

# FREE POLAND

A SEMI-MONTHLY

## *The Truth About Poland and Her People*

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### President Wilson's Message to the Polish Delegation at Washington

"This is a matter which has engaged my thought constantly, I might say without exaggeration, and I do not think that there is any matter to which the state department has devoted a more constant and repeated effort than that of trying to get relief into Poland. I know the terrible conditions—the tragic conditions—that exist there, and nobody could know them without feeling his heart torn with the knowledge.

"Just the other day we issued a special appeal to the governments concerned to make concessions and allow this humane thing to be done. Now I am simply up against a stone wall in the matter. If they do not yield, obviously there is nothing I can do. I cannot force food in there without complicating the situation, and without, I conjecture, doing greater disservice to Poland than service. Her only friends are apparently at a disadvantage.

"But I can assure you that every kind of pressure will be brought in the accomplishment of this object. I desire, as well as all those associated with me desire, to help her, and as a remainder it was most unnecessary that you should come. I mean I was not forgetful of Poland and was not likely to be forgetful of her, but that makes your visit none the less impressive and none the less welcome, and you may be sure I will continue to do everything that is possible."

# Prussia and Poland

The Polish Committee of Los Angeles, Cal., avails itself of every opportunity to express Polish national hopes and aspirations.

To the Los Angeles Times it sent the following letter:

The Polish-American War Sufferers' Relief League of Los Angeles obtained information from the Polish Central Relief Committee, in Lausanne, Switzerland, concerning the German colonization project, whereby the German soldiers crippled in the war will be enabled to purchase land or open industries, and the German Parliament assigned the sum of 100,000,000 marks to facilitate the project. ....

...Unfortunately, as we are informed, the Polish soldiers of the German army, crippled in the battles, will be excluded from the privilege of buying land in their own country.

The petition of the Poles for the land and the colonization in their own country for the Polish soldiers has been rejected.

This is the evidence of hostility against the Polish nation and the tendency to kill the Polish patriotism and extirpate the Polish nation.

Mr. Schoedemer, Minister of Agriculture, announced that Germany will assist the German colonization and will disregard the Polish claim to give a chance for a

home to the Polish soldiers in their own country. Polish invalids will be thus compelled to leave their own country and to look for a home in the German territory.

This means the entire suppression of the Polish element and the entire Germanization of the Polish provinces.

The attitude of the commission on German colonization toward the Polish crippled soldiers is hostile and will not inspire any confidence or give any hope to the nation.

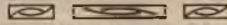
The declaration of Von Bessler in his speech before the Parliament was explicit when he stated: "We Germans have no purpose to free Poland from Russia, but to advance our own interests." So from this we can see that Poland has nothing to expect from Germany.

No wonder that Poles cannot be reconciled with the German promises, nor rely upon any assurances of Polish national independence.

Yet we shall not give up our demand that Poland shall be free, and we are determined to protest before the powers of the world against the German anti-Polish action.

Poland has been violently and unjustly suppressed, but is not lost yet, and we demand Polish national freedom — the independence of Poland.

POLISH COMMITTEE.



## "Poverty and Misery Ruling Poland"

If the International News Service reports can be credited, Dr. Karl Liebknecht, the Socialist leader of Berlin, was sentenced to thirty months in prison for attempted high treason, and, in addition to his sentence of penal servitude, was dismissed from the army.

Part of the charge was based upon a manifesto Liebknecht circulated which was suppressed by the government. This manifesto said, in part:

"Poverty and misery, need and starvation are ruling in Germany, Belgium, Poland and Serbia, whose blood the vampire of imperialism is sucking and which resemble vast cemeteries. The entire world and much-praised European civilization are falling into ruins through the anarchy which has been let loose by the world war.

Those who profit from the war want war with the United States. To-morrow, perhaps, they may order us to aim lethal weapons against new groups of brethren, against our fellow workers in the United States, and fight America, too.

"Consider well this fact: as long as the German people does not arise and force through its own will, the assassination of the people will continue.

Let thousands of voices shout: "Down with the shameless extermination of nations!" "Down with those responsible for these crimes!"

Our enemy is not the English, French or Russian people, but the great German land proprietors, the German capitalists and their executive committee.



## A Lesson to U. S.

Mr. Anthony Czarnecki, on the DAILY NEWS staff, spoke, July 5, before the Chicago Association of Commerce at Hotel La Salle:

He said, in part:

Poland when in peace and independence was a land of milk and honey like our own United States. Like our own United States, the people as a nation did great service for the world. Alien powers from without began to meddle and endeavor to influence the course of affairs in Poland. The generosity and open heartedness of the Polish nation permitted it without suspicion until finally they rushed in and took away its lands and endeavored to crush out its very life.

In this country we should keep in mind the fate of

Poland and the lesson which tells what is bound to follow if alien influences whether working from within or from without this country are permitted to influence or sway our government and affairs here.

Then, too, although known as a nation of knights and warriors who fought and died for the cause of civilization and Christianity, Poland was as the United States now is, insufficiently prepared to protect itself from outside invasion of prepared armies.

Preparedness would have saved Poland from falling prey to the rapacity of foreign powers which were opposed to that country and its people because within it were observed and from it emanated the same principles upon which now the American nation and the American government stands.



## “A Deliberate Sentence of Death”

Mr. John F. Smulski, of Chicago, acted as chairman of the delegation of representatives of Polish organizations, who left for Washington to ask the proper authorities to aid them in getting food to the starving people of Poland. Mr. Smulski told the president that apparently “a deliberate sentence of death has been passed against the people of Poland.”

Introduced to the president by Senator Hitchcock of Nebraska, Mr. Smulski spoke as follows:

In the hour of the greatest calamity confronting a nation, we, the chosen representatives of an organization united in the Polish central relief committee, embracing nearly all of the 4,000,000 residents and citizens of the United States of Polish birth or extraction, present to you, Mr. President, our appeal that you as president of the United States raise your voice in protest against what appears to be a deliberate sentence of death passed upon the inhabitants of the kingdom of Poland.

Galicja or Austrian Poland from the very beginning of the war suffered almost complete devastations by repeated movements of armies over her territory. Russian Poland, although visited by the hardships of war, was not in danger of starvation. A year ago the Russian armies which were in possession, began to evacuate and a hurried retreat over Polish territory took place, followed by the invasion of German and Austrian forces.

Tremendous stores of food and provisions were destroyed and thousands of villages and towns leveled with the ground by the retreating Russian armies as “an inevitable necessity of war.” In a comparatively brief period nearly the whole of the kingdom of Poland was occupied by the armies of the central powers. Then reports came that requisitions by the occupying armies stripped the entire country of the rest of its native stocks and stores.

The situation became more acute from day to day until in November and December, 1915, it became so appalling that representatives of the American Red Cross society, the Rockefeller Foundation and the commission for the relief of Belgium took notice and endeavored to start relief work. On Jan. 4, 1916, the United Polish Organizations of America actuated by humanitarian motives and mindful of their blood relationship, organized a relief mo-

vement to send food and provisions to the stricken districts in Poland. Efforts were made to secure from Great Britain a modification of the blockade which would permit landing of ships at Danzig.

The American organizations mentioned above promised generous assistance. Great Britain was appealed to. Russia and Austria were approached through their embassies at Washington. Our state department rendered assistance. Herbert C. Hoover, chairman of the commission for relief in Belgium, made heroic efforts to bring about an understanding between Great Britain and Germany. Exchanges of telegrams and communications continued for months and meanwhile the Polish people starved. At least there was hope of success. Great Britain agreed to permit shipment of supplies from America under conditions to be observed by the central powers. These conditions, however, were rejected.

Now word comes from the other side: ‘Abandon all hope for Polish relief.’ This sounds like a death-sentence. There can be no illusion about it. The treatment of and the attitude of the neighboring powers toward the Polish people during this war demonstrates their design to obtain control and hold possession of Polish territory unincumbered by its hereditary owners.

Germany refuses to give the guaranty demanded by the allies that food sent to Poland from America and such supply of food as may exist there be not requisitioned by the occupying armies, but be taken as a whole and preserved for the civil population. Russia does not reply to a telegram sent two months ago by the united Polish organizations of America relative to her position of food situation in Poland.

We are unwilling to abandon hope and we bring our protest to the only tribunal of humanity and justice, the United States of America. We respectfully submit the justice of our claim that the president of the United States has the right to demand that America and American citizens who are willing to share in the work of salvation be given the opportunity of sending to Poland the necessaries of life which will save its remaining population from a lingering death. Let the world be told by the president of the United States that humanity cannot acquiesce in the murder of millions of innocent people.

# A Bilingual Nation

The Polish nation has always been a bilingual nation, although not always from voluntary choice. The times of Poland's independent existence fall within the period of the predominance of Latin as the language of the church, literature and politics. And Polish upper classes then studied and knew both Polish and Latin.

When the court of the Louises in France gradually made French the language of diplomacy and polite life throughout the world—in Poland again, all those that studied languages at all, knew and used both Polish and French.

Later when our unfortunate country became the prey of military neighbors, the nation of necessity learned the language of officialdom alongside with the mother tongue.

Poles together with other Slavonic races have developed a language that in difficulties of its grammar and in contrasts and gradations of sounds surpasses other European languages; hence educated Poles, again alongside with other Slavs, find the acquisition of other tongues, at least for practical purposes, a rather easy problem. And so Poles for centuries have been and are a bilinguistic nation. It has not been too great a task upon their intellectual abilities and has singularly enriched their point of view in dealing with other nations.

The need for the Poles of America to understand and to be understood in this country is even greater than their similar needs as one of the nations of Europe. Here Poles are not a separate body dealing with other bodies, not even an organ of the whole, as under the foreign rules; here the Poles are, alongside with many other nations, cells and particles that compose the tissues of the same whole. Hence an imperative need for the Poles to maintain their efficiency as a bilingual nation. They must keep up the Polish for the ideal and spiritual associations with their own race and past; they must gain the English for the sake of adjustment to the immediate surroundings and of associative possibilities with the ideas and spiritual progress of this country, the world and the future.

The case of Poland and Belgium offers a fit illustration. Many Poles have been puzzled by unconscious duplicity of American help to the war-stricken countries. To deplore the cruelties of war and to assume the office of the Samaritan only to dispense charity, not according to needs but according to predilection—seemed to many Poles an indulgence in self-complacency rather than service to humanity in its broadest sense.

And yet — and yet, this is the same human nature

that acts in every one of us: prompts us to give hundreds and thousands to help our own kin while we label as beggars and allot a pittance to those outside our lives. Poland has been given that pittance because she is outside the conscious life of American nation, and she is thus situated because not enough Poles in America speak English well enough to come in contact with Americans in all walks of life and in conditions under which the leaders of the nation give recognition to demands.

And again what has been done for Poland in her hour of need by and through Americans has been done largely because some Poles could make her needs articulate, because some Poles were for the Americans the embodiment of Poland's merits.

And if these needs and these merits were not fully recognized is largely due to the lack of oneness and homogeneity of sympathy that a common meeting ground in language can give.

It is safe to go even further and assume that at the world's peace conference after the war, American representatives will advocate our rights to independence only to a degree to which Poles themselves will formulate these rights and plead for them convincingly before the forum of American public opinion. And this is impossible without the command not only of the arguments but also of language.

What is distinctly visible in large relations of life is printed in smaller letters in the experience of every Pole in America. The knowledge of English — of any kind of English, opens to the Pole in this country better chances of work, better treatment in the relations with authorities and with fellow citizens, fuller realization of civic and political rights. The knowledge of good English opens to every Pole in America practical limitless possibilities, because his inborn capacities and intelligence are equal to those of the best. Besides, his idealism and constitutional unselfishness makes of him a necessary element in every constructive work towards true Americanism.

Poles do not need to be afraid to shoulder in this country the burden of two languages, because this is the burden that their Fathers in Europe have carried with distinction for centuries. Rather their object must be to speak both languages well to make the study of both a means to higher discipline for intellectual acquisition and moral achievement.

H. STEIN-HAUSER.

## Jews and Poles

One frequently reads articles which portray the distressing conditions, political and economical, under which the Jews live in Poland.

Perhaps it will be well to repeat what Menie Muriel Dowie, an unbiassed observer, wrote in "A Girl in the Karpathians".

"Whatever may go on beyond the Russian frontier", she says, "the Jew in Poland has a very fair time. He may live where he pleases, is not hemmed into a slatternly quarter by a certain hour at night, has his own schools, may follow what trade he likes, controls the money af-

fairs in whatever quarter he is found, and is at liberty to pursue indefinitely his religion. This he does in a praiseworthy manner, sitting at his window all Saturday afternoon, making yarns of prayers, and walking on the Rialto in the neatest thin black shoes and the whitest of cotton stockings when the day is done. For the rest, he is at liberty to best, outdo, cheat, and take a mean advantage of his less sharpened Christian brethren all the other days of the week. This is surely as much indulgence as any one has a right to expect in any country."

# The Economic Bases for an Autonomous Poland

In the past winter the Polish press in Europe was engaged in extensively discussing the question whether Poland's political independence would not cause her economic ruin. The discussion has become so general that it overflowed the boundaries of the press and for a time became the subject of public debates and lectures in Petrograd Polish circles. Polish public opinion was divided in two camps, each expounding an opposite theory. The old, generally accepted view that Poland owed its economic prosperity to Russia, and that to retain that prosperity it was in the interests of Poland to remain a unity with Russia, is championed by Professor Petrazhitzky, an eminent scholar and publicist. The new theory that Poland could be economically self-supplying, and that political autonomy would also mean an economic blessing to Poland, is being effectively preached by Stanislaw Pekarski, Polish editor, and a cohort of journalists and economists. In the *Recht* (Petrograd) for March and April, I. Clemens, a Polish publicist, reviewed in a series of articles the arguments of the two factions.

The total value of Russian Poland's industrial products reached in 1910 the sum of 860 million rubles. To this sum the textile industries had contributed 390 millions, and the metallurgical — 110 millions. Three-fourths of the products of these two chief industries went to Russia. The same phenomenon is observable in the haberdashery industry. When one should add to this the various other industries, like shoe, clothing, furniture, etc., the total Polish export to Russia will eloquently speak for itself. Also, in the life of Poland the most important part was played by those events which in one way or other helped to promote closer economic unity between Russia and the Polish Provinces.

In this respect the 1851 marks a historic occasion, as on that date custom-duties between Poland and Russia were abolished. Then, the connection of Warstw and Lodz with Petrograd, Moscow, South Russia and Siberia by a railroad system was of tremendous import. The Russian markets on one hand, Russia's protective tariff, guarding her industries from foreign competition, on the other hand, furnished the bases for the industrial development of the "Russian Belgium" — Poland, the "Polish Manchester" — Lodz, nourishing and supporting them.

The economic tie, binding Russia and Poland, having become an organic tie, was ignored by the Polish press, it being in contradiction to the traditional Polish ideals and aspirations. But *tacit consensu* it was recognized by all, and considered as a fact. Nevertheless, no party but the Social Democratic dared to proclaim this view as a starting point for a Polish political program. Only in the critical hour of the outbreak of the war in Poland, when the economic unity of Poland and Russia was clearly proved by events, there began to appear groups, factions in Poland whose political orientation was based on that unity. In 1914 these elements gained much strength, drawing their power from the masses that have been bound by a thousand ties and links to that social-economic structure which came into existence as a result of Polish-Russian relations. These forces, even before the Grand Duke's manifesto, were awaiting some kind of a real or superfluous move, in order to go over to the Russian side and put their trust in Russian policies. "Our Polish press", wrote at that time Pekarski, "evidently con-

siders the question of the benefit to Poland of its economic union with Russia as settled, and therefore evades reference to this ticklish problem, dreaming, one imagines, that we, Poles, will get not only the opportunity for a political existence, but — that we shall also retain the opportunity for further exploiting Russia economically."

The latest theory, however, is fully contradictory to the above statements. The modern school of Polish economists claims that conditions have so changed that it is no longer profitable for Poland to be united with Russia economically that it is Russia which is now interested in Poland as a market for the products, and that Poland's economic independence would guard against foreign industrial aggression and promote her economic interests. M. Clemens goes on to review the history and arguments of the new view.

As far back as 1905 the Polish economist Radiszewski came to the conclusion that Poland could be a self-supplying economic organism, given her natural resources, her own government, and her outlets to the sea. In 1913 V. V. Zhukovski wrote that "the Polish industries.... are unable to capture their own home markets. More than a third of the textile products consumed in Russian Poland are supplied by Russian plants. And this import from Russia is constantly growing."

Poland's industrial power is her textile industry. It furnishes Poland a yearly profit of 150 millions, derived from exports to Russia. But at the same time it is Poland's sore spot, as not a single other Polish industry is as much dependent upon Russian markets as the textile. In this fortress of Polish industries—Hannibal ante portas: the Russian products, imported from Russia, like cotton, wool and linen material, beat the Polish products in their own markets. Moscow triumphantly competes with Lodz within the boundaries of Poland. In the years 1900-1910 the export of textile products from Poland to internal Russia was growing at the annual rate of one per cent, while the export of the same products from Russia to Poland was growing at the rate of 3.7 per cent annually. "If this process should continue", writes Pekarski, "in the near future the Empire would cease being a market for Poland's textile products, and an entirely opposite situation would arise—Poland would become a market for Russia's textile industry."

The case of Belgium proves that separation from industrial markets, the formation of a state in a portion of the original state, is not economically dangerous. When Holland and Belgium were one state, the latter was supplied with raw material by the former and its colonies, while they in return were supplied with manufactured products by Belgium. Since 1831 Belgium is separated from Holland by a tariff barrier, and Belgian industries in spite of the predictions of the manufacturers of Ghent and Liege, have not only refused to perish, but prospered greatly.

Poland, therefore, can have no fear of becoming an independent state. Her political autonomy would, if the views of the modern school are correct, be the cause of her economic prosperity, and not ruin. What Poland will need then is not Russia, but capital. With her dense population, enterprise, and political independence she would have no trouble in securing foreign capital, and this would assure for her, from the standpoint of these writers, a brilliant economic future. — REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

# Helping Poland

(Leroy T. Vernon's correspondence to the CHICAGO DAILY NEWS)

Washington, D. C., July 11. — In response to repeated inquiries as to the status of diplomatic negotiations which have been continuously carried on for months under the supervision of William Phillips, assistant secretary of the department of state, with a view to an agreement among the belligerent powers for the relief of the starving millions of Poland, the state department Jul. 11 authorized The Chicago Daily News to publish an authoritative memorandum setting forth these negotiations in official detail. This publication comes on the eve of a plea to President Wilson by John F. Smulski and other Chicago Poles that he use his good offices toward a compromise.

The memorandum shows that both the allies and the central powers have made preparations as to terms under which relief supplies may be sent to Poland.

That there are important differences in the terms of the two proposals.

That the state department is endeavoring to induce the allies and the central powers to agree upon some plan which will permit the sending of supplies to Poland.

The last step taken by the department to this end was on July 7, when it sent a telegram to the American ambassadors at London, Paris, Vienna and Petrograd, asking the belligerents "in the name and interest of humanity, whether it is not possible for the powers on each side to make such mutual concessions in the terms proposed by them for the regulation of shipment of relief supplies into Poland, as to make it possible for an agreement to be reached under which relief can be given to the suffering inhabitants of Poland."

The memorandum sets forth in full the memorandum of May 10, 1915, from the allies, stating the terms upon which they would agree to relief measures in Poland: a telegram from Ambassador Gerard at Berlin of May 31, stating the terms which would be acceptable to Germany; a telegram of June 20, giving the attitude of Russia, and a note from Earl Grey to Ambassador Page at London of June 15, stating wherein the German counter-proposals in their present form are unacceptable to the allies. In this document Earl Grey asserts the chief objection of the allies to the German proposal lies in the fact that the relief proposed is mainly for German Poland and that Germany seems unwilling to co-operate with Austria not only for the relief of all Poland, but for the relief of Serbia, Montenegro and Albania, which their joint armies occupy.

The authoritative memorandum in full is as follows:

For many months the department has been endeavoring to bring about an agreement between the various belligerent powers in Europe under which relief supplies might be shipped to Poland to be distributed among the suffering inhabitants of that country.

The recent developments and the present situation in this matter are as follows:

On May 22, 1916, the department received through the American ambassador at London a printed memorandum from the British foreign office stating the terms upon which the allied governments would permit and assist in furnishing transportation of supplies for the relief of the civilian population of Poland. This memorandum was as follows:

On Feb. 21 last the United States ambassador communicated to Earl Grey a memorandum embodying the following proposals for affording relief to Poland:

"There are approximately 15,000,000 people in the German occupied eastern area, including Russia Poland and western Russia. Of this population between 3,500,000 and 4,000,000 people are concentrated in or in the immediate neighborhood of the cities of Warsaw, Lodz, Schen-zochow, Vilna, Kovno and Belletap.

"In order to handle the problem of provision from a practical point of view and at the same time with proper safeguards as to all the international phases in the matter, the following basis is proposed:

"1. The American commission shall undertake the revictualing of the above mentioned cities only.

"The German government to undertake to furnish to the cities above mentioned a supply which will cover a ration of 400 grammes of potatoes per diem per capita; 10 grammes of sugar per diem per capita; 3 grammes tea per diem per capita.

"The American commission to import cereals to an amount which will afford a ration of 340 grammes per diem per capita of wheat, or beans, peas, rice, maize, also with 40 grammes of fats per diem per capita, and a moderate amount of condensed milk for children.

"2. That the German government shall undertake to revictual the whole of the balance of the population in the occupied territory.

"3. The German government will undertake to devise financial means for the provision of gold exchange abroad to pay for the foodstuff purchased by the American commission. The allies to give necessary permit for these financial operations by the commission.

"4. The German government will make the necessary arrangements to turn over to the commission sufficient German shipping to do the entire transportation from North America or other places to Danzig.

"5. The revictualing to last only until Oct. 1, at which time the new harvest will take care of the entire civilian population.

"6. The German government to undertake that there shall be no interference with the imported foodstuffs. That they will be consumed absolutely by the native civilian population; that the American commission furnish every facility for the control of the revictualing of the cities in question, including the German contribution to the ration.

"7. In order to carry out the above it will be necessary to import approximately 40,000 tons of foodstuffs a month. It is proposed that such portion of these foodstuffs as go to the well to do population should be sold, and in this particular the German Government is prepared to give free railway transportation over the occupied areas and one-half railway rates over the German state railroads. It is proposed to provision the destitute without cost."

His majesty's government at once referred to question of principle involved in these proposals to the Russian government, which has now accepted it. His majesty's government is accordingly prepared to agree to the immediate inauguration of the above arrangement, provided the German and Austro-Hungarian governments are pre-

pared to give certain assurances. In assenting in principle to the grant of relief to a territory occupied by the enemy, in spite of the statements recently published by the German authorities that they are in reality able to relieve the Polish population unaided, his majesty's government feels that it has made a concession in return for which it has a right to demand that its enemies shall now at length place beyond doubt their intentions toward the populations of occupied territories, whose treatment by them in the past has been so much at variance with the responsibility of civilized warfare and the dictates of humanity.

The assurances required are as follows:

"1. The scheme submitted by the United States ambassadors relates only to that part of Russian Poland at present in the occupation of the German forces. His majesty's government considers it essential that any system of Polish relief should apply to Russian Poland as a whole, and they cannot recognize the existing division into two spheres occupied, respectively, by German and Austro-Hungarian troops. There must be a definite undertaking by the two governments that the export from the whole of Russian Poland of all foodstuffs, native or imported, will be absolutely prohibited, and that any excess over domestic needs which may exist in the southern part under Austrian administration (which is understood to be self-supporting) will be employed exclusively for the provisioning of northern Poland, whether such foodstuffs are utilized to supply the towns under the care of the relief commission or the country districts to be revictualled by the German government.

"2. It is understood from a document which has been communicated to his majesty's government by Mr. Walcott of the Rockefeller Foundation, and of which a copy is annexed to this memorandum, that the German authorities in northern Poland undertake that all food supplies originating in Poland shall be used exclusively for the civil population and the constabulary. His majesty's government cannot admit that the constabulary should be allowed to use native foodstuffs which have subsequently to be replaced by supplies imported by the relief commission. They must, therefore, request that in this respect the constabulary should be replaced on the same footing as the occupying army.

"3. From the same document it appears that the German authorities wish to export from Poland any excess of the potato supply. As a result of the experience which they have gained in connection with Belgian relief his majesty's government is most reluctant to agree to the exportation from Russian Poland of so called excess supplies, since the question of what constitutes an excess is largely a matter of opinion. Nevertheless, in order not to prolong the negotiations, his majesty's government agrees to the export of potatoes at such times and so long as, in the opinion of the neutral relief authorities, an excess supply in fact exists over and above the requirements of the whole of Russian Poland.

"4. The German vessels mentioned under paragraph 4 of Mr. Page's proposal must fly a neutral flag, be under the sole control of a neutral body to be agreed upon, be manned by neutrals, and be run entirely at the expense of the German authorities.

"5. It should be understood that the responsibility of the German government is not ended by the supply of the partial ration mentioned in the above scheme of relief. His majesty's government cannot undertake to allow the relief commission to import more than a minimum supplementa-

ry ration over and above the maximum which the enemy are in a position to supply at any given time.

"6. The neutral relief authorities in Poland must enjoy absolutely free and unfettered facilities for the communication to their London office of any data connected with their work. They must have every facility to satisfy themselves of the manner in which the undertakings of the German and Austro-Hungarian governments are being carried out in all parts of Poland. It is, of course, understood that the German relief officer for the civil population mentioned in the enclosed memorandum before alluded to shall have no control of any kind over and shall in no wise interfere with the complete discretion of the American commission or its representatives.

"7. The German and Austro-Hungarian governments should undertake as a part of the present arrangement adequately to supply and care for the population of Serbia, Albania, and Montenegro, all of which countries are now being reduced to a state of starvation through the removal for the use by the occupying forces, of the supplies of native foodstuffs. The carrying out of this undertaking should be under the supervision of neutral subjects or organizations in those countries.

"His majesty's government trusts that the above proposals, which represent merely the renouncement of indefensible practices and assurances for the due respect of the lives and rights of the population of occupied territories in the future, will meet with the prompt acceptance of the German and Austro-Hungarian governments, so that the necessary preliminary arrangements may be made without delay.

"Foreign office, May 10, 1916."

On May 24 the American ambassador at London notified the department that he had transmitted copies of this memorandum to the American ambassador at Berlin and Vienna.

The department on May 24 instructed the American ambassador at Berlin and the American ambassador at Vienna to deliver to the governments to which they were respectively accredited a copy of this memorandum and to ascertain their attitude.

On May 31 the department received the following cablegram from the American ambassador at Berlin, giving the terms of the agreement which he thought Germany would make relative to relief supplies for Poland:

"Have had conference to-day with Geheimrat Lewald representing interior department, Geheimrat Grunewald representing foreign office, Prince Lubecki of Polish Committee and Donovan and Stoever of Rockefeller commission. Germany cannot accept the proposition as made by England, because Germany can contract only as to Polish territory in her own control. However, in my opinion, there is no doubt but arrangements similar to one outlined below can be made with Austria. Please note that all towns named are in territory occupied by Germany.

"Germany cannot make question of relief of Poland dependent on Germany and Austria relieving Serbia, Montenegro and Albania, since Germany is not in control of those countries.

"I think an arrangement on the following lines can be made:

"First, the arrangement to apply to all Polish territory occupied by Germany commencing fifty kilometers back of firing line.

"Second, Germany will give to inhabitants of cities to be relieved the ration proposed.

(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."**Germany, Austria and Poland**

JOURNAL DE GENEVE, in an article entitled the "Fourth Partition of Poland", remarks that at the beginning of the war the Germans intended to form a buffer state out of the Kingdom of Poland, with a show of independence, but really economically and politically dependent on Germany. This combination did not suit Austria. It likewise was vigorously opposed by the crown prince as well as by General Hindenburg, whose influence at present is enormous and who, considering himself the principal factor of German military success, desires to have a voice in the matter. Those of Hindenburg's persuasion prefer obvious annexation to any shadow of independence for Poland. This opinion seems to be all-prevalent in Germany to-day.

Burian's journey to Berlin was caused by the differences of attitude between Berlin and Vienna toward the Polish Question. The diplomacy of these two countries is endeavoring to find a compromise between the annexation policy of Hindenburg and the crown prince and the dynastic ambitions of the House of Habsburg.

At present, the JOURNAL DE GENEVE reports, negotiations aim to effect the following combinations:

Besides Courland, Germany is to acquire the western part of Lithuania with the Lithuanian speaking population, some of it Polish speaking. The remaining part of Lithuania is to revert to Russia.

The Kingdom of Poland is to be divided between Germany and Austria, 2½ to 8 millions of inhabitants are to come under Prussian domination (they call this eine kleine Grenzverbesserung); the remaining nine millions to fall under Austrian. The German border will be a strip which marks the government of Suwalki and cuts off the adjacent parts of the governments of Lomza, Plock and Warsaw, and the boundary is to extend up to the governments of Kalisz and Piotrkow, so that Zagłębie Dąbrowskie will be incorporated in Germany.

Without awaiting the eventual arrangement of this territorial division, the Germans already May 1st decided to include the government of Suwalki within the administrative sphere of Lithuania, with its seat at Vilna.

Finally, Galicia is also to be divided. The western part together with the Austrian part of the Kingdom is to belong to Austria in a dualistic manner (like Croatia to Hungary), with a relatively large autonomy. Eastern Galicia, however, largely inhabited by Ruthenians and joined to the government of Chelmno, is to become an Austrian province — at the request of the general Austrian staff — under a military administration.

The JOURNAL DE GENEVE claims that though not all the difficulties have been removed, yet the negotiations have led to certain definite results in the arrangements.

This war must determine the status of all oppressed nationalities. But half-measures will not settle the question—they will only spell an armistice, not a permanent solution of the intricate problems of Europe.

**"The Defense of Poland"**

In 1812, there appeared under this title in Paris a study by Georges de Despots de Zenowicz, in which he refutes the slanders against Poland (quite numerous at the time), hurled by the enemies of Poland. We reproduce some passages from the PREFACE, which may be of interest to the Reader.

The PREFACE reads in part:

Poland has changed her system; her former honor, as well as her power, have been destroyed; but the nation which peoples this republic has not been extinguished, and it cannot be indifferent to other peoples to become better acquainted with it: Poland has conserved her energy, her courage and has not lost the rights which she has had so long to her glory

Up to this day this nation,—and it will easily be respected in the world when it will be shown in its true lights and when the numerous obstacles to its cultural and political development will be overcome — has been neither known nor appreciated; a fatality even seems to



have opposed the fact of its ever receiving the fruits of the esteem which she had brought about by the illustrious services rendered to the people of the continent.

The prevalent erroneous impression with reference to Poland emanates solely from the unusual activity and bad faith of the writers who have spoken of her; the sentiment by which these are swayed, had for its foundation ignorance for one, and, on the other hand, venality of partisan spirit. It is inconceivable that these writers, though far from deploring the destiny of a nation which distinguished itself in war and statesmanship, and which, though now of the second rank, has attracted the attention of the world and won its respect, should try to excel one another, in their respective works, in this mission of hatred. It seems as if they had secretly adopted the system of the ambitious power which wished to seize the inheritance of Poland: these writers have shown in these views on Poland the unique causes of her destruction and they have deemed them worthy of their sad lot. The historians, who have been of good faith, swayed by the same motive, have in their turn condemned the nation in this respect and misguided by the opinion of the former, have discovered only disorder reigning in Poland, caused by nothing but the vices of her inhabitants: if they had well known these causes, they would have justified her people, and would have learned that the existence of Poland as an independent state, despite difficulties, was due to the many splendid qualities of her people. But while making these wholesale charges, do these writers fail to see that similar accusations could be brought against all the peoples indiscriminately? Undoubtedly they would have been less bent upon underrating the history of Poland, if they had, above all, considered the fact that no European nation is exempt from faults or vices, and, in fact, recriminations could be brought against many European nations which would put them in a very poor light indeed.

While speaking of this error so common with writers on Poland, in order to show their partiality, their lack of consistence of opinion, and the falsity of their observations, or those of the sources upon which they have based their argument, I should make mention of an error which is no less great, and which has caused them to see Russia in an entirely different light from what she really is. This last "error" has a reason best known to the author himself.

Writers, enemies of my country, you have quite forgotten the duties of your state, which should have justice and truth for its basis; you have vilified the dignity of historian, while dealing kindly by the rich and powerful nation... You have long sought to impress the seal of contempt upon the brow of her from whom you expect only the simple acknowledgment of esteem.....

## The Committee of Slavic Journalists

The Committee of Slavic Journalists, with its headquarters in New York, aims to unite all Slavs for a more systematic work in behalf of the lesser Slavic nationalities of Europe. It issued the following call for a convention:

Guided by the highest ideals of all humanity prevalent in this God's own country of liberty and democracy, a Committee of Journalists of all the Slavic Nations, representing Bohemia, Croatia, Poland, Russia, Serbia, Slovakia, and Slovenia, at a meeting held in New York on May 24th, 1916, passed a resolution calling a Convention of the Journalists of all the Slavic Nations in the United States, to take place in New York City from August 26th to August 29th 1916.

All the Slavic Nations, except Russia and Bulgaria, are to-day, as they have been for many centuries, under the foreign yoke.. During all that time they have been freely giving to the large powers their blood, their labor and their resources, — and all this for the sole benefit of their oppressors. Indeed, were it not for the lands and the population of the Slavic Nations, those larger States certainly would not be as powerful as they are to-day. It has been the might of the Slavic Nations that has made them so formidable, and still the oppressors are their lack of unity.

In the United States there are eight and one-half millions, and in Europe, not counting Russia, about sixty million Slavs, who if united, would be as numerous as Germany, making them in population alone the third nation in Europe; first Russia, second Germany and third the united minor Slavic Nations.

By devoting our energies and our talents to our own cause we could not only achieve the betterment of our own people in the United States, but could secure the liberation of the oppressed country of our kinsmen.

The Slavic Press in Europe, being muzzled by the respective censors, is powerless to guard Slavic national interests or advance any opinion as to their future. It is our sacred duty not only towards our mother country, but towards our brothers who are to-day being slaughtered all over Europe for the benefit of others, to organize ourselves in this free country for the protection of our own interests and to undertake the work which, without us, our brothers at home are unable to perform.

The Press, being the mirror of the thoughts and aspirations of every community, guiding its readers to high ideals, should be enlisted in the cause of the Slavs. An organization should be formed for the purpose not only of guarding our own interests but enlightening America and the rest of the world as to the might of the Slavic Nations, informing them through the Press who they are, what their history is and what their demands are for the future.

We should devote ourselves to pro-Slavic interests in this country, and while promoting loyalty to the United States, at the same time help our brothers in Europe in their struggle for independence.

With Fraternal Greetings,

BRETISLAV GREGR, Bohemia, 432 E. 71st St., N.Y.

ENGELBERT SVEHLA, Bohemia, 1390 2nd Ave. N.Y.

MILAN PETRAK, Croatia, 72 Pine Str., N. Y.

G. J. SOSNOWSKI, Poland, 59 Wall St., N. Y.

NIKITA STEPANOFF, Russia, 231 E. 17th St. N. Y.

DJORDJE STEJICH, Serbia, 34 Barclay St., N. Y.

MILAN GETTING, Slovakia, 1424 Vyse Ave., Bronx.

KAROL STIASTNY, Slovakia, 166 Ave. A, N. Y.

Dr. J. GORICAR, Slovenia, 1390, 2nd Ave., N. Y.

# Helping Poland

(Continued from p. 7)

"Third, Germany will undertake the remainder of population outside will be fed.

"Fourth. It is necessary that occupying or police army of about 150,000 men be fed on food bought in Poland. These troops are sometimes ten or fifteen in a village and difficulties of transport make this necessary.

"Fifth. Preparation as to ships accepted.

"Sixth. Germany will arrange to pay for goods wherever bought and their transport.

"Seventh. Germany agrees to proposition that excess potatoes shall be exported only when commission agrees and that no food is to be exported from Poland and used except as above stated. Provisions as to details of control can be arranged. Germany is willing to accept control as stated in contract signed by Geheimrat Lewald, Dr. Bicknell and me in April, 1915.

"Will get details as to numbers of occupying police army and how many in towns and how many in country."

In a supplemental telegram, dated June 13, the American ambassador at Berlin reports that the foreign office has stated to him that the conditions proposed in the above quoted telegram are entirely acceptable to the German government.

On June 2 the department quoted by cablegram to the American ambassadors at London, Paris and Petrograd, the cablegram received May 31 from the American ambassador at Berlin and instructed them to ascertain and report as to the attitude of the governments to which they were accredited on the position of the German government relative to this matter.

On June 20 the department received a telegram from the American ambassador at Petrograd stating:

"I just had audience with Sazonoff which requested June 6 concerning Poland relief. Delay caused by his absence. Declines passing on proposed plan before conferring with allies. Furthermore, positively objects to 150,000 soldiers, or anything near that number, being maintained in Poland. Sent Dearing to Sazonoff's assistant during minister's absence June 10, but was told Sazonoff would pass on question himself."

One June 15 the American ambassador at London received the following note from the British foreign office, replying to the German counterproposals relative to relief work in Poland:

"Foreign office, June 15, 1916.

"My Dear Ambassador: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of June 2, in which you are good enough to communicate the reply received from the German government to the proposals of his majesty's government for the relief of Poland. The phrase somewhat loosely used in this reply as to the arrangement being made 'to apply to all Polish territory occupied by Germany commencing fifty kilometers back of the firing line' is, I suppose, intended to allude only to the responsibility assumed by the German government to feed this area, and does not imply an attempt on the part of the German government to extend the importations of foodstuffs to be made by the American commission to any other districts but the cities specified in the original proposal, which you handed to me, and in my reply. His majesty's government could not, of course, for a moment consider importations to other destinations besides those towns. But I do not know whether his majesty's govern-

ment is to understand that the German government intends to allow the population within fifty kilometers of the firing line to starve.

"I do not think it is necessary at this point in the discussion to enter into any detailed analysis of the German reply, and I will confine myself to the two points of primary importance raised in it.

"The German government disclaims any responsibility for the relief of Serbia, Montenegro and Albania on the ground that it is the Austro-Hungarian government which is in control of those countries. I cannot accept this disclaimer knowing to what extent the policy of the central empires is controlled by the German government and knowing that it is, therefore, not a question of the German government exerting its 'good offices' with the Austro-Hungarian government, but of the two governments jointly assuming a responsibility toward the population whose territory has been invaded by their joint armies.

"Nothing short of a binding engagement of this kind, which the central powers are perfectly able to give, can satisfy the governments of the allies, who, in this matter are only asking for the same measure of joint action on the part of their enemies which they themselves have already taken in their consultation and their decision upon this question of Polish relief.

"The second point is, to my mind, of even greater importance. The German government disclaims responsibility for the Polish territory occupied by Austria on the ground that territory is not within the sphere of Germany's control. The governments of the allies regard Poland as a whole and they cannot allow the fate of its population to be parceled out between Germany and Austria, each country claiming a part of Poland in connection with their political schemes for the future, and each disclaiming responsibility for the part occupied by the other.

"Until there is agreement between the government of the central empires to throw the resources of the whole country into one and to give to the Poles, as Poles, the produce of the soil of their own country, the governments of the allies cannot move. This is a question of principle, but, even were it not so, the conduct of the Austro-Hungarian government, as it is developing at the present moment in southern Poland, would make it impossible for his majesty's government to leave that region out of account in the scheme of relief.

"I annex hereto a copy of an order issued by the Austrian governor-general of Lublin, which throws sufficient light on the methods of coercion and the intentions of exploitation which the Austrian government are employing and cherishing.

"For the rest, we must adhere to our original demands, which I still believe would be accepted as reasonable if the German and Austrian governments were sincere, and I can only trust that the efforts of the United States representatives in enemy countries and of the representatives of the American relief organizations will soon elicit a more satisfactory reply from the governments of the central empires.

"Believe me, my dear ambassador, yours sincerely  
E. GREY."

The royal, imperial and military governor-general of Lublin has published the following announcement:

"In May, when the spring work in the fields will be practically completed, the military administration will begin work within the territory administered by it on the building of roads and on the Vistula. Numerous laborers will be used for this purpose. The military administration will summon them from among the local population and

form them into labor detachments, each of which will be employed as far as possible within its own village or its neighborhood.

"It will, however, be impossible to avoid the employment of some detachments in other districts of the government than their own. It is, however, to be clearly understood that all labor detachments will be used exclusively within the territory of the government of Poland in Austro-Hungarian occupation. As need may arise, all men fit for work will be called upon. The only exception will be those to whom the district authorities may grant exemption in consideration of their profession or for other weighty reasons, in accordance with instructions issued to them. In case of need women will be employed, provided they come forward of their free will. The workmen will be properly paid and fed.

"The attention of the population is hereby drawn in advance to the forthcoming order and to its purpose, so that no one should give credence to false rumors. As work is concerned which will be of considerable economic advantage to the entire country, and in connection with which each particular workman will find a sufficient livelihood to maintain himself and his family, the military administration expects that all men fit for work will apply in their own well-understood interest for inclusion in the labor detachments and will in that way avoid compulsory orders. The intended works are unavoidably necessary from the military point of view, and must be carried out in any case. The military administration hopes that it will not be necessary to use compulsion.

"Lublin, April 26, 1916.

"For the Governor-General Dietrichstein, Major-General."

On July 5 the department instructed the American ambassador at Berlin by cable to present the substance of this note to the German government and to attempt to ascertain its attitude relative thereto. The department received no reply to the cablegram sent to the American ambassador at Paris relative to the German counterproposals.



## The Taking of Hostages

Mr. Czarnecki, of the DAILY NEWS, reports the seizure as prisoners or hostages of war by the Russians of many prominent Polish civilians and clergymen who were taken into the interior of Russia from Eastern Galicia, Austrian Poland.

The reason for these wholesale arrests was due to charges and suspicions spread by that powerful Russian secret service — the Ochrana.

Mr. Czarnecki writes in part:

Among the prominent civilians seized and taken into the interior of Russia were prominent men of Lemberg who, during the time when the Russian army occupied that city, worked hard to maintain order and peace, but later were seized and taken along by the Russian army when it retreated. Their names follow: Dr. Thaddeus Rutowski, vicepresident of the city of Lemberg, who, during the Russian army occupation acted as president or mayor thereof; Alexander Czolowski, director in chief of the city archives; Vladimir Baczynski, and Dr. Adolph Beck, professors of the Lemberg Polytechnic institution; Dr. Emil Habdank Dunikowski, professor of the University of Lemberg who, a few years ago, made a trip through the United States studying the conditions among that por-

On June 17 the department received a cablegram from the American ambassador at Vienna, in reply to its telegram of May 24, stating that the Austrian under-secretary of foreign affairs had promised to hasten reply of the military authorities on the whole question of relief in Poland, Serbia, Montenegro and Albania.

On July 7 the department sent the following telegram to the American ambassador at London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna and Petrograd:

"Inform government to which you are accredited that since the United States for many months, at the request of the various belligerent powers, has been acting as intermediary in the negotiations between the belligerents relative to a proposed agreement as to terms under which relief supplies may be introduced into Poland and distributed therein, and since all the negotiations have so far failed to result in any agreement which could bring about the desired result, although all the countries interested have manifested a willingness to permit relief supplies to be sent to Poland under certain specified conditions, the United States, therefore, in the name and interests of humanity, now appeals to all the belligerent countries to consider whether it is not possible for the powers on each side to make such mutual concessions in the terms proposed by them for the regulation of shipments of relief supplies into Poland that will make it possible for an agreement to be reached under which relief can be given to the suffering inhabitants of Poland.

"The United States is instructing its ambassadors to Austria, France, Germany, Great Britain and Russia to communicate this message to the government to which they are respectively accredited."

It thus appears that both the allies and the central powers have made proposals as to the terms under which relief supplies may be sent to Poland; that there are important differences in the terms of the two proposals; and that the state department is endeavoring to induce the allies and the central powers to agree upon some plan which will permit the sending of relief to Poland.

tion of America's citizenship which found a home in the United States after leaving Poland; Michael Karabanowski, senior police commissioner; Ernest Breiter, member of Austrian parliament; Dr. Michael Kociuba, inspector of schools; Zdzislaw Tranda, an editor; Eugene Oborski, an architect; Adam Kulczynski, a large store owner and merchant; Casimir Kenziarski, an extensive land owner; Dr. Joseph Gold, former member of parliament and mayor of the city of Zloczow; Dr. Ludwig Schneider, professor of the Lemberg gymnasium; Joseph C. Lubieniecki, court official, and Dr. Oswald Cion, oculist.

One of the most important personages taken into the interior of Russia is the Most Rev. Andreas Alexander Count Szeptyce-Szeptycki, the archbishop of the archdiocese of Lemberg-Halicz of the Church of the Greek Ruthenian rite, a union with the church authorities in Rome as against the Greek Orthodox church of Russia. This prelate is one of the pillars of the Roman Catholic Church of the Greek Ruthenian rite in recent years and has done effective work in bringing thousands of orthodox-Russian-Greek church followers into the Roman Catholic fold. He had been directing the work of more than 1,100 priests in 810 parishes attended by a total of about

1,250,000 people. His imprisonment in Russia at this time impeded the work of his church after the Austrians returned to the territory of Poland following the Russian retreat.

"Uncertainty as to the fate and the hardships of the men who were seized and taken into Russia strikes fear and anxiety into the hearts of the people who knew them", — said one of the leading priests of Lemberg to me.

The civilians who were hurried out of their homes were men commanding the greatest respect of the people, men who during the time of the Russian occupation gave valuable service in keeping peace and order in most trying times. The priests from the various towns who were taken away were doing splendid work in protecting the morals of the people. It is generally believed by us that the secret service of the so-called "Ochraná" was responsible for the taking of the prominent civilians and clergy out of the country and also in some cases the men removed from Poland were witnesses to some things which perhaps the retreating army did not wish to have the world know.

Various relief committees and Red Cross organizations in Poland and Austria have been making special efforts

to obtain information regarding these hostages or prisoners and to get aid to them.

Some of the Polish people in Poland, whose sympathies are with the British, French and Italians in the present struggle, and who expect these countries at the end of the war to prevail upon Russia and the central powers to see that justice is done to Poland, have endeavored to secure information and help for the men who were taken by force into the interior of Russia through the channels of these three governments. They do not know what success their efforts have had.

"Perhaps people in the United States who sympathize and desire to aid the suffering people of Poland in connection with their relief work will be able at least to get some information regarding these various prisoners by addressing inquiries to the ambassadors of the allies"—said one of the prominent Polish public men in Poland to me. "We do not know in most cases whether the captives are alive, whether they are sick or whether they are dead. THE DAILY NEWS can do a service if information can be obtained which can be transmitted to us as to what has happened to the various noncombatants taken into Russia. The men were too old in practically every case to serve in the army. What sufferings are they undergoing and why are questions we are unable to answer and can only guess."



## A Notable Anniversary

July 3rd last marked the 250th anniversary of the founding of the city of Newark, N. J.

On this occasion the Polish weekly, KRONIKA, of that city, in its issue of June 30th, published eloquent reasons for Polish participation in that event. Under the caption, Why We Celebrate, it writes as follows:

Here in this City we have about 25,000 loyal citizens of Polish birth, who will celebrate the great Newark Anniversary on Monday, July the 3rd.

The Polish people will celebrate the anniversary in their characteristic national customs, with pure American spirit and loyalty to this our City—Newark.

We will celebrate, to honor the City on its 250th birthday, and to show our appreciation and good will towards a place, where we have found an ideal shelter.

Among the early Polish settlers in Newark we find few as far back as seven decades ago.

The first Polish pilgrims we note in Washington's times. We will not repeat the history but will mention a few facts.

After Poland had suffered her first dismemberment, there came to America one of the chief warriors of the defeated Polish cause — Casimir Pulaski. Received in 1777 by Washington and Congress in Philadelphia with all the honors due to a celebrity, he soon after took command of what then constituted the Continental cavalry and first reorganized it along efficient lines. Creator of the so called Pulaski's Legion, he died, mortally wounded on the battlefield of Savannah, in 1779, while fighting for the cause and liberty of America. In gratitude the people of the United States, besides the monument at Savannah, Ga., erected a monument dedicated to his honor, which was unveiled in the year of 1910 in Washington..

The other great and unhappy hero of Poland — Thaddeus Kosciuszko — having been obliged, after a most gallant struggle against overwhelming numbers, to leave his

country, to its fate, came to America and by dint of his bravery and military skill helped champion the cause of freedom during the American Revolution.

Through the efforts of these two and other heroes of Poland, the two countries had come into contact for the first time — the one about to disappear from the world's stage because of the atrocious crime of partition, the other about to rise into the world's arena because of the genius of its sons and the aid of its foreign sympathizers.

The Polish heroes fought for independence and helped the Colonies "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessing of liberty."

Poland has always championed the cause of freedom and justice; we say of freedom, inasmuch as she was the bulwark of Europe against the barbarism of the East, because she received the Jews, the Hussites and emigrants of the Thirty Years' War when all the rest of the world would have none of them, and because she has ever held up high the torch of idealism; and we say of justice, because she has never believed in force and violence, while her greedless policy as carried towards her neighbors, is unparalleled, with perhaps one exception, in the history of the world.

Poland, once the pride of Europe, once the defender and protector of Christianity and its civilization, has been stricken out from the map of European nations by the ruthless hand of grasping tyranny.

That nation to-day awakens feeling of respectful sympathy in all those who honor courage and patriotism.

Poland after more than a century of bitter persecution is again filled with desolation and ruin: her cities, villages and hamlets are devastated; her soil is saturated with the blood of her own sons; her valleys are strewn with the bodies of the slain; her forests are filled with

widows and orphans without food and without adequate clothing, while thousands are dying daily from hunger and cold.

Poland in her long record of history has never wronged or oppressed any people, nor has she ever attempted to plunder from any people their sacred birthright of liberty. Never has she refused upon the invitation of the Church or weaker nations to undo the chains and to strike them off the limbs of the oppressed. Never has she drawn that sword, which she has wielded for centuries, in an unjust or a doubtful cause, never has Poland's sword shed a drop of blood unjustly but only in the defense of the highest, the holiest and the best of causes,—the Altar of God and the Altar of the nation.

For more than a century the Poles have groaned under the weight of oppression and tyranny which despotic governments have exercised over them. Often was the father's heart ready to break within his bosom, as he looked upon the son of his affection, and reflected on the wretchedness to which that son was born. Often has the tear of sorrow dimmed the mother's eye, as she looked abroad upon the misery that rested on her native land, and as she taught her child for the first time to lisp the name of Poland.

Poland, though crushed to the earth by the iron despotism of Russia, Prussia and Austria, has been fruitful in genius, and has given to the world some of the greatest musicians, artists, litterateurs, scientists, generals, an endless catalogue of names of surpassing greatness in all departments of human genius and human activity.

To-day more than a million of Polish soldiers are fighting in the armies of their oppressors. The bone, sinew and blood of Poland is engaged in a work — an

unhappy work — of slaughtering one another! Oh, how sad to think that the bravest soldiers that ever stood should thus be employed fighting for a cause of which they know nothing, and for monarchs who care nothing for them!

To-day Poland needs our aid, for who else is there to sympathize and to aid the war-stricken Poles in Russia, Germany and Austria? Let us then do all that is in our power to render them such assistance as we find in our power for the amelioration of this deplorable condition.

What can America and the other civilized powers do to make Poland free and independent? We know what has been done in the past can be done again. We know that the voice of Christendom thundered against the unspeakable Turk, and Greece was free. — We know America sympathized with Ireland's grievous wrongs and patriotic aspiration, and Home Rule followed. We know that the Stars and Stripes in the fullness of time drove the yellow flag of Spain from the fairest Island in the Antilles, and Cuba Libre was the result.

Hence, we Poles in America, being faithful to our constitution, practical, industrious, American in our ideals and sympathies and being obedient to the laws of our adopted country—hope that the day will dawn, when with the moral support of America and with the blessing of God, out of the ashes of her ruined hopes and ambitions, from the sacrifices of her splendid patriotism, from the blood of her martyrs, a new Poland will burst forth and contend for a place among the free and independent governments of the earth.

And here in Newark, we Poles, celebrating the great anniversary on the 250th year of settlement of the city, declare once more our love, loyalty and support for America and for the great city of NEWARK.

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# Ireland and Poland

## I.

The recent uprising in Ireland brought no more than an ordinary interest. In itself a weighty movement, capable of arousing the widest interest o t h e r w i s e, it lost its significance, we think, in the fact of the colossal European war, which has furnished a precedent for unusual political phenomena, which men grew accustomed to consider as commonplace occurrences, however far-reaching their result.

An uprising or revolution is not an ordinary affair, and no matter what the conditions of the time, it should merit a wide-awake interest. Usually the result of an imposition of unjust laws on a people which conflicts with their good and their dignity as a separate people, an uprising has for its end the abolition of such laws. A people, too, rebel at a foreign rule because it had been imposed on them contrary to their wishes, is opposed to their national traditions, and ultimately aims at their oppression, if not annihilation. A revolution in short indicates that there is something radically wrong with the ruling body of a society and it aims by violent measures to better it. Examples of such revolutions are not wanting in the history of men. The French revolution is one. The American war for Independence and the American revolution with their causes and their salutary effects are two other instances. The Polish uprisings give us no less significant examples of how a people will rise against its oppressors, as they were meant to shake off the foreign rule which heavily pressed the people. The revolutions in Austria which were more fortunate as they brought autonomy to the Hungarians, rested on the same principles. An uprising, then, or a revolution is intimately concerned with the good of a society and hence it justly awakens the interest of statesmen and, in fact, all classes of men.

The world, we are glad to note, offered the largest measure of sympathy for the noble cause of Ireland, and justly so. The truth that each nation has a God-given right to dispose of its own lot, is to-day being crystallized into the tendency to free all subjugated people. The world, it appears, has had enough of the struggle of the lesser nationalities against the annihilative greed of the larger nations, and it has demonstrated that it has tired of it, by generously endorsing the idea for which Casement has recently fought.

But if there is any nation that could and actually offered the largest measure of sympathy for Ireland in her recent noble effort to regain independence, it is no other than the Polish nation. Likeness begets friendship and sympathy. Like misfortunes create a mutual understanding—like struggles and like aims give birth to close acquaintance.

Ireland and Poland! How like twin sisters they look! In their very unlike geographical situation one beholds the most striking similarity — their national missions were the noblest of all — their national persecutions stand in a class all their own both for their intensiveness on the one hand and their futility on the other — their national indestructibility is phenomenal — their energy to-day, youthful and most active — all which augurs well for their national rebirths that are soon to follow. It is but natural that there should spring the closest sympathy between nations whose life, aims and ends border on being identical.

God entrusted all nations with a peculiar mission. The Jews were to preserve the primitive tradition; the Greeks, to realize the beautiful; the Romans, to develop the state. But Poland and Ireland were entrusted with the noblest of national missions; for Ireland was to teach the true faith and Poland to defend it. No one can fail to see in how far their respective geographical locations determined their political careers which were formally those of the fulfilment of their respective work. Ireland, the teacher, could not better prepare for the discharge of her mission than by spending long ages in preparation in the seclusion of her territorial monastery. The Isle of Erin was a happy place for the Irish. Here the Irish lived for themselves. Here Ireland was happily free from all that undesirable influence of thought and religion which easily found their way elsewhere. Here the Irish, unmolested, attained to a relatively high civilization long before Greece and Rome rose to intellectual prominence. Here we find their religion free from those pagan abominations which were wont to characterize it elsewhere. Here the Irish were early preparing to receive the teaching of the Redeemer, which, having once received it, they never swerved from. Poland's equally noble mission was to defend Christianity against the infidel. Unlike Ireland, Poland could not spend long ages in preparation; for Central Europe was then the very hot-bed of never ceasing migrations of peoples. Poland's appearance among the family of nations was sudden, exactly in keeping with the nature of her mission. Two powers were being developed: Christianity in the West and Infidelism in the East. The crash was becoming inevitable, and Poland was called upon to ward it off. Tumultuous Central Europe and the sequestered Isle of Erin, no resemblance between them at first sight; yet the closest resemblance in relation to their respective missions.

"The Irish", says Brownson' "are fulfilling an important mission in evangelizing the world." Of Poland Victor Hugo says: "While my own dear France was the missionary of civilization Poland was its Knight". Parsons expresses the same truth in different words when he said of Poland's mission: "Just as to the sword of France the Europe of the early Middle Ages owed its escape from imminent Mussulman domination, so does modern Europe owe to Poland the fact that she is not to-day either Turkish or Muscovite." Here we have expressed the true national missions in a nutshell. Perhaps no nation produced so many saints, sent forth so numerous a body of missionaries into foreign lands more strongly adhered to the principles of Faith than did the gallant Irish nation. "The Isle of Saints" is as fit an epithet of Ireland as it is well merited. Poland defended Christianity. "Most Orthodox" and the "Bulwark of Christendom" are her epithets which she merited through long ages of struggle against the barbarous East. Saints Poland produced very many, yet she is more properly called the land "of Knights", "the Knight among nations", for through her splendid existence of over thousand years, Poland gave birth to a galaxy of Knights that we seldom find amidst other peoples — not the Caesar or Napoleon type, not the Kaiser kind, but true Christian-Knights who fought not to inflict pain but to relieve mankind of suffering. Chrobry the Great, Henry the Pious, Czarniecki and Żółkiewski, Sobieski and Kościuszko and a legion of others — these were Knights that fought not in self-aggrandizement but for the good of

humanity at large. Leignitz, Warna and Vienna — these are three of the hundred places where Poland saved Europe before the Asiatic hordes.

Just why should Poland and Ireland be the most persecuted and ill-governed countries under heaven, — why they should have been denied religious freedom, denied their very national life, why they should have been doomed to extinction without effective protest on the part of other nations, we will yet have to learn. But what we have learned about them is this: that no matter what persecution and annihilative measures are yet in store for them — they shall not yield one iota of their faith and nationality — their very national soul. They have stood proof against all destructive hurricanes, hardened, as it were, and rendered indestructible by long ages of persecution.

No other two histories stand forth so conspicuous for their likeness as do those of Ireland and Poland. Both free prior to their subjugation, both in possession of their own laws, both settling their own affairs, both a happy people. But once the foreign yoke touched their shoulders, their usurpers used every possible means to denationalize them, to kill in them their national identity. If Ireland had her Elizabeth, Poland had her Catherine. If Ireland had her Henry VIII, Poland had her Nicholas I, and Alexander II. If Ireland had a Cromwell, Poland had a Bismarck. If Ireland had her deportations, Poland had them after her uprisings. If Ireland groaned under the penal laws which tended to make a total wreck of the people, Poland is suffering under an abject expropriation act which is the lost alternative of Germany to destroy the Polish race. Both Ireland and Poland are the staunchest Catholic countries in the world, and it is precisely for their Catholicity more than for their nationality that they have to suffer. Poland no more than Ireland could produce a Wycliff, a Luther, a Zwingli. This were opposed to the very mission with which God entrusted them. If Ireland did not forsake her religion in the midst of her crucial persecutions, neither did Poland. If of Ireland Abbe McGeoghegan could say: "that scarcely sixty Irishmen, take then all in all had professed the new doctrine", of Poland, during the time of the May Laws, which were intended to asphyxiate the church and to dry up her vital source, Parsons could fitly say: "Faithful above all others were the clergy of the Polish province of Prussia; out of 800 clergymen in the Archdiocese of Posen, only two were derelict." Both Ireland and Poland fell under foreign rules with religions opposed to their own and naturally their histories as subjugated nations were eminently those of struggle of one religion against the other. But religion being closely allied with nationality, their separate national traits proved an additional reason for resentive struggle against and antipathy to their usurpers. "Had the Irish followed England as a nation", says Thebaud somewhere in his history of Ireland" — "England would not have persecuted them." The same truth we glean from the words of the Russian czar Nicholas who is credited with saying: "There is no pardon..... so long as Polonism and Catholicism are not totally extirpated... and the happiness of Poland depends on the entire fusion with the rest of my empire". It is for religion first and then nationality that both Ireland and Poland suffered and continue to suffer, and it is this their suffering that makes them like twin sister-nations with a deep sympathy for one another. MacKintosh well understood the two countries when he said: "There are indeed several resemblances in the character and fate of these two unfortunate nations, who were both torn in

pieces by religious bigotry, — who both possessed an ingenious, accomplished, and gallant gentry — who gave a refined exterior to the community".

But it is their wonderful national indestructibility that makes them alike more than anything else. Nothing succeeded in blighting their nationality. To-day the Irish and the Polish are numerically stronger than they ever have been. They exhibit an energizing vitality which evidences itself in the vigorous growth of mental and spiritual life, and if all the nefarious measures, which have been launched against them ever since their downfall, accomplished anything, they consolidated them into insuperable bodies. They enkindled in them a love for their country and made them strongly patriotic. Yes, all the persecutions which Poland and Ireland suffered produced the very opposite effect from the one intended by their usurpers: They made the Polish more Polish and the Irish more Irish. If the Irish to-day possess their individuality as distinct as though they were ruled by the O'Neil dynasty, only that they are imbued with the greatest unity of feeling and devotedness to principles, the Polish to-day are certainly the very same as when ruled by the Piast dynasty; by Chrobry the Great, Batory and Sobieski, the Mighty; they are the very same as they were when they made that gallant and memorable fight for freedom and independence under Kościuszko. True, neither Ireland nor Poland are recognized as national units, and lack all the externals of a government, but if a nation is — as a writer in the North American Review (vol. CXV p. 389) puts it, "a race of men small or great, whom community of traditions and feeling binds together into a firm and indestructible unity and whose love of the same past directs their hopes and fears to the same future", then both Ireland and Poland are still two great nations of the world. When Thebaud in applying the above definition of a nation to Ireland, says: "Their traditional feeling keeps their past ever present to their eyes; their ardent nature hopes ever against hope; misfortune which would utterly break down and dishearten any other people, leave them still full of bright anticipations, and, as they seem to weep over the cold body of their mother — Erin, their country, they think only of her resurrection", he likewise draws a life-like picture of Poland.

Ireland and Poland underwent sufferings that seldom occurred in the history of any other nation. They justly prejudiced the Irish against the English rule, just as they prejudiced the Polish against the rule of their oppressors. We are not surprised that a people like them, with their historical precedents and seemingly iradicable prejudice against their usurper, and with their all deep patriotism which wants no compromise, but looks to their entire freedom, should resort to an uprising as a means toward realizing their long cherished hopes. The rise of a people like the Irish could not but win universal sympathy and moral support, now that there is a tendency to free all subjugated peoples. Ireland, the martyr among nations, after long ages of oppression and persecution, free and independent! What a ray of hope would Ireland's liberation not constitute for similarly oppressed people! What an insuperable moral force would it not create in favor of the other martyr countries! Certainly, free Ireland would not fail to react beneficially on the freedom and independence of Poland.

A. J. ZIELINSKI,  
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