

Morcinek R., Dowództwa brygad kawalerii, [w:] Spis władz wojskowych 1918-1921, Archiwum Wojskowe, Warszawa 1936 (maszynopis w zbiorach CAW).

Despite the fact that many years have passed since the events described below occurred and the literature on this problem<sup>1</sup> is quite rich, Polish historiography still lacks the complete and comprehensive discussion concerning the issue of the participation of the Polish armed forces in the operations of taking over the territories assigned to Poland by Germany under the provisions of the Versailles Treaty<sup>2</sup>, which

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<sup>1</sup> See: *Problem polsko-niemiecki w Traktacie Wersalskim*. Collected work ed. by J. Pajewski with the cooperation of J. Krasucki, G. Labuda, K. Piwarski, Poznań 1963; M. Wojciechowski, *Powrót Pomorza do Polski 1918-1920*, Warszawa-Poznań-Toruń 1981; G. Łukomski, *Problem „korytarza” w stosunkach polsko-niemieckich i na arenie międzynarodowej 1919-1939. Studium polityczne*, Warszawa 2000; *Półwysep Helski. Historia orężem pisana*. Collected work ed. by A. Drzewiecki, M. Kardas, Gdynia-Hel-Jastarnia-Władysławowo-Puck 2009. Moreover, some information concerning these issues is included in the monograph: J. R. Godlewski, W. Odyniec, *Pomorze Gdańskie. Koncepcje obrony i militarnego wykorzystania od wieku XIII do roku 1939*, Warszawa 1982.

<sup>2</sup> Military and political aspects of these issues were dealt with by: P. Hauser, *Przejęcie obszarów byłego zaboru pruskiego przyznanych Polsce Traktatem Wersalskim*, „Dzieje Najnowsze”, 1973, R.V, No. 3. The article also includes the presentation of the literature of the subject matter published until this article appeared. Other authors who wrote about this subject include: B. Polak, *Wojsko Wielkopolskie 1918-1920*, Koszalin 1990; A. Smoliński, *Organizacja polskiej jazdy samodzielnej i artylerii konnej podczas przejmowania ziem północnych przyznanych Polsce na mocy Traktatu Wersalskiego*, „Rocznik Grudziądzki”, 1998, vol. XIII; idem, *Udział sił zbrojnych Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej w operacji przejmowania ziem przyznanych jej na mocy Traktatu w Wersalu (styczeń – luty 1920 r.)*, [in:] *Problemy militarne na Pomorzu w latach 1914-1989*. Collected work ed. by A. Stachula, Słupsk 2002; idem, *Udział Wojska Polskiego w operacji przejmowania ziem północnej i zachodniej Wielkopolski oraz Śląska Średniego przyznanych Polsce na mocy traktatu w Wersalu (styczeń 1920 r.)*, „Przegląd Wielkopolski”, (Poznań) 2010, R. XXIV, No. 1 (87); idem, *Udział sił zbrojnych Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej w operacji przejmowania ziem dawnych Prus Królewskich i Prus Książęcych przyznanych jej na mocy traktatu w Wersalu (styczeń – luty 1920 r.)*, „Rocznik Grudziądzki”, (Grudziądz) 2011, vol. XIX; idem, *Wkroczenie Wojska Polskiego do Torunia w styczniu 1920 r.*, [in:] *Studia artyleryjskie*. Collected work ed. by M. Giętkowski, A. Smoliński, Toruń 2011; idem, *Udział byłych Wojsk Wielkopolskich w przejęciu północnej i zachodniej Wielkopolski w styczniu 1920 r.*, „Zeszyty Historyczne Muzeum Ziemi

took place in January and February 1920. A similar situation takes place with the description of their social profile. On the other hand, the research on the process of the revendication actions of January and February 1920 looks much better. Yet, this subject, from time to time – mainly on the occasion of subsequent anniversaries, seems to arouse some interest of historians<sup>3</sup>. It also happens now when the centenary celebrations of Poland regaining independence are taking place.

The military significance of these events is one of the factors that makes this issue worth analyzing. Owing to the long preparations and the magnitude of the forces involved then by the Republic of Poland, it was one of the most important military operations in which the Polish Army and Navy participated during the “wars for independence and borders” carried out by the Polish state and its army in the years 1918-1921. Thus, the participation of the Polish armed forces in the take-over of Pomeranian lands in 1920 requires further research and source analysis along with a reliable description. This remark applies to both the Polish Army and the Navy, whose formations, marching along the Vistula River, sought to take over a fragment of the Baltic coast which had been assigned to Poland<sup>4</sup>.

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Krajeńskiej”, (Nakło nad Notecią) 2014, vol. 4. However, none of those works have managed to present a comprehensive study of the subject matter. Apart from those valuable publications concerning the subject matter there are also: *Wojsko Wielkopolskie 1919 r.*, part II: *Rewindykacja Pomorza i Wielkopolski 1920. Wybór dokumentów wojskowych*. Introduction, selection and elaboration I. Polak, B. Polak, Koszalin 1986; *Powrót. Dokumentacja ustanowienia suwerenności polskiej na Pomorzu w latach 1918-1920*. Selection and elaboration J. Bełkot i M. Wojciechowski, Toruń 1988; *Rewindykacja Pomorza i Wielkopolski 1920 r. Wybór dokumentów wojskowych*. Introduction, selection and elaboration B. Polak, Koszalin 1999.

<sup>3</sup> Moreover, one may even notice that it is the question of taking over Pomeranian territories that arouses a greater interest of historians than the territories of northern and western Greater Poland and Middle Silesia, which were also assigned to Poland – see also R. Witkowski, *Hel na straży wybrzeża 1920-1939*, Warszawa 1974; H. Kroczyński, *Zaślubiny Polski z morzem*, Koszalin 1989; P. Stawecki, *Wyzwolenie Pomorza w roku 1920 w świetle akt wojskowych*, „Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości”, Białystok 2007, vol. XLIV (jubilee volume). Despite this, many aspects (mainly military ones) require a thorough examination and source research.

<sup>4</sup> See R. Dziewałtowski-Gintowt, K. Taube, *Zarys historii wojennej Pułku Morskiego*, Warszawa 1933; J. W. Dyskant, *Wojenne flotylle wiślane 1918-1939*, Warsza-

On 23 October 1919, the Supreme Command of the Polish Army (hereinafter: SCPA) passed on the information about its intentions regarding the issue of the recovery of lands granted to Poland by the Treaty of Versailles, to the head of the Main Command in Poznań also envisaged to command the Front of Greater Poland<sup>5</sup> – General Józef Dowbor-Muśnicki<sup>6</sup> and Lieutenant General Józef Haller, who was expected to be the commander of the Pomeranian Front. The territories taken over by the Poles were divided between these two fronts. At the same time, both officers were instructed to develop appropriate operational plans for the efficient performance of this task<sup>7</sup>.

The Pomeranian Front Headquarters, created on 19 October 1919, were stationed in Skierniewice. Initially, when the operation to take over Pomeranian lands began, by order of the Supreme Command of the Polish Army [hereinafter: SCPA] of November 3, formations under the command of the General District of Pomerania were to be subordinated to it. Eventually, however, they were subject to it from 29 November 1919. However, for practical reasons, they still depended on the Headquarters of the Poznań General District. This double subordination was liquidated on 17 January 1920, when the Headquarters of

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wa 1997; J. Przybylski, *Marynarze w walce o niepodległość Polski 1918-1920*, Warszawa 1999. The work by the navy captain Karol Taube and the navy lieutenant Olgierd Żukowski (*Zarys historii wojennej flotylli rzecznych*, Warszawa 1931) includes only minor and insignificant information about its participation in the takeover of Pomerania at the beginning of 1920.

<sup>5</sup> Command of the Front of Greater Poland started its activity only on 15 November 1919. At that time, its first daily order was also published.

<sup>6</sup> The rank of Lieutenant General was granted to him upon an earlier decision of the Supreme People's Council. However, it was formally approved only by the decree of the Chief of State of 21 April 1920 with seniority of 1 April 1920.

<sup>7</sup> Warszawa, Central Military Archive (hereinafter: CMA), The Main Command of the Polish Army hereinafter: MCPA), Dept. I, 301.7.27. Letter of the MCPA dz. 4036/I of 23 Oct 1919; *Rozkaz Nr 67 Dowództwa Okręgu Generalnego Poznań z 9 czerwca 1920 r. pozycja 1434; Rewindykacja Pomorza i Wielkopolski 1920 r. Wybór dokumentów wojskowych...*, p. 76 – dok. Nr 16 – *Rozkaz Nr 1 Dowództwa Frontu Wielkopolskiego z 15 XI 1919 r.*; I. Modelski, *Józef Haller w walce o Polskę niepodległą i zjednoczoną*, Toruń 1936, p. 28; P. Bauer, *General Józef Dowbor-Muśnicki 1867-1937*, Poznań 1988, p. 198; S. Aksamitek, *General Józef Haller. Zarys biografii politycznej*, Katowice 1989, p. 132.

the General District of Pomerania depended solely on the Pomeranian Front Headquarters<sup>8</sup>.

The Headquarters of the General District of Pomerania were responsible for the then organized the Pomeranian Rifle Division, later renamed the 16<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division<sup>9</sup>. It was made up of the Toruń Rifle Regiment (later the 63<sup>rd</sup> Toruń Infantry Regiment), the Grudziądz Rifle Regiment (later the 64<sup>th</sup> Grudziądz Infantry Regiment), the Starogard Rifle Regiment (later the 65<sup>th</sup> Starogard Infantry Regiment) and the Kashubian Rifle Regiment (later the 66<sup>th</sup> Kashubian Regiment). On the other hand, the Replacement Battery of the Light Artillery, the Pome-

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<sup>8</sup> The Command of the General District of Pomerania was set up on 19 August 1919 upon the strength of the order of the Ministry of Military Affairs. It was to embrace West Prussia assigned to Poland upon the Treaty of Versailles. It was first based in Włocławek, and from October- in Inowrocław, where it remained until the beginning of February 1920, when it was transferred to Grudziądz. Its first commander was Sub-Lieutenant General Kazimierz Raszewski – see: *Rozkaz Nr 2 Dowództwa Okręgu Generalnego Pomorze z 3 II 1920 r.*; *Rozkaz Nr 3 Dowództwa Okręgu Generalnego Pomorze z 5 II 1920 r.*; *Rewindykacja Pomorza i Wielkopolski 1920 r. Wybór dokumentów wojskowych*, p. 48 – dok. Nr 7 – Rozkaz Departamentu I Ministerstwa Spraw Wojskowych z 19 VIII 1919 r. o utworzeniu Dowództwa Okręgu Generalnego Pomorze; *ibid.*, p. 61 – dok. Nr 12 – Rozkaz Ministerstwa Spraw Wojskowych z 3 XI 1919 r. w sprawie podziału kompetencji między Dowództwo Frontu Pomorskiego, Dowództwo Okręgu Generalnego Pomorze i Dowództwo Pomorskiej Dywizji Strzelców; *ibid.*, p. 67-68 – dok. Nr 15 – Instrukcja Sekcji Organizacyjnej Ministerstwa Spraw Wojskowych z 8 XI 1919 r. w sprawie przejęcia ziem przyznanych Polsce i zarządzeń regulujących podległość Dowództwa Okręgu Generalnego Pomorze; *ibidem*, p. 108 – dok. Nr 21 – Rozporządzenie Ministerstwa Spraw Wojskowych z 29 XI 1919 r. w sprawie podporządkowania Dowództwa Okręgu Generalnego Pomorze Dowództwu Frontu Pomorskiego; K. Raszewski, *Wspomnienia z własnych przeżyć do końca roku 1920*, Poznań (without the year of publishing), p. 190-191; J. Haller, *Pamiętniki z wyborem dokumentów i zdjęć*, Londyn 1964, p. 212-213.

<sup>9</sup> CAW, Naczelne Dowództwo Wojska Polskiego, Oddział I, 301.7.27. Rozkaz Oddział I NDWP l. dz. 4419/I z 3 XI 1919 r.; J. Haller, *Jak wojska polskie zajęły Pomorze. Wspomnienia*, [in:] *Księga pamiątkowa dziesięciolecia Pomorza*. Collected work ed. by K. Esden-Tempski, Toruń 1930, p. 57-58; *16 Dywizja. Jej powstanie, organizacja i udział w walkach. W 10-cio letnią rocznicę istnienia 1919-1929*. Collected work, Grudziądz 1929, p. 13-15.

ranian Rifle Division, which was only at the stage of organization, was not able to deploy any artillery unit for its home division<sup>10</sup>.

As a result of this situation, General Haller was given the opportunity to dispose freely of the forces that were stationed or were being formed in his area. However, some of the troops that were to be part of the front he commanded, namely the 11<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division (formerly the 2<sup>nd</sup> Rifle Division of the Polish Army in France), the 42<sup>nd</sup> Regiment of Borderland Riflemen (formerly the 1<sup>st</sup> Grenadier- Rifle Instruction Regiment of the Polish Army in France)<sup>11</sup> and the 3<sup>rd</sup> Podhale

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<sup>10</sup> *Wojsko Wielkopolskie 1919 r. Część I. Rozwój organizacyjny i zjednoczenie z Wojskiem Polskim (marzec–listopad 1919 r.). Wybór dokumentów wojskowych.* Introduction, selection and elaboration B. Polak, Koszalin 1985, p. 137 – dok. Nr 57 – Z rozkazu dziennego Nr 146 Dowództwa Głównego z 30 V 1919 r. w sprawie formowania Toruńskiego Pułku Strzelców; *ibid.*, p. 255-256 – dok. Nr 134 – Z rozkazu dziennego Nr 242 Dowództwa Głównego z 28 X 1919 r. w sprawie petycji delegacji Kaszubów do Naczelnika Państwa; A. Tomaszewski, *Zarys historii wojennej 63-go Toruńskiego Pułku Piechoty*, Warszawa 1929, pp. 5, 9; K. Rogaczewski, *Zarys historii wojennej 64-go Grudziądzkiego Pułku Piechoty*, Warszawa 1929, pp. 5, 7; L. Proskurnicki, *Zarys historii wojennej 65-go Starogardzkiego Pułku Piechoty*, Warszawa 1929, p. 5; W. Jankiewicz, *Zarys historii wojennej 66-go Kaszubskiego Pułku Piechoty im. Marszałka Józefa Piłsudskiego*, Warszawa 1929, pp. 3, 8-9; M. Wiśniewski, *Zarys historii wojennej 16-go Pułku Artylerii Polowej*, Warszawa 1929, pp. 4-5; A. Tomaszewski, *Zarys historii 63 Toruńskiego Pułku Piechoty*, [in:] *Jednodniówka w 10-letnią rocznicę 63 PP Toruńskiego. 8 V 1919 – 8 V 1929*, Toruń 1929, p. 11-12; J. Krzyś, *64 Pomorski Pułk Strzelców Murmańskich*, Pruszków 1993, p. 3-4; *idem*, *65 Starogardzki Pułk Piechoty*, Pruszków 1994, p. 3; *idem*, *16 Pułk Artylerii Lekkiej*, Pruszków 1998, p. 3; S. Krasucki, *Sześćdziesiąty Szósty Kaszubski*, Chełmno 1998, pp. 19-22; M. Hirsz, *Nieustraszeni. 66 Kaszubski Pułk Piechoty im. Marszałka Józefa Piłsudskiego 1919-1939*, Gdańsk 2017, p. 16 and *passim*.

<sup>11</sup> After returning to Poland from 13 August 1919 it was the 13th Rifle Regiment, next on 6 September changed into the 150th Borderland Rifle Regiment, and on 4 October 1919 into the 42<sup>nd</sup> Borderland Rifle Regiment. In the period under discussion the regiment was referred to as the 42<sup>nd</sup> Borderland Rifle Regiment – see: *Dodatek Tajny do Dziennika Rozkazów Wojskowych Nr 12 z 25 X 1919 r. pozycja 125*; J. Żoła, *Zarys historii wojennej 42-go Pułku Piechoty*, Warszawa 1929, p. 8-9), which says that on 29 January 1920, when the Pomeranian lands were being taken over, it received the name the 42<sup>nd</sup> Białystok Infantry Regiment. See also: A. Dobroński, K. Filipow, „*Dzieci Białostockie*”. *42 Pułk Piechoty im. gen. Jana Henryka Dąbrowskiego*, Białystok 1993, p. 10-11; *idem*, *42 Pułk Piechoty im. gen. Jana Henryka Dąbrowskiego*, Białystok 1996, p. 3-6.

Rifle Regiment (formerly the 2<sup>nd</sup> Grenadier-Rifle Regiment of the Polish Army in France)<sup>12</sup> and the 2<sup>nd</sup> Cavalry Regiment were about to arrive from various sections of the former Anti-German Front<sup>13</sup>.

Meanwhile, at the beginning of the work on the plan to take over Pomerania, the 11<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division was staying on the Polish-Silesian border, and it was to enter the Pomeranian Front just before the recovery operation began. At that time, it was composed of the 46<sup>th</sup> Borderland Rifle Regiment (formerly the 4<sup>th</sup> Polish Rifle Regiment)<sup>14</sup>, the 47<sup>th</sup> Borderland Rifle Regiment (formerly the 5<sup>th</sup> Polish Rifle Regiment)<sup>15</sup> and the 48<sup>th</sup> Borderland Rifle Regiment (formerly the 6<sup>th</sup> Polish Rifle Regiment)<sup>16</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> After the return to Poland, this regiment of Gen. Haller was renamed into the 14<sup>th</sup> Rifle Regiment, and on 24 September into the 151<sup>st</sup> Borderland Rifle Regiment; then, on 4 October 1919 it was transformed into the 3<sup>rd</sup> Podhale Rifle Regiment – see: *Dodatek Tajny do Dziennika Rozkazów Wojskowych Nr 12 z 25 X 1919 r. pozycja 125*; O. Dąbrowski, *Zarys historii wojennej 3-go Pułku Strzelców Podhalańskich*, Warszawa 1929, p. 27; W. B. Moś, *Strzelcy podhalańscy*, Kraków 1989, p. 12; idem, *3 Pułk Strzelców Podhalańskich*, Pruszków 1992, p. 3-4.

<sup>13</sup> CAW, Naczelne Dowództwo Wojska Polskiego, Oddział I, 301.7.30. Rozkaz Operacyjny Nr 2 dowództwa Frontu Pomorskiego z 24 XI 1919 r. See also: *Front Przeciwniemiecki. Wybór dokumentów wojskowych*. Selection and elaboration. B. Polak, Koszalin 1990 oraz P. Łossowski, *Groźba agresji niemieckiej na Polskę w 1919 r.*, „Wojskowy Przegląd Historyczny”, 1961, R.VI, No. 2; idem, *Między wojną a pokojem. Niemieckie zamysły wojenne na Wschodzie w obliczu Traktatu Wersalskiego. Marzec-czerwiec 1919 roku*, Warszawa 1976.

<sup>14</sup> Its antecedent was the 1st Polish Rifle Regiment under the name of Gen. Dąbrowski formed in November 1918 in Italy by Poles from the Austro-Hungarian army staying in the camps for prisoners of war in Santa Maria Capua Vetere and Casagiove. It was one of the formations commanded by Gen. Haller, which was transported to France in January 1919. It was given the name of the 46<sup>th</sup> Infantry Borderland Rifle Regiment after its return to Poland on 1 September 1919. Finally, on 1 October 1921 it was transformed into the 5<sup>th</sup> Podhale Rifle Regiment – see more: W. Wyzina, *Zarys historii wojennej 5-go Pułku Strzelców Podhalańskich*, Warszawa 1928, pp. 5-7, 25; W. Moś, *5 Pułk Strzelców Podhalańskich*, Pruszków 1996, pp. 3-5, 12.

<sup>15</sup> The antecedent of this unit was the 1st Battalion of the 2nd Borderland Rifle Regiment under the name of Tadeusz Kościuszko formed on 4 December 1918 by Polish prisoners of war staying in the camp of Santa Maria Capua Vetere, which in January 1919 was transported to France, where it was joined by Poles from the German army, previously imprisoned by the French and the British. It was also joined by Polish volunteers from South America. Officers were provided from the French army.

In addition, in September 1919, the 49<sup>th</sup> Borderland Rifle Regiment (formerly the 7<sup>th</sup> Polish Rifle Regiment of the Polish Army in France) was assigned to this division. Composed of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Polish Rifle Division, it had fought on the Soviet front since July 1919, from which it returned on 24 December 1919 and stationed near Mława. However, the typhus epidemic that had broken out in the regiment caused that the regiment eventually did not take part in the Pomeranian operation. During the fights, also due to the glanders and scabies prevailing simultaneously among the regiment's horses, a quarantine was imposed on the unit, which lasted until 12 February 1920. Finally, on 24 March 1920, the regiment was incorporated into the 65<sup>th</sup> Starogard Infantry Regiment<sup>17</sup>.

The artillery of the 11<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division was formed at that time by the 11<sup>th</sup> Borderland Artillery Regiment (formerly the 2<sup>nd</sup> Field Artil-

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After the return to Poland on 8 September 1919, it was renamed into the 47<sup>th</sup> Borderland Rifle Regiment, and on 10 October 1921 into the 6<sup>th</sup> Podhale Rifle Regiment – see more: J. Synoś, *Zarys historii wojennej 6-go Pułku Strzelców Podhalańskich*, Warszawa 1928, pp. 3, 5-6; R. Osiński, *6 Pułk Strzelców Podhalańskich*, Pruszków 1996, p. 3-4, 14.

<sup>16</sup> As part of the Polish Army in France, the unit was formed on 5 March 1919. The regiment was founded on the basis of Polish prisoners of war from the former German army and Poles – volunteers from America and soldiers from Murmansk. Initially, practically all its commanding staff (officers) and instructors (non-commissioned officers) were French assigned from the French army. After arriving in May 1919 in Poland on 1 September the unit was renamed the 48<sup>th</sup> Infantry Borderland Rifle Regiment – see more: K. Galicz, *Zarys historii wojennej 48-go Pułku Piechoty Strzelców Kresowych*, Warszawa 1928, p. 3-5; H. Seńczyszyn, *48 Pułk Piechoty Strzelców Kresowych*, Pruszków 2015, p. 3-4.

<sup>17</sup> L. Proskurnicki, op. cit., p. 8-10; M. Wrzosek, *Wojny o granice Polski Odrodzonej 1918-1921*, Warszawa 1992, p. 116. This regiment had nothing to do with the subsequent peace 49<sup>th</sup> Hutsuls' Rifle Regiment (belonging to the 11th Carpathian Infantry Division), the antecedents of which was the 3<sup>rd</sup> Instruction Regiment of Grenadiers- Riflemen of the former Polish Army in France, which after the return to Poland was transformed into the 15<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot Riflemen, and later into the 149<sup>th</sup> Infantry Borderland Rifle Regiment fighting in the 18<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment – see: J. Fuglewicz, *Zarys historii wojennej 49 Pułku Piechoty*, Warszawa 1929; *Księga chwały piechoty*. Collected work ed. by E. Quirini, Warszawa 1939 o R. Brykowski, *49 Huculski Pułk Strzelców*, Pruszków 1992.

lery Regiment of the Polish Army in France)<sup>18</sup>. In addition, during its stay at the Silesian Front, it also had one Battery of the 11<sup>th</sup> Heavy Artillery Regiment (formerly the 10<sup>th</sup> Battery of the 1<sup>st</sup> Heavy Artillery Regiment of the Polish Army in France<sup>19</sup>). It seems that such relatively modest artillery support resulted from the conviction of the Polish chief military authorities that the takeover of Pomerania would take place without the use of force<sup>20</sup>.

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<sup>18</sup> Its organization as part of the Polish Army in France began in March 1919. It was based on Poles, prisoners of former partitioning armies and delegated officers from the Polish Army. Ultimately, apart from the French, its original officers were former Murmanians, legionaries from the former Polish Legions, as well as officers from the former Russian, Austro-Hungarian and German armies. In May 1919, the regiment was in Poland, where in the summer its staff was supplemented by artillery officers from the 4<sup>th</sup> Division of Polish Rifles of Lieutenant Gen. Lucjan Żeligowski. On 1 September 1919 it was transformed into the 11<sup>th</sup> Borderlands Field Artillery Regiment – see more: F. Hejnar, *Zarys historii wojennej 22-go Pułku Artylerii Polowej*, Warszawa 1929, p. 3-5, 7; R. Osiński, *22 Pułk Artylerii Lekkiej*, Pruszków 1993, p. 3-5.

<sup>19</sup> The history of this battery is quite complicated. Also, it was created as part of the Polish Army in France based on Polish prisoners of war coming mainly from the infantry of the imperial armies of Germany and the Austro-Hungarian army, who found themselves in the French and Italian captivity. Another group of volunteers were Polish citizens of the United States, demobilized from the US Army after the end of the Great War. The officers came from the former partitioning armies, as well as the Polish Army in France, the Polish Corps in Russia and the US Army. Initially, however, the basis of the commanding staff were the French. It was created after 24 March 1919 as part of the Polish 1<sup>st</sup> Heavy Artillery Regiment formed at the French 229<sup>th</sup> Artillery Regiment. After arriving in Poland, the regiment was formally deformed, and its 113<sup>th</sup> Field Artillery Regiment and the 1<sup>st</sup> Battery of the 16<sup>th</sup> Field Artillery Regiment were created from the battery. At the same time, on 1 September 1919, the command of the 1<sup>st</sup> Squadron was transformed into the command of the 1<sup>st</sup> Squadron of the 11<sup>th</sup> Heavy Artillery Regiment. In January 1920, the 10<sup>th</sup> Battery of the 1<sup>st</sup> Heavy Artillery Regiment of the Polish Army in France formed in the Vosges, which at that time became the 1<sup>st</sup> Battery of the 11<sup>th</sup> Heavy Artillery Regiment. It was renamed, however, already on 1 September 1919. In 1921, it became part of the peaceful 10<sup>th</sup> Heavy Artillery Regiment – for more information see e.g. T. Strutyński, *Zarys historii wojennej 10-go Pułku Artylerii Ciężkiej*, Warszawa 1930, p. 23-27; P. Zarzycki, *10 Pułk Artylerii Ciężkiej*, Pruszków 2005, p. 5-9.

<sup>20</sup> *Rewindykacja Pomorza i Wielkopolski 1920 r. Wybór dokumentów wojskowych*, p. 82-88 – dok. No. 17 – Dyslokacja wojsk Frontu Pomorskiego zestawiona 20 XI 1919 r. przez dowództwo frontu dla NDWP w Warszawie; K. Galicz, op. cit., p. 5, 8; W.

The other formations were to be formed from the troops arriving from the front in the east where they had fought with the Workers 'and Peasants' Red Army. These units included e.g. three cavalry regiments<sup>21</sup>, from which it was intended to form a cavalry brigade ("cavalry group"). In addition, the troops subordinate to General Józef Haller also included the Vistula Flotilla and the Marine Battalion<sup>22</sup> as well as a number of other smaller formations of various weapons.

The 5<sup>th</sup> Cavalry Brigade, upon the order of the Supreme Command of the Polish Army of 21 October 1919, became part of the troops of the Pomeranian front. The order stipulated that a three-regiment cavalry brigade of General Haller be formed. To this end, the command of the 5<sup>th</sup> Cavalry Brigade with Colonel Stefan Suszyński was to leave the Volhyn Front along with the 1<sup>st</sup> Borderland Uhlan Regiment, while the 12<sup>th</sup> Podolian Uhlan Regiment was to leave the Galician Front. The third regiment, namely the 2<sup>nd</sup> Rokitna Light Cavalry Regiment was to arrive from the South-West Front.

The transport of the 1<sup>st</sup> Borderland Uhlan Regiment and the command of the 5<sup>th</sup> Cavalry Brigade took place between 26 and 28 October 1919; the next day the regiment stopped in Ciechocinek, where it remained until January of the following year. This long period of time

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Wyzina, op. cit., Warszawa 1928, p. 6-7; J. Synoś, op. cit., p. 6, 8-9; F. Hejnar, op. cit., p. 3, 6-8; A. Sadliński, *Zarys historii wojennej 24-go Pułku Artylerii Polowej*, Warszawa 1930, p. 3, 7-8; T. Strutyński, op. cit., p. 26-27; W. Moś, *5 Pułk Strzelców Podhalańskich*, p. 3-5; R. Osiński, *22 Pułk Artylerii Lekkiej*, p. 3-6; idem, *6 Pułk Strzelców Podhalańskich*, p. 3, 7; P. Zarzycki, *10 Pułk Artylerii Ciężkiej*, p. 5-6.

<sup>21</sup> Originally, each of the fronts fighting in the East was planned to transfer one regiment of this weapon there. They were to be the 3<sup>rd</sup> Uhlan Regiment from the Lithuanian-Belarusian Front, the 1<sup>st</sup> Borderland Uhlan Regiment from the Volyn Front and the 12<sup>th</sup> Podolian Uhlan Regiment from the Galician Front. The choice of these military units was determined by their dislocation and ease of transport in the required direction. In addition, they were in a relatively good organizational condition at the time and, according to the military authorities, compared to other regiments of these weapons, they were well equipped. Ultimately, however, the first of them was replaced by the 2<sup>nd</sup> Rokitna Cavalry Regiment, who in a formal rather than real sense along with the 1<sup>st</sup> Cavalry Regiment formed one brigade. See more about the real situation of Polish independent driving of this period: A. Smoliński, *Jazda Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej w okresie od 12 X 1918 r. do 25 IV 1920 r.*, Toruń 1999, p. 268 and passim.

<sup>22</sup> J. W. Dyskant, op. cit., p. 53-54; J. Przybylski, op. cit., p. 17-18.

during which it remained on an operationally dead front was used to compensate various deficiencies and to carry out the intensive training of the unit's soldiers. After the arrival of a marching squadron from Tarnów the number of soldiers increased. At the same time, however, uhlans with scientific censuses departed to start education at the Officer Cadet School, which enabled them to obtain first the officer cadet's ranks and then the first officer's ranks.

However, on 28 October 1919, the 12<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Podolian Uhlans left Tarnopol for Kuyavia. It arrived there on 30 October and was deployed in the villages around Służew and Aleksandrów Kujawski. This branch also remained there until January 1920.

At about the same time, the 2nd Rokitna Light Cavalry Regiment left Silesia from Kuyavia. It was deployed by individual squadrons near Lipno. They were stationed there until January 1920.

Thus, from the beginning of November 1919, Col. Suszyński had three cavalry regiments. All of them then consisted of four line squadrons, machine guns and technical squadrons. Incoming military staff and prevailing peace on this front meant that they had a relatively high number of soldiers and had sufficient time to raise their level of training. An example would be the 2<sup>nd</sup> Rokitna Light Cavalry Regiment (see Table 1)<sup>23</sup>.

It should be assumed that the same was also true in the other regiments of the 5<sup>th</sup> Cavalry Brigade. This does not mean, however, that no shortcomings were felt at that time and all problems were immediately eliminated. This is evidenced by the letter of the General Cavalry Inspector in January 1920, in which he asked the Headquarters of the Lublin General District to send to the 12<sup>th</sup> Uhlan Regiment from his Replacement Squadron a supplement of two officers, which was demanded by the Pomeranian Front.

At the time, the ranks of all the above-mentioned cavalry regiments were still joined by volunteers in the last weeks of 1918 (mainly after 11 November) and in the first weeks of 1919. Most of them were offspring of landowners and intellectuals from the Kingdom of Poland, the

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<sup>23</sup> The composition of the regiment did not include staff and recruits serving in its Replacement Squadron in Włocławek.

Table 1. Numerical status of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Rokitna Light Cavalry Regiment and changes in its composition in November and December 1919.

Date	Officers	Percentage of full-time status	Non-commissioned officers and light cavalry officers	Percentage of full-time status	Horses			Machine guns	Percentage of machine guns
					W	T and J	Percentage of horses		
11 XI	$\frac{30}{23}$	$\frac{73,1\%}{56\%}$	$\frac{925^1}{695}$	$\frac{75\%}{56,6\%}$	695 <sup>2</sup>	151 <sup>3</sup>	67,2%	9	112,5%
9 XII	$\frac{31}{25}$	$\frac{75,6\%}{60,9\%}$	$\frac{919^2}{704}$	$\frac{74,9\%}{57,4\%}$	722 <sup>4</sup>	148 <sup>4</sup>	69,1%	9	112,5%

Note: Food status in the numerator, combat status in the denominator. W – riding horses, T – rolling stock horses, J – pack horses.

<sup>1</sup> Including 116 and 86 non-commissioned officers respectively.

<sup>2</sup> Including 120 and 92 non-commissioned officers.

<sup>3</sup> The combat status of horses is 656 riding horses and 75 rolling stock horses.

<sup>4</sup> The combat status of horses is 690 riding horses and 73 rolling stock horses.

Source: Author's own study based on: CAW, Ministry of Military Affairs, General Cavalry Inspectorate, 300.25.16. Reports on the general condition of the 2nd Light Cavalry Regiment from November 11, 1919 and December 9, 1919.

western part of Lesser Poland, and the Borderlands – students and junior high school students, and partly also peasant youth. Among the volunteers at the time, the least numerous group constituted hired workers. This situation began to change when, in the spring of 1919, the military authorities introduced forced recruitment, as a result of

which the number of volunteers in comparison to conscripts began to change – to the detriment of the former. Nevertheless, a significant number of volunteers still positively influenced the high morale of both of these cavalry regiments.

On the other hand, the officer corps and non-commissioned officers of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> Uhlan Regiments came mostly from the Polish Corps in Russia, and thus consisted of people who had previously served in the Russian Army<sup>24</sup> before November 1917. The same was true for the 1<sup>st</sup> Battery of the 5<sup>th</sup> Horse Artillery Squadron<sup>25</sup>.

On the other hand, the situation was slightly different in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Light Cavalry Regiment, whose personnel were mostly based on officers and non-commissioned officers from the former 2<sup>nd</sup> Regiment of Polish Legions Uhlans, while volunteers initially recruited mainly from areas of the western part of Lesser Poland<sup>26</sup>.

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<sup>24</sup> In addition to some of the earlier and further cited literature, see also: M. Mińkowski, *Wspomnienia i zapiski o 12 Pułku Ułanów Podolskich. Anglia 1948 r.*, [in:] *12 Pułk Ułanów Podolskich. Wspomnienia i materiały*. Edited and commented on by R. Gałaj-Dempniak, A. Smoliński, H. Walczak, A. Wojtaszak, Grajewo 2018, p. 30 and passim; Smoliński, *Jazda Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej w okresie od 12 X 1918 r. do 25 IV 1920 r.*, p. 50 and passim. The term “Russian Army” (Русская Армия), which was then the proper name in this study shall be capitalized. A significant part of Russian historians did so, and still do- see: *Военный энциклопедический словарь*. Редакционная коллегия: А. П. Горкин, В. А. Золотарев, В. Л. Манилов, В. И. Милованов, Москва 2002, s. 1342-1345, and: *Хрестоматия по русской военной истории*. Составил Л. Г. Безкровный, Москва 1947; А. А. Керсновский, *История Русской Армии*, Москва 1999.

<sup>25</sup> This Battery did not constitute an exception in this respect – see: W. Płotnicki, *Zarys historii wojennej 5-go Dywizjonu Artylerii Konnej*, Warszawa 1929, p. 5; A. Smoliński, *Organizacja wielkich jednostek kawalerii i oddziałów artylerii konnej w okresie od marca 1919 r. do sierpnia 1939 r.*, „Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości”, (Warszawa) 1994, vol. XXXVI, p. 181; idem, *Organizacja pierwszych baterii i dywizjonów artylerii konnej odrodzonego Wojska Polskiego w okresie od listopada 1918 roku do czerwca roku 1919*, „Zeszyty Naukowe Wyższej Szkoły Oficerskiej im. gen. Józefa Bema”, (Toruń) 1997, R. XXX, No. 11, p. 407 and passim; idem, *Formowanie i organizacja artylerii konnej Wojska Polskiego w okresie od listopada 1918 roku do czerwca roku 1919*, [in:] *Wśród dymu i ognia. Studia i materiały do dziejów artylerii polskiej i obcej*, vol. I. Collected work ed. by A. Smoliński, Oświęcim 2014, p. 227 and passim; P. Zarzycki, *5 Dywizjon Artylerii Konnej*, Pruszków 2001, p. 3.

<sup>26</sup> In addition to some of the earlier and further cited literature, see also: R. Żaba, *Wspomnienia z lat ubiegłych (od 1864 do 1937)*. Introduction and scientific elabora-

As mentioned above, the 5<sup>th</sup> Cavalry Brigade also included the 1<sup>st</sup> Battery of the 5<sup>th</sup> Horse Artillery Squadron. On 23 October 1919, despite many deficiencies, it received a marching alert in Staszów. Two days later, its cannons were sent in the march, while people and carts by the narrow-gauge railway to Jędrzejów, where a special train arrived from Warsaw to supplement weapons, equipment, facilities and 200 horses. However, despite these hectic preparations, it was not possible to put an end to all shortages, as sabers, telephones and transport carts were still missing, along with many other accessories that were to be sent at the staging post.

Despite this, on 27 October, the battery with 4 officers, 1 cadet officer, 188 non-commissioned officers and cannoneers, along with 199 horses left for Włocławek by rail. At that time it had 4 cannons with caissons, 2 machine guns and 14 wagons. After arriving in Włocławek and being lodged in barracks in Kokoszka, the 1<sup>st</sup> Battery of the 5<sup>th</sup> Horse Artillery Squadron received the missing equipment, after which, upon the order of the command of the 5<sup>th</sup> Brigade it left for Ciechocinek on 13 November, where it remained until January 1920.

During its stay at the new stopping place, 18 non-commissioned officers and 175 cannoneers served in its ranks. Its commanders used the time that remained until the moment of departure to Pomerania for intensive training of people and horses and for the thorough organization of equipment. The Battery's maneuvers with the participation of the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 12<sup>th</sup> Uhlan Regiments took place near Aleksandrów Kujawski<sup>27</sup>.

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tion P. S. Szlezzynger, Kraków – no year of publishing, p. 326 and passim; A. Smoliński, *Jazda Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej w okresie od 12 X 1918 r. do 25 IV 1920 r.*, p. 24 and passim; idem, *Formowanie jazdy polskiej przez Komendę Wojsk Polskich w Krakowie w końcu 1918 i na początku 1919 roku*, „Studia Historyczne”, (Kraków) 2000, R. XLIII, book 3 (170), p. 417 and passim.

<sup>27</sup> CAW, Naczelne Dowództwo Wojska Polskiego, Oddział I, 301.7.23. Pismo Szefa Oddziału III Sztabu Generalnego WP № 4656/III z 19 X 1919 r.; *ibid.*, Rozkaz szefa Oddziału I NDWP l. dz. 3906 z 21 X 1919 r.; *ibid.*, 301.7.26. Meldunek dowództwa Frontu Galicyjskiego l. Op. 6559 z 28 X 1919 r.; *ibid.*, Pismo szefa Oddziału I NDWP l. dz. 4242 z 5 XI 1919 r.; *ibid.*, Meldunek Generalnego Inspektora Artylerii l. dz. 700/285 Tjn. z 30 X 1919 r.; *ibid.*, Wykaz stanu dowództwa 1 Baterii 5 Dywizjonu Artylerii Konnej l. dz. 1789 z 24 XI 1919 r.; *ibid.*, 301.7.39. Pismo Generalnego

So at the end of October 1919 in Kuyavia under the orders of the commander of the 5<sup>th</sup> Cavalry Brigade Colonel Suszyński grouped three cavalry regiments and one horse artillery battery. Its organizational status did not differ much from what it had had at its disposal in September on the Volhyn Front. This enormous military unit required numerous material supplements – such as uniforms and equipment for people and horses. However, the long period break in the operational activities that occurred on the Pomeranian Front created opportunities to change this unfavorable situation.

However, the state of the preparation of the remaining forces, which were to be commanded by General Haller during the Pomeranian operation at the turn of 1919 and 1920, was as follows. As has been already mentioned, at the end of 1919, the creation of the Pomeranian Rifle Division and the formation of its rifle regiments was underway. Most of them, despite their destination, were organized extraterritorially, in the area administered first by the Supreme Headquarters in Poznań, and then by the Headquarters of the Poznań General District. Therefore, some volunteers were directed to Inowrocław<sup>28</sup>.

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Inspektora Jazdy № 395/II z 15 I 1920 r.; CAW, Ministerstwo Spraw Wojskowych, Generalny Inspektorat Jazdy, 300.25.16. Raporty stanu ogólnego 2 Pułku Szwoleżerów z 11 i 25 XI 1919 r. i 9 XII 1919 r.; *Powrót. Dokumentacja ustanowienia suwerenności polskiej na Pomorzu w latach 1918-1920*, p. 80-118; R. Morcinek, Dowództwa brygad kawalerii, [in:] *Spis władz wojskowych 1918-1921*, Archiwum Wojskowe, Warszawa 1936 (typescript in the archive of CAW); T. Łękawski, *Kronika 2 Pułku Ułanów Legionów Polskich i 2 Pułku Szwoleżerów Rokitniańskich*, 1959 – no place of publishing (collections of the Main Library of Nicolaus Copernicus University UMK), pp. 22, 26; J. Turkiewicz, *Zarys historii wojennej 12-go Pułku Ułanów Podolskich*, Warszawa 1928, p. 17-18; A. Wojciechowski, *Zarys historii wojennej 1-go Pułku Ułanów Krechowieckich*, Warszawa 1929, p. 33-34; A. Mniszek, K. Rudnicki, *Zarys historii wojennej 2-go Pułku Szwoleżerów Rokitniańskich*, Warszawa 1929, p. 24; W. Płotnicki, op. cit., p. 9-10; J. Litewski, W. Dziewanowski, *Dzieje 1-go Pułku Ułanów Krechowieckich*, Warszawa 1932, s. 246, 251; K. L. Galster, *Księga pamiątkowa artylerii polskiej 1914-1939*, Londyn 1975, p. 86; *Ułani Podolscy. Dzieje Pułku Ułanów Podolskich 1809-1947*. Collected work ed. by A. Hlawatego, Londyn 1982, p. 55-57; A. Smoliński, *Organizacja polskiej jazdy samodzielnej i artylerii konnej podczas przejmowania*, p. 65-67.

<sup>28</sup> B. Makowski, op. cit., p. 17-18; M. Wojciechowski, *Powrót Pomorza do Polski 1918-1920*, pp. 176-182, 193-194.

It was originally planned that until the commencement of operations in Pomerania only their cadres would be formed, which would then be supplemented by incorporating former members of the Pomeranian Military Organization, which shortly before the entry of the Polish Army had been transformed into the People's Guard. Another source of soldiers' supplementation was to be the conscription carried out in the occupied areas. It was also hoped that volunteers would come in large quantities in the area affected by the military activity of insurgents. Meanwhile, the number of the latter sneaking through the demarcation line to the Polish side at the end of 1919, just like before<sup>29</sup>, was so large that these cadres, in the case of some regiments, began to grow fairly quickly.

This caused opposition from the Ministry of Military Affairs, which at that time did not have sufficient material resources to form a new large infantry unit<sup>30</sup>. As a result, in November this institution went so far as to ban the further recruitment of volunteers and even to send back some of those who had already joined the army to the territory still under German control. This position provoked the understandable opposition of the Supreme Command of the Polish Army since volunteers returning home were persecuted by the German authorities. As a result, the recruitment campaign continued, although the number of people from outside of the German cordon who were willing to serve in the Polish Army decreased<sup>31</sup>.

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<sup>29</sup> According to the data of the Main Command in Poznań, as of 14 August 1919, there were 22 officers, 204 non-commissioned officers and 973 privates ("soldiers") serving in the ranks of the Army of Greater Poland; it was altogether 1,199 soldiers from West Prussia. Junior high school students were among them. According to some authors, non-Polish volunteers also joined the army, see: K. Rogaczewski, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

<sup>30</sup> It is worth remembering that the first conflict between the Main Command of the Armed Forces of the former Prussian Partition and the Warsaw Ministry of Military Affairs and the Main Command of the Polish Army over the new large infantry unit took place in the summer of 1919, when, on 30 July, Gen. Dowbor-Muśnicki issued an order to form the Pomeranian Rifle Division – see more on this topic: *Rewindykacja Pomorza i Wielkopolski 1920 r. Selection of military documents ...*, pp. 16-17.

<sup>31</sup> CAW, Naczelne Dowództwo Wojska Polskiego, Oddział I, 301.7.23. Rozkaz szefa Oddziału I NDWP l. dz. 3907/I z 22 X 1919 r.; *ibid.*, 301.7.27. Pismo szefa Oddziału I NDWP l. dz. 4119/I dotyczące działań organizacyjnych prowadzonych na

Officers and senior non-commissioned officers, who were to carry out the organization of these units and to train volunteers, were separated from the ranks of the Army of Greater Poland. In the case of the first group, like the division commander Colonel Stanisław Skrzyński<sup>32</sup>, most of them came from the ranks of the former Russian Army and Polish Corps in Russia, mainly from the First Polish Corps. Some of the officers had previously served in the army of the German Empire. However, they were only officers of lower rank, with some senior and non-commissioned senior officers also having been appointed senior lieutenants<sup>33</sup>. On the other hand, the posts of junior non-commissioned officers had to be filled by properly trained riflemen.

Capt. Władysław Koczorowski became the commander of the Toruń Rifle Regiment, which was initially treated as the cadre for the entire Pomeranian Division<sup>34</sup>. As early as August 1919, the unit consisted of three battalions composed by four rifle companies and a heavy machine gun company each. In addition, a Telephone Platoon and rolling stock were also formed. The regiment was treated as a cadre for the entire Pomeranian division and therefore kernels were separa-

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terenie Prus Zachodnich; *Rewindykacja Pomorza i Wielkopolski 1920 r. Wybór dokumentów wojskowych*, p. 46-47 – dok. Nr 6 – Spis oficerów i liczba żołnierzy pochodzących z Prus Zachodnich zestawione 14 VIII 1919 r. przez Dowództwo Główne w Poznaniu dla Oddziału V NDWP w Warszawie; A. Szpręga, *Organizacja Wojskowa Pomorza (Okręg Kaszubski)*, [in:] *Księga pamiątkowa dziesięciolecia Pomorza*, p. 32; P. Hauser, op. cit., p. 9-10.

<sup>32</sup> See: T. Kryśka-Karski, S. Żurkowski, *Generałowie Polski niepodległej*. Completed edition, Warszawa 1991, p. 165; P. Stawecki, *Słownik biograficzny generałów Wojska Polskiego 1918-1939*, Warszawa 1994, p. 306-307.

<sup>33</sup> See more: B. Polak, op. cit., p. 117 and passim. See also: L. Proskurnicki, op. cit., p. 5, and also: M. Rezler, *Ogólny zarys organizacji piechoty wielkopolskiej w latach 1918-1919*, [in:] *Powstanie Wielkopolskie 1918/1919. (artykuły i przyczynki)*. Collected work ed. by Bogusław Polak, Kościan 1975.

<sup>34</sup> A. Tomaszewski, *Zarys historii wojennej 63-go Toruńskiego Pułku Piechoty*; in connection with this, on 11 June 1919, three rifle companies and a heavy machine gun company of the Czarnków Battalion of Capt. Stefan Meissner, which had previously been formed from men from Greater Poland - volunteers from around Czarnków and Szamotuły, was incorporated into it. Some of the soldiers serving in its ranks then went to the subsequent regiments of the Pomeranian Rifle Division, p. 5-7. See also: P. Dymek, *63 Toruński Pułk Piechoty*, Pruszków 2016.

ted from it to give rise to the other three regiments. In addition, cavalrymen serving in it departed to the 4<sup>th</sup> Regiment of the Vistula Uhlans<sup>35</sup>, and artillery men were then transferred to the field artillery formed for this large infantry unit. Despite this, the influx of numerous volunteers meant that in the second half of 1919 it already had 12 officers and 1886 non-commissioned officers and riflemen. At the same time, in September, the creation of its Replacement Battalion commanded by Captain Bohdan Hulewicz commenced<sup>36</sup>.

However, due to the scarcity of space in the Inowrocław barracks, which were already hosting the 5<sup>th</sup> Greater Poland Rifle Regiment<sup>37</sup> that was being formed in this town as well as the Grudziądz Rifle Regiment, the Toruń Rifle Regiment could not be accommodated there; thus out of its sub-units, only the 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion and the Replacement Battalion remained in Inowrocław, while the 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion was moved to Poznań and the 3<sup>rd</sup> to Gniezno. In the last place a regimental non-commissioned officer school, Maintenance Platoon and the regiment orchestra were set up. The battalions remained in the new locations until January 1920, accepting new volunteers, completing the formation, receiving deliveries of necessary uniforms and weapons, and training. As a result, on the eve of the Pomeranian operation the 63<sup>rd</sup> Toruń Infantry Regiment had 60 officers, 313 non-commissioned officers and 2618 riflemen<sup>38</sup>.

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<sup>35</sup> That is into the later 18<sup>th</sup> Pomeranian Uhlans Regiment – see more for example: M. Kłopotowski, J. Dobiecki, *Zarys historii wojennej 18-go Pułku Ułanów Pomorskich*, Warszawa 1929; W. Błaszczak, *18 Pułk Ułanów*, Pruszków 1996.

<sup>36</sup> Unfortunately, these facts were not reflected in the memoirs of B. Hulewicz (see idem, *Wielkie wczoraj w małym kręgu*, Warszawa 1973).

<sup>37</sup> For more on the the history of this formation, later known as the 59<sup>th</sup> Greater Poland Infantry Regiment, see e.g. F. Nowicki, *Zarys Historii Wojennej 59-go Pułku Piechoty Wielkopolskiej*, Warszawa 1929, as well as: A. Smoliński, *Wojskowe aspekty Powstania Wielkopolskiego na Zachodnich Kujawach w świetle źródeł*, *Ziemia Kujawska*, (Inowrocław-Włocławek) 2010, vol. XXIII; idem, *The course of the Greater Poland Uprising and the organization and fighting of the formation of the Greater Poland Army on the section of the Northern Front between Gniewków and Złotniki Kujawskie based on archival sources*, [in:] A. Drzewiecki, Ł. Różycki (Eds.), *Militaria w edukacji historycznej*. Vol. II. *Przeszłości nie można zrekonstruować*, Gdynia 2014.

<sup>38</sup> *16 Dywizja. Jej powstanie, organizacja i udział w walkach. W 10-cio letnią rocznicę istnienia 1919-1929*, pp.13-14; A. Tomaszewski, *Zarys historii 63 Toruńskie-*

The kernels of the next regiment of the Pomeranian Rifle Division, i.e. the Grudziądz Rifle Regiment<sup>39</sup> under the command of Lt. Ludwik Bociański, were transferred on 24 September 1919 from Inowrocław to Poznań, where in better conditions and with more ample material support it continued to form and train. Its 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion, including 11 officers and ca. 700 privates, was ready in the early October. It grew constantly with the influx of volunteers from Pomerania, so on 11 November there were 17 officers as well as 1056 non-commissioned officers and riflemen in service. Thus the 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion began to form on 15 November 1919. Both battalions stayed in Poznań until January 1920<sup>40</sup>.

The Starogard Rifle Regiment was established only on 7 October 1919. It was formed in Pakość, using the buildings of the local sugar mill as barracks. This initially humble force, commanded by Capt. Stefan Meissner, started with only 2 officers, 35 NCOs and 204 riflemen, so at first only one rifle company and one machine gun company could be formed. They comprised soldiers who previously served in the Pomeranian Rifle Division and came from Złotów, Starogard, Tczew, Kwidzyn, Tuchla and Chojnice counties. In such form, the unit was moved on 10 November to nearby Mogilno, where it remained until 12 January 1920, having reached by then the size of an incomplete rifle battalion, including only 9 officers and 460 privates<sup>41</sup>.

The last regiment of this division, i.e. the Kashubian Regiment of Pomeranian Rifles, i.e. later 66<sup>th</sup> Kashubian Infantry Regiment of Marshall Józef Piłsudski began to form in Poznań only on 15 October 1919 with as few as 3 officers, 28 NCOs and 178 riflemen. The com-

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go Pułku Piechoty, pp. 6-8; idem, *Zarys historii wojennej 63-go Toruńskiego Pułku Piechoty*, pp. 11-12.

<sup>39</sup> Jerzy Krzyś (see: idem, *64 Pomorski Pułk Strzelców Murmańskich*, p. 4) maintains that this regiment was initially called the "Children of Grudziądz" Regiment.

<sup>40</sup> *16 Dywizja. Jej powstanie, organizacja i udział w walkach. W 10-cio letnią rocznicę istnienia 1919-1929*, p. 14; K. Rogaczewski, op. cit., pp. 6-7; J. Krzyś, *64 Pomorski Pułk Strzelców Murmańskich*, p. 3.

<sup>41</sup> *16 Dywizja. Jej powstanie, organizacja i udział w walkach. W 10-cio letnią rocznicę istnienia 1919-1929*, p. 14; L. Proskurnicki, op. cit., p. 5; J. Krzyś, *65 Starogardzki Pułk Piechoty*, p. 3.

mand of the new unit was given to Lt. Leon Kowalski and it was designated for soldiers coming from Puck, Wejherowo, Kartuzy, Kościerzyna and Całuchów counties.

Already at the end of October four Cadre companies of riflemen were established; in January 1930 they were expanded to three battalions. At that time, they did not have the heavy machine guns that were standard equipment of such companies, yet from the beginning of its existence the regiment had its orchestra, and following the German model, an additional signal sub-unit (buglers and drummers). The musicians practiced under the direction of Sgt. Bernard Grulkowski, who acted as a drum major. There were also wagons, yet when the unit set out for Pomerania, their number was significantly below the standards for a regiment<sup>42</sup>.

It is worth emphasizing here that by autumn 1921 this regiment was the only regiment in the Polish army consisting only of Kashubians, most of them bachelors<sup>43</sup>.

The above facts reveal that at the beginning of the operation of reclaiming Pomerania, the process of forming the Pomeranian Rifle Division was far from over. Only two of its sub-units – the Toruń and Grudziądz regiments – had significant military value. The other sub-units were not fully staffed and in practice were equivalents of cadre infantry units. It should be remembered that the division at that time did not have its own field artillery regiment.

At the same time 42<sup>nd</sup> Borderland Rifle Regiment was quartered near Włocławek, where it remained until 10 January 1920. Only the regiment headquarters and its 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion were located in the city; the 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion had its quarters in Górny Szpital and Lipno, while the 3<sup>rd</sup> – in Kowal. Towards the end of 1919 individual companies were quartered also in Aleksandrów Kujawski, Nieszawa and Brześć Kujawski.

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<sup>42</sup> *Wspomnienia gen. Czesława Jarnuszkiewicza. Od Sybiru do Łubianki*, Warszawa 1996, p. 90; *16 Dywizja. Jej powstanie, organizacja i udział w walkach. W 10-cio letnią rocznicę istnienia 1919-1929*, pp.14-16; W. Jankiewicz, op. cit., pp. 3-9; S. Krasucki, op. cit., pp. 18-22.

<sup>43</sup> M. Hirs, op. cit., pp. 16.

This long period out of action, lasting since the end of May 1919 was used to introduce a number of changes to the structure of the regiment, as during that time the unit introduced administration model compliant with the regulations of the Polish Army. Furthermore, French commanders of battalions and companies were replaced by Polish ones. On 15 October Col. Jan Szyszkowski became the commander of the regiment. Since then French officers had acted only as technical advisors. The soldiers in the regiment were also subjected to intense training<sup>44</sup>.

After the regiment returned to Poland in the spring of 1919, the majority of privates and part of the officers were Poles from the former Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Army who were captured by Italians towards the end of World War I and imprisoned in two camps: Santa Maria Capua Vetere and La Mandria di Chivasso<sup>45</sup>. In December 1918 the 3<sup>rd</sup> Rifle Regiment of Prince Józef Poniatowski was established there as a part of the Polish Army in France. After relocation to France and several reorganizations and name changes, it became the ancestor of the later 42<sup>nd</sup> Infantry Regiment of the Polish Army.

In France its ranks were supplemented by Polish prisoners of war from the former Imperial German Army and Polish volunteers from North America, mainly from the United States. The officer and NCO cadre mostly consisted of Frenchmen delegated to serve in the Polish Army<sup>46</sup>.

After the return to Poland and demobilization of some of its former soldiers, the regiment started to conscript also recruits from the former Kingdom of Poland and Western Lesser Poland, and to replace French officers and NCOs with Poles. However, French officers remained in

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<sup>44</sup> J. Żoła, op. cit., p. 8; A. Dobroński, K. Filipow, „*Dzieci Białostockie*”. *42 Pułk Piechoty im. gen. Jana Henryka Dąbrowskiego*, pp. 10-11; *Księga pamiątkowa 42 Pułku Piechoty im. Gen. J.H. Dąbrowskiego*, Białystok 2000, pp. 4-5.

<sup>45</sup> For more on this topic, see e.g.: L. Riva Cambrino, *Una fraterna amicizia. La Mandria di Chivasso e i soldati Polacchi 1918-2015*, Chivasso 2015.

<sup>46</sup> J. Żoła, op. cit., pp. 5+8; A. Dobroński, K. Filipow, „*Dzieci Białostockie*”. *42 Pułk Piechoty im. gen. Jana Henryka Dąbrowskiego*, pp. 3-6; idem, *42 Pułk Piechoty im. gen. Jana Henryka Dąbrowskiego*, Białystok 1996, pp. 3-6.

the regiment for some time, acting as technical advisors and combat training instructors<sup>47</sup>.

In turn, another unit that emerged from the Polish Army in France – the previously mentioned 3<sup>rd</sup> Podhale Rifle Regiment – after returning to Poland in 1919 was quartered near Płock, where it remained until January of the following year. During that time actions were undertaken aimed at adapting its structure to the model used in the Polish Army and takeover of sub-units by Polish officers. On 16 November Lt-Col. Ludwik Okniński took the command of the regiment. Besides, a Replacement Battalion was formed for this regiment, first in Nowy Targ and later in Żywiec.

However, the demobilization of older age groups of soldiers (those born in 1877-1886)<sup>48</sup> as well as discharging Polish volunteers who held citizenship of the US or other states<sup>49</sup> led to a rapid decrease of the regiment size and a loss of a large number of experienced NCOs. Thus its 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion was temporarily dissolved, to be re-formed only in March, i.e. after the Pomeranian operation had finished. During this operation the remains of that sub-unit were split between the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion<sup>50</sup>.

Similar changes took place also in the regiments of the 11<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division. Following its return from Lesser Poland at the end of May 1919 after participating in the offensive against Ukraine, the later 46<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> J. Żoła, op. cit., p. 8.

<sup>48</sup> They were mostly prisoners of war from the former Austro-Hungarian army. They were well trained, but as a result of very long service during WWI and imprisonment, their morale was very low. At the same time they demanded to be allowed to return home. See: *Józef Piłsudski, Pisma zbiorowe*, vol. V, p. 71 – List Naczelnika Państwa i Naczelnego Wodza Józefa Piłsudskiego do gen. Józefa Hallera z 1 IV 1919 r.

<sup>49</sup> They were volunteer Poles from the United States and Brazil as well as from France, the Netherlands and even Australia. Other soldiers in the regiment included the Poles who had served in the imperial German army and had been captured by France or Great Britain as well as Polish prisoners of war from the former Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Army who came from Italy. The latter group included quite a large number of lower rank officers and higher-rank NCOs with extensive battlefield experience, who were suited both to taking command and working as instructors.

<sup>50</sup> O. Dąbrowski, op. cit., pp. 6-7; W. Moś, *3 Pułk Strzelców Podhalańskich*, pp. 4-5.

Borderland Rifle Regiment was quartered near Olkusz, and subsequently began its service on the Polish-German demarcation line in the area of Siewierz and Dąbrowa Górnicza. It later moved to Zawiercie, where it was quartered until January 1920. Meanwhile, its 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion was located in Łódź.

In the 46<sup>th</sup> Borderland Rifle Regiment, French officers and NCOs remained as technical advisors until the end of November 1919. The regiment command was given to Col. Eugeniusz Stecz. At the same time, its Replacement Battalion was created in Sambor; as a result of its operations, the unit gradually accepted new conscripts from the former Kingdom of Poland and Western Lesser Poland, replacing thus volunteers, mostly those from the other side of the Atlantic<sup>51</sup>.

After returning to Poland, the then 5<sup>th</sup> Polish Rifle Regiment, after a brief stay in Hrubieszów, took part in May offensive on the Anti-Ukrainian Front. However, already in the early June 1919 it was moved to the Upper Silesia border, where it became a part of the forces of the Anti-German Front. Ultimately, after several subsequent deployments, dissolution of the Anti-German Front, and the creation of the headquarters of the Pomeranian Front on 24 October, the unit was located in the following way: its headquarters and Quartermaster Company were quartered in Chrzanów, the 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion in Kościelec, the 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion in Trzebinia, and the 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion in Myślachowice. The regiment remained in these locations until 11 January 1920.

During the regiment's stay in this area, older age groups of soldiers and almost all volunteers from America (the US and Canada) who had served in the regiment were demobilized. Furthermore, in the early September the French officers of the 47<sup>th</sup> Borderland Rifle Regiment were also replaced with Poles, and Col. Paweł Kozubek became its commander on 14 September<sup>52</sup>.

The situation in the last regiment of this division was similar: after its return to Poland, the 6<sup>th</sup> Rifle Regiment (later the 48<sup>th</sup> Borderland Rifle Regiment) also participated in May in the anti-Ukraine offensive. However, in the first days of June 1919 it was withdrawn from combat

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<sup>51</sup> W. Wyzina, op. cit., p.10; W. Moś, *5 Pułk Strzelców Podhalańskich*, pp. 4-5.

<sup>52</sup> J. Synoś, op. cit., pp. 8-11; R. Osiński, *6 Pułk Strzelców Podhalańskich*, pp. 4-7.

together with the entire Division and relocated to the Dąbrowa Basin and Polish-German demarcation line near Będzin and Sosnowiec, where it became a part of the Anti-German Front. It remained in this position until August, when it was relieved by the Bytom Rifle Regiment and moved to Sosnowiec, where it served as the city garrison until 20 January 1920.

During the stay at the Silesian border, all the command posts in the regiment were taken over by Polish officers, and Col. Kazimierz Łukoski was nominated as its commander. It is worth emphasizing that the 48<sup>th</sup> Borderland Rifle Regiment did not undergo the process of thorough demobilization of volunteers from America, due to which it represented a significant force and its soldiers were well-trained and prepared for possible combat. Besides, as in the case of other formations that originated from the Haller's Army, its equipment was also exemplary<sup>53</sup>.

After fighting in Western Lesser Poland, another unit from the Division moved to the Dąbrowa Basin: the later 11<sup>th</sup> Borderland Field Artillery Regiment. Initially its individual battalions and batteries were located in Będzin, Dąbrowa Górnicza, the coal mine "Flora" and Trzebinia (3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion). The unit remained in this area till 17 January 1920.

As mentioned, in early July 1919 the unit was assigned 15 officers from the former 4<sup>th</sup> Polish Rifle Division of Sub-Lt. Gen. Lucjan Żeligowski<sup>54</sup>. The next month all the French officers who had been serving

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<sup>53</sup> K. Galicz, op. cit., pp. 5-8.

<sup>54</sup> More on the history of this division can be found e.g. in H. Bagiński, *Wojsko Polskie na Wschodzie 1914-1920*, Warszawa 1921; T. Kawalec, *Historia IV-ej Dywizji Strzelców generała Żeligowskiego w zarysie*, Wilno-Kraków-Łódź 1921; M. Wrzosek, *Polski czyn zbrojny podczas pierwszej wojny światowej 1914-1918*, Warszawa 1990; W. Kozłowski, *Artyleria polskich formacji wojskowych podczas I wojny światowej*, Łódź 1993; S. Sokół, T. Wawrzyński, *4 Dywizja Piechoty 1919-1921*, [in:] *4 Dywizja Piechoty Zmechanizowanej 1808-1994. Zarys dziejów*. Warszawa 1994; W. Jarno, *Strzelcy Kaniowscy w latach 1919-1939*, Warszawa 2004; idem, *4 Dywizja Strzelców generała Lucjana Żeligowskiego w latach 1918-1919. Organizacja, działania bojowe i zjednoczenie z Wojskiem Polskim*, [in:] M. Krotofil, A. Smoliński (Eds.), *Od armii komputowej do narodowej. II. Dzieje militarne Polski i jej wschodnich sąsiadów od XVI do XX wieku*. Toruń 2005.

in the Regiment, with the exception of its commander Lt-Col Kołyszko (also a French citizen), were recalled and left for France. At that time the regiment consisted of three battalions and three ammunition trains. In September the 4<sup>th</sup> Battalion was added, yet it did not manage to join the regiment before the start of the Pomeranian operation.

In the autumn of 1919 the volunteers from North America were discharged, which rapidly decreased the unit ranks. Thus in order to meet the personnel regulations, on 9 November the ammunition trains as well as the 2<sup>nd</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> Battery were dissolved, and their soldiers and equipment were used to fill the quota in the other batteries. In this way, the three regimental battalions now had in total six batteries (previously nine), which kept their previous numbers. The superfluous cannons and artillery carriages were sent to Stanisławów, where its Replacement Battery was located.

The following changes in the regiment's organization took place at the beginning of 1920 as it was necessary to discharge other groups of volunteers, who at that time were not legally obliged to serve in the Polish Army, and on 15 January the unit received an order to prepare for the takeover of Pomerania. Thus the volunteers were gradually released from service, and the remaining soldiers in each battalion formed one combat-worthy battery. As a result, in the 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion the 1<sup>st</sup> Battery was formed under Lt. Leon Przybytko; in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion – the 6<sup>th</sup> Battery under Cap. Borys Kondracki; and in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion – the 8<sup>th</sup> battery under Lt. Wawrzyniec Wańtuch. Other batteries were not dissolved, but left with skeleton crews and relocated together with the 1<sup>st</sup>, 6<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> Battery to Pomerania. However, only the three full batteries took part in the military action<sup>55</sup>.

As mentioned, the 11<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division was accompanied at the Silesian border by the 1<sup>st</sup> Battery of the 11<sup>th</sup> Heavy Artillery Regiment, which remained there until the end of January 1920. After the American volunteers were discharged and the French officers left, the unit received replacement consisting mostly of conscripts, mainly from the

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<sup>55</sup> F. Hejnar, op. cit., pp. 5-8; A. Sadliński, op. cit., pp. 6-7; R. Osiński, *22 Pułk Artylerii Lekkiej*, pp. 4-6.

Military Replenishment Office in Łódź<sup>56</sup>. Its superfluous artillery equipment, quite worn out by then, was sent to Stanisławów, where the Replacement Battery of its regiment was quartered.

Ultimately, however – probably due to lack of military personnel and poor shape of its horses, the 1<sup>st</sup> Battery of the 11<sup>th</sup> Heavy Artillery Regiment commanded by Lt Zajdel remained in Silesia and did not participate directly in the operation of taking over Pomerania, as the unit was relocated to Grudziądz only on 28 January 1920<sup>57</sup>.

The unit that did take part in the Pomeranian operation was the 7<sup>th</sup> Battery of the 11<sup>th</sup> Heavy Artillery Regiment, which until September had been the so-called “mixed battery” of the former 1<sup>st</sup> Heavy Artillery Regiment of the Polish Army in France. The unit arrived in Poland at the end of May 1919 and was located in Włocławek, where it stayed until January 1920. Its commander was Lt. Jezierski. For the duration of the takeover of Pomerania, the unit was subordinated to the commander of the 42<sup>nd</sup> Borderland Rifle Regiment<sup>58</sup>.

Other artillery formations that accompanied this regiment to Pomerania at that time were the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> battery of the 4<sup>th</sup> Battalion of the 113<sup>th</sup> Field Artillery Regiment. They were formed from earlier 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> (field) batteries of the abovementioned 1<sup>st</sup> Heavy Artillery Regiment. Like the entire Regiment, the units had returned to Poland by the end of May 1919 and until January 1920 quartered in Włocławek. The first of them was at that time in a rather poor shape as after demobilization of volunteers without Polish citizenship it lacked personnel, and the horses were suffering from scabies. In contrast, the 11<sup>th</sup> Battery was in a much better shape<sup>59</sup>.

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<sup>56</sup> More on this also in: W. Jarno, *Okręg Korpusu Wojska Polskiego Nr IV Łódź 1918-1939*, Łódź 2001.

<sup>57</sup> T. Strutyński, op. cit., pp. 26-27.

<sup>58</sup> T. Strutyński, op. cit., pp. 25-26; J. Baran, *Zarys historii wojennej 8-go Pułku Artylerii Ciężkiej*, Warszawa 1930, p. 5; A. Dobroński, K. Filipow, „*Dzieci Białostockie*”. *42 Pułk Piechoty im. gen. Jana Henryka Dąbrowskiego*, p. 11; P. Zarzycki, *8 Pułk Artylerii Ciężkiej*, Pruszków 2000, p. 3. The issue is presented differently in *Księga pamiątkowa dziesięciolecia Pomorza*, p. 231.

<sup>59</sup> Z. Badowski, *Zarys historii wojennej 18-go Pułku Artylerii Polowej*, Warszawa 1930, p. 12-13; T. Strutyński, op. cit., p. 25; A. Dobroński, K. Filipow, „*Dzieci Biało-*

The Marine Battalion<sup>60</sup> and the Vistula Flotilla were also getting ready to participate in the operation of taking over Pomerania. The former unit led by Navy Cap. Konstanty Jacynicz was combat-ready by 4 July and at the end of that month was relocated to the area of Aleksandrów Kujawski, where it began its service as a part of the Anti-German Front on the provisional Polish-German demarcation line, on the section Aleksandrów Kujawski – Wołyszewo – Osiek. The Marine Battalion remained in this area until 17 January 1920, yet twice during this service groups of trained seamen were sent as replenishments to the Pinsk Flotilla, operating at that time on the Anti-Soviet Front. Those people were replaced with conscripts, mostly from Kuyavia and Poznań province, trained in the Replacement Marine Unit quartered then in Modlin Military Port. The battalion was also strengthened by numerous volunteers, predominantly seamen who had served in the Imperial German Navy as well as some from the much weaker Austro-Hungarian Navy<sup>61</sup>.

According to the staff regulations in force since 20 May 1919, the independent Marine Battalion should consist of a commander with his staff and the Command Platoon (38 people), four companies of seamen three platoons each (161 officers and seamen) as well as a three-platoon Machine Gun Company (80 officers and seamen). Its service sub-units included the Quartermaster Platoon (49 people), the Medical Platoon as well as the Technical Support Company consisting of the Quartermaster Platoon, Service Platoon, three engineering platoons and Amphibious Assault Section. Thus the full company should have had 208 officers and privates. According to the scheme, the Marine Battalion should have included 21 naval officers, 4 navy cadets, 80 NCOs, 73 seamen first class, and 655 seamen, in total 833 officers and soldiers armed with 21 revolvers, 6 machine guns and 806 rifles. Ac-

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*stockie*". *42 Pułk Piechoty im. gen. Jana Henryka Dąbrowskiego*, p. 11; J. Żuralski, *18 Pułk Artylerii Lekkiej*, Pruszków 1994, p. 4-5.

<sup>60</sup> In the documents produced by the Supreme Command of the Polish Army and the Ministry of Military Affairs, this battalion is often referred to as the 1<sup>st</sup> Marine Battalion. However, for the sake of clarity the author selected the name used by the majority of researchers focusing on maritime issues.

<sup>61</sup> For more, see e.g. A. Samek, *Flota, której już nie ma*, Kraków 2012.

According to the regulations, they were also supposed to have 56 horses (14 saddle horses and 42 draught horses) as well as 20 two-horse wagons. Besides, for a time the battalion also had the military vessel "Kiliński" at its disposal.

In reality, however, due to the problems with replenishments based on the forced conscription of recruits (mostly of peasant origin), in the early January 1920 the Marine Battalion consisted of the commander with his staff, three companies of seamen (133 officers and seamen each), a Machine Gun Company (81 officers and seamen) as well as the Quartermaster-Transport Platoon (43 people) and Technical Support Platoon (53 people). At that time the battalion comprised 85(?) officers as well as 572 NCOs and seamen. For the duration of the Pomeranian operation, the battalion was subordinated directly to the commander of the Pomeranian Front.

Before entering Pomerania, the entire unit received typical navy blue seaman uniforms made in accordance with the newly introduced "Navy dress code"<sup>62</sup>. This fact had significant propaganda implications and somewhat justified Polish aspirations to having sea access and its own fleet<sup>63</sup>. As aptly noted by a historian, the Marine Battalion was the apple of the eye of the entire group, its symbol, as it gave and demonstrated meaning of the entire operation<sup>64</sup>.

Also the Vistula Flotilla, then under the command of 2<sup>nd</sup> Lt. Stefan Jacynicz<sup>65</sup>, was preparing for the operation in Pomerania. On 22 October 1919 it was rebased to Nieszawa for patrolling and escort service on the Vistula River. Through the Pomeranian Front Headquarters, the Flotilla was subordinated at that time to the Supreme Command of the

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<sup>62</sup> *Dziennik Rozkazów Ministerstwa Spraw Wojskowych Nr 5 z 24 II 1920 r. pozycja 96.*

<sup>63</sup> *Dziennik Rozkazów Wojskowych Nr 55 z 20 V 1919 r. pozycja 1749-1750; ibidem, Nr 74 z 8 VII 1919 r. pozycja 2426; Dziennik Rozkazów Ministerstwa Spraw Wojskowych Nr 5 z 24 II 1920 r. pozycja 96; J. Kłossowski, *Wspomnienia z Marynarki Wojennej*, Warszawa 1970, p. 81; R. Dziewałtowski-Gintowt, K. Taube, op. cit., Warszawa 1933, pp. 14, 17; J. Przybylski, op. cit., pp. 16-18, 218-219.*

<sup>64</sup> Quoted after B. Skaradziński, *Polskie lata 1919-1920*, vol. I, *Polski rok 1919*, Warszawa 1993, p. 309.

<sup>65</sup> Most likely, this officer was then replaced by Lieutenant Stefan Schmidt, who may have commanded flotilla during the seizure of Pomerania.

Polish Army. The group included the military vessels “Warta”, “Wawel” and “Kiliński”. However, as a result of an incident that took place on 2 November 1919 on the Vistula near Silno, the Flotilla lost the “Różycki”, taken over by Germans. The Flotilla ended its stay in Nieszawa in mid-November, when the river began to freeze and thus the Flotilla was recalled to winter in Modlin Military Port.

The time spent there was used to improve the combat readiness of the ships and their crews as there were plans to use the Flotilla during reclamation of Pomerania. Its watercraft was also replenished. Efforts were made to raise the discipline of the officers and seamen, and to provide them with appropriate uniforms. The significant issue were personnel replacements, particularly seamen, first class seamen and naval NCOs, difficult to find through compulsory conscription.

In January 1920 the vessels of the flotilla were divided into two teams. The first of them included: the flagship ship “Vistula” and the ship “Wawel” and four motorboats, whereas the other team included: the “Warta”, “Bug” and “Kiliński” ships along with one motorboat. At the beginning of January, due to the freezing of the Vistula, renovation works began on the ships, which were to prepare them for the new campaign. At that time, all the flotilla crews consisted of 13 officers and cadets and 94 private.

Ultimately, however, the degree of freezing of the Vistula prevented the use of all its units. As a result, only the “Vistula” ship, equipped with adequate anti-ice reinforcements<sup>66</sup>, took part in the Pomeranian operation. This caused a certain reduction in the propaganda overtone of the whole campaign, which was favorable to the Republic of Poland.

As mentioned earlier, the officers from the Pomeranian Front Headquarters used the rather unsuitable term “occupation” in reference to the takeover of the territories given to Poland by the Treaty of

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<sup>66</sup> *Dziennik Rozkazów Wojskowych Nr 41 z 12 IV 1919 r. pozycja 1332; ibid., Nr 43 z 17 IV 1919 r. pozycja 1409-1410; Dodatek Tajny do Dziennika Rozkazów Wojskowych Nr 12 z 25 X 1919 r. pozycja 137; Rewindykacja Pomorza i Wielkopolski 1920 r. Wybór dokumentów wojskowych, p. 57-59 – dok. Nr 11 – Rozkaz szczegółowy szefa Oddziału III Dowództwa Frontu Pomorskiego z 31 X 1919 r. w sprawie objęcia Wisły; J. Kłossowski, op. cit., p. 91-92; J. W. Dyskant, op. cit., p. 52-54.*

Versailles provisions. Hence yet another plan focusing on this issue, dated 28 October 1919, was named "Occupation of Royal Prussia and the Duchy of Prussia"<sup>67</sup>. It envisioned two stages of this operation: the first was to involve taking Toruń and the territories east of the Vistula, and the second – the takeover of the territories west of the Vistula all the way to the Baltic coast. In the second phase the military forces were to move partially by railway and partially on foot. The operational premise of the plan was that in the case of Germans mounting armed resistance, it allowed the Polish Army formations to engage in organized and effective combat.

The forces of the Pomeranian Front designated by the Supreme Command of the Polish Army made up the Operational Group under Gen. Stanisław Pruszyński, consisting of the following units: the 11<sup>th</sup> Infantry Division<sup>68</sup>; the 2<sup>nd</sup> Rokitna Light Cavalry Regiment; the 5<sup>th</sup> Cavalry Brigade (including at that time the 1<sup>st</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> Uhlan Regiments and the 1<sup>st</sup> Battery of the 5<sup>th</sup> Horse Artillery Battalion); the armored trains "Smok"<sup>69</sup>, No. 13 "Boruta"<sup>70</sup>, No. 14 "Zagończyk"<sup>71</sup> and No. 15

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<sup>67</sup> According to the findings of Piotr Stawecki (*Wyzwolenie Pomorza w roku 1920 w świetle akt wojskowych*, pp. 229-230), part I of this plan was developed by the officers of the 3rd Office of the Pomeranian Front Headquarters, and part II – by the members of the 4th Office of the Haller Army Headquarters (the former Polish "Blue Army" in France). Part IV is the "Plan obsadzenia terenów przyznanych Polsce przez Wojska Wielkopolskie", signed by Gen. Dowbor-Muśnicki. It should be noted that this document has not been quoted so far by the sources known to the author (see *Wojsko Wielkopolskie 1919 r. Część II. Rewindykacja Pomorza i Wielkopolski 1920. Wybór dokumentów wojskowych; Rewindykacja Pomorza i Wielkopolski 1920 r. Wybór dokumentów wojskowych*), nor by other researchers in this field.

<sup>68</sup> According to Piotr Stawecki (*Wyzwolenie Pomorza w roku 1920 w świetle akt wojskowych*, p. 230) it was the 8th Infantry Division.

<sup>69</sup> However, already in November 1919 the train was withdrawn from service and ultimately did not participate in the takeover of Pomerania; see M. Gajewski, *Pociągi pancerne w wojnie polsko-sowieckiej 1919-1920*, [in:] U. Kraśnicka, K. Filipow (Eds.), *Pociągi pancerne 1918-1943. Organizacja – struktura – działania wojenne*. Białystok 1999, p. 24.

<sup>70</sup> See M. Gajewski, op. cit., p. 20; *Rewindykacja Pomorza i Wielkopolski 1920 r. Wybór dokumentów wojskowych*, p. 87 – Document No 17 – Dyslokacja wojsk Frontu Pomorskiego zestawiona przez dowództwo frontu 20 XI 1919 r. dla NDWP w Warszawie.

“Odsiecz II”<sup>72</sup>; and a battalion of the 11<sup>th</sup> Field Artillery Regiment. The group headquarters were located first in Sierpc, and later in Wąbrzeźno.

As mentioned before, General Haller also had under his command the Pomeranian Rifle Division under Col. Stanisław Skrzyński and the Marine Battalion<sup>73</sup>.

It should be added here that according to the part of the plan concerning the role of the Greater Poland Army in the takeover of Pomerania, this task was to be performed by the 2<sup>nd</sup> Greater Poland Rifle Division, consisting of 4 rifle regiments, 2 artillery regiments, 2 regiments of Greater Poland uhlans and other sub-units. These forces were to be divided into four groups which should take over the territory from Ujście to Chojnice – i.e. the territory west of the Wiąg (Jungen) –Laskowice railway station – Sierosław – Małe Gacno – Kiełpin – Chojnice line. After taking the last place, these forces were to be subordinated for tactical and operational reasons to the Pomeranian Front Headquarters, whose location should then be moved from Skierniewice to Toruń<sup>74</sup>.

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Although at the same time the Polish-Soviet War was still ongoing and both sides were preparing to settle the conflict through a decisive

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<sup>71</sup> See M. Gajewski, op. cit., p. 25; *Rewindykacja Pomorza i Wielkopolski 1920 r. Wybór dokumentów wojskowych*, p. 87 – Document No. 17 – Dyslokacja wojsk Frontu Pomorskiego zestawiona przez dowództwo frontu 20 XI 1919 r. dla NDWP w Warszawie.

<sup>72</sup> See *Rewindykacja Pomorza i Wielkopolski 1920 r. Wybór dokumentów wojskowych*, p. 87 – Document No. 17 – Dyslokacja wojsk Frontu Pomorskiego zestawiona przez dowództwo frontu 20 XI 1919 r. dla NDWP w Warszawie. It should be noted here that the crews of the contemporary armored trains were recruited mainly from volunteers coming from intelligentsia, and supported by professionals (predominantly gunners and a variety of railway specialists) see some of previously cited works as well as Z. Zaborski, „Śmiałym” ku zwycięstwu. *Listy Ziemomysła Zaborskiego z wojny 1914-1920*, Pruszków 2013.

<sup>73</sup> P. Stawecki (*Wyzwolenie Pomorza w roku 1920 w świetle akt wojskowych*, p. 230) suggests that it included also 5 ships and 2 motorboats of the Vistula Flotilla. However, it seems that there was no direct chain of command between the Sea Battalion and the Vistula Flotilla; see R. Dziewałtowski-Gintowt, K. Taube, op. cit.; J. W. Dyskant, op. cit.; J. Przybylski, op. cit.

<sup>74</sup> P. Stawecki (*Wyzwolenie Pomorza w roku 1920 w świetle akt wojskowych*, pp. 229-231).

military offensive, without a doubt the most significant operation of the Polish Army in the first two months of 1920 was the action of taking over the territories conceded to Poland in Versailles. It was important not only due to the political dimension of those events but also considering the scale of military forces used by Poland during this operation – forces that would soon have to be moved at speed to the Anti-Soviet Front. Thus speed and efficiency of this operation significantly influenced the future course of the war against the Soviet Russia<sup>75</sup>.

A significant part of the Polish Army formations participating in this operation still had many volunteers in their ranks, in particular the cavalry and horse artillery units formed in Poland, the Marine Battalion, and the infantry regiments of the Pomeranian Division, which originated from the former Greater Poland Army. Much fewer volunteers could be found in infantry as well as field and heavy artillery units that used to be parts of the former Polish Army in France, where in the summer and autumn of 1919 conscripted recruits replaced the Polish volunteers from North and South America or from European countries, as most of the volunteers returned to their permanent places of living after the contracted period of service was over. Their positions were filled by soldiers coming from obligatory conscription conducted in the territory of the former Kingdom of Poland and Western Lesser Poland. Yet it does not change the fact that all the formations constituting the Pomeranian Front had significant combat potential, resulting among others from their suitably high morale. Another important factor was also the appropriate level of training.

*Translation Agnieszka Chabros*

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<sup>75</sup> More on this in some of the previously quoted sources as well as T. Kutrzeba, *Wyprawa kijowska 1920 roku*, Warszawa 1937; B. Skaradziński, *Polskie lata 1919-1920*. Vol. II. *Squad Boży*, Warszawa 1993; N. Davies, *Orzeł Biały i czerwona gwiazda. Wojna polsko-bolszewicka 1919-1920*, Kraków 1997; J. A. Goclon, *Wojna z bolszewicką Rosją o niepodległość Polski (1919-1920)*, Wrocław 2003; L. Wyszczelski, *Kampania ukraińska 1920 roku*, Warszawa 2009; A. Smoliński, *Działania zbrojne podczas wojny polsko-sowieckiej (styczeń 1919 r. – październik 1920 r.)*, [in:] *Wojna o wszystko. Opowieść o wojnie polsko-bolszewickiej 1919-1920*, Warszawa 2010.