



## **Bachelor thesis**

### **The Haller Army**

# **Defenders of the Polish cause in the Great War and afterwards**

Tom Bellefroid

Bachelor of Arts in East European Languages and Cultures – 3<sup>th</sup> year

Promoter: Prof. Dr. Rozita Dimova

August 2014

Ghent University



## **Acknowledgements**

This year marks the beginning of the 100<sup>th</sup> commemoration of the outbreak of the First World War. Therefore I think it is quite suitable to write about something that is linked with this bloody conflict. Whilst I was searching for a subject, I suddenly read about this Polish fighting force and it was something that really interested me from the beginning. The story of the Haller Army is incredibly important for Polish and European history, but so little is known about it. I wish to thank professor Dimova for helping me to tackle this subject. She was always there when I needed good advice and showed me the direction I had to take with this thesis.



# Table of Contents

Introduction	7
1. The Haller Army and the Great War	7
1.1 The First World War: a stateless people's stepping stone to independence	7
1.2 The formation of the Polish Army in France	9
1.2.1 The difficulty to form a troop force in occupied Poland	9
1.2.2 The Polish Army in France: expatriates taking the lead	11
1.3 Poles in the trenches of the Western Front	12
2. One war has ended, another begins	13
2.1 The great travel east	13
2.2 Establishing boundaries: the Polish-Soviet War (1919-1921)	14
2.3 Establishing boundaries: the Polish-Ukrainian War (1918-1919)	16
3. The legacy of the Haller Army	16
3.1 Attacks on Jews	16
3.2 Commemoration or passing into legend?	17
Conclusion	18
Bibliography	20
Appendix 1	22
Appendix 2	23
Appendix 3	28
Appendix 4	30



## Introduction

The first chapter of this bachelor thesis focuses on the position of Poland in the period prior to the outbreak of the Great War. This once mighty nation had been deprived of its autonomy and was subsequently carved up by its imperialistic neighbours. The *Finis Poloniae*, the famous Polish Partitions, caused the three parts of former Poland to develop in a completely different way. Despite the fact that the Polish people now lived separated, its sense of national pride could never be extinguished. Numerous attempts were made to create a liberation force within the partitioned homeland, but nearly all of them failed in the end. These setbacks led to the conviction that Polish expatriates, especially those living across the ocean, needed to take charge in the cause of a proper Polish army. Only then could the Poles overtly fight for the reinstatement of their homeland. Poland was resurrected in the aftermath of the Great War, but this turning point in Polish history could not have been possible without the sacrifices of those who fought during World War I in the ranks of Haller's Army, an Allied-sided troop force that consisted primarily of Polish expatriates. Many of these soldiers had crossed the ocean in the years prior to the outbreak of the Great War, in pursuit of a better life. The Haller Army gave them the chance to return and fight for the Polish cause. This first chapter therefore tells the story of the formation of this troop force and highlights its achievements on the battlefield during the First World War.

When conflict ended in 1918, Haller's men still had to face their greatest challenge: the consolidation of Poland. The second chapter talks about the Army's key role in establishing the boundaries of this vulnerable state. Two important conflicts are mentioned: the Polish-Ukrainian War (1918-1919) and the Polish-Soviet War (1919-1921).

The third chapter tackles the legacy of the *Hallerzczycy*. Are these men heroes or not? Is there some sort of commemoration or is their story somewhat forgotten? What about the allegations about possible anti-Semitic attacks committed by Haller's men in Ukraine?

A couple of interesting documents are attached to this thesis. To illustrate the Polish situation prior to the First World War, a map about the Polish Partitions has been added. Woodrow Wilson's "Peace without victory" speech and the reaction of Ignacy Jan Paderewski can also be found at the back. The list of attachments includes a diary fragment that connects the three chapters more or less together.

## 1. The Haller Army and the Great War

### *1.1 The First World War: a stateless people's stepping stone to independence*

The majority of everything that has ever been written about the First World War focuses primarily on the absolute uselessness of this worldwide conflict, the tremendous horrors of battle and the severe consequences that awaited those who couldn't claim victory in the end.

However, the dark experience of the Great War is not shared by everyone in the same way. The conflict that raged for four years had changed Europe and the rest of the world beyond reckoning. Autocratic rulers were overthrown or faced the complete disintegration of their mighty empires. In many cases minorities in these states used these geopolitical changes to their advantage and casted off the yoke of their oppressors. Especially in Central and Eastern Europe, people saw the war as an opportunity to (re)gain freedom. In some cases this freedom was even used as a stepping stone to the (re)creation of their homeland. Poland was one of those new independent states that appeared, or better reappeared, on the map of post-war Europe.

The rebirth of Poland was the long-awaited termination of the Poles' struggle to reclaim the land that was stolen from them. In order to understand their fierce desire for renewed independence, it is important to investigate which historic events caused the country to disappear from the European scene in the first place.

The story of Poland's downfall begins in the second half of the eighteenth century, approximately two hundred years after its merger with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the subsequent formation of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.<sup>1</sup> After its establishment in 1569, this federation became a powerful opponent for the Austrian empire in Central Europe. Democracy brought stability, prosperity and religious tolerance. (Robak 2005: 4)

Historian Raymond Detrez (2013: 190) explains that the year 1764 marks the introduction of certain measurements to reform the Commonwealth. These changes alarmed the neighbours of the federation: Russia, Austria and Prussia. According to Detrez (2013: 191), the rulers of these three states feared that the 'French' principles of Enlightenment would also spread in their countries. Furthermore, the threesome was not enthusiastic about a Commonwealth becoming too powerful. These elements resulted in the decision of the three neighbouring countries to act, dividing Poland amongst themselves.

This is how the Partitions of Poland happened:

The first partition occurred in 1772 – Russia, Prussia and Austria took circa twenty-eight percent of the Commonwealth. The second stage, agreed between Russia and Prussia in 1793, left the Polish-Lithuanian state with one third of its original territory. The third and final partition was signed by Russia, Prussia and Austria on October 24, 1795. (Robak 2005: 4)

The Third Partition of Poland meant the complete dissolution of the country. Poland was erased from the map of Europe, the three partitioning powers shared dominion over the entire Commonwealth and the Polish community now lived under foreign occupation.

David Ruskoski explains that life under foreign rule differed in each partition: "While Poles in the Austrian partition obtained a great deal of autonomy, their compatriots in the

---

<sup>1</sup> The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was a constitutional union between the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. After the two states merged, the Commonwealth became one nation with one market economy, one currency and one foreign policy. (Detrez 2013: 165)



Russian and German partitions were not so fortunate.” (Ruskoski 2006: 5) Poles living in Austria were given quite large concessions. Those living under German domination faced severe oppression, based on religious intolerance and the need to obtain land for ethnic Germans. Congress Poland, the partition that was placed under Russian authority had a small amount of autonomy.<sup>2</sup> However, this was severely reduced after some revolts that were put down by the Russians. (Ruskoski 2006: 4-6)

Although the Polish people was scattered and had to endure foreign domination, its national feeling could never be thwarted. David Ruskoski explains this in his thesis:

Despite their lack of a unified state with defined territorial integrity, ethnic Poles regarded themselves as members of a national community defined by tradition and shared history, language, religion, and ancestry. Many among them desired the restoration of sovereignty to their homeland. (Ruskoski 2006: 4)

In 1914 the First World War broke out. This massive conflict brought a lot of death and destruction but created hope as well. Many Poles believed that the era of the old empires was over and, 119 years after the Third Partition, the time had come to bring freedom to their homeland.

The Great War gave the Polish people a fear chance to fight for the Polish cause and served as a stepping stone to renewed independence.

## ***1.2 The formation of the Polish Army in France***

### **1.2.1 The difficulty to form a troop force in occupied Poland**

By the beginning of the Great War in 1914, the Polish people saw this conflict as an opportunity to overtly fight for the Polish cause. The overall presence of the three partitioning governments made it quite impossible to create an independent fighting force within the historic boundaries of Poland. Any attempt to form a Polish liberation army was immediately thwarted. (Ruskoski 2006: 24)

Józef Piłsudski, a prominent member of the Polish Socialist Party, realised that the entire situation needed a different approach.<sup>3</sup> The outbreak of the Great War had completely altered the position of the three partitioning powers. Based on its alliance with both Serbia and France, Russia now belonged to the Allied camp. Austria-Hungary and Germany were the main Central Powers.

Piłsudski saw this diplomatic opposition as an opportunity to get rid of the three oppressors once for all, thus reclaiming Polish independence. Instead of publicly campaigning against

---

<sup>2</sup> Congress Poland was the Russian-controlled share of Poland awarded at the Congress of Vienna in 1815.

<sup>3</sup> Józef Piłsudski became head-of-state and was named commander-in-chief of the armed forces of Poland after the ending of the Great War.

them, he started to collaborate with the Austro-German leaders. Piłsudski obviously didn't mention that this collaboration was vital to the quest to recreate Poland. By helping the Central Powers in their fight against Russia, Piłsudski hoped to liberate the Russian-controlled partition. Once Russian authority would have been removed, he would have sided with the Allied forces to deal with Austria and Germany. (Ruskoski 2006: 17)

Piłsudski's plan was however never fully realised. Ruskoski (2006: 17) writes that the Austro-German rulers agreed to have a Polish troop force fight alongside their own armies and even offered vague promises of independence. In exchange the Poles had to swear an oath of allegiance to the Central Powers. Piłsudski refused and his army was disbanded.

Although the idea of a Polish liberation army was never transformed into concrete reality, partitioned Poland was involved in the war before the formation of the Polish Army in France. In the first two years of the war three brigades of Poles fought alongside the Austro-Hungarians against the Russians. Piłsudski led one of those brigades.

The unwillingness to acknowledge the authority of the Central Powers had thwarted the Polish initiative to form an army. Quite paradoxically, the second attempt to create a Polish troop force was made by the Central Powers themselves. Wilhelm II and Franz-Joseph, rulers of respectively Germany and Austro-Hungary, issued a *Manifesto* in 1916. This document granted self-government to the new Kingdom of Poland and asked for the creation of a Polish army. Ruskoski (2006: 18) describes how the proclamation of this Kingdom was considered to be a devil's gift. It comprised only the Russian partition that had already been conquered by the Central Powers. The only purpose of the *Manifesto* was to please the Polish community in order to increase its military participation against the Russians. The *Manifesto* had quite the opposite effect of what the two emperors had hoped for. It caused a huge distrust in the Austro-German motives and many Poles therefore ignored the call for enlistment. The Central Powers eventually ceased their attempts to create 'an Eastern ally' and Poles had to serve in either the German or Austro-Hungarian army instead. This forced conscription turned out to be a rather big mistake.

The Poles had to take an oath of fidelity to either of the Kaisers. Ruskoski (2006: 21) explains how Józef Piłsudski called upon his countrymen not to obey these autocrats. His subsequent incarceration completely shattered the possibility of an alliance. By 1918, all Polish units in the two imperial armies were disbanded and disarmed.

The numerous attempts to form a Polish fighting force within the partitioned country itself turned out to be quite unsuccessful and subsequently led to the conviction that expatriates would have to take the lead. (Ruskoski 2006: 24) Meanwhile, plans for the creation of an Allied-sided Polish army were developed. This fighting force was comprised predominantly of Polish nationals living in the United States and Canada who volunteered to fight in France towards the last year of World War I. This Polish Army in France became known as Haller's

Army. (Valasek 2006: 15) The Army was not influenced by the partitioning powers and was therefore far easier to form. (Ruskoski 2006: 11)

### **1.2.2 The Polish Army in France: expatriates taking the lead**

The year 1917 marks the official birth of the Autonomous Polish Fighting Forces in France under the Polish flag and Polish command. (Valasek 2006: 34-35) After three extremely bloody years of war, the French urgently needed fresh military skilled troops. The precarious condition of the French legions gave the Poles the chance to show their quality. The formation and training of the newly founded army had already begun by Polish expatriates in America several years before the outbreak of the First World War. This is mentioned by Paul Valasek:

Polish militants in the United States, led by national and international leaders such as Roman Dmowski and Ignacy Jan Paderewski, sought out and developed the opportunity to form an independent Polish army from Poles living outside the historic boundaries of Poland, those areas collectively called Polonia. Countries such as the United States, Canada, Brazil, France, England, and Italy were prime sources for recruitment. This movement began a number of years before the outbreak of the First World War as leaders tried to form, through para-military organizations, fraternal aid-societies, and the Roman Catholic Church, a 100,000-man “Kosciuszko Army”, in tribute to a son of Poland who sought independence through the American Revolution. (Valasek 2006: 15-16)

When President Raymond Poincaré of the French Republic ordered the official formation of the Polish Army in France in 1917, his decree created spontaneous enthusiasm for the immediate formation of the Polish Army.

Valasek explains in the above standing section the importance of para-military organizations for the success of the Polish Army in France. Ruskoski (2006: 26) reasons that without the participation of the Polish Falcons of America, one of these organizations, the Polish Army in France may have never existed. Under the leadership of their President, Dr. Teofil Starzynski, the Falcons were responsible for the military training of the Polish volunteers in America: “As early as 1905 the Falcons organized paramilitary activities in the United States. In 1913, they began a two-week military training courses to form a group of instructors and potential officers for an actual army. This was a modest beginning, but 367 men completed the training.” (Ruskoski 2006: 28)

Although they were anxious to join their Allied brothers, the Falcons had to wait until the annulment of American neutrality in 1917 before they could participate in the war. Meanwhile, the movement continued to expand and its popularity increased rapidly. It started to collaborate with several fraternal aid-societies like the Polish Central Relief Committee and aligned itself with the Polish National Defense Committee.<sup>4</sup> (Ruskoski 2006: 29-30)

---

<sup>4</sup> The Polish National Defense Committee was the American branch of Józef Piłsudski's independence movement in Austrian Poland. (Ruskoski 2006: 29-30)

Equally important to the Polish Army cause was Ignacy Jan Paderewski. This renowned pianist and brilliant statesman used his enormous rhetoric skills to awake national awareness amongst the American Poles. (Ruskoski 2006: 26) This is clearly shown in the two fragments of one of his speeches that are included in this bachelor thesis. The speech is a reaction to the American President Woodrow Wilson and his famous *Peace without victory*-speech. The President asked to end conflict in a peaceful matter. The speech also included the very important message that the oppressing forces needed to set Poland free at last, thus giving back its independence. This idea was later repeated by Wilson in his *Fourteen Points*. The inclusion of the Polish cause as the thirteenth Point was the merit of Paderewski. (Kusielewicz 1955: 2)

In the end, 22.395 volunteers were recruited from a total of 47 centres and Camp Niagara in the United States and Canada between October 1917 and March 1919. (Valasek 2006: 15) Approximately 20,721 men were sent to France during the First World War. (Ruskoski 2006: 57) Recruitment continued after the Armistice because the Polish Army needed men to fight for Poland against the Soviets. Although it was formed on American soil, the United States made it clear that American citizens couldn't volunteer for military service in this army. Ruskoski mentions which recruits to the Polish Army could enlist: "recent immigrants who had not yet acquired citizenship and Poles born in the German or Austrian partitions, and designate by the United States as enemy aliens." (Ruskoski 2006: 41)

### ***1.3 Poles in the trenches of the Western Front***

From the summer of 1917 until the beginning of 1918, soldiers of the Polish Army in France fought alongside the French in the trenches of the Western Front. These men were the necessary troop replacements for the French legions. (Ruskoski 2006: 62) Three years of intense warfare had completely exhausted the French army and therefore new men were most welcome to take their place at the most dangerous front lines.

The Polish troops benefited from French control. The recruits learned about French military strategy and tactics and subsequently gained a huge amount of combat experience. (Ruskoski 2006: 62) This would turn out to be extremely useful in the conflicts following the Armistice in 1918. The Poles even had the same equipment as their French brothers-in-arms. Because of their recognisable French-issued blue uniforms the Polish Army in France was also named the Blue Army.

The size of the Polish fighting force is shortly described by Ruskoski:

By June 1918, the Polish Army in France approximately equalled the size of one French division: twelve thousand men divided into three regiments of infantry, one brigade of artillery, two squadrons of cavalry, and two companies of engineers which formed the basis of an aviation service and a hospital corps. (Ruskoski 2006: 60)

Of the entire Polish Army, the First Polish Regiment joined into battle first. This regiment, consisting mostly of Falcons and former prisoners of war from Europe, was sent to the Champagne region to relieve an American division. On 18 June 1918 the regiment faced the German enemy. Michael Krupinsky (2004) explains that the Poles received a lot of credit for their actions their actions during this encounter.

Paul Valasek (2006: 16-17) writes that the first major action seen by the Polish Army in France was in July 1918. The Poles encountered the well-equipped Germans near St. Hilaire-le-Grand. Ruskoski (2006: 65) writes that the Polish Army faced the most dangerous fighting in July. In that month, it played a significant part in the second battle of the Marne, causing the Germans to retreat.

On 20 July 1918, the Poles attacked the Germans near Auberive, thus reclaiming this French city. Five days later, they heroically fought against the German 66<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment near the Raquette forest.

On 6 October 1918, Colonel Józef Haller became the supreme commander-in-chief of the Polish Army in France. Even though he was the Army's leader for only five weeks during the Great War, this Allied-sided troop force is often named Haller's Army. (Ruskoski 2006: 67)

The military achievements of Haller's men were not that extraordinary that it made them indispensable. However, their participation was extremely important on the level of experience: "Although they could hardly lay claim to any decisive contribution to the defeat of the Central Powers, the Polish Army in France gained crucial field experience which led to extraordinary post-war assignments." (Ruskoski 2006: 11)

## **2. One war has ended, another begins**

### ***2.1 The great travel east***

The First World War ended with the proclamation of the Armistice on 11 November 1918. The termination of this bloody conflict coincided with the rise of new autonomous states. However, a lot of agreements concerning these young and very fragile nations still needed to be made to avoid possible fighting over boundaries in the future. Because they had been present on the battlefields of the Western Front, the Poles wanted their territorial demands to be conceded at the Paris Peace Conference. The Polish leaders asked to allow Haller's Army to go to Poland itself to aid in the consolidation of the newly-founded state and to resist the threat of the Soviets.

Marshal Ferdinand Foch, Commander-in-Chief of the Allied forces, didn't immediately agree to send the Poles further east because of the political rivalry between Roman Dmowski and Józef Piłsudski. The latter one requested the creation of a Polish state that was strong enough to thwart the expansion of the Soviets. Dmowski dreamed of a Poland that equaled the former Commonwealth in size to stop German and Bolshevik aggression. Foch feared that the

Polish fighting force would be used in this conflict that could easily escalate into a civil war. These political issues were resolved after mediation by Ignacy Jan Paderewski. Even though the political quarreling had stopped, the problem of the Army's transport to Poland needed to be tackled. Which route should the Haller Army take?

It was suggested to bring the soldiers to Poland by ship and to have them proceed by train once they had arrived in their country. Foch reasoned that the Germans would never allow the Poles to pass through the strategic harbor of Danzig. The second option to reach Poland was to transport the Polish troops across Germany by train. Foch knew that the Germans would never concede this request as well. The Marshal eventually negotiated with the Germans about the conditions of a possible transfer by train. Ruskoski explains what the two sides agreed upon:

According to the agreement, General Haller's troops were to be sent in closed trains and would not personally carry any ammunition; it would be carried, along with other supplies, in "sealed wagons." The Allies would take "all measures" to avert any incidents between Haller's men and the German population. To facilitate, seventy-five American officers, each with an interpreter, were assigned to the trains. The Inter-Allied Railway Commission appointed officers to be at railway stations in Germany where the trains would stop for any length of time. The Poles were not to display any "outward manifestation of armed power" and to refrain from "singing or demonstrations of a character likely to cause trouble with the Germans. The trains were to stop every six hours to feed the men and take on supplies. The Poles were prohibited from leaving the railway stations, and guards were to be placed at the stations to prevent any infraction of this rule. (Ruskoski 2006: 77-78)

After they finished the great travel east, the first Polish troops started to arrive in Poland in April 1919. Veterans of Haller's Army were incorporated in the newly-created Polish Army, which was commanded by Józef Piłsudski. With the growing threat of Bolshevism in the east, the arrival of these well trained soldiers was not a moment too soon.

## ***2.2 Establishing boundaries: The Polish-Soviet War (1919-1921)***

A couple of months after the termination of the First World War, the Treaty of Versailles was signed at the Paris Peace Conference. It proclaimed the sovereignty of the Polish Republic and specifically mentioned the western boundaries with Germany. Ruskoski describes what the negotiating parties' intentions were regarding the post-war future of Poland:

The First World War and its attendant revolutions shattered the Russian, Prussian, and Austrian states that had partitioned Polish territory, leaving a power vacuum. The victorious allies encouraged a revived Poland to fill this vacuum, and thereby limit expansion of communist-dominated territory westward and weaken Germany as a central European power. (Ruskoski 2006: 88)

However, nothing had been decided about Poland's eastern borderline. This meant the Poles would have to establish it themselves. Whilst trying to consolidate their newly-founded

homeland, the Poles were confronted with the growing threat of Bolshevism in the east. The Bolshevik leadership planned to spread the revolution in Europe and therefore it wanted to connect with Germany, the cradle of Marxism.

According to historian Norman Davies, the only way for the Bolsheviks to reach Germany was across Poland: "In the parlance of the day, Poland was the 'red bridge' over which the victorious, revolutionary army was going to march out of Russia and into Europe." (Davies 1975: 180)

It is quite fair to say that the Polish-Soviet War is one of the most important conflicts that ever took place in Europe. Marjan Kukiel even calls it a landmark in modern political history. (Kukiel 1929: 48) The Polish Army was able to stop Russian advance and thwarted the spreading of communist revolution. Despite the fact that Europe would be completely destabilized had Poland lost the war, there is surprisingly little known about this conflict.

Even though conflict between Poland and Soviet Russia officially broke out in April 1919, the first traces of war can already be found in February of that year. Bolsheviks had established the Socialist Soviet Republic of Lithuania-Belorussia, but Polish soldiers successfully drove Soviet troops back (Davies 1975: 181) The situation became extremely disturbing when Soviet leadership in Russia gave the order to begin a westward offensive. (Davies 1975: 182).

In 1920, fighting intensified dramatically. According to Ruskoski (2006: 93), more than a million soldiers were fighting on the front that completely intersected Central Europe. Some major offensives were begun, but most of them were successfully countered by the Polish Army. In the summer of 1920, Soviet generals Tukhachevsky and Budienny were able to penetrate the Polish lines. This created a precarious situation: the Poles were forced to retreat and the Soviet legions were approaching Warsaw. The Polish General Władysław Sikorski described the situation as follows:

At this stage of the Soviet advance the Polish Commanders were powerless. It was generally felt, that a period of tragic helplessness has set in, during which the major part of the Polish Army was in its retreat not unlike a rudderless boat on stormy seas. (Kukiel 1929: 56)

In order to defend the capital effectively, Piłsudski quickly reorganized his troop force. Several Soviet troops were pushed back or encircled. Because of this, the Poles were able to destroy communication between the different Soviet Armies. (Ruskoski 2006: 94-95)

Poland ultimately defeated the overwhelming Soviet troop force and emerged victoriously from the ashes of war. Because of this unexpected victory, the Battle of Warsaw has often been called 'Miracle of the Vistula'. (Vos 2000: 197)

After the defeat of the Soviets near Warsaw and other subsequent victories, peace was negotiated. The Polish-Soviet War was ended by the Treaty of Riga on 18 March 1921. (Vos 2000: 198)

### ***2.3 Establishing boundaries: The Polish-Ukrainian War (1918-1919)***

The military conflict between Poland and Ukraine began when the World War I was still raging over Europe. The Polish-Ukrainian War was connected with Poland's territorial ambitions. Polish leadership desired the restoration of the boundaries of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth before the First Partition occurred.

This meant that the region Borderland, which stretched from Latvia down to Ukraine, would be an integral part of the Polish state once more. When the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk would attach this region to a Soviet Ukraine, Poland was furious.

A second conflict also led to war between Ukraine and Poland. The predominantly Polish city of Lwów was taken by Ukrainian soldiers and made capital of a Socialist Ukrainian Republic. This enraged the Poles and heavy fighting broke out. The Ukrainians were defeated in little less than two months.

In 1920, Polish and Ukrainian troops worked together to stop the Soviet invasion in Ukraine.

## **3. The legacy of the Haller Army**

### ***3.1 Attacks on Jews***

The soldiers of the Haller Army are often considered to be patriotic heroes. They volunteered to fight in the awful trenches of the Western Front to support the Polish cause. They faced numerous Soviet legions to protect the fragile Polish Republic.

Despite the dedication and extraordinary achievements of the *Hallerczycy*, their story of also has a negative side to it. After their arrival in Poland, a lot of allegations about anti-Semitic violence started to emerge. Apparently, soldiers of the Army would have participated in attacks on Jews. According to Ruskoski, a special American Commission had proven that these rumours were true:

Although vehemently denied by Poles in the United States and representatives of the new Polish Government, an official American Commission uncovered information that atrocities against Jews had occurred in many Polish cities and had been perpetrated in part by Polish soldiers. (Ruskoski 2006: 81)

Ruskoski (2006: 81) also cites the important Morgenthau-report. This document tries to explain why anti-Semitic violence is committed. In the years following the Great War, Jews were seen either as outlaws or Bolsheviks. They were considered to be responsible for the country's disastrous economic situation. The investigators discovered that a total of 228 Jews in eight Polish cities had lost their lives because of anti-Semitic violence. Soldiers of the Haller Army were seen as the main perpetrators, but it was believed that their behaviour was



the result of their poor training. (Ruskoski 2006: 83) Anti-Semitic attacks also happened in Ukraine during the Polish-Ukrainian War.

Haller eventually admitted that soldiers of his Army had attacked Polish Jews, but claims that many allegations were often exaggerated or even completely false. This is clearly shown by Edward Goldstein (2002) who explains what happened at Lida in Belarus. In 1919, on Passover or Pesach in April, soldiers of Haller's Army entered the city and killed thirty-nine Jews in the subsequent pogrom. However, the Army was only starting to be transported to Poland in April of that year so it is highly unlikely that Haller's men committed the crime.

Despite the allegations of anti-Semitic behavior, it is quite paradoxical that Jews served in the Haller Army as well. By looking at the names of the soldiers, it is quite safe to say that there were a lot of them with Jewish roots. Goldstein is troubled by the presence of these Jews in the Army and makes some interesting remarks:

Troubling questions arise regarding what these Jewish *Hallerczyki* were doing while their comrades were committing anti-Semitic atrocities. First of all we have to ask if any of them were present when these atrocities occurred. Lacking any evidence to the contrary, I will assume that the units to which the two Jewish *Hallerczyki* about whom we know some details—Jakob Saks and my father—did not commit any of these atrocities. (Obviously, I may not be entirely objective here.) But for the others we can speculate about many possible scenarios: Perhaps units containing Jews were, for one reason or another, less likely to commit such atrocities; perhaps the number of atrocities committed by *Hallerczyki* has been exaggerated; perhaps *Hallerczyki* were sometimes blamed for atrocities committed by other units of the Polish army or the various paramilitary gangs infesting the countryside. But I don't think that we can reasonably assume that *none* of the units that included Jewish *Hallerczyki* engaged in these atrocities. Or that *none* of the Jewish soldiers were present on any such occasions. Did any that were present participate, either willingly or unwillingly? Did they look the other way? Did they try to stop their fellow soldiers? How did they feel? How did they relate to their comrades afterward? Were they also victimized by their comrades? And what did the Jewish officers and non-commissioned officers feel and do under these circumstances? (Among the names I had identified as "Jewish" on the casualty list there was one Lieutenant and one Sergeant. My father was an officer. It is reasonable to assume that quite a few other Jews were also.) (Goldstein 2002)

### ***3.2 Commemoration or passing into legend?***

The men of the Haller Army are certainly remembered as war heroes but differently in different places. In general, the incredible story of Haller's men has been somewhat forgotten as they proceeded to die off. In Poland, their stories have been suppressed by the atrocities of the Second World War, followed by decades of communist oppression. In America, soldiers' associations were formed when the Polish veterans returned. Many of these organizations still exist today. Museums about the matter do exist, but there are very few of them.

Nowadays, mostly military collectors or people who are fascinated about the Great War or Poland show keen interest in the history of the *Hallerczycy*. However, in light of the 100<sup>th</sup> commemoration of the outbreak of the First World War there is some renewed attention for this matter. For instance, the United States will issue a series of postage stamps in 2017 to commemorate America's Volunteers to the Polish Army in France. The Polish American Congress describes this initiative as being "an incentive and inspiration to current and future generations to uphold and live the ideals, values and principles that these men fought, died and lived for."

Of course, there are some memorials and ceremonies as well. In the Canadian place Niagara-on-the-Lake, where the training camp for recruits who volunteered to join the Polish Army in France was located, lies the 'Cmentarz Hallerczyków' (Haller's Cemetery). Here lie the remains of 25 Polish volunteer trainees, who died of influenza between 1918 and 1919. Every year, since 1919, Americans and Canadians of Polish descent travel to this place to show respect to those who trained there to go and fight for the Polish cause overseas. (Radomski 2011)

Veterans of the several armed conflicts the Haller Army participated in often received honorary medals. Those who participated in the defence of Lwów during the Polish-Ukrainian conflict received the 'Defence of Lwów Cross'. Every Haller veteran of the Polish-Soviet War received a War Medal.

## **Conclusion**

For more than a century, the Polish people had lived under foreign domination. The once mighty Poland was carved up by Russia, Prussia and Austria. Despite being scattered, the national awareness of the Polish people never disappeared. The strong sense of patriotism enabled the Polish leaders to call upon their compatriots to overtly fight for the Polish cause. Of course, these numerous attempts were thwarted by the partitioning powers. The army of liberation that Piłsudski tried to form by collaborating with the Central Powers can be seen as a predecessor of the Polish Army in France. Officially created in 1917, this army proved to be extremely successful because it was formed in the United States. Its involvement on the battlefields of the Great War is rather modest, but nevertheless did the Poles fight courageously alongside their French brothers. This war experience was crucial in the training of the Army, which can be seen in their impressive military achievements in the struggle against Soviet Russia and Ukraine. Although they have done a lot of impressive things, there is of course the regrettable element of anti-Semitism. Even the minds of heroes can be corrupted, causing them to do these terrible things. Nowadays, the attention for the story of Haller's men is somewhat faded away, but it leaves no doubt that the commemoration of the First World War will change that.



## Bibliography

Davies, Norman

1975 The Missing Revolutionary War. *Soviet Studies* 27/2: 178-195.

Detrez, Raymond

2008 *Rusland: een geschiedenis*. Antwerpen: Houtekiet.

Detrez, Raymond

2013 *Centraal-Europa: een geschiedenis*. Antwerpen: Houtekiet.

Goldstein, Edward

2002 Jews in Haller's Army. *Polish Roots. The Polish Genealogy Source*. Beschikbaar via [http://www.polishroots.org/Resources/History/hallers\\_jews/tabid/286/Default.aspx](http://www.polishroots.org/Resources/History/hallers_jews/tabid/286/Default.aspx). Geraadpleegd 27 juli 2014.

Hapak, Joseph T.

1991 Selective Service and Polish Army Recruitment during World War I. *Journal of American Ethnic History* 10/4: 38-60.

Krupinsky, Michael C.

2004 Battles Haller Troops Fought In. *Haller's Army*. Beschikbaar via <http://www.hallersarmy.com/FranceBattles.php>. Geraadpleegd 22 juli 2014.

Krupinsky, Michael C.

2004 The Polish Falcons of America. *Haller's Army*. Beschikbaar via <http://www.hallersarmy.com/PolishFalcons.php>. Geraadpleegd 23 juli 2014.

Kukiel, Marjan

1929 The Polish-Soviet Campaign of 1920. *The Slavonic and East European Review* 8/22: 48-65.

Kusielewicz, Eugene

1955 Woodrow Wilson and the Rebirth of Poland. *Polish American Studies* 12/1-2: 1-10.

Pliszka, Stanley R.

1969 The Polish American Community and the Rebirth of Poland. *Polish American Studies* 26/1: 41-60.

Radomski, Jaroslaw K.

2011 Haller's Blue Army Remembered at Pilgrimage. *Am-Pol Eagle. The Voice of Polonia*. Beschikbaar via <http://ampoleagle.com/hallers-blue-army-remembered-at-pilgrimage-p4972-1.htm>. Geraadpleegd 31 juli 2014

Robak, Kazimierz

2005 *In Poland World War I Ended in 1923* (Thesis). Tampa, FL: University of South Florida.

Ruskoski, David Thomas

2006 *The Polish Army in France: Immigrants in America, World War I Volunteers in France, Defenders of the Recreated State in Poland* (Diss.). Atlanta, GA: Georgia State University.

Valasek, Paul S.

2006 *Haller's Polish Army in France*. Naples, FL: Whitehall Printing.

Vos, Louis

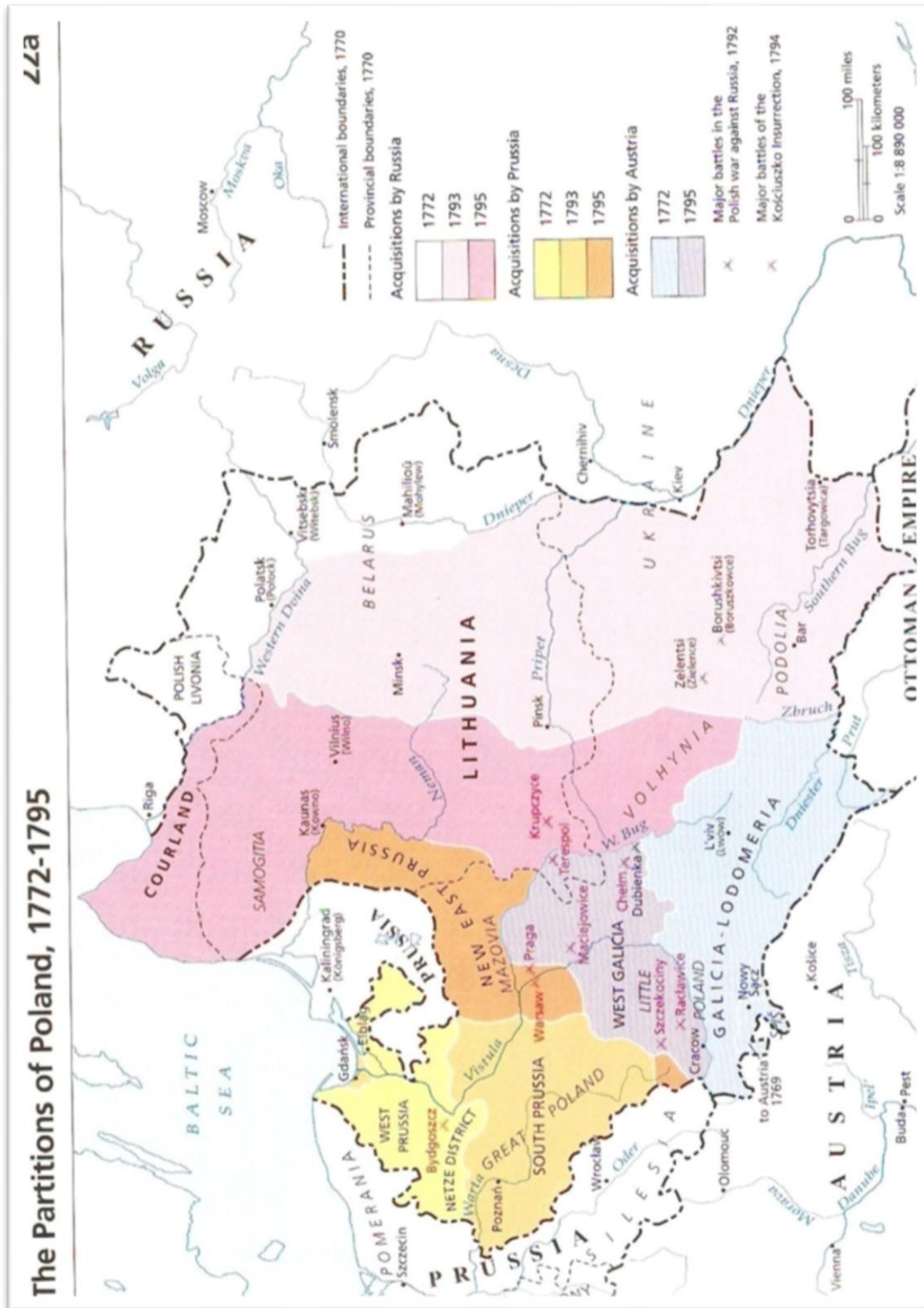
2000 *De strijd van de witte adelaar: geschiedenis van Polen* (m.m.v. I. Goddeeris). Leuven: Acco.

Woolsey, Lester H.

1944 The Polish Boundary Question. *The American Journal of International Law* 38/3: 441-448.

# Appendix 1

This map was taken from Raymond Detrez his source material he used in class



## Appendix 2

*This is American President Woodrow Wilson his Peace without victory—speech*

On the 18th of December last, I addressed an identic note to the governments of the nations now at war requesting them to state, more definitely than they had yet been stated by either group of belligerents, the terms upon which they would deem it possible to make peace. I spoke on behalf of humanity and of the rights of all neutral nations like our own, many of whose most vital interests the war puts in constant jeopardy.

The Central Powers united in a reply which stated merely that they were ready to meet their antagonists in conference to discuss terms of peace. The Entente Powers have replied much more definitely and have stated, in general terms, indeed, but with sufficient definiteness to imply details, the arrangements, guarantees, and acts of reparation which they deem to be indispensable conditions of a satisfactory settlement. We are that much nearer a definite discussion of the peace which shall end the present war. We are that much nearer the discussion of the international concert which must thereafter hold the world at peace.

In every discussion of the peace that must end this war, it is taken for granted that that peace must be followed by some definite concert of power which will make it virtually impossible that any such catastrophe should ever overwhelm us again. Every lover of mankind, every sane and thoughtful man must take that for granted.

I have sought this opportunity to address you because I thought that I owed it to you, as the council associated with me in the final determination of our international obligations, to disclose to you without reserve the thought and purpose that have been taking form in my mind in regard to the duty of our government in the days to come, when it will be necessary to lay afresh and upon a new plan the foundations of peace among the nations.

It is inconceivable that the people of the United States should play no part in that great enterprise. To take part in such a service will be the opportunity for which they have sought to prepare themselves by the very principles and purposes of their polity and the approved practices of their government ever since the days when they set up a new nation in the high and honorable hope that it might, in all that it was and did, show mankind the way to liberty.

They cannot in honor withhold the service to which they are now about to be challenged. They do not wish to withhold it. But they owe it to themselves and to the other nations of the world to state the conditions under which they will feel free to render it.

That service is nothing less than this, to add their authority and their power to the authority and force of other nations to guarantee peace and justice throughout the world. Such a settlement cannot now be long postponed. It is right that before it comes, this government should frankly formulate the conditions upon which it would feel justified in asking our people to approve its formal and solemn adherence to a League for Peace. I am here to attempt to state those conditions.

The present war must first be ended; but we owe it to candor and to a just regard for the opinion of mankind to say that, so far as our participation in guarantees of future peace is concerned, it makes a great deal of difference in what way and upon what terms it is ended. The treaties and agreements which bring it to an end must embody terms which will create a

peace that is worth guaranteeing and preserving, a peace that will win the approval of mankind, not merely a peace that will serve the several interests and immediate aims of the nations engaged. We shall have no voice in determining what those terms shall be, but we shall, I feel sure, have a voice in determining whether they shall be made lasting or not by the guarantees of a universal covenant; and our judgment upon what is fundamental and essential as a condition precedent to permanency should be spoken now, not afterwards when it may be too late.

No covenant of cooperative peace that does not include the peoples of the New World can suffice to keep the future safe against war; and yet there is only one sort of peace that the peoples of America could join in guaranteeing. The elements of that peace must be elements that engage the confidence and satisfy the principles of the American governments, elements consistent with their political faith and with the practical convictions which the peoples of America have once for all embraced and undertaken to defend.

I do not mean to say that any American government would throw any obstacle in the way of any terms of peace the governments now at war might agree upon or seek to upset them when made, whatever they might be. I only take it for granted that mere terms of peace between the belligerents will not satisfy even the belligerents themselves. Mere agreements may not make peace secure. It will be absolutely necessary that a force be created as a guarantor of the permanency of the settlement so much greater than the force of any nation now engaged, or any alliance hitherto formed or projected, that no nation, no probable combination of nations, could face or withstand it. If the peace presently to be made is to endure, it must be a peace made secure by the organized major force of mankind.

The terms of the immediate peace agreed upon will determine whether it is a peace for which such a guarantee can be secured. The question upon which the whole future peace and policy of the world depends is this: Is the present war a struggle for a just and secure peace, or only for a new balance of power? If it be only a struggle for a new balance of power, who will guarantee, who can guarantee the stable equilibrium of the new arrangement? Only a tranquil Europe can be a stable Europe. There must be, not a balance of power but a community power; not organized rivalries but a organized, common peace.

Fortunately we have received very explicit assurances on this point. The statesmen of both of the groups of nations now arrayed against one another have said, in terms that could not be misinterpreted, that it was no part of the purpose they had in mind to crush their antagonists. But the implications of these assurances may not be equally to all--may not be the same on both sides of the water. I think it will be serviceable if I attempt to set forth what we understand them to be.

They imply, first of all, that it must be a peace without victory. It is not pleasant to say this. I beg that I may be permitted to put my own interpretation upon it and that it may be understood that no other interpretation was in my thought. I am seeking only to face realities and to face them without soft concealments. Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently but only as upon quicksand. Only a peace between equals can last. Only a peace the very principle of which is equality and a common participation in a common benefit. The right state of mind, the right feeling between nations,



is as necessary for a lasting peace as is the just settlement of vexed questions of territory or of racial and national allegiance.

The equality of nations upon which peace must be founded if it is to last must be an equality of rights; the guarantees exchanged must neither recognize nor imply a difference between big nations and small, between those that are powerful and those that are weak. Right must be based upon the common strength, not upon the individual strength, of the nations upon whose concert peace will depend. Equality of territory or of resources there of course cannot be; nor any other sort of equality not gained in the ordinary peaceful and legitimate development of the peoples themselves. But no one asks or expects anything more than an equality of rights. Mankind is looking now for freedom of life, not for equipoises of power.

And there is a deeper thing involved than even equality of right among organized nations. No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principle that governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that no right anywhere exists to hand peoples about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property. I take it for granted, for instance, if I may venture upon a single example, that statesmen everywhere are agreed that there should be a united, independent, and autonomous Poland, and that, henceforth, inviolable security of life, of worship, and of industrial and social development should be guaranteed to all peoples who have lived hitherto under the power of governments devoted to a faith and purpose hostile to their own.

I speak of this, not because of any desire to exalt an abstract political principle which has always been held very dear by those who have sought to build up liberty in America but for the same reason that I have spoken of the other conditions of peace which seem to me clearly indispensable because I wish frankly to uncover realities. Any peace which does not recognize and accept this principle will inevitably be upset. It will not rest upon the affections or the convictions of mankind. The ferment of spirit of whole populations will fight subtly and constantly against it, and all the world will sympathize. The world can be at peace only if its life is stable, and there can be no stability where the will is in rebellion, where there is not tranquility of spirit and a sense of justice, of freedom, and of right.

So far as practicable, moreover, every great people now struggling toward a full development of its resources and of its powers should be assured a direct outlet to the great highways of the sea. Where this cannot be done by the cession of territory, it can no doubt be done by the neutralization of direct rights of way under the general guarantee which will assure the peace itself. With a right comity of arrangement, no nation need be shut away from free access to the open paths of the world's commerce.

And the paths of the sea must alike in law and in fact be free. The freedom of the seas is the *sine qua non* of peace, equality, and cooperation. No doubt a somewhat radical reconsideration of many of the rules of international practice hitherto thought to be established may be necessary in order to make the seas indeed free and common in practically all circumstances for the use of mankind, but the motive for such changes is convincing and compelling. There can be no trust or intimacy between the peoples of the world without them. The free, constant, unthreatened intercourse of nations is an essential part of the process of peace and of development. It need not be difficult either to define or to secure the freedom of the seas if the governments of the world sincerely desire to come to an agreement concerning it.

It is a problem closely connected with the limitation of naval armaments and the cooperation of the navies of the world in keeping the seas at once free and safe. And the question of limiting naval armaments opens the wider and perhaps more difficult question of the limitation of armies and of all programs of military preparation. Difficult and delicate as these questions are, they must be faced with the utmost candor and decided in a spirit of real accommodation if peace is to come with healing in its wings, and come to stay.

Peace cannot be had without concession and sacrifice. There can be no sense of safety and equality among the nations if great preponderating armaments are henceforth to continue here and there to be built up and maintained. The statesmen of the world must plan for peace, and nations must adjust and accommodate their policy to it as they have planned for war and made ready for pitiless contest and rivalry. The question of armaments, whether on land or sea, is the most immediately and intensely practical question connected with the future fortunes of nations and of mankind.

I have spoken upon these great matters without reserve and with the utmost explicitness because it has seemed to me to be necessary if the world's yearning desire for peace was anywhere to find free voice and utterance. Perhaps I am the only person in high authority among all the peoples of the world who is at liberty to speak and hold nothing back. I am speaking as an individual, and yet I am speaking also, of course, as the responsible head of a great government, and I feel confident that I have said what the people of the United States would wish me to say.

May I not add that I hope and believe that I am in effect speaking for liberals and friends of humanity in every nation and of every program of liberty? I would fain believe that I am speaking for the silent mass of mankind everywhere who have as yet had no place or opportunity to speak their real hearts out concerning the death and ruin they see to have come already upon the persons and the homes they hold most dear.

And in holding out the expectation that the people and government of the United States will join the other civilized nations of the world in guaranteeing the permanence of peace upon such terms as I have named I speak with the greater boldness and confidence because it is clear to every man who can think that there is in this promise no breach in either our traditions or our policy as a nation, but a fulfillment, rather, of all that we have professed or striven for.

I am proposing, as it were, that the nations should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world: that no nation should seek to extend its polity over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own polity, its own way of development--unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful.

I am proposing that all nations henceforth avoid entangling alliances which would draw them into competitions of power, catch them in a net of intrigue and selfish rivalry, and disturb their own affairs with influences intruded from without. There is no entangling alliance in a concert of power. When all unite to act in the same sense and with the same purpose, all act in the common interest and are free to live their own lives under a common protection.

I am proposing government by the consent of the governed; that freedom of the seas which in international conference after conference representatives of the United States have urged with the eloquence of those who are the convinced disciples of liberty; and that moderation of

armaments which makes of armies and navies a power for order merely, not an instrument of aggression or of selfish violence.

These are American principles, American policies. We could stand for no others. And they are also the principles and policies of forward-looking men and women everywhere, of every modern nation, of every enlightened community. They are the principles of mankind and must prevail.

## Appendix 3

*This is part of the reaction of Ignacy Jan Paderewski on Wilson's speech*

### A FREE POLAND AFTER THE WAR

Out of the welter of this war will come a belated justice for all these wrongs. Russia has been punished. The political system which made possible her depredations has been destroyed, and she can no longer oppose the restoration of Poland. The victorious Allies, we may be sure, will bring the other aggressors to terms. Before Germany had forced the United States into this war, President Wilson made clear his attitude. In his address to the United States Senate on January 22, 1917, he said :

I take it for granted, for instance, if I may venture upon a single example, that statesmen everywhere are agreed that there should be a united, independent, and autonomous Poland, and that henceforth inviolable security of life, of worship, have lived hitherto under the power of governments devoted to a faith and purpose hostile to their own.... Any peace which does not recognize and accept this principle will inevitably be upset. It will not rest upon the affections or the convictions of mankind.

After the United States had entered the war, the President reaffirmed his conviction as to Poland. In his address to Congress on January 8th, last, he gave one of his fourteen Articles of Peace as follows:

XIII. An independent Polish State should be erected which should include the territory inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

Mr. Lloyd George has expressed similar convictions, and the Versailles Conference has declared that not only Great Britain, but France and Italy, are committed to them.

The interest of Germany demands a weak Poland, surrounded by provinces either directly belonging to Germany, or recognizing Teutonic supremacy. The interests of peace require a large, powerful, and economically independent Poland. This can be attained through a complete union of all provinces once belonging to the Polish crown. Only a Poland with access to the sea through Danzig will be able to maintain direct relations with England, France, and America. Danzig is to us what London is to England. And only with the mines of Silesia, her ancient province, will Poland be able to acquire economic independence of Germany, to support her surplus population and to check excessive emigration. Despite four centuries of Germanization, the Regency of Opeln, Upper Silesia, contains a peasant and workingman population genuinely Polish, indigenous to that soil without a break from prehistoric times, which was, in 1910, a million and a half strong. The people have defeated every effort at denationalization.

An economically independent, self-supporting Poland will constitute a substantial barrier to the Mittel Europa dream of dominion. No other nation stands to win so much from the defeat of the Central Empires. No other nation offers a better guarantee to the future security of

Europe. Its liberation is prerequisite to the safety of the world from German greed and aggression. A peace which would leave in Germany's hand any economic whip over Poland, would be a German peace.

Poland should be restored in a manner which would satisfy the needs and wishes of the Polish nation. A new Poland should be a continuation of that which she has been, otherwise she can not find again the ideal which she has in her soul. It has in itself all the elements of vitality and progress, and it is so deeply rooted in the nature of the Polish people that it forms the psychological necessity of their existence. Polish life can not be normal if she lacks the essential elements which have given her breath. The partitions of Poland have not divided the nation. They have created a flagrant contradiction between an artificial state, established by force, and the national conscience.

If one should plan to cut out a certain part of the former Poland to make a new one, if instead of erasing the artificial confines, one should only modify their direction, it would be creating irritations which would fatally lead to a new crisis. If we are to have a lasting and durable peace, we must reunite in the new Poland all the Polish lands. It is evident that it would be difficult to construct a Polish state out of territories where there are no Poles. But would it be possible to build a Poland out of lands which have never formed a part of her history, if by some chance, let us suppose, due to a forced immigration, the number of Poles would reach 65 per cent. of the inhabitants?

#### POLAND TO-DAY

What is Poland to-day? It is a vast desert, an immense ruin, a colossal cemetery. Precious works of art, valuable books, documents, and manuscripts, all the priceless proofs of our ancient, thousand-year-old culture, have been confiscated, as the operation is diplomatically called when it is performed by an overwhelming, collective force. Several large cities have been spared, preserved for the comfort of our united guests. But on the tremendous battlefield, extending from the Baltic Sea to the Southern slopes of the Carpathian Mountains, all of Russian Poland, almost the whole of Austrian and even a portion of Prussian Poland have been totally ruined. Three hundred towns, two thousand churches, twenty thousand villages are no more. An area equal in size to your states of Illinois, Pennsylvania, New York, and Maine together has been laid waste. For what could remain of a country where in many districts those huge armies of millions of men were moving forward and backward for eighteen months? Eighteen months of continuous fighting, eighteen months of incessant danger, eighteen months of uninterrupted anguish and pain, imposed upon an innocent nation! Millions of homeless peasants, of unemployed workmen, of humble Jewish shopkeepers, have been driven into open wastes. Millions of bereaved parents, of breadless, helpless widows and orphans are still wandering about in the desolate land, hiding in woods or in hollows, happy if they find an abandoned trench and in that trench, next to the body of a fallen fighter, some decaying remnants of soldier's food.

The Polish National Committee has a message for all Americans: Help us to break forever the chains which shackle and humiliate an ancient and highly civilized nation, a nation which has been for centuries one of the vital organs of progress and humanity. Each of you can help. Then the old Polish Republic, which has been murdered by three autocracies, will rise again, resurrected by the generosity of American democracy.

## Appendix 4

*This is the diary of a soldier of the Polish Army in France. I have added this to my thesis because it shows what this man has experienced whilst serving in the army. We follow him from being a recruit until his return home as a veteran.*

### Pittsburgh Soldier's Diary with Polish Army - World War 1917

The following is a Diary of Michael Stypula, Pittsburgh, Pa., member of the Polish Army in France.

\* \* \*

Enlisted with the Polish Army in France in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, November 16, 1917, entrained to Camp Kosciuszko, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Canada, December 3, 1917. Stopped and stayed in Buffalo, N.Y., for three days. After completing preliminaries proceeded to the training camp where I have arrived on December 6th, at 9:15 P. M. Re-assigned to Fort Niagara, N.Y. December 28th for further training ... left camp on February 8, 1918 and proceeded our journey to France.

#### On the way to France

Debarked form New York City Port on February 11, 1918, and subsequently arrived at Brest, France, February 28, 1918 ... greeted enthusiastically by the Polish, French, and American authorities.

Arrived at Mayenne, March 3, 1918, and on April 14th left for Cheutonouf. Departed for Camp St. Quentin June 1918, then marched to Brienne la Chatteu, reaching same on June 12, 1918, took four full marching days ... Brienne bombarded on June 13th, one killed outright and the wounded two died the following day. Presentation of regimental battle colors on June 22, 1918, somewhere in Champagne ... it rained all day, but the ceremony went off as scheduled. Arrived in Paris July 12th, one and half of Second Battalion of Second Regiment, paraded in full review on July 14th, Bastille day, greeted enthusiastically by French and Parisian Poles. Returned to Brienne La Chatteu July 16th for training and conditioning. Given a furlough to Paris July 22nd, and spent 10 days ... Big Bertha is bombing Paris for four consecutive days. Joined my outfit at Camp St. Tanche, Champiegnie Front, August 1918 ... entrained for Crevachamp September, 1918.

#### Finally in Action

At last assigned battle position on an active front October, 1918, in Vosges Mountain terrain, where have taken part in action for sixteen consecutive days. Given a rest leave and returned to the reserve positions... On November 11th, reassigned to another sector near Metz... as we are traveling towards the front, at the village were informed that armistice is in the making ... Returned to Horseville, a village near Strassburg... and subsequently transferred to Hosonville. In April, 1919, reassigned to St. Dizier, where preparations were made for hopeful transfer to our native Poland... this all depended on decision to be made by Allied Ministers.

## On Way to Poland

Finally our dreams were about to be realized when informed that we are to leave for Poland and did on April 20, 1919. Trip was marked by occasional German rifle fire sniping. Arrived in Poland April 25, 1919, at station Kakolewo. Proceeded to Chelm and reached the town on April 26, 1919. Continued our training and orientation at a town of Wlodzimierz Wolynski ... whence we reached on May 8, 1919.

## Fight for Poland

May 15th witnessed our first Big Offensive against guerrilla forces of general Petlura (subsequently joined the Polish Forces)... force march for four days ... after severe fighting captured Luck on May 18, 1919 ... town of Iwanowicz, capitulated May 15 ... after four hour pitched battle ... quartered at Jaroslawicze. Re-assigned to field positions at Ostrow, May 26, 1919 ... promoted to rank of Company Adjutant July 29, 1919, and given a furlough. Returned to Rowno position August 18, 1919 ... Town of Rowno captured August 12, 1919 after a three day battle ... marched off to Kostopole, where was assigned to non-commissioned officers school for a period of three weeks as assistant instructor. Orders given to take positions at Olewsk front ... battle started September 13th, and continued until September 14, 1919 ... reassigned to town of Rowno for a rest. Transferred to Zwiahel ... battle fought October 30, 1919. Marched off to Baranowski where we were stationed for three weeks and then proceeded by foot to Miropol, and after a two days rest returned to battle action. In Patrol Action December 22, 1919. Battle at Romanow ... four casualties ... captured Romanow February 21, 1920. Recalled to regimental school February 25th and assigned to non-commissioned officers school, as Junior officer commander ... reordered to front ... Battle at Zaborzycami ... Budziskami ... Romanowem ... Wroblewka ... Forced march 85 kilometers in thirty six hours on April 1st and 2nd, 1920 ... marched to Lubar April 16, 1920, from where my battalion had made several surprising and successful attacks upon the Bolsheviki and Communists ... in one particular instance my outfit captured twenty one prisoners and killed nine with only one casualty to our group of thirty men.

## Return Home

Demobilized April 22, 1920 ... spent six days in Luck ... journeyed to Pomiechówek, arriving May 5th ... given a furlough May 10, 1920, to visit my mother and sisters at my old home ... returned May 18th. Transferred to Grupa May 24, 1920 ... left Grupa June 14, 1920 ... and embarked for the United States June 16th, 1920, as second in command of the transport ... Landed at New York Port on June 29, 1920, and went directly to Camp Dix, N.J., where we underwent physical examination and processing.

Home - July 3, 1920.

-----