with scythes, he defeated the army of 61,000 Russians, on their way to Cracow, at Raclawice. Defeated at Szczekociny, June 6, 1794, he retreated to Warsaw, which he successfully defended against the enemy: in the darkest hours of Poland's cause he was proof against the most tempting proposals on the part of the Prussian King.

He visited the United States in 1797, and received a pension and a grant of land, but returned to Europe after the passage of the Alien Act by Congress. He refrained from taking an active part in the Napoleonic war. In 1814 he entreated the emperor Alexander to grant an amnesty to the Poles in foreign countries, and to make himself constitutional King of Poland. Following in the footsteps of Washington he released from servitude, in 1817, the peasants on his own estate in Poland. His remains were removed to Cracow and were laid by the side of those of Jan Sobieski. Upon a small hill in the suburbs of Cracow there stands a cairn, called in Polish *Kopiec Kosciuszki*, built up of stones brought together by his countrymen from all parts of Poland.



PADEREWSKI—THE POLISH ALMONER

# Freed Poland—Redmond's Hope

(N. L. Piotrowski in the CHICAGO HERALD)

While in London in January I said to my friend, the Rev. Dr. Murphy, noted writer and lecturer, that I would like to see John Redmond, the Irish leader. He suggested that we go to the House of Commons. That was the day parliament opened after the Christmas holidays.

Through the courtesy of William O'Malley, member for Connemara, we were given good seats in the visitor's gallery. Dr. Murphy pointed out to me the various ministers and prominent members of the house.

"And there is John Redmond", he said, pointing to a man sitting in the left-hand corner. I recognized him at once from his picture. Anybody would easily pick him out. His sharp aquiline face and his all-covering eye seemed to dominate the situation.

The debate was in full swing, and a hot one it was. They were discussing the military compulsion bill which Mr. Asquith had introduced. The labor members were noisy, but their cheers were answered by counter-cheers from the Tory benches. Only the Irish were quiet, sure of their position and sure of the situation. At the psychological moment Mr. Redmond's lieutenant, John Dillon, well-known Chicago lawyer, jumped and said:

"It is well that the scope of this bill does not take in Ireland, for it is an insult to an Irishman to say that he must be compelled to join in a fight. The Irish have given more than their quota to the army."

The house rang with cheers. The whole Irish position was put in a few words. The exclusion of Ireland was a tribute to the whole-hearted way in which she had joined in the war.

I met Mr. Redmond and Mr. Dillon and Mr. Devlin and other members in the lobby after the debate. Mr. O'Malley introduced me and they received me cordially. All are whole-heartedly with Poland and they listened with interest to my story of the conditions in Poland. It is a story with which Irishmen have been long familiar. They speak of Poland as of another Ireland.

Mr. Redmond kindly arranged for a special interview with me the next afternoon.

I was sorry that I did not meet T. P. O'Connor, who is a great friend of Poland. He is at the front.

It may be well to say a word about my personal impression of Mr. Redmond. He is of low stature, but well set and with a remarkable head. He is strong in every sense of the word, yet is one of the affable and kind. It is a mistake to think of him as the Irish fighter who stands aloof from all the English members. Standing in the lobby one sees him conversing freely and good-naturedly with his English opponents. They admire him. He is able and honest, they say, and knows what he wants. A few months ago when the coalition cabinet

was formed he was asked to be a member of it, but refused, because the members of the Irish party take a pledge that they would accept no position under an English government until Ireland has home rule.

Yet it cannot be denied that the refusal of Mr. Redmond came as a disappointment to the masses of the English people. Of that I was assured in several quarters.

In times of great national stress the English have always turned to the Irish to help them. Nearly all their military generals and the war minister himself are Irish.

The English people look upon Mr. Redmond as one of the few remaining types of the great statesman. They would feel much more at ease were they to see him a member of the cabinet, for they know they could point to a man that no consideration could swerve from the path of duty. I was told this in English circles, even in circles which have no sympathy with Ireland's claims.

Mr. Redmond received me the next day in one of the anterooms of the house. Though busy, he listened for a long time to all I had to say about Poland.

"One hundred and fifty years ago", I told him, "Poland was robbed of her independence as Ireland was robbed of hers. Russia and Germany were the two great oppressors of Poland. Austria treated the Poles under her rule during the last fifty years with fairness, yet the Poles are not with Austria. Why? Because she permitted herself to be used as a tool of Germany. The Poles know that if Germany should win this war it would be the death knell of liberty in Europe and a triumph of military despotism. As for the freedom of Poland, there could not be the least hope. The sympathies of the Poles are not so much for Russia as for the ideal for which the allies are fighting, namely, liberty—liberty of oppressed nations as well as individual liberty.

"Is it the same with Ireland? I asked.

"Certainly. Ireland feels that in this war she is fighting, not for England alone, but for the civilization of Europe, the liberty of all oppressed nations and against military tyranny", answered Mr. Redmond.

"Russia has promised Poland her independence", I continued, "and England has granted home rule to Ireland. Both are to be put into action after the war. Since both Poland and Ireland are distinct nations in Europe, do you not think that both questions ought to be treated internationally?"

"I certainly do", replied Mr. Redmond.

"Should, for instance, pressure be brought upon Russia from outside nations not to carry out her promise to grant Poland freedom, would the voice of Ireland's representatives be raised against the crime?" I asked.

"Yes, it certainly would."

"Do you believe England will support the cause of Poland and insist on the liberation of Poland as one of the conditions of peace?" I asked.

"Yes, I do," he replied. "The liberation of the oppressed nations is the great ideal for which England is fighting in this war."

"What are your reasons for opposition to the military compulsion bill? Is not Ireland wholeheartedly in the war on the side of England?"

"Ireland is so wholeheartedly in this war that she needs no compulsion", was Mr. Redmond's reply.

I may add here that Mr. Redmond's son and his brother are in the trenches fighting for the cause of the allies. When the compulsion bill was voted upon and Ireland was excluded I thought of Poland and, comparing the two nations, I could not help envying Ireland's position. Aside from the fact that Poland has been reduced to ashes, over 1,500,000 of her sons are compelled by law to fight in the ranks of the opposing armies and to kill

one another for the cause of their oppressors. And I wondered whether the Irish people fully appreciated their good fortune.

During the debates in the house I was greatly interested watching the ministers interrogated by members on various topics. Mr. Lloyd-George was mostly interrogated. It seemed to me this was the proper way of doing the business.

The ministers who are nothing but managers of their respective departments and whose duty it is to execute the will of parliament, ought to be present in the house when legislation is considered to furnish such information as the members need for their proper guidance. But there is no doubt in my mind that the ministers are often compelled to answer a lot of foolish questions. And I am afraid if that practice were introduced in our Congress and state legislatures, our secretaries and legislators would have no time for anything else. The theory seems to be right, but hardly practicable in our country.

## A VIEW OF CRACOW, THE POLISH CAPITAL



THE VAVEL ON THE VISTULA—WITH FORTIFICATIONS,  
PALACE AND CATHEDRAL

# Thanking the Chicago Herald

The Press Committee of the Polish National Council of America have sent several letters of appreciation to the office of the CHICAGO HERALD.

The first letter reads as follows:

Chicago, Feb. 3, 1916.

Editor Chicago Herald: —

When huge alliances engage in war, the lesser nationalities are the inevitable sufferers.

Thus, Poland finds its villages razed to the ground, its millions of people reduced to extreme poverty and starvation, its million men killed or wounded, its children under seven years of age gone from this vale of tears.

We cannot remain indifferent to this terrible tragedy enacted in Poland. All means of expression should be utilized to bring its enormity before the forum of the world.

And it must be noted that the Chicago Herald has endeared itself to lovers not only of Poland, but of all humanity by its so frequent articles on Poland — its past and present.

Thomas Campbell's concluding lines on Poland read thus: "Her (Poland's) praise upon my faltering lips expires; resume it, younger bards and nobler lyres! And it is the CHICAGO HERALD which has so nobly "resumed her praise" and in the English speaking world proved a most worthy successor to Thomas Campbell — that ardent friend of Ireland and Poland — of all oppressed nationalities.

May the CHICAGO HERALD continue its great work. Its wide publicity on behalf of Poland will in part at least tend to alleviate the general suffering in Poland.

Respectfully,

K. WACHTEL,

Chairman of the Press Committee of the  
Polish National Council of America.  
1455 W. Division St., Chicago, Ill.

\* \* \*

The second letter follows:

Chicago, Feb. 1st, 1916.

Editor, Chicago Herald: —

Unhappy is the faith of marginal nations in this day of international conflicts. The plight of Poland, a country which is being crushed between the millstones of contending powers, is a motive great enough, an emergency large enough to move the whole world into words of compassion and, what is more, into acts of benevolence, humanity, charity.

And it must be pointed out that it is the CHICAGO HERALD which has done more than its share in present-

ing the conditions, obtaining in Poland, to the American public.

Also, impartial and correct has been its attitude with regard to the Polish question. Its despatching Mr. N. L. Piotrowski to Europe, its wide publicity of any humanitarian move on behalf of unfortunate Poland, its frequent editorials correctly stating the status of Polish nationality, its hopes and aspirations, have all emphasized the noble attitude taken by the Chicago Herald; namely, that it is meet and just to speak of Poland because she "asks nothing for herself but what she has a right to ask for humanity itself".

The Chicago Herald has earned the gratitude of the entire Polish people. The various Polish organizations or societies should adopt — for this letter is much too feeble a token of appreciation — one resolution of thanks after another to be sent to the office of the Chicago Herald — this so true friend not only of Poland, but of all oppressed nationalities.

Respectfully,

IZA POBOG,

Member of the Press Committee of the  
Polish National Council of America.

984 Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Ill.

\* \* \*

The third letter, by the president of the Polish National Council, follows:

Chicago, Feb. 3rd, 1916.

Editor, Chicago Herald: —

Poland is the principal sufferer in the great conflict now in progress. The tragedy is enhanced by the fact that Poles are compelled to engage in a fratricidal conflict and to fight in the interest of foe and oppressor.

Of the American press the CHICAGO HERALD has been the most indefatigable exponent of Poland's plight, hopes and aspirations. Imbued with the spirit of fair play and love for truth, the Herald went to the extent of sending their own representative, an American of Polish descent, Mr. N. L. Piotrowski, on a tour of investigation of the conditions in that war-stricken land.

Verily, the Chicago Herald has more than earned the gratitude of us who are keenly interested in the conditions in Poland. And may we on more than one occasion express our thanks to what constitutes one of the greatest, squarest and cleanest newspapers in the United States.

Respectfully,

S. ADAMKIEWICZ,

Pres. Polish National Council of America.  
984 Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Ill.

## Paderewski's Plea

Paderewski again made a powerful plea for Poland. He spoke and he played — and as a result the Polish Relief Fund swelled by \$40,000.

The greatest pianist's reference to lack of preparedness as the cause of Poland's downfall as a nation was greeted with prolonged applause. Paderewski's words were:

"Poland fell because her enemies were numerous, needy and unscrupulous!

"Poland fell because she was generous, trustful and weak!

"Poland fell because she had no permanent army to defend her possessions!"

The audience which heard the address filled Chicago Auditorium. It was enthusiastic with its applause and generous with its money. W. O. Gorski, private secretary to Mr. Paderewski, estimated net receipts at \$40,000.

This is nearly \$20,000 in excess of the amount raised in New York and is the largest sum for Polish relief raised in America.

The amount included general admissions, premiums on boxes, receipts from the sale of Mme. Paderewski's dolls, pictures of the pianist, programs, Polish emblem buttons and gifts.

Paderewski's address was no less successful than his rendition of the program of music by the Polish master, Chopin. He spoke slowly, earnestly, vehemently, shouting out his climaxes in a voice that shook with emotion.

"Those of you who came expecting me to make sensational charges of cruelties and atrocities will be disappointed", he said. "I shall accuse nobody. I shall make no complaints.

"My errand is not of hatred, but of love. I come not to excite passion but to awake compassion. It is a difficult painful, sometimes humiliating, task —I come to ask aid for Poland."

Only once during his address was there any evidence of bitterness in his words. It was when, after picturing the relentless, endless surge of armies back and forth through Poland, he spoke of the confiscation of food, works of art and records of early Polish achievements.

"What is left now for Poland?" — he cried. "Not even her children. All the little ones under 7 years are gone —starved, dead, their very food con-

fiscated—as the operation diplomatically is called when performed by an overwhelming political force!"

Pacing nervously back and forth, his slender figure poised in an attitude of intense energy, the great pianist retraced Poland's tragic history.

"What is Poland now?" he asked. "It is to a degree only a memory. It is a vast desert, an immense ruin, a colossal cemetery. It is dead, fallen.

"But don't think that Poland fell alone. With her fell the honor of three monarchies. With her independence fell the conscience of civilized Europe.

"And these nations will not cleanse themselves until her freedom is restored again!"

The members of the Chicago branch of the National American Committee, which shares with Paderewski the honor of having collected Chicago's huge contribution yesterday are:

- James A. Patten, chairman.
- James B. Forgan, treasurer.
- John Dorr Bradley, secretary.
- Arthur T. Aldis.
- John F. Smulski.
- Mrs. John F. Smulski.
- Mrs. T. B. Blackstone.
- Mrs. Emmons Blaine.
- Judge J. M. Dickinson.
- Kellog Fairbank.
- Mrs. Kellog Fairbank.
- David R. Forgan.
- Charles L. Hutchinson.
- Harry Pratt Judson.
- Mrs. Bryan Lathrop.
- Roy McWilliams.
- Mrs. Roy McWilliams.
- Arthur Meeker.
- Henry J. Patten.
- Mrs. Robert W. Patterson.

Martin A. Ryerson.  
A. A. Sprague II.  
Mrs. George A. Carpenter.  
The treasurer's address is First National Bank.

\* \* \*

According to W. O. Gorski, Paderewski's secretary, the Polish fund was increased by \$40,000 at the Chicago concert, Feb. 6.

Of the total, \$20,771.56 represented contributions and pledges, Mrs. John Borden, chairman of the pledge committee, announced after the concert. The concert netted about \$8,500.

Paderewski donated his services and would accept no remuneration even for his expenses.

Here are some of the largest gifts which helped to make up the \$40,000 fund:

Mrs. R. T. Crane Jr.....	\$2,500
Anonymous friend .....	2,500
Anonymous contributor .....	1,000
Polish National Alliance .....	1,000
Polish Roman Catholic Union ..	1,000
A. Robson .....	200
Roy McWilliams .....	200
Anonymous friend .....	200
Chauncey Keep .....	100
Waclaw Perlowski .....	100
Charles L. Hutchinson .....	100
John A. Spoor .....	200
William R. Linn .....	100
Mrs. Francis T. Junkin .....	100
Arthur Meeker .....	100
A. A. Sprague II .....	100
G. F. Swift Jr. ....	100

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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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