

FREE POLAND

A SEMI-MONTHLY PUBLICATION

The Truth About Poland and Her People

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Some Day—Perhaps

—Bradley in the Chicago Daily News



European Powers bicker over the question of Polish Relief — while a whole population suffers.

Negotiations are being carried, while thousands die for lack of food. The excellent crop prospects which are given as an excuse for delay are only prospects, and before the harvest several thousands may die of hunger.

The Powers are bickering over details, while a whole people is threatened with annihilation.

The Powers are bickering over details, while the suffering of the people of Poland is four times as large as that of Belgium.

It is bread they want. If bread be refused, a whole nation will die, and its death—to the eternal disgrace of the “civilized” Powers of Europe — will constitute the direst tragedy in the annals of mankind.

Tarnow in War

Tarnow, the seat of the illustrious family of Tarnowski, has seen war in its varied aspects. The Russians, according to Mr. Czarnecki, special commissioner of the Chicago Daily News, who investigated distress in Poland, met with grateful recognition from the public for having returned to the officials of Tarnow eight boys who had been captured fighting against the Russians as members of the Polish legions.

Many of the finest structures in the city were wrecked or damaged as the result of artillery attacks of the Austro-Hungarian army in trying to regain possession of Tarnow.

"The railroad station", writes Czarnecki, "the 'Realna' school, the Slowacki school, the city infirmary, the slaughtering plants, the buildings of Dr. Ader in Pocz-towa street, of Forster in Chyszowski street, the annex of the general hospital, the Schudmak apartment building and scores of smaller buildings were struck by Austrian missiles.

"During the Russian occupation only upon special church holidays and funerals of prominent men by the permission of the military authorities were church bells permitted to be tolled.

"The training quarters of the Polish athletic organization of 'Sokol' was by the Russians turned into a Russian Orthodox Greek church. Rigid enforcement of anti-intoxicating liquor selling or giving away regulations was observed.

"The attachment of the Cossack to his horse was dis-

closed on all sides to the people. Oftentimes after coming into the city tired out and hungry, the Cossack was seen to have secured bread, and then, instead of eating it himself, to feed his horse with it. When questioned about this, the usual answer given by the Cossack was that, although hungry, he could remain seated in the saddle to go ahead, but that the hungry horse could neither go ahead himself nor carry the rider.

"When the Austro-Hungarian army re-occupied Tarnow for a long period new trials and anxiety confronted the people. A veritable dragnet was thrown out and continued for weeks to bring before court martial people who were suspected or charged with being too friendly to the Russian cause or having shown hostility to the Austrians during the period of Russian occupancy of the city. The execution of Prof. Boleslaus Lazarski and wholesale executions in Tarnow and vicinity by the order of Austrian military officials precipitated a reign of terror for some time among the population of the city.

"The Hungarian honweds, so far as this section of Poland is concerned, surpassed the usual brutality and barbarism of the Cossacks", said one of the prominent city officials of Tarnow to me. "It was not until some of the honweds were executed by orders of their own commanders that they began to treat the territory of Poland anything like a friendly section.

"At the present time Tarnow is the center of the extensive work for the relief of the stricken people and the rebuilding of the devastated homes."



Our Boasted "Civilization"

Mr. David Lawrence, in the *New York Evening Post*, presents an able exposition of European bickering over the terms of Polish relief.

"None of the nations", writes Mr. Lawrence, "is willing to accept the responsibility for having thwarted measures of relief. Yet the conclusion is inescapable that, while conditions are much worse in Poland than those which aroused the sympathy of the American people on Belgium's account, the belligerent governments which have raised such a hue and cry about their battle for civilization will have a great deal of explaining to do when the historians of the future dispassionately record the tragedy of Poland.

"There is good ground to believe that Russia has cared very little from the beginning whether or not Poland retained her entity. When the Teutons were driving the Russian armies east, the latter in their retreat not only swept away everything destructible, including crops, buildings, machinery etc., but also destroyed all the public records of land-titles, mortgages, and legal transactions — everything that would serve to relocate the population after the war. Then came the Germans with their relentless military occupation, caring much less than the Russians what happened to the Polish people, whether they starved or their families were scattered. The tales of what happened along the road eastward from Warsaw are yet to be told. Persons perished by the hundreds of thousands; interminable lines of human bones were strewn everywhere. Even the German officers have confessed in unsuspected moments that nothing so awful ever

has happened in the world as what occurred in Poland. And now the few Polish men that are alive have to choose between imprisonment or work in the fields by coercion—away from their families—with never a certainty that the crops sown will feed their kinsmen or will fatten merely the thousands of Germans in the army of occupation.

"Some day, when international jurists look back on the horrible record of the European War, they will have to admit very frankly that the boasted 'civilization' of both sets of belligerents was only a mockery. For a long time civilized governments in their international tribunal sought to differentiate between the civil population and the military forces of an enemy. Therefrom arises the distinction between contraband and conditional contraband, England being among the first to proclaim the doctrine that wars must not be directed against innocent people, but only against military and naval forces. It was Lord Salisbury who stood steadfastly by this doctrine even as late as the Boer War. But in the present conflict England has swept aside all distinction between contraband and conditional contraband, simply because of the presumption that in Germany and Austria the entire civil population constituted potentially a military force. Future generations may admit that there is some equity in such a presumption, but they will hardly recognize the logic in it if the Allies, not content with erasing the long-established distinction between contraband and conditional contraband, should also reject the kindly offices of neutrals who may seek by impartial supervision to feed the men, women, and children of a civil population as distinguished from its military force."



Poland's Reasons

THE POLITICAL RIGHT

E naturally are opposed to the rigid monarchism of the Middle Ages; we dislike seeing the Czar of Russia hold absolute power over his vast domain and his subjects having no voice in the government. We say that the Russian people are scores of years behind time in political progress; that the patriarchal form of government which the Czar wields over Russia has made the people immediately incapable of republican self-government. But no one would think of saying that the nations which formed themselves ready to enter the propaganda of the republican forms of government, are belated in governmental ideals, much less that they are incapable of self-government. Who would deny America's, (the greatest of modern republics) governmental competency? Who, then, on like principle will deny Poland, the greatest of medieval republic, the ability to govern self? We say, the greatest of medieval republics! For while monarchism prevailed throughout Europe, Poland was designated by the then singular name: RES PUBLICA, and while despotism reigned elsewhere, in Poland freedom and toleration was extended to all. A republic of the Middle Ages: for Poland was with England the very continuator of the ancient Grecian and Roman republics. The land of Sobieski was a beacon of republicanism in the very midst of a most rigid monarchism. Poland has ever been a teacher of these broad democratic ideals which prevail to-day and which consult the dignity of man. Naturally her progressive political ideals are an early attempt at representative government founded on the recognition that each should have a voice in the administration of the state; her freedom and religious tolerance extended to all within her bounds; her fullest autonomy given to her subordinate peoples founded on their dignity as separate races, make men to-day call her the United States of the Middle Ages, yes, the very political prototype of America to-day. This would be a fair tribute paid to the governmental ability of any nation, and Poland claims it as peculiarly hers.

Two strong reasons, which Poland has in favor of her competency of self-government, are the duration of her splendid political independence and her progress in jurisprudence. There is no argument against a fact and the fact that Poland had been possessed of self-government for upwards of a thousand years and necessarily presumed able to govern self, is one of those facts which prejudiced historians do not always know just how to "get around". Again laws necessarily follow active government, and as the essence of a thing is judged by its qualities, just so the government or the capacity of a society or nation to self-govern is rightly gauged by the laws it enacts.

When an official has occupied a position for nearly the whole of his active life, no one would assert that that official was unable to fulfill the duties of his office. His

deficiency would be discovered sooner than at the end of his official life. But the fact that he has held the position for so long a period amply proves his efficiency. The same principle well applies to the governmental competency of a given nation.

The fact that a people creditably governed self for a notable period of time is a sure sign of their capacity to self-government. Who would say that Ireland is incapable of self government because she happens to be governed by England? Is her subjection to England not merely accidental and altogether independent of her capacity to govern? Is her political subjection consequent upon her inability to govern, or is rather the fact that she does not govern consequent upon her subjection? Certainly the latter is true; for Ireland had for a long period of time been possessed of self-government and this is evidence sufficient of her governmental competency. The adversary might advance whatever argument he wishes against the Irish ability to rule their own country, but he never can deny the fact that they did govern and, therefore, were able to govern. Is Bohemia not fit to govern because she is subjected to a foreign rule? But she was an independent country from the dawn of history up to the battle of the White Mountain, during which time she exhibited high governmental talent. Bohemia did not become divested of her God-given right and ability to govern her own people for the simple reason that Frederick II of Germany thought it fit to crush her well-nigh beyond recovery. Were the Helvetii, the Belgii, the Galli etc. not able to govern themselves prior to their subjugation by Caesar? Did Caesar's conquest "unmake" them politically? Had they up to that time been unable of govern? No. These people were possessed of a relatively high governmental genius. What sane man would assert that the United States are unable to tend to their administrative business? No one; for the United States beyond demonstrating the highest ability of government, have been in a political existence for nearly a century and a half, and an assertion that they are incapable of self-government would be tantamount to denying a fact. If no one can assert this who then will say that Poland with 'her' eminently creditable history of over a thousand years is not capable of self-government and be allowed to pass for a sane man? If we suppose that the Polish are incapable of self-government, how can we explain their wonderful progress — intellectual — religious — political and, above all, military? Government with the capability to govern is the form of society — the principle that informs the nation. What thing can act minus its formal principles? Yet, Poland acted most vigorously. Her activity had a wide political bearing. Under Chrobry the Great, the veritable Polish Charlemagne, Poland grew territorially and exhibited an unusual activity in literature, politics and war. Poland's conquests were carried out with system and precision. Poland even under Chrobry the Great ruled over

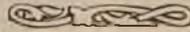
different races. She satisfied them all. Could Poland do this without being able to self govern? During the reign of this same Chrobry, Poland stood on a par with other nations in jurisprudence, she had her university just as other leading nations had them, she suffered a solidification of empire which to this day stands forth as an example to other nations, she had, then, the best organized army in Europe — but to-day Poland is not able to self-govern — because her usurpers say so. During her political existence, "From the reign of Chrobry the Great to the Crime of 1772", says Parsons, "the Chivalry of Poland rejected ninety-one Tartar invasions any one of which, if successful, would have at least jeopardized the existence of European civilization". Could Poland or any country have accomplished this without being able to govern? Poland was rightly called the greatest commonwealth of the Middle Ages. To her belonged Lithuania, Ruthenia and subsidiary nations. They continued autonomous states with constitutions that regarded their national dignity — which honored their religion, language and customs. Poland did not interfere with matters of their governments that were safeguarded by their autonomy. Poland was another United States in the Middle Ages — free, tolerant, unaggressive. All peoples within her boundaries enjoyed freedom and were allowed an untrammelled self-explication. Was Poland incapable of self-government? Or should we perhaps say that Poland's present usurpers are more able to govern, who persecute her language, her religion, who contrary to the very laws of God and nature, to the very

outrage of humanity and its sacred rights, strive to subdue and blot out every vestige of her God-given national rights? Should Russia be more capable of self-government and governing the Poles who, as W. M. Gardner puts it, were "galled by language prohibitions, by a press censorship of the most vigorous description by the secret police, by imprisonment, by banishment to the mines, oppressed, in short, by all the Asiatic methods of rule determined to crush every vestige of Polish nationality." Should Prussia be more fit to govern than Poland? "Republican Poland", which as Nevin O. Hunter has it "at one time was the greatest power in Central Europe", of which Moltke speaks as "one of the most civilized states in Europe of the 15th century" and describes it as the most tolerant country in Europe where "Calvinists, Lutherans, Greeks long lived peacefully and... which for a long time was justly called the 'promised land' of the Jews"?

Of her Russia and Prussia speak to the world as unable to self-govern! — Government spells unity. Poland's territory extended from the Baltic to the Black Sea, and from the Oder to where the Russian frost begins to chill. No one will deny this, unless he is ready to deny an historical fact. How could Poland hold this territory integral for upwards of a thousand years, devoid, as the claim is, of ability to govern?

A. J. ZIELINSKI,

St. Louis, Mo.



Russian Promises

It has been stated again and again that the Poles fear the Russians bringing gifts. The Russian promise of Polish autonomy was another of those offerings to the Poles, who have been warned not to look the gift horse in the mouth but to have full confidence in that excellent Russian Government of which Mr. Sazanoff has been the main prop and exponent.

Mr. Sazanoff, in an interview, said that the Poles were to obtain an equitable and just autonomy adapted to their life and to their industrial and commercial development. Mr. Sazanoff and his worthy colleagues feel the necessity of now and then quieting public opinion throughout the world with reference to the Polish question.

Yet despite these assurances Polish opinion is mistrustful and the reasons for this state of affairs are eloquently summarized by the POLISH TRIBUNE, of London, England.

The Poles fear the Muscovites bringing gifts —

Because the Czarina Catharine, while officially promising not to lay a hand on the integrity of Poland, was actually carrying on at the same time negotiations with Prussia and Austria over the question of the partition of Poland;

Because the Constitution sworn and given to Poland by Alexander I was quickly abolished;

Because the Constitution of Finland, though sworn by several Czars, has been suppressed;

Because the Manifesto of October 18, 1905, promising Russia many liberties, has been annulled by M. Sazanoff and his friend;

Because Mr. Sazanoff himself had forbidden the Russian press from mentioning "Polish autonomy" until the day when the Russian troops made a strategical backward movement of 280 miles;

Because Sazanoff's friend and colleague M. Maklakoff, Minister of the Interior, sent a circular to the Russian officials ordering them to take no notice of the promises contained in the Grand Duke's Proclamation;

Because the Russian Government, as lately as two months ago, refused to abrogate the exceptional laws, identical with those applied in Prussia, framed against the Poles;

Because Sazanoff and his friends are not only maintaining in Russia the army of "tchinovniks" who exploited and Russified Poland, but they are even adding to the number of those officials, etc., etc.

“Tyrannical Americanism”

American social workers have been ever eager to help the foreigner, often to the point of arousing his antagonism. In trying to Americanize him too quickly, they have overlooked the fact that among the very immigrants there are agencies which to the best of their endeavor aim to adjust the immigrant to his new environment.

Those were wise words which an insistent and persistent social worker gave utterance to a year ago when he said:

“The foreigner has been struggling to keep himself and his children loyal to his fatherland; the social worker, on the other, has often ignored this natural loyalty and has been trying to teach the father and his children loyalty to the institutions of this country only. And at times the settlement workers and the public schools have even estranged the children of the immigrants from their parents. They have not taught them the history and customs of their parents. They have forgotten that it is just as important for the children of the foreigner to speak their parents language fluently and to be proud of it — as that their parents after years of hard efforts, should speak a broken English.

“Would it not be best for America in the end if the children of the immigrant would perpetuate the characteristics which distinguish them from the Americans, if even the second and third generations would have a knowledge of their native tongue, would practice some of the customs of their forefathers and love their ideals? Would it not be better that even after many generations the descendants of foreigners should maintain their proper names and be proud of their ancestry?

“As it is, the children of the immigrant are often ashamed of the nationality of their parents, often change their names beyond recognition, and in this way lose all that was good in their parents.

“We wanted the melting pot to melt the immigrant quickly, but we have found that those who melt too quickly do not add much to the finished product. A melting pot! Yes, — but let it melt slowly and carefully so that the best elements be preserved and fused to bring forth the best possible product.”

You cannot Americanize the immigrant too quickly. Americans of English descent, who have been here for generations, offer an instance in point. Many of them are not American — themselves — but rather upholders of British insularity.

Yet these would impose on the rest of us what Miss Grace Abbot, director of the Immigrants Protective League, calls “tyrannical Americanism”.

Americans, she says, suddenly irritated at the over-zealousness of a few, have turned upon all the foreign-born in their midst and challenged their patriotism, their interest in the country in which their children have been born, in which they have invested their little capital, their very life itself.

She continues:

“As a matter of convenience, we have ourselves labelled the man who was born in Poland, or Ireland, or Germany, the Polish-, the Irish- and the German-American. Many Americans, indeed, have insisted on these classifications in order that their prejudices might find expression in preferring one over the other in employment and in political and social preferment. Now we are attacking them for this which we have done even more than they.

The Democrats have expressed their fear in their demand for ‘America first’; the Republicans are asking for ‘undiluted Americanism’ and the Progressives declared themselves ‘all American.’ The tyranny of this kind of ‘Americanism’ must react upon us all. Sumner in his *Folkways* written in 1907, illustrates the control which watchwords or slogans exercise over public opinion and calls special attention to the fact that this tyranny is greatest in the use of ‘American’ and ‘Americanism’. ‘If’, he says, ‘a thing is to be recommended which cannot be justified, it is put under ‘Americanism.’ Then we see what ‘Americanism’ and patriotism are. They are the duty laid upon us all to applaud, follow and obey whatever a ruling clique of newspapers and politicians chooses to say or want to do.”

“Any criticism by the foreign-born of our international policy subjects the man that makes the criticism to the charge of preferring a foreign power to the United States. A discussion of his propositions on their merits is not granted.

“We have among us millions who know by experience what universal military service means. The catchword of ‘democratic’ has been applied to this service and a discussion of the plans proposed on their merits has thus been made more difficult. The testimony of the Russian, the Austrian, and the German in our midst would show how far from ‘democratic’ the burdens of conscription are. They would tell from their own experience how two years of military training for those boys who, through poverty, have known from childhood the heavy responsibilities of life, always means a loss of the two years of school or trade training which would have enabled them to rise a step themselves and put their sons several steps ahead.

“To the rich, whose fathers have been concerned only lest, through having every desire gratified from childhood, their sons shall grow up undisciplined and irresponsible, two years of military service means no corresponding sacrifice of career and opportunity. Many immigrants have come to the United States solely for the purpose of escaping military conscription and they are, of course, bewildered by the present demands. But the foreign-born cannot speak because their opposition would be challenged as a display of loyalty to the ‘old country’ and we are demanding that they be ‘all-American.’

“This unwillingness to allow the foreign-born among us to form and express their feelings and opinions is, as Summer pointed out, a denial of the doctrine that ‘governments drive their just power from the consent of the governed’ and it might perhaps be in point for one of these many ‘hyphenated citizens’ to inquire as to whether we consider the Declaration of Independence un-American. How much suffering this fostering of our national egotism will cause our immigrant population, few people realize. It is increasing our racial prejudice, our fear of the ‘inferior peoples’ who are coming to ‘dilute the old American stock’ and to ‘destroy the old American ideals.’ This group of people in the United States has always been guilty of the logical fallacy of concluding that because the civilization of the United States is higher than in some of the more backward communities from which the peasant comes to us, the American aptitude for civilization is also higher.

“Boaz has pointed out that ‘the tendency to value one’s own civilization as higher than that of the whole rest of mankind, is the same as that which prompts the actions

of primitive men, to consider every stranger as an enemy, and who are not satisfied until the enemy is killed'. During the past year, we have had this primitive tendency lauded as the highest expression of Americanism.

"This magnifying of the possible disadvantages of our cosmopolitan population has resulted in the neglect of its advantages. We have always been flattered by a too ready acceptance of our habits and have generally concluded that this proved the desirability of the immigrant, forgetting that a sudden and complete surrender of social habits and standards meant the kind of wholesale imitation which is always a sign of weakness.

"As a result, we have failed to enrich American life as we might have enriched it. For we have not been able to see that if encouraged to express his own characteristics, the Slav and the Italian would give to American life the color, the gayety and the self-expression which Puritanism denied to it and which no reading of Russian literature or attendance on Italian opera can give to the Anglo-American.

"This negative policy which has failed to utilize our immigrant possibilities, we are about to change to a positive determination to impress our foreign-born citizens with our superiority by means of social and political pressure. This method of assimilation is untried and if we thus imitate Europe we may expect the same kind of response which the Poles have made to similar German advances in German Poland.

"The United States has always been embarrassed when distinguished visitors from abroad have called attention to the fact that we are not a 'nation' in the European sense of the word. Unity of religion, unity of race, unity of ideals do not exist in the United States. We are many nationalities scattered across a continent with all the differences in interest and occupation which diversity of climate brings. All this makes our opportunity for world service if we will but recognize it.

"The demand for 'nationalism' in Europe is the democratic demand that a people shall be free to speak the language which they prefer and develop their own national culture and character. Here in the United States, we are working out, blunderingly, and with the injustice which comes from inherited prejudices, the democracy not of nationalism but of internationalism. If English, Irish, Polish, German, Scandinavian, Russian, Lithuanian and all the other races of the earth can live together — each making his own distinctive contribution to our common life; if we can respect those differences which result from a different social and political environment and see the common interest that unite all people, we will meet the American opportunity. If, instead we blindly follow Europe and cultivate a national egotism, we shall need to develop a contempt for others and to foster those national hatreds and jealousies which are necessary for aggressive nationalism.

"Americans are feeling that the day of American isolation is past and that in the future we must have our part in the settlement of world questions. If, in entering world politics, American commercial interest determines our international policy, we shall have added only a new brand of national selfishness to the world problem. Even if we were able to make a policy founded on commercialism feared abroad, we could not make it respected where respect counts most—among the American people. For at a time when we are trying to throw off the control of commercialism in our national and city life we would not,

consciously, strengthen its power internationally. Some Americans have felt the necessity of slavishly imitating Europe and have tried to develop among us some national hatred or fear which would be used to persuade us to action. This groping for an approach to internationalism neglects the internationalism which is so peculiarly American.

"Is it too much for us to hope that the United States may develop a foreign policy which will grow out of the understanding which comes from the fact that those who have come to us, with all the racial and religious hatreds which have been carefully nurtured in support of a selfish nationalism at home, have lived together in the United States on the same street, in the same tenement, finding the appeal of a common interest greater than the appeal of centuries of bitterness?

"Because of its foreign-born citizens, the United States is in a peculiarly advantageous position to urge that the terms of peace which shall end this war shall make for a lasting settlement. For a genuine American public opinion will be presented not only through diplomats to the courts and parliaments of Europe but, through the intimately personal connections which our people have with the people of Europe, it will be presented to the people of Europe—humble and distinguished alike.

"The demand that we understand where rights lies in the present controversy has been made because each side has realized this peculiar potency of American public opinion. Sir Roger Casement's declaration that his statement was addressed not so much to the court before which his fate was being decided as to the United States where he believes that public opinion will decide the fate of Ireland, has behind it the same conviction.

"If we are to give up our provincialism and to respond to these appeals, the American people must understand the questions that are to be determined when the terms of peace are agreed upon. And it is not necessary for us to go to Europe to acquire a first hand knowledge of Europe. Here among us are the humble people who have themselves suffered from a denial of freedom they are asking the world to give to their people; here are also the intellectuals who have had their part in leading the movements at home.

"Here are all shades of opinion—the reactionary Russian who finds himself in agreement with the reactionary American who fears the development of democracy; here is, too, the Russian who is ready to suffer again Siberian imprisonment if it would promote the cause of liberalism in Russia. This is the Russian who realizes that recognition of the rights of the Pole, the Jew, the Finn, the Lithuanian; and the Ruthenian is necessary if the Russian himself is to be really free. Here are Bohemians liberal and reactionary, Catholic and Freethinker, agreeing in their desire for an autonomous Bohemia; here are Poles of all parties united in support of 'free Poland.'

"And finally, here, too, are the Americans of many generations whose neighbors, friends, and business associates come from all these groups and who have also been a part of that American internationalism which is founded not on diplomacy or force but is the result of the understanding which has come with the necessity of living and working together.

"'Americanism' is much more a matter of the future than of the past. It is to be hoped that we can have the courage to be unlike Europe in both our nationalism and our internationalism and the imagination to use the possibilities which are ours because we are of many races and by the closest of human ties, are related to all the world."

Polish Writers and the War

It was Sienkiewicz who called America the conscience of the world and whose stirring appeal has stimulated American generosity in behalf of Poland. But all other Polish writers are working, writing, speaking for Poland. The majority of Polish authors refrain from taking sides in this world struggle.

"In this," writes Anthony Czarnecki, of the *Chicago Daily News*, "they follow the example of Sienkiewicz, the author of 'Quo Vadis', 'With Fire and Sword', 'The Deluge' and many other works. Although in the neutral territory of Switzerland he has refrained from taking sides he threw his entire soul into the work of directing the cause of relief for the needy sufferers in Poland and for the refugees who manage to get away from it."

But Joseph Conrad, whose real name is Joseph Conrad Korzeniewski, is openly pro-ally. The famous sea story writer openly declares and hopes that Poland will be freed from foreign oppression after the present war is over through the instrumentality of the allies.

However, the Teutons have a champion, too, in the person of Stanislaus Przybyszewski, a realistic writer, — almost disgustingly so — whose *Homo Sapiens*, recently translated and put on the market by a New York concern, finding little favor with the American public, still may have appealed to the decadent taste somewhere in Europe.

Mr. Czarnecki reports him as saying:

"I do not look upon this war as others do, I view the war which is being waged, so far as the German side of it is concerned, as the carrying out by Germany of Napoleon's testament and Napoleon's idea, even though we find France on the opposite side of the struggle.

"It was the idea of Napoleon to crush England and free India and Egypt from its grip. It is the same struggle between the continental Europe and the domineering power of the sea.

"The spirit in the German army at this time is the reincarnation of the spirit of Napoleon. If the work and testament of Napoleon of crushing England's power on the sea is not carried out this time completely it will come up again to be finished in later years. It will not down and will in the end be accomplished.

"The Germans have profited by what Napoleon taught them. They realized that his fight against England was a fight for continental Europe. They prepared for it. Their organization is superb.

"The bread card which limits the amount of bread during the present time for each person typifies the entire German system which has enabled the German government to do such wonderful things in the present war. Not only is there a bread card for bread, but there is a limitation on other things. There is a unity and solidity because the government sees to it that no one gets any more information of what is being done than he should in his own particular sphere."



JOSEPH CONRAD,
WHOSE REAL NAME IS KORZENIEWSKI, IS OPENLY
PRO-ALLY

FREE POLAND

A SEMI-MONTHLY

The Truth About Poland and Her People

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Remember

Poland asks to be reconstituted along the lines of justice and fair play to all.
Poland demands peace with freedom.
Poland, as a buffer State, will be one of the greatest guardians for the future peace of Europe.
In fact, Poland "asks nothing for herself but what she has a right to ask for humanity itself."

President Wilson's Letter

Germany served notice on the United States, that relief cannot be sent to the starving people of Poland by this country. The conditions imposed by Great Britain are considered impracticable by the Germans.

There may be some truth in these accusations. But the fact remains that millions of helpless women and children are starving to death because nations in Europe fear petty advantage may be gained by one side or the other if relief is provided.

The new crops will be available in October. By that time, however, thousands will have died and hungry armies will snatch the food from the mouths of the helpless toilers who produce it.

If this is civilization, savagery is preferable.

* * *

Yet some hope hinges on the fact that the Kaiser may do something toward relieving the distress of the situation. On Aug. 8th President Wilson's letter to the kaiser, touching on conditions in Poland, was delivered to Foreign Secretary von Jagow by Ambassador Gerard. Von Jagow forwarded it to the kaiser.

There is some hope that the kaiser may act, although he is likely to beg leave to be excused because of the exigencies of the present war.

Certainly it is a sad spectacle when nations boasting of possessing the highest civilization of the world bicker

as to the vitally important question of relief. There is fear expressed that some petty advantage may be gained by one side or the other. A whole people must suffer, while they quarrel over some small unimportant detail. Even "civilized" war knows no humanity.

Culled from the Press

Sending appeals to the belligerent governments of Europe is like beating your head against a stone wall.

"Any appeal to the belligerent governments", writes the Keokuk (Iowa) Gate, "cannot be fully and instantaneously successful at this crisis of events, even when it concerns the vital need of Poland. Those of us who have watched Poland struggle on through exhaustion and starvation and neglect would like to see President Wilson's message to Europe strike through the gloom like a ray of light, but after all these months of hell in Poland we dare not hope for so much.

"In the name of humanity—and he never served the cause in truer sense—President Wilson has suggested an agreement whereby Poland can be fed and clothed. The allies must allow the supplies to be shipped through the enemy's country; the German government must guarantee, in turn, that supplies intended for Poland shall not be diverted to military purposes. It sounds simple enough. The difficulty is that the warring nations need their sympathy at home; where Poland is concerned their perspective is blurred.

"Without posing as the custodian of all law and humanity—a pose that would be most unbecoming at this moment—the United States should be able to help Poland. If a simple appeal for the life of an inoffensive and unoffended people cannot be heard, the hope that America is to have a part in ending the war is absurd indeed.

"Great Britain's consent to distribution of relief supplies by a neutral commission, provided that the central powers shall take no more native food from the suffering districts, seems to be a reassertion, in new terms, of a proviso that halted relief work long ago. England consents—if—

"But there should be no if. The main thing is to have Poland saved from death by starvation. To attach provisos to neutral relief work is a travesty on humanity."

* * *

Military necessity recognizes no laws of humanity.

"While Germany and Great Britain", writes the Sioux City Journal, "continue to look after their military interests the interests of humanity in Poland must continue to suffer. Though American relief agencies stand ready to pour food into Poland, the Poles must starve because they cannot be succored without possible military advantage to one of the other belligerent.

"To the American proposal to conduct relief work in Poland, Germany readily agreed, agreeing also to offer guarantees that none of the relief supplies would be diverted from civilian use. Great Britain and the allies, however, have refused to let food go into Poland on this basis. They insist that if supplies are shipped into Poland to relieve the starving civilians Germany shall not be allowed to take out of Poland for military use any of the foodstuffs raised in Poland. To this Germany will not agree. Without such agreement Great Britain will not allow food to be shipped into Poland.

"From a military standpoint it is possible to justify the attitude of either belligerent. If Great Britain per-

mits Germany to take food for its army out of Poland, every pound that is imported for civilian use releases for military use a pound grown in Poland. From the allies' viewpoint, accordingly, shipments of food to civilians in Poland would amount to indirect shipments for German military use. On the other hand Germany undoubtedly is now raising foodstuffs in the Polish plains under military supervision for the purpose of applying them to military use. To expect the conqueror of an agricultural province to give up all military claim upon its agricultural resources is expecting a good deal.

"There is a hopeful aspect to the situation. While food must remain scarce in Poland until October 1, Germany offers assurances that thereafter, with new harvests available, there will be ample food for both civilian and military use. If this should not prove to be the fact the responsibility for further suffering among the Poles would be squarely on the shoulders of the German government which now has in effect notified the world that there will be no need for relief after the date.

"In the meantime it is to be regretted that both belligerents, admitting as they do the need of temporary relief in Poland, cannot make mutual concessions that would permit outsiders to provide it in the interest of humanity."

* * *

Up to date the relief offered Poland consists of an endless chain of words and nothing else.

"When the United States", writes the *San Antonio Light*, "took up the proposition of feeding the Poles it became necessary first to secure the consent of all the warring nations. Germany and Austria were willing, or said they were, but they insisted on certain conditions under which the relief measures must proceed. Then Great Britain assented, conditional, however, on the assurance that the food destined for the Poles did not fall into the hands of Germany and Austria for the use of their armies. The proposition has been bandied back and forth between the nations, each in turn writing voluminous notes to the United States and the United States in turn writing voluminous replies. The messages have gone the route between Washington, London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Petrograd and Rome and the end is not yet in sight.

"Meanwhile the Poles are starving just as much as they were before the diplomatic exchange began, with this difference, that there are not so many Poles to starve now as there were then. Some of them have died while the nations wrangled about their food. The first requisite of starving people is food. The diplomats of the nations seem to think that the first thing required is a series of diplomatic notes and that food is the last thing on the list. There is no record of the number of Belgians who died before the provisions collected in the United States could be sent to them, but if they were pictured the number that perished before aid reached the nation probably was large. Poland seems to be in for a longer wait than was Belgium. As it will take some little time to collect and transport supplies to Poland and as there are about 15,000,000 Poles to be supplied the chances are that a great number of them will not be in a position to care much about food by the time the diplomatic exchange is ended and the charitable people of this nation are given permission to aid them."

* * *

The belligerent powers of Europe, haggling over the terms of Polish relief, are both murderers, according to the *Des Moines Tribune*.

"Great Britain", it continues, "is involved through

her general food blockade, which has no effect upon the armies of the central empires, but results in the starvation of noncombatants.

"Germany is guilty of murder in refusing to agree that native food of Poland shall not be withdrawn in exchange for food sent into Poland by American relief bodies. The effect of the German policy would be to keep Poland close to the starvation point, and to augment the food supplies of Germany. American relief would in reality be relief for Germany, not for Poland.

"Meantime, all the children of Poland are said to have died of starvation or exposure.

"Why can't the United States get properly excited over the real horrors and crimes of this war? We have sent across the ocean some high flown words about asking nothing for ourselves except what we have a right to ask for humanity — and have ignored the two great crimes against civilization, the massacres in Armenia and the starvation of the people of Poland."

* * *

Germany is to blame for the further sufferings of the Poles.

"Germany", writes the *Buffalo Express*, "has notified the United States that on account of the conditions imposed by Great Britain and her allies upon the shipment of foodstuffs from America to Poland, further negotiations for relief work in Poland would be fruitless. It is explained that, owing to the excellent crop prospects in Poland, relief probably will not be necessary after October 1st.

"The condition made by Great Britain and her allies was that if they permitted foodstuffs to be sent from this country into Poland, Germany must agree not to deprive the Poles of the foods which normally would be theirs. That will appeal to most persons as a perfectly sound and fair proposition. Why should foods be sent into Poland for the sufferers if Germany is taking from them the little which they can produce on their lands? That would be equivalent to America sending foodstuffs for the subsistence of the Germans in Poland.

"It is impossible for Germany to shift to the Western Allies the blame for the further sufferings of the Poles. The world knows where the blame lies."

* * *

According to the *Springfield Republican* it is not easy to see a basis for compromise.

It writes:

"What President Wilson meant in saying that in his efforts to help Poland he ran against a stone wall can be appreciated by noting the British position and the reception of it in Germany. Britain will let provisions pass for the relief of Poland, provided Germany will let the Poles have the food their own country produces. But the German foreign office declares that this is an attempt to include the territories occupied by Germany and Austria in the system for the starvation of Germany which has been proclaimed by the British Government contrary to all international law. It can hardly be said that in its essence the British blockade is contrary to international law, though the means of carrying it into effect are open to challenge. On the other hand, by the terms of the Hague convention the Germans have the right to draw upon Poland for supplies for the maintenance of the army of occupation, though not for the use of German armies elsewhere. 'We are to assist Great Britain', exclaims the *Cologne Gazette*, 'in her blockade of ourselves!' And it adds, 'Who saw to it that the fields in the occupied ter-

ritories should yield such good harvests? Nobody else but the Germans and their allies.' But possibly the Poles would rather have had harvests not quite so good and the reaping of them. The issue is so sharply joined that it is not easy to see a basis for compromise."

* * *

The neutral world is entirely right when it takes the belligerents, especially Germany, to task in the name of humanity. Writes the *Saginaw Herald*:

"It is unquestionably true that the suffering of Poland is severe and that the people there are in the gravest need of supplies from outside. Efforts in their behalf have been made while the response to the appeals that have been sent out has not been so general nor so generous as might be wished a considerable amount of aid can be given by the world outside and no doubt ultimately will be. For the present, however, this is being held up by the failure of the belligerents to come to an agreement on the conditions under which the supplies may be sent in. The consent of both the Allies and the Teutonic powers must be secured and so far both have not consented to a common plan of procedure."

"It all fairness it must be conceded that the consent that has just been given by England and France, and that will no doubt be acquiesced in by Russia, is all that should be asked. In all humanity they could have conceded no less; they cannot reasonably be prevailed upon to concede more. They have, somewhat reluctantly, agreed to permit the passage of all supplies for the Polish people, but on the condition that the resources of the country itself shall not be drawn out by the Germans. This is very different from the previous proposition of the Allies, which made demands in connection with Serbia as well. It leaves Poland to stand as a separate problem and it permits the relief of the Polish people.

"The stumbling block there is the demand that none of the native resources of Poland shall be withdrawn by Germany, and yet that is not unreasonable. It is, under international usage, the duty of the conquering nation to feed and care for the conquered people. The task of feeding and clothing the Poles is thus properly one for Germany. If Germany cannot perform it the neutral world is entirely right in stepping in the name of humanity. But the Allies insist that Polish aid shall not become indirectly a material aid to the Germans, that it shall not, by pouring in supplies from the outside, release for the use of the Germans what supplies Poland itself is able to provide, and that would otherwise be consumed by the Poles themselves."

* * *

Under the caption, **Unhappy Poland**, the *Saginaw Herald* writes as follows:

"With Germany's formal refusal to accept the terms under which it was proposed to provide relief for the suffering Poles it is evident that it will be practically impossible to get supplies through from this or any other neutral country. Great Britain and France agreed to permit the passage of supplies on condition that Germany herself withdraw none of the native food from Poland, and strongly intimated that this was the last concession they would make. Germany refuses to concede this, and in view of that fact it is apparently assured that the Allies will permit nothing to pass through.

"Germany contends that there would be no such suffering among the Poles but for the Russians, and declares that when the Russians were in retreat before the great German drive they laid waste the country through which

they passed. But for this fact, it claims, the Poles would be able to feed themselves. No doubt there is much truth in this. It is undoubtedly true that the destructiveness of the Russian army was great and that the country was purposely laid waste, with the deliberate intention to prevent the Germans from getting any assistance from it. This is a recognized and accepted procedure in military strategy. It was illustrated in our Civil War, for instance, by Sherman's march to the sea, which had as its purpose the devastation of one of the most fertile valleys of the South, with a view to curtailing the food supply of the Confederacy.

"In the present case, however, the destructiveness is particularly cruel in view of the fact that its real victims, those who suffer most as a result, to whom the policy of the retreating army has brought the grim specter of death, are entirely innocent victims of the war, have no direct interest in it, had no share in causing it and want only peace themselves. The Poles have long been considered an unhappy people, politically, but never has their plight been so wretched as at present.

"They are now starving, through no fault of their own, and through no fault of their own, and notwithstanding that a sympathetic world stands ready to minister to their needs, there seems no prospect of relief. The Poles have no interest in the problems before the warring nations. To them it must seem tragic in the extreme that at a time when they want for the bare necessities of life, when they face starvation and are undergoing every privation and when there are generous nations outside the fringe of war anxious to extend a helping hand, the opportunity to do so should be refused, because the belligerents are unable to agree on the conditions under which aid shall be permitted."

* * *

The Poles are suffering untold horrors, and yet there is no relief in sight.

"The two conditions", says the *Indianapolis News*, "on which the entente allies were willing to permit the shipment of food to Poland were unacceptable to the central powers, so, for the present, it is impossible to do anything for the relief of that suffering country. One condition was that neutrals should have sole charge of the distribution of the food, and that those charged with this duty should be appointed by the President of the United States. That certainly would have been fair. Probably there was no objection to this part of the program. The trouble, no doubt, was with the other condition, which was that neither the food now in Poland, nor that sent in for distribution should be used to feed the German armies. Of course no one would contribute supplies for the Poles if it was known or feared that they would be seized for the use of the army. And if an amount of food already in the country equal to that sent in were taken for military purposes in addition to that now taken, the civilian population would be little if any better off. It is understood that Belgian relief has been carried on under conditions practically the same as those proposed for Poland."

"These conditions seem fair, and yet the case is by no means free from difficulty. For occupying armies have under international law, the right to take what food they need from the people of the occupied territory, provided they pay for it. The northern armies did this in the south during the civil war, though they did not always pay for what they took, and Morgan always 'took' what he wanted in his northern raids. The Hague agreement provides that both services and 'requisitions in kind' may be demanded 'for the needs of the army of occupation,' and

that these contributions 'shall as far as possible be paid for in ready money', and that if not so paid for 'a receipt shall be given and the payment of the amount due shall be made as soon as possible.' If the German commanders are following this practice they would seem to be within their right.

"If that is so, is not the demand that they take for the army none of the food grown in Poland, a demand that they surrender a right? Presumably they are taking no more than is needed, and they will continue to take it whether food is sent in or not. And the sending in of food from the outside would greatly help the Poles, even if the present German practice were continued. At any rate the people of Poland are starving, and in such a terrible emergency it ought to be possible for the entente and the central powers to agree on a plan for getting outside relief to the suffering Poles. We have little doubt that the Germans are taking what they need from the Belgians — and, we hope, paying therefor — and yet vast quantities of food have been shipped into that country. In the face of the horrors from which the Poles are suffering there ought to be some yielding by both groups of belligerents, and, of course, further pressure from the President of the United States."

* * *

The South Bend Times offers the following:

"President Wilson's appeal to the rulers of Europe, asking them to help to save the Poles from starving, will meet with two obstacles. One is the recent statement of the Prussian minister of agriculture, to the effect that crops were in fine shape in Poland and there was no prospect of famine there. The other is the knowledge on the part of the allies and the nations friendly to them that any contribution of food to Poland is really a contribution to Germany.

"The president doubtless has sources of information more trustworthy than the word of the Prussian official referred to. This view is corroborated by a recent dispatch from Amsterdam, which declares that the crops, which were naturally more limited than usual, have been nearly ruined by bad weather. It may be accepted as virtually certain that hundreds of thousands of Polish civilians, particularly women and children, are threatened with starvation unless the American people and those

of Europe who have the means shall come to their aid.

"The Polish relief is Germany's job is technically true. It is a conqueror's business to feed the conquered population, when conquest has deprived it of the means of subsistence. The Germans have been accused of having removed great stores of food from Poland to feed their own armies. Whether they have done so or not, the feeding of the Polish civilians by outsiders will serve to augment or economize the supplies available for the Germans themselves. But in a case of such serious need the outside world cannot afford to quibble over such points.

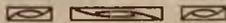
"Germany herself now has little food to spare. Poland is hungry. The first duty to a hungry child or a hungry nation is to feed it. The American people, blessed with great prosperity, should do their duty, without cavilling and without waiting for Europe to set the example."

* * *

The Grand Rapids Press writes editorially as follows:

"Let all due praise be accorded the allies for their decision to let supplies for Poland through the blockade. Poland is in enemy hands. In strict justice her people should be fed by her conquerors. There is no question but that ethically as part of the price of conquest Germany should keep the Poles from starving. Releasing a conqueror from part of his responsibility in that connection puts a premium upon conquest.

"However the pitying world, belligerent as well as neutral, overruled the letter of international law when confronted by the case of Poland. Theory went by the board under pressure from a condition intolerable to the higher thought of mankind. The allies yielded when they found that Germany could not or would not sustain ravaged Poland. This is not the time to examine Germany's motive from the side of the Atlantic, because no one hereabouts knows how well or ill Germany is off for food. But this much can be said in all soberness: Germany stands committed to let the good work go on without interference. If neutral supplies for Polish sufferers are seized for the use of the German army or civilians, such seizure could take no other rank than that of crime black as murder. No military necessity, no exigency could excuse it in the eyes of the world. The Press cannot bring itself to believe, as so many newspapers anticipate, that any such thing is contemplated."



War's Effect

The individualism of Europe proved too strong for more than one conqueror to form an Empire of Europe.

Charles V in the XVI century, Louis XIV in the XVII and Napoleon in the XIX failed to combine the European States into one empire.

Europe was sharply divided as to race and although a process of fusion has been going on for so many centuries, it is still divided but full of life and vitality.

As in the old feudal ages the European states are still represented through the House of Hohenzollern in Germany, of Habsburg in Austro-Hungary, through Turkey, Russia, Spain, and the Balkan States — Europe was accepting what seemed to be inevitable; but now it wonders! That youthfulness in European blood which has given us in the last half century, a new Italy, a new Germany, a new Austro-Hungary, a new Serbia, Bulgaria, Roumania, Norway, and Sweden, will give us a new Russia, a new Poland!

The denizen of the United States who sees the many races fusing under the Stripes and Stars, seems not to know of the mutual jealousies and rivalries of the same races and classes in their European homes. Europe is more youthful than America in this. Europe exhibits the "individualism" — that is, — the principles of the nursery and of schoolrooms rather than the studied collectivism of adult life. Their individualism, as said above, proved too strong in the past, to form a United States of Europe!

We still need the sword as much as the trowel; the sword to hew down all that is false, and corrupt, or unjust, in our religious, domestic, industrial, social and political life; the trowel to build up all that is true, good and beautiful! The war will thus have a chastening effect on mankind.

F. Z. M. DE PUENA.

Poland for the Poles

Let us suppose that there are living in Europe twenty-five millions of men speaking one language; and that that language, harmonious and flexible, has been illustrated by poets, novelists, philosophers, and scientists. Let us suppose that all these men are animated by an ardent patriotism and that their ancestors, lavishing heroism during five centuries, had defended Christianity and Latin civilization against the Turks and barbarism. Let us suppose furthermore that they are proud of having a country, a race, a history. Will it not be said at once: "It is impossible that these men should not possess their independence?"

And it will be added: "If these twenty-five millions of men are not free, it must be that they have committed some dreadful, unattonable crime. If they have not the right to speak their mother-tongue and to live their national life, it must be that they love their slavery and thirst for bondage."

Well no! and no! These men have committed no other crime than that of having defended Christianity. Instead of being less civilized than their masters they display more activity and ingenuity. Instead of cherishing their slavery they have given proofs of unconquerable energy against their oppressors, and their blood has flowed in streams.

Then why this Polish crime?

By what unnatural aberration of consciences; by what sinister ineptitude on the part of diplomatists; by what cowardice on the part of nations has it been possible for so monstrous and extraordinary a crime to have perpetuated during one hundred and fifty years! Twenty-five millions of men held in bondage by three different masters, persecuted in three Empires for daring to preserve their language, their religion, and their ideals; compelled to serve (and to die) in opposing armies fighting each other to death; enjoying neither the right to a national anthem, nor to a national standard, nor to national tribunals, nor to national schools; and treated as rebels when they teach their children veneration for their forbears!

But this war, this sinister war the Emperors of Germany and Austria have forced upon us, will alter the situation of things and of the world. It is a war of legitimate defence assuredly, but one which, by the irresistible fatality of events, is gradually becoming a war of liberation.

And of the liberation of all, but of the Poles in particular.

Alas! we do not know what the diplomatists will decide; but we do know full well why our *p o i l u s* are fighting with such bravery; and they, too, know very well, for they are not machines; they have a will and a conscience, every one of them, even the most obscure and the humblest. They are fighting for liberty in the narrow sense of the word, but for Liberty pure and unadorned, liberty to death, the liberty of France and of all peoples.

They are also fighting in order that, in a few years, another war still more terrible than the present one shall not bring on fresh disasters and new horrors. And they see with perfect clear-sightedness that this new war can only be avoided by the independence of nations and the liberty of individuals.

Now, to leave Poland under oppression, whatever be the tyrant oppressing her, would be to prepare a great massacre for the future: for it is not to be presumed that, after this war which has revived all their hopes, these twenty-five millions of ardent patriots will meekly submit once more to the yoke. All the verbiage of foreign offices will be powerless to stifle the clamor of a great people.

Therefore, if in their crafty machinations diplomats do not admit of this simple, easy, and elementary solution, which is the only solution: **POLAND FOR THE POLES; ALL POLAND FOR THE WHOLE OF THE POLES** — they will run counter to the conscience of our soldiers and betray their countries; for a strict solidarity in thought binds all the Allied peoples: the people of France, the people of England, the people of Italy, even the Russian people itself. Over the Polish question, noble nations have but one and the same stubborn, powerful, and irresistible opinion: **POLAND FOR THE POLES.**

Is it really possible to think otherwise?

Were I a soldier, I would recall all the heroic deeds in the past and the present Polish soldiers have accomplished; I would evoke the remembrance of their glorious dead, and say: **POLAND FOR THE POLES.**

Were I an intellectual, I could not allow a nation fruitful in artists and scientists to be throttled after so noble a past and in view of so promising a future, and I would say: **POLAND FOR THE POLES.**

Were I a priest and a Catholic, I would say that no nation, in spite of persecutions and martyrdom, had ever shown so staunch a faith in the Roman Catholic religion, and I would say: **POLAND FOR THE POLES.**

Were I a historian, I would not like to see disappear a nation that has played so generous a part in European history. Were I a diplomat, I would strive to conjure the broils threatening Europe were she to decree the enslavement of a great quivering nation; I would proclaim the failure of the old European balance of power scornful of national wishes, which, to satisfy the ambition of Sovereigns, ends in the bloody catastrophes we are witnessing to-day, and I would say resolutely: **POLAND FOR THE POLES.**

I am neither of the above; I am simply a man, and a French citizen. Well, as a man I protest energetically against the stifling of twenty-five millions of other men; and, as a French citizen, I proclaim my admiration, my love and my gratitude for the whole of the Polish nation, and say: **POLAND FOR THE POLES.**

PROF. CHARLES RICHET,
Paris, France.

Unparalleled Tragedy

By REV. DR. THOMAS MISICKI

The acme of tragedy, the highest degree of infelicity in the European war for the unfortunate Poles is the utter uncertainty of the outcome of the titanic struggle, the entire blackness of our national future, the almost hopelessness of our dire situation.

After untold sacrifices on our side, after the devastation of beautiful and innocent Poland, after the destruction of hundreds of thousands of innocent lives, what will become of us? Will our country be resuscitated after such an awful immersion in blood and ruin? Will Europe come to its sense of justice now or will the retribution be delayed again?

There have been in the past three partitions of Poland, later approved by the whole of Europe in 1815 and once more passed in silence after bloody insurrections of 1831 and 1863; will the assembled diplomats of Europe order a fourth partition of Poland? God forbid.

Years ago in a French book I saw a beautiful picture entitled "The Cake of the Kings." Around a set table on which a great cake marked "Poland" was laid, sat Frederick II, called by Prussians the Great and Catherine II, the czarina of Russia, one of the most cruel and dissolute women on the throne, and Maria Theresa, of whom the Prussian kingly colleague scoffingly said, "She cried and shed tears, but took with us nevertheless."

At the new European congress will the eating of the Polish cake be repeated? Will William II, the Russian stifler of Polish life, enter in a new gigantic strife in order to decide the fate of the beautiful city of Warsaw and that most fertile province in the world which at present is trampled upon by the Russian boot and hoof? After we had had to be Russianized by brutish Russians for one century and a half, shall we have to be Germanized after the war is over?

Indeed, our future is very black, our hopes are all beclouded by Prussian greed and by Russian stubborn, ignorant passions, our fate is highly uncertain by Austria's indecision and its own troubles and its dependence upon Germany.

What do the three guilty governments care for us? If it be true, that as a rule commercial companies have no heart and sometimes have no morality, it is true that the governments as a rule are selfish and egoistic. The golden rule does not apply to them, the Christian procedure does not concern them, right and justice are not theirs.

Therefore, all intelligent Poles accept in silence the promises of Russia, as well as those of Germany, and are trembling in their hearts and bleeding in their souls. Will our most just and deserved expectations be buried again and deeper than before the war? Will the great England, when final war reckoning arrives, care only for her own business and prove once more to us a perfidious Albion, or will she speak loudly and courageously for us to Russia and tell her openly: "Make sacrifice and give back what thou hadst stolen for the sake of justice and peace"? Will the beautiful France—the French always calls us the French of the North—render sister's service to Poland that in Napoleonic wars had bled for her so gloriously—will she exact from her ally, Russia, the return of the plundered and martyred portion of our country?

And what will happen should Prussia and Austria

come out victorious after the awful struggle? Intelligent Polish heads were turning almost mad when possibility of such an end was supreme a few months ago. You ask why? I shall give you a quaint answer, but true.

Our greatest poet, Adam Mickiewicz, had once said that the Lord will easily pardon the Russian, for he was ignorant and silly, though brutal and cruel, but the Prussian was not ready for and unworthy of pardon, being devilishly proud, and having for other nations but hatred and contempt. His plan is to weed out and wipe out other nations and we have found out in our province of Poznan, which has been under his regime for over a century, that he used and abused his history and geography and philosophy and religion and what not else to kill in us whatsoever was sacred to our hearts. The Russian was also depraving the Polish souls, the Polish homes, the Polish literature, but being immensely inferior in culture and despicable in employing brutish means of persecution, was unable to act quickly and was destroying our life by much slower stages.

Isn't this, then, an awful tragedy for Polish patriots—and what Pole is not one—to be forced by uncertain events, led and directed by archenemies of ours to a state of terrific tension of despair? Is not, verily, Poland the Niobe of other nations?

Belgium has become, indeed, the martyred country of this war but it will enjoy for centuries the thankfulness of the French and of the English as long as English and French hearts will be beating. Belgium is certain to rise again more glorious and with the wreath of the heroine on its head. But poor and crushed Poland? Where is and what will be her much more deserved glory and much more deserved crown? Will the one of thorns, driven deeper, be her share after this war?

No wonder, therefore, the Poles are suffering untold agonies while they are pondering over current events, while they try to read into the minds of French, British and Russian statesmen, while they deprecate in their hearts the possible interference of Germany and Austria while finally they bashfully appeal to the United States to learn when the hour of retribution shall strike.

Will this glorious land of Washington remember Poland and protect Polish rights when called to the European councils, as it must be? Will the free and rich America recall the unforgettable deeds of General Kościuszko and of Count Pulaski who with many other Poles fought and shed their blood for the United States when the need was greatest? Shall we, about four million Poles, living and working for the upbuilding of this country, be repaid by a courageous and unflinching stand of our President and the entire American nation? That is our hope.

In the meantime new sufferings and new tragedies are being added to our already overflowing measures. Once more the Russians and the Austrians and the Germans have begun to march in bloody skirmishes and decisive battles over our fair land to complete the devastation, the destruction, the death. — When will the end arrive?

Permit me to mention here two facts just learned by me a few days ago, not selected, but taken as by chance

out of thousands. They will illustrate again the intensity of the three tragedies I can hardly describe on these pages.

The brother of a parishioner of mine writes in simple words the following story: "Pray for our village, brother, that we should not perish from hunger. Potatoes had been planted in April to give us nourishment in winter but a few days after the German soldiers came and being hungry took them all out from the soil and consumed them. Have pity on us." Isn't that horrible war practice? Isn't this the tragedy of tragedies again?

And another example. A Polish pastor had made a few remarks from the pulpit to the Polish women, married and single: "Be careful. Preserve your honor and virtue which is as dear as life." He was dead three days later after a German court martial.

* * *

Where, therefore, do we place our hopes and what alleviates our despair? Poland, first of all, believes in justice of the One whose justice is higher than the tops

of God's highest mountains.

In the second place, we believe that the conscience of the British and the French will be aroused and justice will be done towards Poland, "the knight among nations", as one American writer has aptly said. It is indeed an inconceivable thing that Roumania, that Greece, that Serbia, that Bulgaria should have received freedom and political independence, all small and less deserving nationalities, while Poland was abandoned and left altogether to her fate.

Finally, we firmly believe in our own strength, in our vitality, in our national imperishable Polish soul. Poland may be trampled upon 100 years longer, Poland may be butchered and bled 200 years longer, but will and must live. Regenerated, purified, more splendid than 1,000 years ago, she will rise and lead the eastern civilization as she did in the sixteenth century. Poland, the mother of Hosius, of Skarga, of Chopin, of Paderewski, will yet have a glorious existence and a brilliant future in the European family of nations.



Letters of Epictetus

My dear Thaddeus: —

In your letter you plainly show yourself a doubting Thomas. You are disappointed over the prospects of an independent Poland. Yet I tell you with all the strength of my soul that the independence of Poland is inevitable. I tell you — if 24,000,000 souls firmly and steadfastly believe that a certain thing shall come to pass, it shall come to pass. You recall the Polish proverb — "wiara mury przebija" — (faith pierces the very walls). There is truth in folk philosophy, as you well know. Hope springs eternal in the Polish breast and faith shall make the liberation of Poland an assurance doubly sure.

Also you ask me to describe to you the proper conduct and the honorable course for a Pole in this world tussle and for the future. You impose a tremendous task upon the shoulders of a young man. To describe for you, to analyze the proper manner of Polish conduct in these trying times is a difficult endeavor. We Poles are laboring under enormous handicaps. We have no consuls, am-

bassadors, we are devoid of our own political representation. And what is worse — we are not like the Irish who have only one foe to contend with — for we have three. And the truth is that the dismemberment of Poland has wrought a tremendous change in the spiritual make-up of the Poles. In German Poland they are economically high, in Austrian Poland highly idealistic, and in Russian Poland ideally cautious. Many differences would not be were we groaning under the heels of one oppressor. And my first advice is that if these provincial differences interfere with the safe passage of the future Polish ship of State, they must be done away with; that if these difficulties endanger the safety of the Republic, they must be overcome.

Therefore, LET US FIRST LEARN HOW TO HANG TOGETHER OR SURELY WE WILL AGAIN HANG SEPARATELY.

Sincerely yours,

"EPICTETUS."



What About Poland?

So many Poles believe the Allies have made themselves the champions of right against might, weak against strong, of small nation against large one.

An article about this matter by Gaspardine Menshikov just had been published in the *Novoe Vremia*. It is significant because the writer has been unsympathetic toward the Poles' aspirations and because he frequently reflects opinion in the higher bureaucratic circles of Russia.

Recently, in Switzerland, a group of Poles drew up a memorial urging Russia to take the initiative with the entente powers and conclude an agreement whereby upon victorious conclusion of the war the kingdom of Poland should be reunited, autonomous in her administration, church, education, justice, finance, communication and legislation, but with customs, foreign relations and army under the control of Russia.

Menshikov expressed his approval of this idea. In addition he said:

"The question arises as to whether now is not the very time to define concretely the future autonomy of Poland by way of an international agreement between Russia and the allies. I admit that a formal act of this nature would be very opportune just now.

"The resurrection of Poland is possible only after the reconquest of all the Polish lands, and it would be most profitable just now for us to make it clear that our purpose in reconquest is one which all can understand and with which all could sympathize.

"A guaranty on the part of the powers allied with us would not only allay the anxiety of the Poles and deliver them from a state of torturing uncertainty, but it would relieve our own minds and those of our allies. One part, at least, of the future relations between Russia and the west would be thoroughly elucidated."

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