

FREE POLAND

A SEMI-MONT

The Truth About Poland and Her People

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Vol. II.—No. 17

MAY 16, 1916

5 Cents a Copy



WŁADYSŁAW ŁOKIETEK REIGNED FROM 1306 TO 1333

THE LOWER SCENE DEPICTS HIS HIDING IN CAVES BEFORE HIS ACCESSION TO THE THRONE OF POLAND.

The Conditions in Russian Poland

This letter graphically depicts the tragic conditions in Russian Poland. We are quite sure that Mrs. Turczynowicz has an important message to the Polish relief agencies of Chicago. They should communicate with her at once.

745 Riverside Drive,
New York City,
22, III, '16.

To the Editor —

Dear Sir —

Having escaped with my life from Suwalki, Russian Poland, I wish to ask you if you do know my husband, "Inzynier" Stanisław Turczynowicz, or at least his literary work. At one time, from 1906 to (I think) 1910, he was a professor in the University of Cracow, though a Russian subject from Lublin. When our little twin sons were born, we were forced to live in Russian Poland, after they were two years old—otherwise we could get no papers for them, and they could inherit nothing. My husband was called to Petrograd to the Department of Agriculture, the minister being his chief—and was the only Pole occupying such a high position. He had under his direction all the engineers of the Suwalki and Lomza Governments.

We were just in the worst possible place, when the war came. There are different things better not put on paper, which, however, the Poles should know.

When the Russians were in Galicia, my husband had the post of first engineer—sanitary not military — and certainly was able to help his poor countrymen very much. We organized in those governments the Polish Red Cross, of which I am a sister and did all one could do to help the unfortunate — the civil population. At the first evacuation of Suwalki, September, 1914, I took my children (a girl Wanda, six, twin boys, Stanislaw and Wladyslaw, five) together with thirty-two wounded soldiers in a cattle car to Vilna—also as many people as possible, servants, too. We have (or had) a house in Warsaw, and attempted to live there, but when the first battle of Warsaw began, we took the children to Vitebsk.

Stopped there until Feb. 1st, 1915, when we were told all was safe in Suwalki, schools opened, etc. We arrived at Suwalki the fourth of February, and the eighth the order came to evacuate! My boys were not well, so I insisted on my husband's going on to Warsaw where he had an important meeting of the Polish committee — and that was the last time I saw him. My boys had that awful soldiers' "typhus", such a dreadful disease, and were in an unconscious condition when the Germans came. My little daughter also caught it, and I was alone. No doctor—no help — no food! This happened on the 11th of Feb., 1915. What I went through in the months from that date until Sept. 12th — when they let me go alone with my three children — makes a story to make one understand what it means to be a Pole—as I am, if love for them and pity for their sufferings could make me one. What they suffer! I only got away finally by insisting that I was an American subject before my marriage. They knew all about us, almost more than I did myself. I hope some time to tell you how they took all, all from everybody — the poor peasants lost all their grains, seed, potatoes, etc. They made them buy them back at 25 marks a measure, and when the harvest time came, forbade them dig a potato, or pluck a measure of beans. There was money and all other things sent to me, but it got all lost between Berlin and Suwalki! — My poor husband almost went mad and when I heard from him here in New York — which was the only place — I was allowed to go to — I found he was in the Russian army corps of sanitary engineers, as there was trouble for him when I got caught. I have no hope of helping those poor people as long as they are under the present conditions, though where the Austrians are, I am sure it is better, but it is my desire to help them when this dreadful war is over. I think and know — everything sent now is simply taken by the military.

I wish to help and purpose taking a trip to Chicago to talk it over. I speak Polish, of course.

Most sincerely,

LAURA DE TURCZYNOWICZ.

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An Appeal for Poland

Serbia and Belgium have been unfortunate victims in this great war. The sympathy of the world has gone out to them. But there is a third victim who is denied the consolation of fighting directly for her fatherland—and that is Poland. Maurice Maeterlinck penned an eloquent appeal for Poland. It appeared in the *New York American*.

The allies have entered into a solemn compact that none of them will conclude a separate peace. They undertook recently, by an equally irrevocable convention, that they would not lay down their arms "until Belgium was delivered."

These two acts, one of prudence, the other of elementary justice, appear at first sight superfluous. Yet they were necessary. It is well that nations, even more than men, because their conscience is less stable, should secure themselves against the mistakes and weakness and ingratitude which too often accompany strife and which even more often follow victory.

To-morrow they will do for Serbia what they have done in the case of Belgium; but there is a third victim, of whom too little is said, who has the same rights as the other two; and to forget her would forever stain the honor and justice of those who took up arms only in the name of justice and honor.

I need not recall the fate of Poland. It is in certain respects more tragic and more pitiful than that of Belgium or Serbia. She had not even the opportunity to choose between dishonor and annihilation.

Three successive acts of injustice, which were, until to-day, the most shameful recorded by history, deprived her of the glory of that heroic choice which she would have made in the same spirit, for she had already thrice made it in the past, a choice which this day sustains and consoles her two martyred sisters in their profoundest tribulations. It would be too unjust if an ancient injustice, which even yet weighs upon the memory and the conscience of Europe, should become the sole reason of yet a last iniquity, which this time would be inexpiable.

True, the Grand Duke Nicholas made noble and generous promises to Poland, and these promises were repeated at the opening of the Duma. This is good and shows the irresistible force of the awakening conscience of a great empire; but it is not enough.

Such promises involve only those who make them; they do not bind a nation. We will not insult Russia by doubting her intentions; but among all the certainties which history teaches us there is one that has been ac-

quired once and for all; and this is that in politics and international morality intentions count for nothing and that a promise, made by no matter what nations will be kept only if those who make it also render it impossible for themselves to do otherwise than keep it.

For the rest, the question at present is not one of intentions, nor confidence, nor pity, nor even of interest. Others have spoken and will speak again, better than I could, of Poland's terrible distress and of the danger, which is far more formidable and far more imminent than is generally believed, of those German intrigues which are seeking to seduce from us and, despite themselves, to turn against us twenty millions of desperate people and nearly a million soldiers, who will die, perhaps, rather than join our enemies, but who, in any case, cannot fight in our ranks as they would have done had the word for which they are waiting in their anguish been spoken before it was too late.

But however grave the peril, we are, I repeat, far less concerned with the question of justice. Poland has an absolute and sacred right to be treated even as the other two victims of this war of justice. She is their equal, she is of the same rank and on the same level. She has suffered what they have suffered, for the same cause, in the same spirit, and with the same heroism; and if she has not done what the two others have done it is because only the ingratitude of all those whom she had more than once saved, together with one of the greatest crimes in history, prevented her from doing so.

It is time for the Europe of to-day to repair the iniquity committed by the Europe of other days. We are nothing, we are no better than our enemies, we have no title to deliver millions of innocent men to death, unless we stand for justice. The idea of justice alone must rule all that we undertake, for we are united, we have risen and we exist only in its name.

At this moment we occupy all the pinnacles of this justice, to which we have brought such an impulse, such sacrifices and such heroism as we shall perhaps never behold again.

We shall never rise higher; let us then form at this present time resolutions which will forbid us to descend, and Europe would descend to a depth greater than was hers in the unpardonable hour of the partition of Poland, did she not before all else repair the immense fault which she committed when she had not yet discovered her conscience and did not yet know what she knows to-day.

MAURICE MAETERLINCK.

That Famous Example of National Regeneration

JOHAN Sobieski was the last of Poland's great warriors and conquerors, the last of Europe's knights in the true sense of the word, the last king Poland can boast of as adding glory to her escutcheon. After his death the kingdom's power steadily declined through ceaseless dissensions among the nobility and through interference of Russia and Prussia. Especially the reigns of the Saxon electors, Augustus II. and III. were marked by the growth of Russian influence, which eventually under Stanislaw Poniatowski, the last king of Poland, completely guided, through the crafty policy of Empress Catherine, the destinies of Poland.

The Partitional Diet held after the first dismemberment of Poland in 1773, was controlled by Catherine. Two enactments of this body were noteworthy, as they seemed to open an era of progress for the unhappy country; namely, the so called "Perpetual Council" (Rada Nieustająca) and the Commission of Education.

While the attention of Russia temporarily was drawn elsewhere, the "Perpetual Council", headed by King Poniatowski, received into its fold men who were unselfishly concerned about the future welfare of Poland. The Council discharged its functions wisely, commerce and the various industries were beginning to develop, progress was evident in all fields of endeavor, while the work of education was taken up by the famous Commission on Education.

The Commission, appointed in 1773, included such leaders as Ignatius Potocki, Adam Czartoryski, Andrew Zamoyski, Michael Poniatowski, Gregory Piramowicz, John and Andrew Sniadeccy. The Commission started a public school system and secularized the schools of the Jesuits, whose order shortly before had been abolished by Pope Clement XIV. Under the influence of this educational body the universities of Cracow and Vilna were awakened into centers of true learning and progress. The Commission started high schools in the leading towns, took under its wing the country schools, and established institutions for the training of efficient teachers in the larger cities.

Poland was gradually extricating herself from the arms of the Russian government, national enthusiasm ran high and knew no bounds, when the memorable Constitution of the Third of May was proclaimed to the nation in 1791.

The leaders in this novel and exceedingly progressive movement were Stanislaw Malachowski, Hugo Kollataj and Ignatius Potocki, men of sterling worth and capacity. The Constitution of the Third of May established absolute religious toleration and made every citizen equal before the law. It established a hereditary limited monarchy. The Constitution mitigated the system of serfdom which in time was to be abolished entirely. The Constitution did away with all class distinctions and extended franchise to the towns. The "liberum veto", a policy by means of which one member could disrupt the proceedings of the Diet, was for ever abolished.

Russia well feared the growing importance of Poland. What with founding a hereditary dynasty and carrying out the articles of the Constitution, — designated by Russia as "a dangerous novelty" — Poland, it was

feared, might once more become a considerable power. Russia, however, had not long to wait for an opportunity to interfere with the progress of Poland.

Interior quarrels and discord broke out again, and in 1792 a confederacy was formed to overthrow the new order of things and to restore the old constitution. Russia declared war on Poland, and the Prussian king, in order to furnish another example of "honesty" among nations, violated all his promises and oaths made to Poland. Poland was left alone to cope with her powerful enemy. The result was that the little army of Joseph Poniatowski and Thaddeus Kosciuszko was forced to retire, while the king was compelled to accede to the wishes of the confederacy, which was hostile to the true interests of Poland. The Constitution of the Third of May was abolished, and Poland was stricken off the political map of Europe in 1795.

* * *

The Constitution, remarkable as it was, came too late — Poland fell a prey to organized neighborly greed.

"The Constitution", says Sir James MacKintosh in his review of Rulhiere's famous book, "confirmed the rights of the established church, together with religious liberty, as dictated by the charity which religion inculcates and inspires. It established an hereditary monarchy in the electoral house of Saxony, reserving to the nation the right of choosing a new race of kings, in case of the extinction of that family. The executive power was vested in the king, whose ministers were responsible for its exercise. The legislature was divided into two houses, the Senate, and the House of Nuncios, with respect to whom, the ancient constitutional language and forms were preserved. The necessity of unanimity was taken away, and, with it, those dangerous remedies of confederation and confederate diets which it had rendered necessary. Each considerable town received new rights, with a restoration of all their ancient privileges. The burgesses recovered the right of electing their own magistrates. All their property within their towns were declared to be inheritable and inviolable. They were empowered to acquire land in Poland, as they always had in Lithuania. All the offices of the state, the law, the church, and the army, were thrown open to them. The larger towns were empowered to send deputies to the Diet, with a right to vote on all local and commercial subjects and to speak on all questions whatsoever. All these deputies became noble, as did every officer of the rank of captain, and every lawyer who filled the humblest office of Magistracy, and every burgess who acquired a property in land, paying 5 L. of yearly taxes. Two hundred burgesses were ennobled at the moment, and a provision was made for ennobling thirty at every future Diet. Industry was perfectly unfettered. Every man might freely exercise any trade.

"The ancient privilege of the Polish nobility, that they should not be arrested till after conviction, was extended to the burgesses; a most inconvenient privilege, but of which the extension was peculiarly well adapted to raise the traders to a level with the gentry. The same object was promoted by a provision, that no nobleman by becoming a merchant, a shopkeeper, or artisan, should

forfeit his privileges, or be deemed to derogate from his rank. Numerous paths to nobility were thus thrown open. Every art was employed to make the ascent easy. Even the abusive privileges of the higher class were bestowed on the lower. A temptation was held out to the indigent nobility to remove prejudice against industrious occupations, by embracing them; the burgesses would very shortly be ennobled in considerable numbers; while, on the other hand, the substantial rights of nobility were taken away from a great part of the nobles, by the limitation of the elective franchise to the landholders. No better expedient for blending the two orders could be imagined. The only mode of raising the lower class, was to bestow on them a share in the honor and estimation immemorially enjoyed by the higher. Such institutions must have gradually blended these hitherto discordant orders into one mass. The barriers which separated the different classes of society would have been broken down. The wisdom and liberality of the Polish Gentry, if they had not been defeated by atrocious and flagitious enemies, would, by a single act of legislation, have accomplished that fusion of the various orders of society, which it required the most propitious circumstances, in a long course of ages, to effect, in the freest and most happy of the European nations.

"Having thus communicated political privileges to hitherto disregarded freemen, the Diet of Poland did not neglect to pave the way for the final communication of personal liberty to serfs. The constitution extended to all serfs the full protection of law, which before was enjoyed by those of the royal demesnes; and it facilitated and encouraged voluntary manumission, by ratifying all contracts relating to it—the first step in every country towards the accomplishment of the abolition of slavery — the highest of all the objects of human legislation, but perhaps also that to which the road is steepest and most rough.

"The effect of this glorious revolution was not dishonored by popular tumult, by sanguinary excesses, by political executions. So far did the excellent Diet carry their wise regard to the sacredness of property, that, though they were in urgent need of financial resources, they postponed, till after the death of present incumbents the application to the relief of the State of the income of those ecclesiastical offices which were no longer deemed necessary for the purposes of religion. History will one day do justice to that illustrious body, and hold out to posterity, as the perfect model of a most arduous reformation, that revolution which fell to the ground from no want of wisdom on their part, but from the irresistible power and detestable wickedness of their enemies."

* * *

For over a century the Poles both in Russian and German Poland were forbidden to celebrate the anniversary of the granting of the Polish constitution by

King Stanislaus Augustus. The Germans, occupying Russian Poland, have recently, by way of contrast, allowed the Poles to celebrate by a public demonstration.

Dispatches from Warsaw to the Overseas News Agency report that the celebration, which took place May 3, was begun with high mass at the Johannes cathedral, at which Archbishop Kakowski officiated, and was continued with a civic procession in which about 250,000 people participated, the line of march leading through the principal streets and the parade continuing for five hours. Catholic and Protestant clergymen and Jewish rabbis, with veterans of the revolution of 1863, participated in the demonstration.

In all the towns of Poland under German occupation similar celebrations were held.

"This was the first time since 1815 that the Poles had been permitted to celebrate the anniversary", says the News agency report. "Poles who attempted such celebration before were arrested and sent to Siberia. A deputation from a committee thanked Gov. von Beseler for the permission he had given to hold the celebration."

Permission has been given doubtless to conciliate Polish public opinion as against Russia, though it must be noted that Poles in German Poland are strictly forbidden to indulge in any such patriotic celebrations.

Every Pole hopes to see such celebrations, in the near future, in his fatherland not under German or Russian occupation, but under his own Polish government. The **Independence of Poland** is the goal desired.

"We are convinced", Henryk Sienkiewicz recently said, "that this war will give us what we so much desire: independence. It is an absolute necessity for Europe that the Poles be allowed to develop as a nation, under a Polish government. We are a people of 25,000,000 individuals and we are the most typical Slavic race. We are the most Slavic of all the Slavs. Our civilization is the most ancient; our university, founded by Casimir the Great in 1364, was the first Slavic university of Europe. It is we who during the long centuries were in the East the rampart of civilization. We possess a beautiful literature, a glorious past, while our national aspirations are noble and justifiable.

"Without wishing to diminish whatever be the demands of other nationalities, I hope you will pardon me for putting those of the Polish people in the first place. The Albanians, who are tenfold inferior to us in numbers, have been treated with particular regard by the big powers. They have promised them independence and autonomy. We are not jealous of them, but let them permit us to hope that the realization of our ideal is next, and we expect that our neighbors in Europe as well as the Americans will sympathize with us and rejoice over the renaissance of Poland."

Russian Opinion

Sturmer, president of the council of Russian ministers, said to the representative of the French paper **Journal:**

"The perfect loyalty of the Poles is known to us. The bravery of the Polish soldiers, who, mobilized during the first months of the war, are actually fighting in our ranks, only equals the unshaken fidelity to the cause of Slavdom of the population resident in the invaded territory.

"That is why I repeat to our Polish brethren: Be quiet, the promises given will be carried out without restriction. The policy of the government can be only one of honor and loyalty."

In practice the promises took an entirely different turn. Maklakoff, leader of the liberal party, amid almost unanimous applause, expressed himself in the Duma as follows:

"We consider the actual government a relic of men of the former regime who led us to defeat. It is not at all a mystery, gentlemen. You have only to look at what they do to understand that all our failures were not at all accidental, that they are a direct consequence of the duplicity of their role. This war had an ideal; we all know it, and it is this ideal which was its force. It is what drew to Russia the sympathy of her former enemies; it was expressed in the proclamation of the Grand Duke. They said to Poland: "We shall repair the great historical crime. Rise, Poland, revive!" Yes, the good news spread everywhere, we welcomed it with joy, but, for the men of the ancient order, for the authorities, there was a danger only too evident. Poland was the paradise of the Russificatory tchinovniks; the struggle against everything Polish was their special field. In order to humiliate the Poles, they reserved all the good positions for the Germans. How can you expect them to fall for the idea of an independent Poland? We know what these authorities are doing in order to render null and void the manifesto of the Grand Duke who engaged the trust of Russia. The Russian government, the Russian authorities were not ashamed to declare to the press that it was not necessary to speak of the autonomy of Poland; the Russian government was not ashamed to send circulars to the tchinovniks to warn them that the autonomy promised to the Poles did by no means apply to Russian Poland and that, in consequence, they would not have to take into account the manifesto of the Grand Duke. But when, during our sojourn in Galicia, our government was found in a position to put its famous promises of Slavic liberation into practice, it sent there the scum of Russian bureaucracy which suppressed all the liberties acquired there fifty years ago and so transformed our stay in Galicia into a European scandal, which will make our children blush." (Applause in the Center and the Right. Pourishkevich cried out from his seat: "That is the real truth.")

Kuzmin-Karavaieff, member of the first Duma and a personality much in evidence in the "Progressist" party,

published in the *Utro Rossii* an important article on the question of Russian-Polish relations.

He remarks that the Russians, despite the manifesto, have not pronounced the word "autonomy" during the whole year." On the contrary, the Germans grant the Poles positive benefits: they opened the University of Warsaw, they granted the free use of the national language, the co-operation of the civic organizations in the administration of the cities.

"The immense majority of the Poles", he continues, "have been hitherto on our side, but these measures of easement may make them lean toward the German-Austrian orientation.

"One can no more keep silence; it is necessary to settle the Polish-Russian question, to forget that there was a Polish-Russian conflict, to examine frankly the project of autonomy for Poland.

"Is it not strange that Russia, having no more a single government in Poland in her possession, has preserved all the titles of authority, once active in Poland and has installed them at Moscow, Riazan, Tambow, Veronezh, by right of evacuation? Russia obviously reckons that when she will retake Poland, she will take back and revive the entire former administrative regime. But can it be that when they will have driven away the enemy, the Russian school will come to replace, in the Kingdom of Poland, the Polish school, the Polish language will again be banished by the tribunals? What will be thought, what will be said by the Poles delivered from the German yoke, if on them be again imposed the system of compulsory Russification?

"There should be no question of this return. But on the contrary, it is necessary to prepare a series of Polish organizations, a Polish magistrate, which would be ready to function as soon as there be a realization of the autonomy of Poland.

"And then they would not dissemble that before the occupation of Poland by the Germans there were many strong currents of sympathy, if not toward Germany, then at least towards Austria. These currents, actually, were believed sure of triumph. We should then act categorically with regard to the Poles, who, despite the good German graces, think their enemy is from the west and not from the east. Let us say to them: the past is dead for ever and ever!"

This is an honest Russian opinion. How different, however, is the idea entertained by such Markoffs and others. Markoff, the Russian paper *Rietch* reports, leader of the Right in the Duma, is for the continuation of the policy of oppression.

At the meeting of the chiefs of the groups of the Duma, Markoff, chief of the party which actually governs Russia, declared that he protested against discussing the Polish question. The Right and the Nationalists who actually give to Russia her ministers and high functionaries, seek by all means to bury the idea of Polish autonomy by maintaining the ante-bellum order in the Kingdom.

(Translated for Free Poland by J. S. S.)

Action—Not Words

REFERRING lately to the countries that have suffered from the war: of the "martyr countries", M. Maurice Donnay enumerated "a portion of sweet France, heroic Belgium, noble Serbia, part of Great Russia" — and that is all! He added that those countries deserved "the everlasting gratitude of the civilized world, and recompenses when the time came for the settlement of accounts." And Poland? She is evidently nothing but a part of Great Russia... Thus, for Poland suffering, devastation and famine; and for Russia—"the eternal gratitude of the civilized world!..."

I have quoted M. Maurice Donnay; but I could have mentioned others, very numerous and of the ablest: politicians, diplomatists and historians. Involuntary, or willful blindness, such appears to be the general opinion — or pretty nearly — in France, and such the conception of the duty towards Russia, the friend and ally.

We would point out first of all that in this respect people out-Herod Herod himself: thus, it is often impossible to publish, in Paris, the translation of articles on the Polish question which have appeared in Petrograd by permission of the Censorship!

Again, what a curious policy is that which consists in closing one's eyes obstinately in order not to see a real fact; in considering as inexistent 20,000,000 of Poles; in leaving the field open for the "Danubian sirens", enslaved by Berlin, to do everything in their power to persuade the Poles that they have nothing to expect from the Allies, nothing—save, of course, a few fine words dedicated to Poles "faithful to Great Russia." (Vide Masson, Jean de Bonnefon, etc., etc.)

The simple truth is: that there are no such Poles "faithful to Russia", any more than there exist any Poles faithful to Austria or to Prussia, for those faithful to either of these three States are vile and despicable renegades, despised by their own masters, at Berlin as well as in Petrograd. And yet if certain papers with a large circulation are to be believed, it might be thought that such renegades, though but few, are alone taken into account by the Allies.

Yet it would be so easy to persuade the Poles — the real Poles—those who remain faithful to Poland, and to Poland alone; it were so easy to induce the whole of the whole of the Polish nation to embrace the cause of the Allies; to throw into the scale all her enthusiasm, all there remains to her of her strength and blood. And twenty millions of people are to be reckoned with, be they even disarmed, and even were it a question of a position less important than that of Poland, where the least attempt against a railway may jeopardize for a time the provisioning in food and ammunition of some section of the front; it would be so easy, if the cause of the Allies became without any reserve whatever that of Poland!

The majority of the Polish nation distinctly took sides at the very outset of the war; the peasant in Russian Poland resisted the temptations coming from Austria (which nevertheless could be and really was in sympathy with the Poles). He readily obeyed the order for mobilization, frequently gave assistance to the Russian army not out of "fondness for Russia", (the words of a courtier, pronounced in the Duma) nor "loyalty to Slavism" (a word he had never heard in his life), but solely out of instinctive and traditional distrust of the Prussian and every thing proceeding from the Prussian. It is indeed a

well-known fact that hatred of the Teuton is deeply rooted in the soul of the Polish people and dates back to the origin of Poland. The classes higher up adopted the same attitude — after a little irresolution—because their reasoning was perfectly in accord with the unreasoned instinct of the peasant. Reduced to the condition of vassal of Berlin, Austria was powerless to realize what might have been expected of her; and Germany, the pitiless Germanizer, the implacable and irreconcilable enemy, was infinitely more formidable than Russia because infinitely better organized, infinitely richer and more civilized.

Russification—slightly attenuated since 1905 — had recourse to brutal means; it did incalculable evil by stifling education and all initiative towards progress. But, unsystematized, and applied by officials wielding wide powers, whose individual characters, personal relations and, it may be said, venality, left the door open to numerous exceptions (more or less illegal), it was above all administrative, political, policed; it wrought devastation, oppressed and deprived, but scarcely ever attained its end. In spite of everything the number of Poles who had forgotten or disowned their nationality remained insignificant.

Germanization, on the contrary, the staff of which — apart from the officials: inflexible, harsh, and incorruptible, like so many wheels in a piece of machinery — comprised the entire scientific and economical apparatus of the model Universities, powerful banks, commercial and industrial companies and a whole army of agricultural colonists — Germanization, intensifying from day to day, has succeeded in creating a German population in the very heart of a country hitherto exclusively Polish. In a word; in the event of an Austro-German victory there would remain but one all-powerful State: Germany, dominating all the nations of the world, some vassals, others slaves—all ready to obey her will.

On the other hand, the victory of the allies would give preponderance to a group of Powers, of about equal importance.

It is evident that where there exists but one State more powerful than all the rest of the world Liberty and Independence become but words without any meaning.

Independence—not only in name, but in fact — is possible for a nation, even comparatively weak, if it can manage skilfully among several great States.

The cause of liberty and independence has been, is, and will ever be that of Poland. Independence! The word has magic power for all Poles; the idea exerts and will always exert an invincible attraction.

The Austro-Germans have cleverly exploited its power, showing as a reality of the near past, as of the present, the rights and liberties the Galician Poles enjoyed (and still enjoy). They have caused half-promises to be uttered by semi-official personages; they publish now and again an interview on "the future peace" in which an "independent Poland" is alluded to; they have created and attached to the Austrian army "the Polish Legion", a real miniature army bearing Polish standards, using the Polish language and commanded by Polish officers; they have authorized the opening of a Polish University and a Polytechnic School, both public, and also of Colleges, likewise Polish — all this in Warsaw itself, in Russian Poland they have occupied.

(Continued on p. 10)

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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."

The Economic Future of Poland

The economic future of Poland is closely bound with her political independence. Political independence will mean a free expansion of commerce, which will tend, along with her culture and lofty ideals, to make of Poland one of the most progressive nations of Europe.

The independence of Poland is the aim of all Polish aspirations. Even those who lately have seen no other issue for the Poles than a close union with Russia, now actually see the absolute necessity of a complete independence of Poland, declares a writer who signs himself T in the French semi-monthly LA POLOGNE AUX POLONAIS.

The PETROGRAD JOURNAL publishes in this matter the opinion of one of the greatest Polish economists, W. Zukowski, deputy to the Duma, vice-president

of the central directorate of the committee on munitions and provisions.

In his lectures at the Economic Society of Petrograd, Zukowski says in substance:

The discussion which had place at the Technical Society of Warsaw shortly before the occupation of the city by the German troops aided one in seeing that it was indispensable for the Poles to have their own government and a completely independent economical policy. The history of the industrial development of our country and the situation in which it actually finds itself prove the profound justness of these conclusions.

Generally, the importance of Russian markets and Russian custom-house policies is exaggerated. The exterior markets only played the primordial role in the country so backward from the economical point of view.

The political dependence of Poland on Russia had in consequence a narrow economical dependence. We profit, it is true, by the oriental markets, but in return Russia gave us only what she found superfluous and not what was most necessary. The railroad tariff, enacted solely for the interests of Russia, exercised a nefarious influence upon our industry. After the war our economic relations with Russia will become still more strained than before; that is the reason that an independent government is for us an absolute necessity, we should have it even at the price of a temporary loss of the oriental markets. The Polish government will be obliged to have recourse to the most energetic means of pulling the country out of misery and of remedying the economic disorganization occasioned by the present war. It should be interested above all in the masses of the people. An independent government, an independent political economy, the amelioration of the economic conditions and popular education — these are the bases of our program; they are the sole means of remedying the complete impoverishment which is threatening our country — the *sine qua non* on which depends its development economical and its cultural progress.

Zukowski's opinion is shared by another economist, Gliwic, secretary to the directors of the Russian congress of industry, who took part in the discussions and who sustained all the conclusions of the eminent economist.

Capitalism created two forces which have a decisive influence upon the development of industry: free capital and government capable of a political and economical independence.

As long as Europe knew little of Russia, capital would travel to Poland, but this changed a few years ago. Western capital, more and more considerable, passed into Russia, drained by the very numerous branch-banks created by Russians in Poland. Lack of free capital was felt more and more in our country; foreign capitalists, for want of sufficient guarantees in the absence of local independent power, would not care to run the risk of engaging in any of the more important enterprises. The existence of a completely independent Polish government could alone remedy this state of things by giving the necessary guarantees to capitalists. That is the reason why the independence of Poland becomes our categorical imperative. It alone would assure to Poland its place in the commercial ranks of the world.

Polish Vitality

However strong be the spirit and ardor of a nation, they are sufficient to assure neither its future, if it is not free, nor its liberation if it is captive, unless the energies of its hope and aspirations are unceasingly propped up by human and material forces.

One is not sufficiently aware that the strife, sustained by Poland against her oppressors, has been conducted not only with the indomitable energy of the heart which does not renounce, but with the clear conscience of the material interests upon which human power depends, and with this force of life against which nothing prevails, against which have failed the various proscriptions, massacres, and widespread terror: the Polish birth rate.

It is this phenomenon which has caused the oppressors to throw up their hands in despair, for force cannot triumph in the face of this ever recurring flood of humanity, since this is not a horde, but a nation bent on preserving the edifice of their forefathers and of opening the just paths of the future.

When you examine the official birth statistics of the world, you readily discover that the Polish birth-rate is the highest of all those of the civilized peoples.

But let the figures speak for themselves.

Let us consider that the population in the Kingdom of Poland which numbered 2,717,000 inhabitants in 1816 has reached the figure of 12,129,000 in 1910. For the last twenty years alone the increase has been nearly four million inhabitants.

For Lithuania and White Russia the increase has been equivalent or almost 5,087,000 in 1815 and 12,517,000 in 1910.

For Ruthenia (Volhynia, Podolia, Ukraine) 13,577,000 in 1815 and 12,146,000 in 1910.

The population of Galicia increased from 3,717,000 to 8,028,000 between 1817 and 1910.

In the Province of Posen and West-Prussia the population increased from 1,391,000 in 1816 to 3,804,000 in 1910.

That is to say, that if you consider Poland within the limits prior to the first partition in 1772, her population which numbered approximately 14 do 15 millions of inhabitants has to-day reached the imposing sum of 48,622,000 population.

Is it because of this figure that some people call it a small nation? Besides, such an increase would only have had a relative value if the other great states of Europe had increased in like proportion in the course of the last century and in the first years of the present one: but we (Frenchmen) are far from the count in this respect.

While the population of Polish territory has quadrupled, the population of France between 1821 and 1911 has increased only by one-third from 30,000,000 to almost 40,000,000, that of England during the last forty years has increased in the same measure, while Italy has doubled its population between 1821 and 1911, Austria likewise, Russia having tripled hers during the same lapse of time.

The following table will make clear the force of what has been said above:

	Birth-Rate	Deaths	Increase
Kingdom of Poland 1910	37,5	21	16,5
Galicia 1910	38,5	24	14,5
Posen 1908	38,3	18,9	19,4

During the same years the increase was:	
France 1,3	Poland (on an average) 16,5
England . . . 11,5	
Germany . . . 8,8	
Italy 10,2	

That is to say that the population in Poland actually increased in a proportion double that of Germany itself; the struggle of Poland against Germany is, then, not only a struggle of ideas and interests—it draws, so to speak, its force from the human material itself.

An immense reservoir of active humanity, Poland can in the order of economic forces as well as from the strategical point of view then well play an important role in Central Europe. They begin somewhat late to preoccupy their minds with the military resources which could have been offered by Poland to begin with if a free disposition of its destiny had been accorded her.

Reconstituted in her former historical boundaries, Poland could form an army of more than four millions, which is by no means an insignificant factor to reckon with. Consequently, there will come a day, even for the most credulous, when not only will the Polish Question be placed on the first plan of actual history, but when the States will compete to form an alliance with Poland.

The formidable emigration of Poles to the United States, where they number more than three million souls, was brought about by a great number of Poles who refused to serve in the armies, that were not theirs, a legitimate and just feeling which no one will dare contradict.

The Austrian minister of war declared in 1914, in Parliament, before the opening of the present hostilities, that for the last five years over 80,000 Poles and Ruthenians had left for the United States or South America in order to escape military service. But now how many others did not have opportunity of choosing and had to undergo the tragic necessity of fighting one another in the opposing ranks!

To-day is not the first time that Polish blood is being shed with remarkable generosity for the welfare of Europe; this is not the first time that Polish blood is being shed in the massacres and the struggles, wasted in the exiles and proscriptions. But the hope of the oppressors has been ruined for ever.

The Polish population has been steadily on the increase despite the consecutive exhaustions of the insurrections of 1831, of 1846, of 1848 and of 1863. The insurrection of 1861 alone was instrumental in destroying 6 percent of the Polish population. The present misery, ruin, disease, destruction form but another link in the long chain of suffering experienced by the Polish people.

But the source of Polish life is inexhaustible; it flows in generous and superb streams; it spells in its ardent hope and inflexible certainty the assurance of its final expansion.

The source of Polish life is a river which will end by sweeping away the false barriers of a Europe badly arranged: you can oppose such a river by the momentary dikes of the despot, but when the stream does not cease to swell, there are no human dikes but that will give way, chiefly when the stream issuing from such a source runs in an even effort to inevitable liberty.

G. JEAN-AUBRY.

(Translated for FREE POLAND by J. S. S.)

Action—Not Words

(Concluded from p. 7)

Certainly, the above are not precise and official concessions, and the Legion is too diminutive to become dangerous for them some day.

Yet the half-promises and newspaper articles keep up hopes; yet the Legion gives youth the illusion of a Polish armed force; yet the Polish schools, yet the partial use of the Polish language in the Law Courts constitute realities that were unknown, prohibited, and proscribed up to the very last moment of the Russian occupation.

The great majority of the population are distrustful. The people are convinced that the German "favors" are precarious. Yet they will not, they cannot wish a return to the old state of things; they no longer have faith in the fine words of Petrograd, fine words which still leave in force against the Poles still remaining under Russian rule all the oppressive restrictions and exceptions.

Germany's victory would be a disaster for us. What will the victory of the Allies be?

Is the cause of the Allies really our cause?

Should Poland wait passively, or would she be justified in making one last attempt—to bring to the aid of the Allies what remains to her of her strength after all these unprecedented ravages?

That is the question we put.

I maintain it is of the utmost importance for the Allies.

Can the attitude of the Polish population living throughout the extent of the hundreds of miles separating the German front from their revictualling centres — can the attitude of the population established along the lines of communication be of no interest to the Allies?

Can it be indifferent to them that this population should be a dumb and passive witness of everything; should allow itself without resistance to be requisitioned for the repair of roads, the manufacture of munitions, etc., or, on the contrary, should itself become the enemy of the German army; hide or destroy the requisitioned materials or provisions; shirk or even resist by refusing to work the requisitions for labor; place obstacles in the way of the circulation of trains; in a word, that the Germans should be able to obtain the execution of the least of their orders only by main force?

No, that cannot be indifferent to them.

The passive attitude of the people removes from the Germans the obligation of watching the interior of the country, leaves free a large number of their forces, allows them to transport their troops easily in every direction — and to despatch them to other fronts.

The reverse behavior, openly hostile, would require a far greater number of their forces to watch the interior of the country; would bring about interruptions in the revictualling of the front and difficulties in communications by railway; render the movements of troops difficult and often dangerous; would introduce a state of insecurity the marvellous organization of the Germans itself would be incapable of resisting, and turn any retreat into a disaster.

The revolutionary years 1904-1905 have shown what such a struggle could be in Poland though carried on only by a small portion of the population (enjoying the more

or less active sympathy of the great mass). But a struggle of the kind, a strife worse than the most sanguinary war, a struggle entailing unnamed horrors and numberless and boundless sacrifices—such a struggle could be entered into only under the influence of an incentive of the most powerful kind.

There is but one aim, a unique ideal for which the Poles would gladly sacrifice everything, and that is

A FREE AND INDEPENDENT POLAND.

Give us a tangible reality, a beginning of the realization of Polish independence—by a solemn instrument bearing the signatures of all the Allied Powers guaranteeing the reconstitution of an independent Poland, to comprise the Polish countries of the three coparticipants!

But if we are given words, more words and always words; if it is sought to ignore us; if we are promised the payment for our blood, our conflagrations, our tears in "eternal gratitude and by recompenses" which will benefit Russia — at our expense....

For it is useless to quibble over words: Russia, dominant, however "magnanimous" she may be, cannot give satisfaction to Poland. She cannot do so for the reason that she cannot give up—save in short moments of enthusiasm—the desire to unify her immense Empire and, consequently, to Russify everything that is not Russian. History, even the history of the past few months, is there to prove it: schemes for the autonomy (how little autonomous!) of Poland; modifications (illegal, considering they were decreed without prior consultation of the Diet) of the Constitution of Finland. She cannot give satisfaction to Poland because the latter cannot renounce her independence without belying the whole of her millenary history, without disowning all her traditions—she, the Republic of the XVth Century, aristocratic, it is true, but with a free nobility, and making no legal distinction between a great lord and the petty nobleman in his service, both electors of their Kings, and forming at the beginning of the XVIIth Century an important portion of the population.

Under Russian domination Poland would continue to be a Poland in revolt against Russian oppression — as autonomy could only be a short-lived intermission.

Between the tendency not only of the Government but of the whole of Russia towards unity, and the desire, nay—the imperious need of independence and liberty which is the very essence of the Polish soul, any compromise, any attempt at an arrangement is foredoomed to failure. Exactly one hundred years ago Alexander I proclaimed the Constitution of the Kingdom of Poland, attached by a purely personal union, to the Russian Empire. Immediately afterwards the Grand-Duke Constantine, "Commander-in-Chief of the Polish army", committed the first acts of violence and trod under foot that Constitution, which foundered in the disaster of 1831.

In 1861-62 there occurred further attempts, far more timid, which led to the Polish rising in 1863 and to a merciless persecution of everything Polish. Down to the troublous times of the Russo-Japanese war the days following on the utterance of conciliatory words at St. Petersburg or at Warsaw have invariably witnessed more stringency in anti-Polish measures and fresh and deeper rancor in all Polish hearts.

If such is the fate the Allies' victory is reserving for us, we must husband and develop as much as possible

our energies for the future struggle. We shall need them to defend our existence, when, Germany crushed, France, Great Britain and Italy "fighting for the liberty of nations" shall have reinstated the Russian constable, once more all-powerful; will have introduced him to Cracow; when "in the name of civilization" they shall have caused the schools to be closed (that could be opened only after the departure of the Russians) and, "in the name of justice" caused the Polish language to be proscribed once more (proscribed down to the last moment of the Russian occupation and still prohibited wherever there are Poles under the Russian yoke); when they shall have, "in the name of the right of all nationalities", made all offices accessible to the Poles, on condition that they abjure their faith and become Russian and Orthodox. We

shall need them to continue that more than secular struggle that can come to an end only when Poland shall have recovered her freedom and independence.

By their counsels and influence, the Western Allies can give Russia (compensated and aggrandized in another direction, there being no lack of spoils!) either a quiet and peaceful neighbor — independent Poland—or a large province eternally in effervescence, revolt and blood — Poland subject, oppressed and indomitable.

Which of these two solutions is most worthy of the champions of civilization and of the true friends of Russia?

J. WIEL.

(In the Polish Tribune.)



Good Work

Mr. Ignatius Werwiński, of South Bend, Ind., spares neither time nor money to influence senatorial opinion in carrying through Mr. Hitchcock's Bill for the Relief of the destitute People of Poland.

Mr. Werwiński received the following letters:

House Of Representatives,
Committee On
Expenditures In The War Department,
Washington.

April 23, 1916.

Mr. Ignatius K. Werwinski,
South Bend, Indiana.

Dear Sir:

Your letter of the 20th instant relating to a bill introduced by Senator Hitchcock for the relief of the destitute people of Poland, addressed to Congressman Adair has been received. Mr. Adair is out of the city at present but as soon as he returns your communication will be placed before him. When this bill comes before the House I feel reasonable certain Mr. Adair's action will be pleasing to you.

Respectfully,

Signed E. C. WREDE,
Secretary.

* * *

April 24, 1916.

Mr. Ignatius K. Werwiński and Committee,
South Bend, Indiana.

Gentlemen:

I have your letter of the 20th inst., and assure you the matter to which you call my attention will have my most earnest consideration.

Most sincerely,

Signed FINLEY H. GRAY.

* * *

April 24, 1916.

Mr. I. K. Werwinski,
South Bend, Indiana.

My Dear I. K.: —

The communication, under date of April 20, signed by yourself and two others as a Committee representing the Sixth District of the Polish Falcons, is re-

ceived, and in reply be assured that I shall enthusiastically support the bill to which you refer if it comes up for consideration on the floor of the House. So far, you are doubtless aware, the bill is in the Senate and has not been acted on there and so we will not have a change at it in the House unless the Senate passes it and sends it to us.

With kindest regards to you and all friends,
I am,

Your friend,

Signed H. A. BARNHART.

* * *

April 24, 1916.

Mr. Ignatius K. Werwinski,
South Bend, Ind.

My Dear Mr. Werwinski:

I am in receipt of your letter of April 20th. In regard to bill authorizing relief for the people of Poland.

I have filed the letter of your Committee in the House and it will be considered at the proper time.

With best wishes, I am,

Yours very truly,

Signed CHAMP CLARK.

* * *

United States Senate,
Committee On
Forest Reservations And The Protection of Game.

Mr. Ignatius Werwinski,
South Bend, Indiana.

My Dear Sir: —

I am in receipt of a communication signed by the Committee representing the Sixth District of the Polish Falcons Alliance of America, favoring the bill introduced by Senator Hitchcock for the relief of the destitute people of Poland.

In reply, permit me to say that I shall be glad to look up this measure and give it my very careful and best consideration.

I have the honor to be,

Very truly yours,

Signed THOMAS TAGGART.

Love Thou Thy Tongue

By WILLIAM A. GOLLIEK

SINCE the beginning of the present war there has arisen the new issue of hyphenated Americanism; and now, any manifestation, by a foreign American or an American citizen of foreign extraction, of an interest in the country to which he has renounced his allegiance, is regarded as sufficient cause for doubting his loyalty to America. Since I am an American citizen of Polish parentage, and since this article does manifest my interest in Poland, a word or two is necessary in defense of my action,—which I maintain can be no reflection upon my sincere loyalty to America.

It can hardly be expected of us, foreign Americans or sons of such Americans, to forget our mother country. There are many factors which prevent our doing so. We live in communities where we hear our mother tongue spoken. We take an interest in the social and political activities of these communities. We cannot lose our interest in the mother country until these factors which prevent us from forgetting that country are removed. Not until there are no "little Polands," no "little Hungaries," nor any other foreign "colonies" in America; and not until all the Americans, be they foreign Americans or any other kind of Americans, are treated with equal justice and respect*, not until then can it be expected that the foreign Americans will be solely interested in America.

But this manifestation of an interest in the mother country cannot prove injurious to America. Of course, every true American must have deep in his heart a hatred against the German Americans, as a result of their treacherous activities. But no other foreign American would even think of carrying on such a propaganda of destruction of their own adopted country as the German Americans are capable of. Neither would any other foreign American think of doing anything which could in the slightest possible way injure his adopted country. If, however, he can help his mother country without injuring his adopted country, I see no reason why he should not do so. I believe that a loyal American citizen is he who does everything in the interests of his country; who will fight in its defense; and who does nothing to injure the welfare of that country. In what way can the retention by the Polish American citizens of their mother tongue and their interest in Poland prove injurious to the country of their adoption? It is impossible to conceive how these natural and innocent tendencies of the Polish Americans can in any way prove injurious to the welfare of America. How, then, can my attempt to induce more Poles to speak the Polish language be construed as a reflection upon my loyalty to America? No American citizen has the right to doubt the loyalty of any other American citizen—foreign or native—upon any flimsy pretext.

Our interest in Poland, however, is not a political one, but an interest in the cause of humanity. We see the terrible suffering of the Poles, and we strive to alleviate their sufferings as much as we can. When we see any one in danger or in trouble, and we know that we can help him, we should do so whether we are Poles or Polish American citizens. In a similar manner we, Poles in America, whether we are American citizens or not, should

do all in our power to help Poland. The only way we can help Poland is by means of money. Before we can give money in any but meager quantities, we must be more interested in the Polish cause than we are at present. Only by speaking the Polish language can that interest rise to such a height as to lead to a most generous contribution to the Polish cause. We would do a like deed, if it were necessary, to help Belgium. But Belgium has many friends, who have already bountifully rewarded her for her sacrifices; and her chances of regaining her country are very bright. Poland, on the other hand, although more devastated by the war than Belgium, has few friends willing to help her; and her chances of being rewarded for her sacrifices are slight, indeed. The Belgian people themselves realize that they have been helped in their misfortune more than they had a right to be, and at the expense of other more needful people, such as the Poles. Realizing these facts, and having a sense of Christian honesty, they are endeavoring to help the Poles. Thus, Maurice Maeterlinck has recently said the following: "I need not recall the fate of Poland. It is in certain respects more tragic and more pitiful than that of Belgium or Serbia. Poland has an absolute and sacred right to be treated even as the other two victims of this war of justice. She is their equal, she is of the same rank and on the same level. She has suffered what they have suffered, for the same cause, in the same spirit, and with the same heroism; and if she has not done what the two others have done it is because only the ingratitude of all those whom she had more than once saved, together with one of the greatest crimes in history, prevented her from doing so." Since Poland has so few friends who are willing to help her, we Poles in America, at least, should help her. If we are not willing to help her, we, who are, perhaps, still bound to her by ties of blood, then who will?

This article has been written with the sole intention of inducing more Poles to speak the Polish language. No attempt whatsoever has been made to discourage the Poles from learning or speaking English. Any one can see the futility of such an attempt, and the impossibility of its success in such an English speaking country as America. Moreover, attempts should be made to compel the Poles to learn the English language. The only means by which the Poles can become good American citizens, which they all ought to do is by learning the English language. Theodore Roosevelt in his latest book* states that: "No man can be a good citizen if he is not at least in process of learning the language of his fellow-citizens. And an alien who remains here without learning to speak English for more than a certain number of years should at the end of that time be treated as having refused to take the steps to complete Americanization and should be deported." This threat of deportation I believe is the only means of compelling the foreigners to learn the English language.

*For evidence of such treatment see Vol. I. No. 3 of the "Immigrants in America Review."

*See the NEW YORK AMERICAN of April 16th., Part II.

*"Fear God and take your own part." Page 369.

These few words seemed necessary in order to prevent the drawing of that hasty and unjust conclusion which is so easily reached by the Americans in those cases where a foreign American manifests an interest in his mother country. There is nothing said here which could make any one doubt the loyalty of the writer to America. The writer is proud to be an American, and it is unjust to doubt his loyalty to America because he happens to be an American of foreign extraction. He in no way proves himself disloyal when he attempts to help his mother country, doing so, however, only when he is convinced that that help cannot prove injurious to his adopted country; and, especially, when he does not do so for political reasons but in the cause of humanity.

The problem that confronts all Poles in America, whether American citizens or not, is the problem of the prevention from extinction of the Polish language in America. If there is ever to be a free Poland, and if our hopes for it are to continue, then it is necessary for us to interest ourselves in the solution of this important problem. Free Poland depends upon the preservation of the Polish language in America. Language is the basis upon which our belief in the freedom of Poland rests. It is that which makes us at present believe that Poland will some day be free. With the destruction of that basis, the belief crumbles to pieces: with the extinction of the language, the hope for the nation is lost for ever.

This is not an imaginary or a trivial problem, but a real and a very serious one. The fact that the Polish language is spoken less and the English language more by the Poles in America cannot be disputed. It cannot be claimed that this fact is only an imaginary one. Let anyone, who questions the truth and reality of this statement, visit the Polish homes in America, and he will soon admit that the language that is most frequently spoken there is the English language. Can it be denied that such a condition of the language is not a serious one? It is indeed a serious condition, and one to be highly deprecated. The Poles speak the English language at home, in the street, and almost everywhere. The men transact their business in English, the women gossip in English, and the children chatter in English. It may be stated as a general rule that English is spoken more than Polish in all places and at all times, except in the Church and at those special times when the Poles gather in great numbers to commemorate the occurrence of some great event in their history. Let this statement not be taken to mean that at all other times and in all other places, except these two mentioned, the English language is spoken *exclusively*. Thank God, that the Polish language has not yet reached that stage of deterioration! But it will deteriorate at a faster rate, and eventually become extinct, if this tendency to use the English rather than the Polish language becomes stronger in the future. There are three good reasons for believing that it will become stronger in the future.

First: The fact that the immigration of Poles to America is at present at a standstill, and the probability that it will remain so after the war, support such a belief. The number of Poles entering this country during the twenty one months of the present war is insignificantly small. The number will not be any larger after the war; since the population of Europe will be so greatly diminished as a result of the war, that the European governments will have to place restrictions on immigra-

tions in order to keep all of this diminished population in Europe,—all of which will now be necessary for the development of the countries devastated by war. This restriction on immigration will prevent that element from entering America that is necessary in the population of Poles in America for the preservation of the language. The immigrants come into communities where the Poles are quickly, by non-usage, forgetting their language. They compel the Poles to speak to them in the Polish language, since that is the only language which they know. In thus forcing the Poles to speak their language, they prevent the extinction of the language. Thus, the immigrant constantly restores the language to the standard from which it would fall as a result of his absence. The higher the rate of immigration of Poles to America, the higher will this standard be,—the greater the number of Poles speaking Polish. If, on the other hand, the rate of immigration remains so insignificantly low as at present, this standard will constantly get lower, and the time must eventually come when the language will disappear entirely.*

Second: The fact that after the war the rate of emigration of Poles from America will tend to become higher than it is at present, points to the conclusion that this tendency will become stronger in the future. Statistics show that periods of great prosperity always follow wars. A period of prosperity is bound to follow this war. The Poles, seeing the prosperous condition of their mother country, will emigrate from America in great numbers. The unfortunate fact is, however, that the Poles who will emigrate from America are not the Americanized Poles or the Polish American citizens but those Poles who have been very little affected by the environment in which they live and who still speak the Polish language; and who could by their presence in America delay the destructive effects produced on the language by the low rate of immigration. The result will be that the element that is necessary for the preservation of the language in America will be again removed. As a result of the low rate of immigration and of the high rate of emigration, the majority of the Poles that remain will speak the English rather than the Polish language. Under such unfavorable conditions for its perpetuation, the language will deteriorate at a very fast rate.

Third: The fact that the birth rate among the Polish families in America will tend to become smaller as a result of the low rate of immigration and the high rate of emigration, leads one to the same conclusion. The Polish immigrants are mostly of the poorer classes; and since the greatest fecundity is found among the poorer rather than among the richer classes, the total number of births will be diminished to a degree corresponding to the losses of these immigrants. While the restrictions on immigrations to America are being enforced, the Poles in America are growing rich,—as they must with the lapse of time. Their children will—as a result of the free education in English schools—occupy a higher class in the community than their fathers. Being members of a higher class, they will become wealthier than their fathers, and the number of births in their families will, therefore, be smaller. Since the only means of counter-

* At present the Burnett Immigration bill containing the literacy clause has already passed the House. If this bill becomes law—as it probably will—it would also diminish the immigration rate, producing a bad effect on the language.

acting this low fecundity is by the high fecundity of the immigrants, and since this means is impossible on account of the restrictions on immigration, it is certain that the birth rate will fall. The high rate of emigration of Poles from America will also tend to lower the birth rate. It will not, however, diminish it to such a degree as that produced by the low rate of immigration; since only a small majority of the emigrants are poor people, whereas the majority of poor among the immigrants is overwhelmingly larger. It is apparent, therefore, that in this decrease in population of Poles in America resulting from the high rate of emigration and the low rate of immigration, there is an increase in the number of those Poles who do not speak the Polish language at all, or speak it very seldom; and a decrease in the number of those Poles who speak only, or mostly the Polish language.

The Polish language could, however, only become extinct in America if the low birth rate, the low immigration rate, and the high emigration rate continued so for a long period. No ill results can follow if these rates continue in the directions mentioned for a period of five years. The Polish language cannot become extinct in America in such a short time. I do maintain, however, that if these rates so continue for a period of fifteen or twenty years, they will prove so fatal to the language as to bring about extinction. The view, held by many, that the present war will be one of long duration, together with the fact that long periods of prosperity follow wars, tends to the belief that these rates of birth, immigration, and emigration will continue in the directions mentioned for a period of at least fifteen years.

The immensity of the preparations; the fact that the war has now been going on for nearly two years with no sign of abatement, with no cry for peace by any of the contestants; and the fact that all efforts for peace by the neutral powers have failed: all point to the probability that this war will last at least two or three years longer. This is a very conservative estimate when we realize that there are people who estimate the duration of the war to even ten years. Let us see what the effects of these two possible durations of the war could be upon the Polish language in America. If the Polish language could become extinct in America in five years, there ought to be at present evidences of its rapid disappearance, but there is at present little of such evidence. Although a five year war cannot prove fatal to the language, nevertheless, it will diminish the number of Poles speaking that language; since those influences—especially the presence of immigrants—that could perpetuate it, are lacking. Neither can a ten year war bring about the extinction of the language. It would, however, diminish the number of Poles speaking that language to a greater degree than that produced by a five year war; since the longer the duration of an injury the more pernicious the result. Only if the war continued for fifteen or twenty years could the effect of it be fatal. Since it is very improbable that a war of such great scope and carried on upon such a large scale could last for fifteen or twenty years; and since the Polish language in America cannot be extinguished in five or ten years, it is clear that war has no great dangers for the language, and would not, by itself, effect its extinction.

It is not war, however, but the period of prosperity following war that may prove fatal to the language. The rate of decrease in the number of Poles speaking their language to those not speaking it, will be far more rapid

after the war than it was during its continuance. This more rapid decrease will be due to the additional injurious effects of the increasing emigration rate and decreasing birth rate brought on by this period of prosperity—effects which were very mild during the war. The rate of emigration of Poles from America during the war is insignificantly small, whereas, after the war—as previously explained—it will rise enormously. The Poles will now forget their language much faster than they would when the war continued; since the immigrants, who could prevent their forgetting it, are almost totally absent; since the emigrants—a great majority of whom speak the Polish language—will leave this country in great numbers after the war; and since the birth rate must fall as a result of these two consequences. Under such conditions the Poles who at present use the Polish language very little, will quickly forget it; while those who still use it very much, will in the future have less occasion to use it, and also gradually forget it. The longer the duration of this period of prosperity, the more injurious the effects on the language. In view of the fact that wars are generally followed by long periods of prosperity, it is very probable that the Polish language may become extinct as a result of such a continued period of prosperity.

Although war itself may not bring about the extinction of the Polish language in America, it will, nevertheless, prove injurious to the Polish cause in that it may bring about the extermination of the Polish race in Europe. The present war has enormously diminished the population of the Poles in Europe. The Polish men are dying at an appalling rate. The total number of Poles, including, of course, the Austrian, German, and Russian Poles — killed and wounded in the present war is greater than the number of killed and wounded in any one of the armies of the nations at war. It is greater than the number of killed and wounded of Austrians, Germans, or Russians. If we examine the semi-official lists of the wounded and killed to date in the armies of Austria, Germany, and Russia, we will find that for equal numbers of Poles and Austrians, Poles and Germans, and Poles and Russians engaging in battle, the percentage of killed and wounded is almost invariably higher among the Poles than among any one of the others. The reasons for these facts are obvious. Since the Poles are found on both sides of the battle line—fighting brother against brother—the chances of their getting killed are twice as great as they would be under the ordinary conditions. Their dead and wounded are found among the dead and wounded on the victorious as well as on the vanquished side. Also because, as the Poles are thrust in the front ranks of battle, the number of killed and wounded must be many times greater than the number of killed and wounded among the Austrians, Germans, or Russians who happen to be behind them.

Not only are the Polish men dying in battle at an appalling rate, but the Polish mothers and children are suffering a like fate by starvation. There is a scarcity of food in all parts of Poland. The mother has often nothing to give her children but the tears of sorrow. She gladly gives them what little food she gets, often taking none herself. As a consequence she often dies sooner than the children. How long will the children live after the death of their mother? Judge Lindsey, who as a member of the Ford party has returned from war stricken Europe, said in an interview published in the NEW YORK TIMES of February 25th., that at present "in some parts

of Poland practically all children under six years have died, and that throughout that country few children of three years or under are still alive." How terrible will the result be if the war continues for even only five years!

Oh, what a terrible misfortune! The Polish men, who could fight for Poland in the future,—if that were necessary to free her—dying by the thousands! The women, upon whom the propagation of the race depends, dying a horrible death of starvation! The children, the most innocent cause, understanding nothing, are having their mere taste of life snatched from them. They, also, upon whom we could base our hopes for success in the future, must die. Can there be any doubts in the mind of any one that if this terrible slaughter continues much longer, only a mere remnant of the Polish race will survive?

It may, however, be still questioned whether the present war could bring about the extermination of the Polish race. It is, of course, possible that the war may not affect the Poles so disastrously in the future as it has in the past. It is possible that the Poles may not be compelled to take in the future such an active part in the war as they have in the past. Although the probability of war producing the extermination of the Polish race may be doubted, nevertheless, the certainty of war causing a tremendous decrease in the population cannot be disputed. That is evident from the apparent rate of destruction. Such a decrease in population will, however, prove injurious to the Polish cause in that it will bring about a temporary apathetic condition among the Poles regarding their hopes for a free Poland; and this will bring on a temporary cessation of all efforts for the attainment of that object. At present, the Poles in Europe believe that Poland will some day be free. They know that the present war may bring about the realization of their hopes. At present thousands of Polish men are dying so that Poland may be free; thousands of women and children are starving and suffering untold hardships so that the hopes for a free Poland may live. These are the heroic efforts of the Poles to free themselves from the yoke with which they have been burdened so long. They are striving very hard to earn the autonomy which has been promised them by the Powers—Russia and Germany. The unfortunate fact is, however, that the autonomy that the Powers will consent to give the Poles will be far different from that which they have promised them. The autonomy that will be granted will be a very restricted form of autonomy, giving the Poles more liberties, but not the absolute freedom for which they had hoped.* Such a form of autonomy will be a very unsatisfactory reward for the active participation of the Poles in the war. Seeing, with what little success all their efforts have resulted, the Poles will realize the impossibility of the attainment of a free Poland and the futility of continuing to hope any longer for the impossible. Such an apathetic condition, and such a cessation of all efforts will, however, only be temporary. There is no danger of the destruction of the hopes of the Poles for a nation from any such unjust, treacherous, and deceitful actions of the Powers. The destruction of the hopes can only be brought about by the extinction of the language. The Poles will soon awake from this lethargy

and renew their fight for freedom with increased vigor.

Although the existence of such an apathetic condition would not lead to the destruction of the hopes for a nation, nevertheless, it will prolong considerably the realization of such hopes. It will take some time before the Poles can recuperate from the effects of the injustice done them. It will take time before they can renew their fight; and it will take more time to bring their efforts again to such a high pitch as was reached before the war. The creation of such an apathetic condition is, moreover, not dependent on the degree of decrease of the population; and it will arise whether the decrease is small or large. It is the result of the unjust treatment by the Powers, and such a treatment will result irrespective of the degree of decrease of population. Of course, if the war brought about the extermination of the race, the destruction of the hopes will at the same time occur. Even if the Powers would now consent to give the Poles absolute autonomy, it would be of little value to them. It is certain, therefore, that war will injuriously affect the Polish cause.

War, however, will not so injuriously affect the hopes of the Poles in America. The harm done in Europe to the Polish cause by the war is—as we have seen—of a temporary irretrievable character. The harm done in America can, however, be soon remedied. The high rate of emigration, the low birth rate, and the low rate of immigration resulting from the war, will—as we have seen—diminish considerably the number of those Poles who at present speak the Polish language. We have also noticed that when these rates continue in the directions mentioned for a period of fifteen years, the language would, as a result, become extinct in America. These are the only ill effects of the war upon the Polish cause in America. Only the language is affected; but, since that is the most vital necessity in the preservation of the hopes for a free Poland, the effects of the war are, indeed, very bad. But, we can counteract these bad effects. We can do so, however, only when all the Poles in America speak the Polish language. Only when we convince the Poles of the importance of speaking the Polish language, and induce them to speak it, can we offset these bad effects. Before considering the means of persuading more Poles to speak their language let us first see how such a universal speaking of the language by the Poles could counteract these bad effects of the war.

An increase in the number of Polish speaking Poles would compensate for the ill effects of the low rate of immigration. We have already noted how important for the preservation of the language is the continual presence of new immigrants in America. We have observed how their continual absence may lead to the extinction of the language. Since we cannot increase the number of Polish speaking Poles by immigration, we must strive to increase the number from among those Poles in America who do not at present speak their language. When we succeed in doing so, these Poles who now speak their language will be as useful means for the perpetuation of the language as the immigrants themselves. They will accomplish the same good which the immigrants could. By speaking the Polish language themselves they will induce other Poles to speak it, and thus prevent its extinction.

By means of the universal speaking of the language we can also counteract the bad effects of the high rate of emigration,—nay, we can prevent that emigration. An

* This question of autonomy will be discussed at greater length in another part of this article.

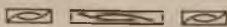
assent to speak the language will lead to the stimulation of an interest in the Polish cause. When that interest is once stimulated, and prevented from diminishing by a constant use of the language, it will bring on a real concern for the success of the Polish cause. Being so concerned in the welfare of Poland, and knowing that it is necessary to her welfare to have as many Poles as possible in America speaking the Polish language, the Poles will not emigrate. There will be another good effect resulting from the universal speaking of the language. That will be a tendency of the Poles to live more among themselves, to more observe and enjoy their native customs, and to work more to free Poland. Then the Poles can actually live as happily in America as they could in Poland. Moreover, in America they can enjoy those political, social, religious, and educational rights and privileges which they cannot enjoy in Poland. Why should they, therefore, wish to emigrate, when they have such an ideal Polish environment in America?

It is doubtful whether the birth rate could be enlarged, even indirectly, by an increase in the number of Polish speaking Poles. A greater fecundity among the Polish families in America could offset the low fecundity resulting from the low rate of immigration and high rate of emigration. If the interest in the Polish cause could mount to such a high degree as to lead to a greater fecundity, the bad effects of immigration and emigration could be counteracted. It is very improbable, however, that the Poles could become so intensely concerned in the welfare of Poland. It is very improbable that any one could desire more children for purely patriotic reasons. It must be, therefore, admitted that the fecundity of the Polish families cannot be affected by the universal speaking of the Polish language by all the Poles in America.

Since these bad effects of the war upon the Polish language in America can be counteracted by means of the universal speaking of that language, we ought to take means to bring about such a perfect state of the language. By bringing about such a state of the language we can also compensate, to some extent at least, for the temporary apathetic condition of the hopes for a free Poland among the Poles in Europe. We Poles in America can do this by becoming more intensely interested in the Polish cause than we have been hithertofore. We only manifest such an interest when we speak the Polish

language. But, how can we persuade all the Poles in America to speak the Polish language? We can do this only by first creating or stimulating the interest of the Poles in the Polish cause. War has already aided us somewhat in this respect; but we have other, and more effective means. We can interest the Poles in America in the Polish cause by playing upon racial instincts, by convincing them that the hopes for a free Poland are not as futile as they may have supposed, and by proving to them that the realization of those hopes depends upon them. The creation of such an interest will soon be followed by the actual speaking of the language.

Poles in America, has not the terrible condition of your mother country brought on by the war, produced any effect upon you? Doesn't its presence lead you to any expression of sorrow or anxiety; make you grind your teeth in hatred against the Powers who are so destroying your hopes for a nation; kindle in you a desire to help Poland; or even arouse in you an interest in the Polish cause? Think! Think! seriously! Is it possible that the Polish cause has fallen so low that the existence of these terrible conditions produces no effect upon you? It cannot be. Although your interest in the Polish cause may have languished so much as a result of your association with Americans, that on reading statements of such conditions you are not impelled to weep, or gnash your teeth in hatred; yet, they must at least create or stimulate your interest in Poland. The war is discussed in your presence by your American friends. They are keenly interested in it. They weigh its advantages and disadvantages to those concerned in it. They ask: "What is England to gain from it?" "What is Germany to gain from it?" "What are Italy and Russia to gain?" They invariably ask: "What is Poland to gain?" Seeing these manifestations of a vivid interest in the questions which concern you, Poles in America, more than them, your interest must be aroused. You now regret that you know so little about Poland. You need deplore the fact that you have forgotten the language, and you become convinced that you ought to learn it. It must be now apparent to you that the cause of Poland is not lost. Realizing all these facts you must—and you will—with a great zeal begin to learn the language if you have forgotten it, or speak it on all possible occasions if you have not to this time been inclined to do so.



STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

OF Free Poland, published semimonthly at No. 984 Milwaukee Ave., for April 1, 1916.
STATE OF Illinois
COUNTY OF Cook

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and County aforesaid, personally appeared John S. Skibinski who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of the Free Poland and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief a true statement of the ownership, management of the aforesaid publication for the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Name of—	Post office address—
PUBLISHER Polish National Council of America	984 Milwaukee ave., Chicago.
EDITOR John S. Skibinski.	
MANAGING EDITOR John S. Skibinski	
BUSINESS MANAGERS Press Committee of Polish National Council	N. L. Piotrowski Pres. of Committee

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5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is— (This information is required from daily publications only.)

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 17 day of April, 1916.
JOHN S. SKIBINSKI, Editor.
John Jankowski.

(Seal). (My commission expires Aug. 9th 1919).