FREE PCLAND

A SEMI-MONTHLY

The Truth About Poland and Her People

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Vol. II.—No. 24

SEPTEMBER 1, 1916

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To the Reader

With this issue FREE POLAND completes the second year of its publication. For two years it has pleaded for fair play for Poland; it has aimed to disseminate the truth about Poland and her people.

Without resorting to impudent demand or impious threat, FREE POLAND has ever felt a deep reverence and sympathy for its native land—without detriment to its loyalty and devotion to the country of its adoption.

It has sounded a passionate plea for Poland, which now caught in the vortex of war between huge alliances, suffers a martyrdom seldom heard of in the history of mankind. And with this passionate plea for an unfortunate country, it has voiced unflinching loyalty to America.

We commend this publication to liberty-loving Americans. Though poor in material resources, in its modest way FREE POLAND has a message which should not go unheeded in this country.

And this message America will heed. For it has been given to her to propagate the ideas of justice,—the triumph of law over force, the restitution of freedom to all oppressed nations.

The American People have responded so generously to relieve the distress on the opposite shore of the broad Atlantic. To the American People will devolve in great part the lofty undertaking of restoring the equilibrium of the world after the termination of the European upheaval.

That they may not forget the ideals and aspirations of Poland, they must constantly be reminded, and this task of calling on the world to succor Poland, both materially and politically, has been undertaken by FREE POLAND

May you find time to read FREE POLAND. May your sympathetic support hasten the dawn of a new era for a deserving country.

Press Comment

the subject of Polish Relief.

"Millions of people in Poland", writes the Springfield (Ohio) News, "are hungry. The country has been devastated to such an extent there does not seem to be hope for these unhappy people unless outside aid reaches them. The neutral nations are ready and willing to aid the starving people, but can not send the supplies through the battle lines unless the belligerent nations give their consent, and up to this time the nations have not agreed upon a plan. Germany lays the blame upon the Allies; the Allies lay the blame upon the Germans-and the people of Poland starve.

"The actual situation, regardless of any man's prejudices for or against one nation or another, seems to be this: The Allies say they will allow food to go through to the people of Poland if the Germans will promise not to use any of it for their armies nor remove any of the native supply of food from Poland. They claim—the Allies do-that if the food is otherwise allowed to enter the country the Germans will at once remove the native supplies for the use of the armies.

"Germany will not agree to the terms of the Allies. She claims that it is a reflection upon her to accuse her of desiring to take the food sent by the neutral nations, and that it is nobody's business but her own what she does in the way of shipping food out of Poland. And in the meantime Poland starves.

"England is pursuing a wrong policy in this instance. She should allow the food sent into Poland, and let Germany take the responsibility for the starving of the people after it is sent in. If Germany takes the food, or if she withdraws the native food supply as soon as it is supplemented by outside food, the blame is upon her.

"Germany is pursuing a wrong policy in this instance. She should promise not to use the food nor to take any portion of the native food for her own use. She is as culpable as the Allies. In fact, the course of these two sides of the contest makes the blood of a neutral boil, when he thinks of the million of starving people in Poland. He can not find a kind word in his heart for Ally or Teuton in this instance. He feels-if he is thoroughly neutral -that both sides are sinning against civilization as civilization has never been sinned against before, and he prays for the total destruction of any government on earth that is so brutal, so heartless, so damnable as to refuse to allow food sent to these people."

The contending Powers in Europe are bent on a mission of destruction, Polish Relief, apparently, being only small matter in comparison. As a result, death and starvation threaten the land.

"Unexampled misery", writes the Buffalo Courier, "prevails in parts of Europe, especially Poland, and the belligerents block the efforts of the one power in the world at present capable of affording a substantial measure of relief. Great Britain and Austria have repeated their refusal to change regulations operating to exclude American assistance from the Poles and Serbians, and Turkey

The American press continues to comment widely on , will not allow a neutral commission to extend charity to the war sufferers in Syria. Obstruction to the benevolent work of Americans in behalf of the war victims increases, and even the feeding and clothing of the Belgians may be interrupted, it is feared.

> "Our government can only appeal in the name of humanity that the way be opened for American food to reach the starving. The contending leaders are more bent on destroying than saving, seem moved by no humane impulse at the spectacle of millions famishing. After the war they may see with a different vision, perhaps will try to excuse their course and to forget it; but the surviving common people whose sufferings have been so disregarded may not forget. Some time ago President Wilson sent a personal appeal to the respective rulers for permission to aid Poland, but as yet no one of them has replied."

> The Chicago Daily News comments on Germany's refusal as follows:

> "By its refusal to permit the United States to ship food into Poland under the restrictions insisted upon by the British government Germany apparently intends to put an end to the barren negotiations that have been conducted by this nation during a long period of weeks. President Wilson's recent strong appeal to the rulers of the various belligerent nations in the interest of the suffering people of Poland has had no good result. Germany asserts, however, that after Oct. 1 there is no going to be any particular need of American foodstuffs in Poland, because the new harvest is abundant, and by that time will be available for the people's use.

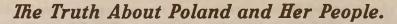
> "Two months more of starvation on top of the months of hunger that have already passed may not seem a serious matter to the British and German government, but one suspects that the suffering thousands in those parts of Russia occupied by the forces of the central powers are not of a similar way of thinking. It is known that in the last six or eight months very large numbers of young children and feeble persons of adult years have died in Poland from diseases due to the lack of sufficient nourishment. Long months of famine have weakened the entire population in some degree. Until the new harvest is available the suffering must go on, unless the United States is permitted to send food to the sufferers.

> "Britain, in its efforts to starve out Germany's fighting forces, insists upon placing restrictions not only on the use of any imported food, but on the use of food resulting from the harvest in Poland. Germany will not bind itself as Britain demands. Therefore little children and the old and sick must continue to die in large numbers in the occupied and war wasted territory unless the president of the United States can contrive to bring the contending nations to a sense of the enormity of the positions which they have taken. This he should make every effort to do."



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Can the Poles Hope?

HEN two years ago the Czar of Russia sanctioned the publication of the "Proclamation to a'l Poles" by Grand Duke Nicholas, in many quarters this action was hailed as a master-stroke herelism. While a certain contingent among the

of liberalism. While a certain contingent among the Poles believed in the sincerity of the words of the "Proclamation", just as their fathers and grandfathers had believed Russian and Prussian assurances of a better future for Poland, the majority of the Polish people discounted the meaning of the manifesto and now as the years and months and weeks roll by the matter in question is given less and less thought and attention. The men who are the recognized guide-posts of the Polish nation remain quite neutral in the presence of the great conflict. The coming statesmen and political leaders of Poland-to-be have their fingers on the pulse of affairs as it is registered in London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna and Petrograd. They assume that watchfulness which has marked the success of many undertakings during great crises. This attitude of the Poles is as sublime as it is remarkable when we consider the terrible sufferings of the nation in these awful days.

This attitude of the Poles is wonderful when we consider that the Poles have been accused of a lack of cool judgment and of bungling action in critical periods in the national life. True, the Pole was possessed of a good degree of "hot blood"; to-day, however, but a negligible portion of the world's Polish population can be so classed. The fiery ardor of the ancient Pole is being gradually subdued. This metamorphosis in the character of the Pole has resulted because of the calmer views of life taken by the Polish leaders in thought, religion and politics in Poland especially since 1863, the year of the last armed revolt against Russia.

Outside of a certain number of Poles in Galicia (Austrian Poland) who have formed war legions and are in the field fighting Russia and a sprinkling of Polish volunteers in the English and French armies fighting Germany, the great mass of the twenty-five million Poles have obeyed the good counsel of their inner patriotic promptings and remain as neutral as the Swiss.

Sporadic preparednesss for an uprising against the enemies of Poland manifested itself since 1863 in such Polish centers as Lemberg, Cracow, Posen and Warsaw. And even in Chicago. Prompted by older men the Polish youth sought to prepare the country for another effort to shake off the shackles of tyranny.

But this sort of preparedness was discouraged by prudent and sober-minded thinkers and the organization failed, leaving only in America a handful of young patriots who "stand by its flag" and who are "let alone" by the Polish community.

This fact proves that the Poles seek other methods to accomplish their ends and desires. As a substitute for the organizations of a military character Poles in Europe and America have paved the way to free Poland by educating the masses, propaganda work and by expressing the coarser work in the direction of rehabilitating the nation in the organization of the "Sokol Polski."

This "Sokol Polski" is a means of giving the Polish youth athletic training while at the same time the tenets of true patriotism are instilled into the minds and hearts of the rising generations. Men and women of all ages and positions in life are identified with this national institution and it is therefore one of the main factors in educating the Polish people along the lines of national life. Little wonder then that Poles (with the exceptions noted above and those forced to fight) to-day remain on-lookers rather than participants in the War of Europe. Martyr-like the Poles gaze upon the battle-forces devastating the estate of Poland, yet they hope that their role in this crisis will achieve the realization of their dreams—liberty and independence of their land.

Can they Hope?

"Poles, — the hour has sounded when the sacred dream of your fathers and your grandfathers may be realized." Thus begins the noted "Proclamation" of the Grand Duke Nicholas, issued when the war was but 15 days young. But there is a feeling down deep in the Pole's heart that the word "may" written in that pronouncement means much, much more than is realized by the public. It may be that the statement is conditioned upon the success of Russia in the war. Yet when one considers the acts of Russia's ruling classes of the sad past, one can only harbor suspicion as to the real meaning of that little word "may" as used in the "Proclamation".

Can they hope?

Again, while perusing the "Proclamation" we find that the Poles are admonished that "Russian autonomy only expects from you the same respect for the rights of those nationalities to which history has bound you." Indefinite, yet full of meaning if we shall judge Russia

from her past history and not so very recent history either. "Only expecting" something from Poland in this pact between Russia and Poland means that upon the slightest, or moreover, fancied pretext, by one sweeping "Ukase" the entire autonomous fabric can be torn asunder.

So it seems that the "Proclamation" may have possibly been given out for the sole purpose of obtaining the side of Russia. Then, to quote Schiller: "The negro has done his duty, so the negro can now go."

Can they hope?

Can you change despots into advocates of the Golden Rule? The czar addressing the Duma, August 8, 1914, said: "In this moment I see also with joy that the union of the Slavs with Russia progresses strongly and indissolubly." This surely echoes the world around and impresses the minds of men of the Slavic races differently than of the men of other races. The Bohemians believe in this because they have the Teutonic yoke of oppression on their neck. The Pole cannot see it that way because of centuries of contact with the Russian Bear. Other Slavic peoples have their fears that we, at least, will not live to see the czar's vision realized.

It cannot be done until each Slavic nation that demands its independence is given it and until Russia ceases to play the role of "boss" over the Slavic people. Bossism is despotism and Russia even now speaking through the czar's lips when he closed his address to the Russian Duma maintains that: "Great is the God of the Russian Fatherland", which saying is synonymous with the exclamation of the Pharisee: "Oh God! I thank Thee that I am unlike that beggar."

Can they hope?

England is crying from the London housetop that small nations shall be as free as the "great nations."

Frenchmen continually dwell upon the subject of liberty for Poland in their press and on the rostrum.

Italy's parliament is on record for Polish freedom. The Pope's heart bleeds over Poland's plight.

Which — all brings a ray of hope to the hearts of Poles.

But — the Germans? What can the Poles hope from the Teutons? A Polish saying: "Jak świat światem, nie był Niemiec Polakowi bratem", (As long as the world exists the German was not a brother to the Pole), comes to one's attention immediately the above question is written. From the pages of history one gathers many facts and instances to support this saying. From the acts of the powers that be in Germany, this saying gains momentum. For fresh press reports from Germany bring us a picture of the attitude of the governmental forces towards the Poles at the present time. The German parliament, it is reported, passed a measure enabling war invalids to purchase certain "rent-lands". The Ministry of War gave assurances that interested persons can take advantage of this provision irrespective of their religious or political convictions, which would give Poles as Poles

and as Catholics the same right to purchase as German Protestants. Here the German K u l t u r at once shows its horns. The governmental Colonization Commission and kindred institutions are busying themselves in regards to this new field of land-settling and the Polish members of the German parliament were obliged to submit to that body a declaration of facts pertaining to this matter and they have submitted an amendment to the measure by reason of which the institution given charge of parcelling out the "rent-lands" to war invalids would be precluded from denying such lands to Poles. This amendment was killed. Poles, then, though maimed in the war through being forced to fight for Germany — are excluded from whatever benefits their German war-comrades will reap.

Great is the Kultur of the Germans! Deutschland ueber alles!

Can they hope?

Read! - The latest papers from Germany tell us that the German Parliament amended the laws relating to associations. Henceforth all trade associations will not be classed as political organizations and will therefore enjoy more liberty of action. The Polish members of parliament asked that the anti-Polish "language" paragraph in that law be eliminated so as to allow associations composed of Poles only to use their own language at their gatherings. To this the government objected stating that only citizens of German nationality form these associations; hence, all Poles are classed as "Germans." And the government went still further and threatened that if the Polish language paragraph was deleted from the act, then the amendment just passed would be withdrawn. In view of this stand taken by the government all of the German parties except the Socialistic minority fought the Polish members amendment. It was lost! Be it remembered that in German Poland (as it was before the war) live over 3,000,000 Poles. Denied the use of their language in associations - they still hope for the liberty of Poland. These new evidences of the oppression of Poles by Germany cannot lead to anything else but the further estrangement of the Polish people from the Teutons. Verily, the Poles and Germans can never be a "nation of brothers."

The atrocities committed by the statesmen and diplomats of Europe's foremost Powers in the name of their "Gods" and "Fatherlands" and sovereigns, is as Hell is to Heaven when contrasted with the spirit of humanity expressed in the actions of the Chief of God's Country—the United States of America—President Wilson!

Let us hope that the turn of events in the European crisis will widen that dim ray of hope which the Poles now find in their breasts into the full blessing of liberty.

Poland lies helpless! Let the men who will rearrange Europe have a long look upon that mutilated form and come forth with these noble words:

"To Poland, we grant full independence in the boundaries of her former state. Then the Poles' hopes will be realized."

The Country Which Does Not Wish to Die

Some time ago we published a translation of Mr. Bienaime's ardent address on Poland. To-day we reproduce another which appeared in the Parisian POLONIA. Mr. Bienaime is surely a true Friend of Poland.

Seven or eight years ago I had been asked to lecture at the Alliance Francaise on Poland.

The title of the lecture had been chosen without consulting me, the organizer of the lecture, a well enough known authority, having hit upon this happy title: "A nation which does not wish to die." (Une nation qui ne veut pas mourir.)

I felt singularly happy for being able to speak to the Alliance Française on Poland, this great orphan, so much so that I did make no objection to the title, though it was pronounced somewhat in a spirit of ridicule.

I spared no pains to show that a country of twenty million men, which numbers, besides, two millions of its nationals in the neighboring countries of its ethnographic frontiers, and which has furnished more than three millions to trans-Atlantic emigration, is not disposed to die.

I added that the persecutions undergone by the Polish nation for over a century, did not prevent the increase of the number of their children to five per thousand for all the years, and that the excellent and brave hearts disposed to wax tender over a "people which does not wish to die", would do well to reserve their tearful pity for the Maoris of New Zealand or the Indians stupefied by alcohol in the American Far West.

But the Alliance Française has not the monopoly of these lachrymose and funeral phrases while addressing Poland. How often before the war good men, with the best of intentions in the world, would repeat sentences of this nature: Poor Poland! Unfortunate Poland! How can they still live after all they've suffered?...

To tell the truth, and it has been repeated enough, people who love Poland have heard only once too often that the Polish nation, the most considerable after the Italian one, is half enclosed in a tomb and all they could do was to prevent its immediate death.

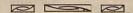
Then I told them that Russian Poland has a dozen millions of inhabitants alone; that the Poles in Austrian Poland have given themselves a remarkable administration; that their resistance to Germanization has produced wonders, while braving the passionate outcries of pan-Germanism which was uneasy about things Polish; the outcries of alarm of William I, of William II, of Bismarck and of Buelow, witnesses of "Polish insolence". They were told that this Germanization has crushed the Danes of Schleswig, half throttled the people of Alsace-Lorraine, but that it has failed with the Poles; little wonder! And pity is expressed: What an unfortunate country this Poland which does not wish to die!

To the irritation which would be produced in my case upon hearing this naive sentence, as unjust as well intended, a calm resignation has since taken place.

And when to-day I see an eminent man, excusing himself for not being able to take part in a Polish work "despite his great sympathy for this unfortunate Poland which does not wish to die", I readily see that nothing can be done in France against this fatidic phrase.

Then from my side I cry out: What an amazing people these Poles, who under the pretext of not dying, today are four times as numerous as they were a century ago!

GEORGES BIENAIME.



Letters of Epictetus

II

My dear Thaddeus:-

In my last letter I wrote you on the necessity of hanging together. There is strength in union; yet when by hanging together you get strong, do not impose your K u l t u r on less strong, disunited peoples.

I hate proper nouns and proper adjectives crowned with the prefix P a n. I hate Pan-Germanism, Pan-German, etc. Pan-Germanism, for instance, is the advocacy of all things German to the exclusion of everything else. And the next step is to impose these things on weaker peoples.

Pan-Slavism would mean the same thing. Pan-Slavism is the principle of a union of all peoples Slavic. Well and good. But Pan-Slavism would mean the advocacy of all things Slavic—to the exclusion of everything else. And next it would mean the forcible imposition of Slavic Kultur on the rest of the world.

I do not want you do be Pan-Slavistic. I do not want

you—to use the words of Pushkin—"to dissolve in the Russian sea."

Be yourself—Polish. For you have a brilliant history and a brilliant literature. You have contributed signally to the progress of science and to the advancement of world ideals.

Cultivate the Polish national spirit and this national spirit do not use as the most effectual instrument of aggrandizement, but employ it for the good of mankind as a whole—subordinate it to the welfare, progress and advancement of the world.

For after all, it was the smaller States that were productive of genius — ancient Judea, Greece were small States.

And Poland, as an independent State, will belong to the world; as a Pan-Slavistic contraption, it will disappear "in the Russian sea."

Therefore, DO NOT BE PAN-SLAVISTIC, my dear Thaddeus.

Sincerely yours,

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A BEMI-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."

Poland—A Nation

All over the world Poles hope that events will so shape themselves as to revive the ancient kingdom of Poland. Since its partition Poland has been subjected to cruel injustice by the great powers, and yet it has not lost its national characteristics and consciousness.

Bidding for Polish sentiment, Russia almost two years ago promised Polish autonomy under the sovereignty of the Czar, after the manner of the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary. This promise was not hailed with much enthusiasm by the Poles, as from past experience they know full well the value of Russian promises. Furthermore, the liberty-loving people of Poland would not relish nationality under the shadow of the Russian Bear.

Recent dispatches report that the German emperor contemplates the early proclamation of Polish independence, with Poland as a kingdom, to be ruled by a German king. This project would be even more distasteful to the Poles, as they know only too well the blessings of Prussian rule in Poland.

What, then, does Poland yearn for? This

has been brilliantly answered by the Scranton (Pa) Republican which editorially writes as follows:

"What patriotic Poland yearns for, is the reunion of their partitioned nation; its complete freedom from Russia, Austria and Prussia, and its rehabilitation to the national status it occupied before the time of Frederick the Great.

"If Justice should prevail as the result of the present war, Poland would be restored to its sovereignty. Its brilliant history in mediaeval times entitles it to complete autonomy, and the warring nations in the readjustment of affairs, should make restitution for their ruthless "partitions" which might better be described as robbery and spoliation.

"Poland, a nation once again, would be hailed with joy by the freedom-loving people of the United States, who cherish grateful recollections of the services rendered by Polish patriots in the American war for Independence."

The Crops in Poland

We have repeatedly written that the excellent crop prospects which have been given as an excuse for delay are only prospects, and before the harvest many thousands may die of hunger.

And thus it has happened. According to the latest dispatches, as given by the Associated Press, it is stated that the population of Poland has diminished by about 50 per cent as the result of starvation and of migration into Russia.

The crops may be there, but the ruthless delay of Polish Relief has killed millions of guiltless Polish citizens.

The German soldiers, together with the remaining population, may have produced a considerable harvest, but thousands must first have experienced the hell of hunger and starvation.

It may be, as the report by the Associated Press reads, that the local production will be ample not only to support the civil population in Poland, but to permit some export to Germany and Austria. But the population of this territory has diminished by about 50 per cent. Families have been broken up. Untold numbers of innocent children have died. And adults have suffered the pangs of hunger, the throes of starvation, the inferno of misery and destruction.

The Central Powers, with pride, point out that that the arrival of the harvest in Poland solves the question of relief; that the crops will be ample enough to save that unfortunate country. Yet this news of ample harvest causes no rejoicing among a people of whom one-half have vanished.

Ah, the tragedy of it. Thus, Poland again is destined to be the Niobe of Nations.

Europe and the Partition of Poland

By JAN KUCHARZEWSKI

Poland was dismembered at the moment of her political and social regeneration. When the Polish Diet adopted the constitution of the third of May 1791, which aimed to strengthen the enfeebled power of the king and the government, Russia and Prussia simultaneously decided to have done with the resurgent State. The West was unanimous in praising this Polish master stroke of legislation, which so skillfully conciliated progressive elements with governmental strength and combined firmness with prudence.

"The Polish revolution", said Albert Sorel, "had the rare fortune of being admired both by the partisans of the French revolution and by the most irreconcilable of its adversaries. Burke praised it in dithyrambic terms." May 24, 1791, Menou lauded the Parisian Tribune, "the Senate, which, until now the most aristocratic and composed of the haughtiest nobility of Europe, in a sublime outburst of love for the liberty and of respect for the rights of the people, had come to adopt the principal bases of our constitution."

And the famous adversary of the French revolution, Burke, wrote: "Humanity should rejoice and glory in the change of Poland; in it there is nothing weak, nothing scandalous. We have seen anarchy and thralldom destroyed; we have seen the throne strengthened through the nation's love without giving offense to liberty.... O fortunate nation, would that you would be able to achieve just as you have commenced!"

Who to-day, from the moral and political view, would dare justify the partitions of Poland? "At the moment when Austria and Prussia ordered troops to march into France", as one illustrious historian describing the drama of 1792 writes, "Catharine II ordered her army to enter Poland. The Germans went to France to put a stop to anarchy, the Russians went to Poland to reestablish it..... The total absence of principles characterizing Europe of the former regime had never shown itself more scandalously than in this solemn crisis."

Twenty years had scarcely elapsed since the dismemberment of Poland, when the Polish Question was raised at the Congress of Vienna. This Congress parcelled out Poland as a flock of sheep, according to the expression of a French historian. Save in the insignificant and powerless republic of Cracow which it created, the Congress conferred a national autonomy on a small territory, reunited to Poland under the name of the kingdom of Poland. But the existence of this constitution was shortlived and ended amid those never-to-be-forgotten conjunctures.

In the month of July, 1830, the revolution broke out in Paris, in August in Belgium. Nicholas I was eager to destroy the western hotbed of revolution through the reunited forces of the three monarchies of the East. The two German monarchies hesitated and temporized, while the Czar made energetic preparations for the war. It was then that the news travelled to Warsaw that the Polish army of the kingdom was designed to march as a vanguard against France. This news greatly excited the Poles, who, besides, were dissatisfied with the excesses of the German regime, and an open outbreak was inevitable. "We are fighting for the French, without the French", declared to the revolutionary Diet the minister of foreign affairs for Poland insurgent, Malachowski.

The bloody sacrifice of Poland only incensed a part of France into oratorical effusions directed to the parliament and into expressions of sympathy in the press.

"As to Poland, Gentlemen," said La Fayette Jan. 15, 1831, to the Chamber of Deputies, "why should not France feel the most lively sympathy for Poland? It is not because the first partition was a disgrace for France; it is not only for the intimate relations existing between Pole and Frenchman for what debt and acknowledgment we owe to this gallant nation whose blood was shed so abundantly, so generously in the wars of France; it is, above all, for a fact which no one will give the lie to, for of it we have material proof. Gentlemen, the war had been prepared against us: Poland was to have formed the vanguard; the vanguard turned against the main battle array; and should they wonder that this vanguard has excited our prayers, our acknowledgment, all our sympathy? Should they wonder at our believing that we have obligations toward them?"

Poland, abandoned to her own forces, compelled to combat Russia seconded by Prussia, was crushed. Warsaw capitulated. The news of Warsaw's downfall caused several riotous manifestations in the streets of Paris, while the judgment of the Orlean State was summed up in the famous words of Minister Sebastiani, in the Chamber of Deputies, Sept. 16, 1831: "Order reigns in Warsaw."

Barthelemy, indignant, sang:

Noble sister, Warsaw, she is dead through us — Dead, musket in head, without bending her knees, Dead, while cursing us in her last hour, Dead, while bathing with laments the eagle on its

banners.....

Poland was henceforth handed over to the process of denationalization and oppression. The Holy Alliance of the three sovereignties was renewed at Muenchengraetz in 1833 and directed at the same time at the two hotbeds of constitutional and liberal ideas in Europe: France in the West and Poland in the East. And though there was much divergence of interest among these powers,



Ulrich von Jungingen, Grand Master of the Knights of the Cross, felt sure he would seat the united Pole and Lithuanian. Before the Battle of Grunwald, 1410, he dispatched two Heralds to King Jagiello, sending him two naked Swords and the following sarcasticlessage: "The Grand Master sends to His Majesty and to His Brother these Swords to inspire them with greater Courage than they have so far shown. He also offers to without his Army somewhat to give Room to yours, which seems to be hiding in the Bushes." Jagiello replied modestly that while there was an abundance of Swords in his Camp, he also offers too, that Divine Providence would determine both the Place of Battle and its Result.—An Episode from the Battle of Grunwald at which the Teutons were defeated. (See P.)

they nevertheless were in tune with respect to stifling Poland's nationality.

The hegemony of despotic and reactionary Russia which had swallowed three quarters of former Poland became really intolerable to France and England. The Crimean war put an end to this preponderance. The Congress of Paris which had ended this war passed over in silence the Polish Question. Since it was a period of great wars for the rights of nationalities, the Italians, the Roumanians, the Hungarians, the Germans obtained a more or less complete realization of their national and time-honored desires and aspirations. Poland, encouraged by the support given by France and England to the nationalistic movements, made a desperate stand for throwing off her yoke in 1863. Abandoned by all, she was crushed once more.

The chains between Prussia and Russia were somewhat relaxed during the relatively liberal reign of Frederick William IV. The military convention of Alvensleben, concluded between the two States in consequence of the Polish insurrection, tightened them more closely. Having been assured of Russia's good will, Bismarck was enabled to achieve his work in full security. Russia welcomed the victory of Sadowa and saw undisturbed, the victors of Alma, of Inkerman, and of Malakoff undergo in their turn the disasters of Sedan and Metz. France was alone and conquered; the Polish army which had caused the miscarriage of the coalition against France in 1863 no more existed.

Since 1871, the German hegemony began to weigh upon Europe. The Russo-German rivalry was more and more marked, but the ancient cement of the Polish Question, the common task of oppressing the Poles and of fortifying against the germs of liberty of which Poland is the center, upheld the union of these two governments. It is at Skierniewice, upon Polish soil, that there had occurred in 1884, the friendly rendez-vous of the three emperors, just as a half-century later it was at Muenchengraetz.

In 1914, the Holy Alliance of the East broke into the cannon shot which will have such a decisive influence upon the course of world events. Will this rupture be final? The Prussian system and the Russian system, two absolutist and nationalistic systems, complemented each other and were mutually sustained for a century. The Polish Cause was the bond. But the roles were reversed. Under Nicholas I, Russia gave the tone. William, future emperor, brother-in-law and confidant of Nicholas, was in his youth his fervent partisan and admirer. Bismarck himself experienced the charm which the mighty czar exercised upon those who bow before material force. Henceforth, this German nationalistic system, under the Prussian Pikelhaube, became, especially after the year of 1905, a model for the Russian nationalists. Will this cooperation and reciprocal influence subsist in the future with a new change of roles?

According to all appearances, the former nationalist

and imperialist tendencies sprouted with deep roots in the two States. And so the Poles, after thirty months of this war now raging in Poland, have waited in vain for the realization of the promises made at the beginning of the campaign. The argument that the carrying out of these promises would be premature while the war lasted, did not satisfy them. While the war lasted, it must be remembered, orthodox and national propaganda was inaugurated in Eastern Galicia, on the eve of the occupation of the country. It was moreover directed against the Polish element, just then predominant in that country, and against the Greek Catholic Uniat Church. Will the sceptics and pessimists have already good reason to boast of their perspicacity?

Let us hope that life be returned to the Polish nation. In its glorious past, it surpassed almost all the civilized nations in the development of political liberty; it realized, during its independent existence, by its own constitution, the system of spontaneous and volutary union of several peoples in one State.

"Put our Germania in the saddle and she will set out by herself", said the founder of the German empire. Germania did set out by placing her heavy foot on the rights of weaker nations. Poland, once free, will also march onward by her own forces and will follow the road without injuring any one. The Polish national ideal has never been imbued with a narrow and jealous nationalism. A Pole, a Lithuanian, a Ruthenian, a Samogitian, equally shared the benefits of a vast political community called the POLISH REPUBLIC. Besides, the national rose above ethnical and religious differences and embraced several nationalities. Polish patriotism offered in this respect certain analogies to the Swiss one. "Lithuania, my fatherland....", is the beginning of the celebrated poem of the great poet, Mickiewicz, Lithuanian by birth, like Kościuszko, like Czartoryski, like so many other eminent Poles. Gente Ruthenus, Natione Polonus, thus characterized themselves the Ruthenians who felt Polish.

If you wish to know what the Polish nation can become when returned to itself, read what its enemies wrote when they were sincere. Here are a few lines taken from a memoir written by the celebrated Prussian Minister Stein at the beginning of the 19th century: "The Polish nation has been branded as being frivolous, sensual and given over to discord. It is true that she was impaired through foreign intervention, executed for two centuries with violence and corruption. But in her former history, in the 14th, 15th, 16th and 17th centuries, Poland appeared a nation brilliant, brave and rich in eminent men. Beside its faults, this nation possesses a noble pride, energy, courage, generosity and a disposition to consecrate its life for fatherland and freedom, and many more qualities and talents. The Polish nation made progress in the art of governing the State; it abolished the liberum veto in its constitution of May 3rd, 1791, strengthened the royal power and made the throne hereditary"

Poland, restored and regenerated, will be in Eastern Europe the traditional seat of civilization founded on the principles and inviolability of the rights of man and nations.

Letters of Epictetus

III

My dear Thaddeus:-

Now that you have been warned against Pan-Slavism, you must guard against becoming too uncompromisingly Polish. Uncompromising nationalism has been in its place during these many years of our political bondage and oppression. You have been compelled to be uncompromisingly Polish — else years ago you would have disappeared from the ethnographical map of Europe.

But now when there shines the dawn of a new era, do not overlook, my dear Thaddeus, the hopes, ideals and aspirations of other peoples—of peoples you have been historically associated with.

And in this respect I rest content. For in her brilliant past, Poland with the historical neighbors formed the first voluntary confederation of independent powers in Europe. The Lithuanians and the Ruthenians were implanted on the virile Polish stock and contributed to the safety and glory of the great Republic. There was no coercion—there was no conquest—and the mutual benefits gained were without number.

And when I counsel you not to overlook or slight your neighbors, I do so because I fear that your strong virile nationalism—justifiable in the face of bitter oppression—may have caused some of you to become blinded to outside environment. And, therefore, now more than ever, learn the desires, the hopes, the language, the literature of the peoples you have been living with for centuries.

There was the Lithuanian. Remember that though not a Slav, he has given his best and noblest sons and daughters to Poland. Remember that his characteristic steadfastness gave Poland great staying powers during the memorable days of her glory and independence. Lithuanian steadfastness acted like a thermantidote upon Polish hot-headedness, and the results were most brilliant and beneficial for both.

There was the Ruthenian. Remember the Sobieskis, the Żółkiewskis were Ruthenian lords. Remember that many other illustrious Ruthenians worked for the glory of the Republic, proudly calling themselves DE GENTE RUTHENI, DE NATIONE POLONI. And Ruthenian melodious softness had a pleasing effect on Polish impetuosity.

There was the Jew. You are justly proud in pointing to the fact that Poland before the French Revolution was the only example in modern Europe of tolerance and broad-mindedness in dealing with the Jewish question. For the famous Constitution of the Third of May (1791) recognized the civil and political equality of the Jews. And centuries before, Poland had become the recognized haven of refuge for exiles from western Europe, the cultural and spiritual center of the Jewish people. Poland was tolerant—because she needed Jewish perspicacity, Jewish strength of will, Jewish keenness of intellect, Jewish idealism. For the Jew, when idealistic, is more idealistic than the most idealistic Christian.

And there was the Armenian. As far back as 1091 there had been an emigration of Armenians to Poland,

where they could foster their language and worship their God—in peace. And Poland received them with open arms, for they were shrewd businessmen and gallant heroes. They rose to high office; many became men of high learning, and many were used as dragomans by the Polish kings in their dealings with the East. Yes, Poland was tolerant, and the Armenian offered his work, his talent, his service, his life, for the good of the Republic.

These peoples, and others, study well, my friend. Remember, you must be yourself — Polish — in order to mean anything to humanity; yet while being a national, cultivate an international mind, which recognizes the interdependence in nature, which denies that culture and genius are the monopoly of one nation, but which affirms that they belong to the world.

Therefore, my dear Thaddeus, in order that Poland may once more become a brilliant State in the future, LOOK OVER THE WALL AND STUDY WELL THE CULTURE AND IDEALS OF OTHER PEOPLES.

Sincerely yours,

"EPICTETUS."

IV

My dear Thaddeus:-

Laboring under various handicaps, you have been unable to follow up the many fields of human productivity in a manner suitable to the traditions of a great nation.

Though your nationalism has been intensified, your progress has been hampered by the machinations of designing governments.

Oppressed, you have made your former literature and history the focus of your attention, the pith of your instruction.

The political improvement has been your steady program, and upon this subject you have generalized more than specialized.

And there's the rub. Life now-a-days is so complex that it calls for specialists in every line of endeavor. If you remember, in the past we have had among us men who were artists, professors, editors, statesmen—all in one.

New that Poland is to enter the family of nations, she will need specialists—she will need specialists in statesmanship—constructive statesmen—while editors, professors, artists, etc., had better confine themselves to their special fields of work. Universal geniuses will never be looked up to as the political saviors of their country.

Specialization is the thing. Constructive statesmanship is the thing.

Therefore, since he would pilot the Ship of State on the certain rocks of failure and disaster, DO NOT BELIEVE IN A UNIVERSAL GENIUS, my dear Thaddeus.

Sincerely yours,

Poland's Reasons

HEN Walsh in his work, "The Thirteenth Greatest of Centuries", in the chapter on Justice and Legal Development says: "Casimir the Great, who was born shortly after the close of the 13th

century, gave wise laws to Poland, which have constituted the basis of Polish law ever since," and immediately adds, "At this time Poland was one of the most important countries in Europe", - he gives us an excellent and direct testimony of Poland's legislative ability and indirectly of her governmental capacity; for laws necessarily follow government and the ability of a government to enact wise laws proves its ability to govern.

In the thirteenth century, justly called the Greatest of Centuries, the development of jurisprudence made a wonderful progress. "The law-making century", would be, we think, a fit epithet for that the thirteenth century not because positive law became first enacted - for positive laws came into existence simultaneously with man and in the time of ancient Greece and Rome human positive law reached unusual development; but because in this century, the development of the positive law received a new and vigorous impetus. It was a "law-making age" and men turned their undivided attention no less to the enactment of new laws than to the improvement on and codification of the old and scattered laws. It was in this century that the Magna Charta was drawn up which ever since has constituted the basic law for all English speaking people. In Germany, Frederick II was the first to publish laws in the German. In France, the Institutes of St. Louis which embraced practically every law then extant in France, were promulgated. There was, in short, in this century a general legal awakening, which Walsh well expressed when he says: "Every nation in Europe saw the foundation of its modern legal system laid and was responsive witness to the expression of the first principles of popular rights and popular liberties." Montalembert says that "that period", the thirteenth century "gave birth to most of the national legislation of the various states of Europe."

Poland, carrying on her continuous defensive warfare against Asiatic invasions, yet ever abreast with other nations in every field of progress, eagerly entered, as Walsh tells us, the legal propaganda of the age. "In Poland", to use his words, "the development of law came - as the result of the same factors that were at work during the thirteenth century." We do not say that this century witnessed the first legal endeavor in Poland, just as we would not say that the Magna Charta, that the first laws published in the German and the Institutes of St. Louis constituted the first laws in the respective countries. But we do say that Poland, through her response to the legal movement of the age, which took the concrete form of the perfecting of her previous laws of codifying them and enacting new and necessary laws, manifested a legislative competency that is on a par with that of her principal contemporary nations, and consequently, displayed much self-governing ability as did the other nations. Poland had her laws long before the 13th century. Her first ruler instituted such laws as were needed to the wellbeing of his subjects and to the good of his state. son and successor, Chrobry the Great, whom historians justly liken to Charlemagne for his pre-eminence as a warrior, administrator and legislator, won his epithet: "the Great" in a larger measure precisely for his wise and practical legal enactments. Poland, it is self-evident,

did not lack laws ever since her coming into existence just as other nations were not without laws before the 13th century, and as history advanced her laws were augmented and perfected. Even on antecedent grounds, one could never explain Poland's unusually rapid expansion under Chrobry the Great, on the supposition that she was destitute of legal ability and of laws; for progress is inconceivable without order and order cannot be had without law and its sanction.

Each Polish ruler would, prior to the laws instituted by Casimir the Great, enact laws in the form of edicts, decrees, constitutions and statutes. These, however, were of a particular nature. They were not comprehensive. They were mere chance-enactments lacking those qualities which make for solidarity, unity and strength of the empire. It was then the codification of these laws with the addition of new enactments that Casimir the Great of Poland, assisted by two bishops of Gnesen, is credited with having brought to pass in response to the then legal tendency throughout Europe, with having solemnly promulgated them at Piotrkow and Wislica and with having forever established Poland's legal and necessarily governmental competency. When Bishop Stubbs referring to the significance of the Magna Charta says, "The Great Charter was the first supreme act of the nation after it had realized its own identity", he impliedly says the same thing in regard to other nations which in the thirteenth and in the beginning of the fourteenth centuries likewise laid foundations for the rights of their people. He virtually says that such people constituted a separate people capable of self-government. Naturally he asserted the very same thing of Poland.

Poland from the beginning showed a vigorous governmental competency, no less significant than that of other contemporary nations. She did ample honor to herself by the enactment of laws which won universal endorsement. But yet her early grasp of the principles of a republican government bears even a clearer evidence of her selfgoverning capacity and naturally her right to independence. "Poland", says the noted German Field-Marshal in the Franco-German War, Count von Moltke in his book on Poland, "was a republic made up of about 300,000 petty suzerainties each of which was immediately connected with the state and was subject to the whole body alone, acknowledging no kind of superiority or of feudal dependence. No Polish noble was vassal to a superior Lord — the meanest of them appeared at the Diet in the full enjoyment of that power which belonged to all without distinction. It is here that we find that fundamental difference between the Polish Constitution and the feudal states of the West and the despotism of the East." A certain writer commenting on the constitution of Poland says: "It must never be forgotten that Poland was the largest democratic Republic in Europe, since the fall of the Roman Republic and that it was in past centuries the refuge of all advanced reforms, persecuted in their own country". Here, then, we have outlined the early republican ideals of the Polish of whom to-day it is loosely asserted: "They do not know how to govern themselves." We are more surprised at Poland's early republican democracy able to go into its causes. Why should Poland, unable to self-govern, while in Bohemia, Hungary, Sweden and Denmark, - yes, throughout Europe, the kings wrested all elective franchise from the people, allow her people to hold the elective vote? Why should Poland lead, and yet be charged with inability to self-govern? Was she to continue the republicanism of Greece and early Rome? This we know was not her prime mission. Why should Poland, whilst rigid monarchism and feudalism reigned supreme elsewhere in Europe, have realized a government for the people, with the people and of the people which America only later clearly grasped?

Was it because she was unable to govern? because the Poles "did not know how to govern themselves?" Why should Poland have realized even at that period totally antagonistic to republican ideals the principle to which the Great Fathers of the American Constitution gave concrete expression when they said: "We hold these truths to be self-evident that all men are created equal -that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Why should Poland dare a republican government surrounded on all sides by despotic and bureaucratic kingdoms? Why should Poland's Constitution of the 3rd of May be the oldest written Constitution in Europe? Not because the Poles were unable to govern themselves; for such a reasoning would amount to a paradox; but because they were and necessarily are highly capable of self-government.

There are those who agree in pointing out to Poland's early constitution which was the result of a fusion of religion with patriotism; for in Poland religion and nationality are correlative terms.

They point it out that Poland has pre-eminently been a Catholic country and has always acted on the principle: "Give to Caesar the things that are of Caesar." This is a weighty assertion that rests on historical facts; for republicanism and the church, historians admit, go hand in hand, or as Brownson puts it: "Christianity in the secular order is republican and continues and completes the work of Greece and Rome. It meets with little permanent success in any patriarchal or despotic nation, and must find or create civilization." Others again with great reasons say that the development of the early and greatest mid-European republic of Poland was due to Poland's national mission which was that of defending the West against the deluging invasions of the Asiatic barbarians. The sense of self-preservation, they say, and the realization that it was incumbent on them to roll back the invasions of the East, created among them a universal brotherhood and equality among the noblemen.

Moltke subscribes to the latter theory when he says of the inception of the republic:

"The protected became dependent on the protected just as everywhere else; the latter grew to be more powerful, he became privileged and influential and entered into a republican relationship with his equal. We could quote still others as saying that the early Polish democracy was the result of that social equality and brotherhood with which the Poles were characterized from the beginning. But no matter how many theories one might advance, the one that is most certain is this: that her strong adherence to faith and her national mission which Poland most scrupulously fulfilled are directly responsible for the instillment into her of democratic ideals. However, we do not mean to go into the causes, but merely state the fact that Poland became recognized after Greece, as the greatest European Republic and naturally as pos-

sessed of a high and unimpeachable governmental competency. Poland was a republico-democratic state and her elected king, holding only nominal power or a position of honor rather than authority, would to-day more properly be called president than king. Poland's way of electing rulers was in keeping with her advanced republican ideals. To-day, for the most part, rulers are being appointed by the people. This was being done in Poland centuries ago. Poland's internal administration, her tolerant rule over her confederate peoples present us with a clear prototype of the government of the United States, the greatest Commonwealth of to-day. For what was Poland of the Middle Ages and even up to her Partition but another United States?

"How much alike are the two peoples", says Van Norman, speaking of the people of Poland and America-

"Both", he continues, "are brave to a fault — both live in a country which is a confederation. The union in 1569 of Poland, Lithuania and Ruthenia was the first voluntary confederation of independent powers in Europe. Both peoples incline to elective governments; both while religious themselves, have ever been tolerant to all creeds. Both love Liberty better than life."

The king of Poland, elected by the majority of voters, occupied the same position in relation to the government as the President of the United States occupies to our government. If America acted on the principle: No taxation without representation, Poland put the same principle into practice in the 14th century. If America, in conformity with the principles of her government for the people, with the people and of the people, is electing her President, Poland freely elected her king ages before the United States have ever been consolidated into a Confederation. If America possesses a Senate and a House of Commons, Poland had them centuries before. If America generously receives within her shores all peoples, Poland throughout her history had been a veritable asylum of all the oppressed. If America allows religious toleration, this in Poland was an outstanding feature. These and features of the two countries present themselves to us as strikingly alike, yes, the cry of unpreparedness which contributed so much to the downfall of Poland is to-day exemplified in the present much-talked of unpreparedness of America. Poland elected her kings ever since 1370 after the demise of Casimir the Great. Even at this early period the Polish would not recognize the immediate right of the king to rule, but justly insisting on this power primarily residing with the people, they would elect their rulers. Like the Americans, the Poles would choose for their king a man who was capable of executing the kingly office. At the same time the custom prevailed among their neighboring nations to recognize the "immediate right" of the ruler to rule and as a consequence they were often subject to the rule of one who lacked all reasonable qualifications of a ruler and who was better fitted to perform the menial service of a king than to execute the kingly office.

Certainly, if to-day a republican form of government is synonymous with the governmental competency of a people, and rigid monarchism or despotism as marking political dormancy and if a republic means to-day, as it ever has meant, political maturity and despotism its lack, we are at a loss to know how the republican Poles can consistently be charged with inability to self-govern?

The Offering of the Swords

The encounter at Gruenwald in 1410 gave evidence of the notable alliance of Poland and Lithuania who had united to resist the encroachments of one dangerous foe.

For the Knights had grown rich at the expense of

Borussia, Lithuania and Poland.

"The Knights", wrote Casimir Gonski, "had reached the summit of their power under Grand Master Winrich von Kniprode (died 1382). They possessed fertile lands, thriving cities, more than 20,000 villages, a splendid army, hundreds of strongly fortified castles and even a fleet of eighty ships manned by 5,000 marines. Poland was practically powerless to repel or even check their advance. Ludwig, the Polish king, was a Hungarian and the fate of Poland concerned him little. But after his death Jadwiga (pronounced Yadwiga), his second daughter, became queen of Poland, and her savior, too. Renouncing the love which was in her heart, the beautiful young queen accepted the suit of the Lithuanian prince, Jagiello, on condition of the union of Lithuania with Poland and the conversion of Jagiello and his people to Christianity. Both countries had suffered cruelly from the knights and in the alliance retribution was to come. The order saw the danger and sought to minimize it by frequent incursions into Poland and Lithuania and by creating dissension between Polish and Lithuanian princes, seeking to gain by their internal strife. But it became evident that the hour of reckoning was approaching. War was inevitable. The knights were fully prepared; King Jagiello hastened the mobilization of the Polish and Lithuanian armies. In 1409 the knights sent an embassy to Jagiello, haughtily inquiring whether he would keep neutrality in their war with his brother Witold, regent of Lithuania. The answer may be easily imagined and Grand Master Ulrich von Jungingen promptly declared war on Poland. An armistice suspended hostilities till June, 1410, and the intervening time witnessed thorough preparations for the final struggle.

"The armies of Poland and Lithuania reached the vicinity of Gruenwald and Tannenberg in the early morning of July 15, 1410, and went into camp, deploying in the woods which fringed the plain; the Knights of the Cross were supposed to approach in a southerly direction from their capital, Marienburg. Jagiello was attending divine service when the first of the Polish outposts brought the news: "The knights are coming." Jagiello suffered no interruption of the service but the armies fell into battle formation, remaining where possible under the shelter of the woods. Fifty-one Polish standards were ready and eager for the bugle call. (A standard represented a military unit, such as a squadron, gathered under the banner which bore the coat of arms of the commanding knight, who by oath of fealty was bound to furnish the king with a certain number of armed retainers at his own expense.)

"Not more than an arrow's flight to the west stood the German army in battle array. And a worthy foe. The knightly flower of Western Europe was assembled under the black and white banner of Grand Master Ulrich von Jungingen. Spain, Portugal, France, Italy, Belgium, Flanders, England and all parts of Germany and the holy Roman empire had armorclad representatives. There they stood mounted on their powerful armored horse, an animated steel wall. Above them towered a forest of lances from which fluttered multi-colored streamers. Grand Master Ulrich scanning the vast armies bound on each other's destruction, now also realized the terrible res-

ponsilibity and the impending fate; for a while he was fully unmanned. But he quickly controlled himself and dispatched two heralds to King Jagiello, sending him two naked swords and the following sarcastic message: "The grand master sends to his majesty and to his brother these swords to inspire them with greater courage than they have so far shown. He also offers to withdraw his army somewhat to give room to yours, which seems to be hiding in the bushes." Jagiello replied modestly, that 'while there was an abundance of swords in his camp he would keep these, too. That divine providence would determine both the place of the battle and its result.'

"As soon as the heralds rejoined their army King Jagiello gave the command for battle. The Lithuanians, composing the right wing, were the first to go to the attack. Mounted on small horses lightly, if at all armored, they were a quickly moving body, but hardly a match for the ponderous knights who now came thundering down the plain with lances leveled. Like chaff before a hurricane, so broke the Lithuanians before this avalanche of iron men and horses. Vainly tried Witold to stem the tide of utter route; the whole Lithuanian army was practically at once eliminated; only the three standards of Sandomir valiantly stood their ground and played an important part in the battle. Meanwhile more standards had advanced toward each other and soon the armies were locked so closely that the struggle became a question of individual bravery and strength. And there the advantage was with the Poles, who fought for the preservation of their native soil and national ideas. The army of the knights, recruited from 'aller Herren Laender', was not welded by one thought. Some were adventurers lured by the promise of loot; some had come with the expectation that their swords were to be drawn against barbarians and now they beheld a Christian knighthood which equaled them in splendor and surpassed them in strength. And the Order fought for what it always contended—aggrandizement and Germanization.

"Slowly the German lines began to yield; toward the afternoon their position was nearly a mile westward to that which they occupied at the beginning of the battle. And now they broke into a disorganized flight with the Poles in pursuit. Who did not surrender was put to the About 22,000 of the German army remained on the blood drenched battle field; nearly an equal number was taken prisoner. Eight thousand Poles and Lithuanians were the price of the glorious victory. Grand Master Ulrich and almost every German commander of note was slain. King Jagiello, instead of pressing an obvious advantage to take the enemy's capital, Marienburg, which now lay open, practically undefended, remained on the battle-field for more than three days. The prisoners were listed according to their ranks, the dead were given a Christian burial. Funeral services were held and the body of Grand Master Ulrich, together with the other German notables, were given all due honors and sent to Marienburg under military escort at the command of the king. One wonders whether Ulrich, had he been victorious, would have displayed such Christian virtues and forbearance as were shown by the noble king who but a few years ago had been a pagan. The mantle of Christianity has often covered deeply hued sins in the history of nations.'

The power of the Order was broken.

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