# AUTOCRASY

IN

# POLAND AND RUSSIA;

OR,

A DESCRIPTION OF RUSSIAN MISRULE IN POLAND, AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE SURVEILLANCE OF RUSSIAN SPIES AT HOME AND ABROAD.

INCLUDING

## THE EXPERIENCE OF AN EXILE.

BY

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# PREFACE.

THE following pages pretend not to literary merit, but are presented to the public as merely a relation of facts, connected with, and growing out of a system of slavery, concerning which, little is generally known to the world. Serfdom, as it exists in Russia, is a name—and but trifling inquiry has been instituted relative to its operation and oppressions. It is a relic of barbarism, and as such acknowledged; yet, few would feel inclined to meddle with a matter that so decidedly affects the policy of so mighty a power as that of Russia.

The author of this work seeks not consideration or personal favor, being well aware that when once before the public, he is amenable to its decision, irrespective of the motives that may have impelled him to his task.

He would, therefore, merely mention, that in his production he aims at nothing further than simple statement—that most of the material has been gathered by personal observation; and the gleanings from history have been carefully compiled, with the intent, they shall be authentic records.

If the work shall serve to throw any light upon the actual condition of so large a portion of our race as are suffering in the condition of Russian slavery—if it help to awaken the sympathies of enlightened philanthropy—if it enhance the appreciation of liberty in more favored countries—in short, if it add one tittle of evidence against the principles of despotism, it will not have been written in vain, and the aim of the author will be attained.

JULIAN ALLEN.

# CONTENTS.

## CHAPTER VII.



## CHAPTER VIII.



## CHAPTER IX.

## CHAPTER X.



## CHAPTER XI.

## CHAPTER XII.



## CHAPTER XIII.

## CHAPTER XVI.



## CHAPTER XVII.



## CHAPTER XVIII

# SLAVERY

IN

# RUSSIA AND POLAND.

## CHAPTER I.

No country on the globe occupies a more conspicuous position at the present time, than does Russia, yet of no *so-called* civilized country is so little known. Comprising more than half of Europe and the entire Arctic region of Asia, her very magnitude will excite astonishment. The imposing semblance of power, and her never ceasing and ever grasping activity, startle the nations, and have hitherto caused them to succumb to her arbitrary influence. Onward has she urged her Juggernaut of despotism, and the cries of her crushed victims have sounded in vain in the ears of enlightened and christian Europe. Her tremendous physical energy appears to have intimidated the astute and far-reaching statesmen of her more advanced and refined neighbors, whilst an almost utter ignorance concerning the mass of her population, has prevented the awakening of such indignant interest, as is in general elicited by contemplating the oppressor and the oppressed.

Guided by the wary intellect of Nicholas, Russia has encouraged Arts and Manufactures, but she has done it in

a manner that brings little or no advantage to the great body of her people. In her luxurious capital are collected artists of the finest talent, but their efforts add little to its magnificence, and they cater to the enjoyment of nobles and dignitaries only — for the larger portion of Russian subjects are too far removed from intelligence, to appreciate the productions of genius, when aided by its potent auxiliaries, education and practical skill. Manufactures have been improved, and the cause has received an impetus by the patronage of the Emperor; foreign overseers are sometimes employed to instruct in the mode of operation, but at the same time, they are bound to utter no sentiment, to propound no principle, that will militate against the system of tyranny under which they sojourn.

In some respects Russia commands a fair *show* of confidence and respect. The courtesies of her court are unexceptionable, and are likely to fascinate those whose rank or official dignity entitle them to enter that exclusive circle. This is the amount of knowledge afforded to the world — a polished court, of which much is heard and something known, and an immense mass, degraded to such a degree as scarcely to be reckoned within the pale of human sympaties, called the SERFS.

The difficulties to be encountered in an attempt to leave Russia, would be likely to deter any from the undertaking, except those who are impelled by a "necessity that knows no law." I number myself among this class of individuals, and before proceeding to treat of the country and its slaves, I will briefly narrate the circumstances that led to my departure, and the manner by which my escape was finally effected.

In the year 1844 I was placed by my father at the Government College of Grodna, in Poland, with the view of

completing my education. Study, however, channelled in particular courses, inevitably rouses the powers of reflection and volition, which distinguish the free acting agent from the merely passive, or propelled instrument. In early life, before self-interest has warped the mind, or suffering has induced caution, this is more especially noticeable in result. "Freedom" is the watchword of the boy, and though the manner of seeking the coveted good may be injudicious in the extreme, yet the aim is ennobling; in the struggle the youth emerges from the chrysalis, and the stripling becomes a man. The Polish contest had fired the bosoms of many of my companions, and during my stay at Grodna my reflections most naturally turned upon the wrongs, that I could not fail to perceive, were inflicted on the people. Indulging in such a train of thought did not tend to reconcile me to the present aspect of affairs, and gradually, but surely, I wrought myself into a perfect fever of enthusiasm: this somewhat detracted from my judgment, so that soon nearly all things seemed possible, and consequently liberty for Poland was certainly attainable.

The students at Grodna, numbering about twelve hundred, were formed into secret societies, and in these our principles and projects were discussed. About this time a secret messenger from Krakowa informed us that a number of soldiers, who were stationed at that place, were combining for the purpose of making a desperate attempt to throw off the Austrian imposition. The very intimation roused our patriotism to the highest pitch. We lost no time in conveying to our brethren at Krakowa the determination to risk our lives in connection with themselves. We also contrived to make our intentions known to some Polish noblemen of the surrounding coun-

try, and they concurring in our project, agreed to be ready, and at a concerted signal to join us with their serfs, and commence the march towards Krakowa. There were but small military forces stationed at intervals along our way, and we anticipated but little fighting before we should reach that post.

But alas! before our plans were fully matured, the conspiracy was detected, the Russian government was informed, and a regiment of Cossacks was dispatched to surround the college. Their orders were to permit no one to pass in or out, save the officers and servants of the establishment; these being Russians, were not participators in our scheme. I was informed by one of the Professors that an examination would immediately follow, the result of which would most likely condemn us all to the army, as common soldiers, for life — a doom that would be far more intolerable than that of slavery in any of the Southern States of America. The Professor who gave me this information was an intimate friend of my father, and he kindly tendered his assistance to aid the son in attempting his escape; — and here let the meed of gratitude be offered to generosity, which is confined to no one people, but lightens occasionally the darkest realms of despotism.

He brought his servant's clothes, which were of a kind denoting his grade of service, and having seen me fully dressed, he placed in my hand a letter fictitiously directed, that I was to hand to the guard stationed at the gate. With much fear and trembling I approached this man, and pronounced the *word*, and after a close scrutiny was permitted to pass out — and the country was before me. I hastened my steps, and after walking about two miles I fortunately was able to engage a peasant to take me

to the post road leading to my father's house, near Warsaw.

I reached home in safety, and there a most trying scene awaited me. My mother was overwhelmed with sorrow, and stood trembling at the sound of every footstep; but in the midst of all the consequent confusion, I could not prevent the reflection that I was the cause of this distress, and the thought greatly aggravated my suffering. But a mother's love is ever active, and she nerved herself to perform all that yet remained for her to do. She promptly raised the requisite funds, and a friend was dispatched, who at the distance of seven miles was to have post horses in readiness for me — and then came the heart-rending separation from mother and sister, whom I would never again behold, and with whom I probably would not be able to communicate, either by letter or otherwise. My state was not despair, but desperation — freedom, or worse than death was before me — there was no receding, so forward I must go.

I found my friend in waiting with the horses, and I continued to travel for eight successive days and nights without a change of clothing, and with scarcely food enough for sustenance; but on the ninth morning I reached Mamel, a small sea-port town on the Baltic. I had a letter to a broker of that place, preferring the request that he would engage for me a passage on some vessel about leaving the country, and manage to have me secreted on board until we were fairly out at sea. Without delay I sought this man, and received information that a ship would leave two days hence for Grimsby, England, and he added also a promise of assistance to the utmost of his power; I then repaired to the hotel, in order, if possible, to sleep, of which I was by this time in great need.

About five the following morning I was aroused by a loud knocking at the door of my room, and an unknown voice called, "Friend, get up and dress yourself as quickly as possible; I will try to save you!" In a twinkling I was out of bed, but was only partly dressed, when a person rushed in and speaking in German, said, "follow me." I did so, and was conducted to the back entrance of the house, where I found a carriage waiting; I jumped in, and with almost lightning speed was driven to a tinman's shop. In the rear of this stood a small barn containing a quantity of hay; here I was told to secrete myself, and to remain until called for. I was entirely at a loss to account for the friendly interest manifested by the German, but subsequently learned that he had been apprised by the broker, before mentioned, of my being at the hotel, and noticing a platoon of soldiers about to dismount, had carelessly inquired whom they were seeking? They answered freely, and stated they had orders from government for the apprehension of a young Pole who had escaped from Grodna; they also gave an accurate description of my person. The German affected a knowledge of my whereabouts, but directed them to a place some little distance from the town, and as soon as they had fairly set off he came to my relief. We were aware that every effort would be made by the soldiers to detect me, and that even the vessels in the harbor would be searched by the Russian and Prussian police, thus rendering my evading them a bare possibility.

By dint of the most careful management, and agreeing to pay twice the amount usually required, a passage was secured in a ship already hauled out into the stream, and the captain himself was to be at the dock in a small boat to convey me to his vessel. After being released from my uncomfortable situation in the barn, I repaired to the

wharf, and was fortunate enough to reach the ship in safety. The captain then directed me to remain below in his state-room, and should the officers come on board and approach the entrance, I would find a trap door through which I could let myself into the hold, where I must keep perfectly quiet until he should come to me. But a short time elapsed before the tyrants were within my hearing. The captain talked loudly and gaily, and I was able clearly to distinguish their approach. In a moment I found myself in the hold, entirely shut out from light, and nearly suffocated from want of air; indeed, I could not have survived had the search continued for any length of time, but most fortunately it was soon over. The police convinced I was not on board left, and the ship stretched her canvas towards the shores of good old England. I was soon standing on deck, and whilst looking to the clear heavens above, and on the broad expanse of waters around, though homeless and comparatively destitute, I for the first time realized that *I was free*.. During our entire voyage the captain continued to treat me with the greatest kindness and respect. He refunded my money, and refused even the slightest consideration for his trouble and expense.

I remained but a short time in England, for America was the land to which my longing eyes were turned. I have now been for some years a citizen of the United States; my feelings, hopes and prospects are identified with the interests of my adopted country, but the heart still yearns towards the loved ones of another land, and my bosom throbs with joyful expectation, that ultimately the power of the oppressor will be successfully defied, and that the blessing of freedom will yet be the lot of those, over whom I had so long, almost hopelessly mourned.

## ODE TO POLAND.

Poland, my Country! Martyr, laurel-crowned,
Crushed yet not suppliant, conquered yet renowned,
Scourged and in fetters, yet unstained by crime,
And clothed in dust and sackcloth still sublime,
Thy banished son, by Tyranny's decree
Outlawed for Treason, that was Truth to thee,
With filial heart, on Freedom's chosen strand,
Invokes a blessing on his Fatherland.

Ah! what a doom, fair Poland, has been thine;
In thy fate's woof few golden fibres shine;
Naught save oppression, contumely and wrong
To thy last century's history belong:
Blood-stained and black its every leaf appears,
Each record blotted with indignant tears.
Lo! dove-eyed Pity shudders as she reads,
And frowning Justice for atonement pleads!
Say, from the ashes of the Patriot dead,
Shall nothing spring that Tyranny may dread?
Shall Poland's graves but nourish blades of grass,
For Cossack steeds to trample as they pass —
Pass, spurred by Rapine, that with savage joy
Plies the red rowels, eager to destroy?
They shall! they shall! a harvest rich though late,
Is ripening now beneath the breath of fate.

As from the teeth of dragons sprang of old
Avenging armies, so shall Time behold
The fields made fertile with heroic dust,
Bristle with steel; and battle's thunder gust
That drowned with stormy breath a Nation's moan,
Refluent shall shake the Vandal on his throne.
Heaven's justice fails not — in its long delay
Vengeance is deepening for the vengeance day.
Suwarrow's butcheries ruthlessly pursued
In cities rendered, till grown dull with blood
The reeking knife-blades mangled ere they slew,
And Cossack arms with murder wearied grew;
Poland's partition, Warsaw's second fall,
The dungeon tortures of each fettered thrall,
And all the wrongs Polonia has seen,
From the black reign of Russia's harlot queen,
Down to the days of Nicholas the First,
Of living monarchs haughtiest and worst,
Shall yet be answered; Vengeance has been slow,
But God's right arm at last will deal the blow.

Martyrs of Poland! from your myriad graves
Neath dungeon floors, in cold Siberia's caves,
On Grochow's heights, and Ostrolenka's plain,
In Warsaw's streets, where blood-showers fell like rain,
Rise and rejoice! Through darkness breaks the light
And Western Europe beards the Muscovite.
The Cross and Crescent side by side advance,
And British fleets support the hosts of France;
All Faiths, all Creeds, are gathering as one clan,
To smite the common enemy of man.
Poland be glad; the kingdoms that stood by
And viewed thy sufferings with a callous eye,

Menaced themselves, no longer dare be dumb,
And thy avengers shall at last become.
Strong be their arms — resistless fall the swords
Of the leagued Nations on the Northern hordes;
Whate're their motives, friends they need must be,
For whoso slays a Russian, strikes for thee.

Home of my heart, from despots laws and chains
Swift be thy rescue. To thy heroes manes
May red libations copiously be poured,
Drawn from the veins of tyrants with the sword.
Upon the Imperial Moloch of them all,
May foul defeat and shame eternal fall;
Beat backward, scattered, may his hosts be driven
Far from the Danube's banks, as he from Heaven;
And when at last he shares the general doom,
Let Poland write these words upon his tomb —
"Here lies the *second* Attilla, who trod
In the red foot-prints of 'The Scourge of God!'"

## CHAPTER II.

Poland, now called New Russia, is a beautiful and picturesque country, abounding in rivers, lakes, mountains and plains. These plains are in a high state of cultivation, and afford every facility for rendering the inhabitants prosperous and happy; but here again the power of despotism is exercised, inasmuch as the laws respecting traveling are so stringent, as to make journeying through the country next to impossible, and hence it is that the roads are neglected, and in some parts have become nearly impassable by day, and entirely so by night.

In traveling through Poland there will be found much to interest, aside from the natural features of the country. The dwellings of the nobles are often on a magnificent scale. They are usually in the Gothic style, and as you approach them, in the distance present a fine and imposing appearance. On leaving any town or city, the first object that will be likely to arrest the eye will be one of these mansions, situated on some elevated spot, the grounds comprising an enclosure of about three miles in circumference. The area surrounding the house is tastefully arranged, and through it may be seen winding nicely gravelled roads, leading to the clerk's tenements and to the stables. Within the enclosure there is always an immense building, capable of containing from two hundred and fifty to five hundred thousand bushels of grain, and

this is usually kept filled for the use of the Russian government, in the event of either war or famine. Each proprietor has a distillery, in which from a hundred to a hundred and fifty thousand barrels of whiskey are annually distilled; also a brewery producing about the same quantity of beer. In the back ground are large stables, some appropriated to horses of the finest breed, others containing great numbers of cows, others again allotted to sheep. A large amount of wool is yearly exported to England, and great quantities of pork and bacon are sent to the Russian and Prussian markets. Such are the means of income by which the nobles fill their coffers and roll in luxury: the laborers are *serfs*, that, like all other *property*, are bought and sold as the will of owners may direct.

A number of villages may be found adjoining a plantation, of much extent; these are inhabited by peasants who belong either to the proprietor of the estate, or are slaves to the Russian Government; these latter are never sold. A village contains, sometimes, not more than forty, but oftener about an hundred persons. There is but one street, extending in a straight line, and the houses, or rather huts, are built of logs covered on the outside with clay or plaster, and the roof is generally of straw thatch. There is an entrance or kind of door, and on each side is a small window composed of minute pieces of glass that are picked up by beggars and sold to the peasants for any trifle, such as they can pay. These cabins have no floors, and the fire is made in the centre upon the ground. Over this, and suspended by a chain from the roof, hangs a huge kettle in which they cook the messes, which I suppose must be called food. There are no chimneys, and the smoke is left to escape through

the crevices of the roof, and the openings at the doors and windows. On one side of the room is a large square oven, and over this are placed a number of shelves having a covering of straw; these are beds for the different members of the family. In one corner will always be seen a crucifix, and above it a likeness of the Czar; before these they kneel daily, and pray that their Emperor may be preserved.

In the rear of the hut is constructed a rude shed, as a shelter for the horse and cow; the pig being a favorite animal is allowed, in winter, a share of room with the family. Every peasant is permitted to cultivate a small piece of ground for his own benefit, and two days in a week, is the time allotted to improve it. Each one is also provided with a horse, a cow, an ox, a sheep and a pig, but for these he is required to pay by instalments from the crops he raises. Should one of these animals die, its place is not supplied, but the poor man is compelled to pay for the lost creature, and stint himself until he can purchase another.

In every village is an overseer, whose duty it is to call in the evening at each hut, and notify the inmates as to the part of the plantation, where they are to meet the following morning and be ready to start for work. Men, women and children are included in this order, of course; they assemble as directed, and are then driven like so many oxen to their labor. Of whatever kind the work may be, the women are compelled to toil as the men; the children are assigned lighter tasks, as picking stones, etc. Over each division is placed an overseer, having in his hand a whip of braided straps of leather, and should any one presume to stop, even for a moment, the lash is unmercifully applied — children are not exempted from this

infliction, and whoever may be the object of punishment, he, or she, is obliged to kiss the hand and foot of the inflictor. Should any one refuse to do so, as is sometimes the case, the poor creature is laid upon the ground and receives forty additional stripes, then with blood trickling from his back, returns again to work. In some instances, (the overseer being in an unusual rage,) children, perhaps a son and daughter, are required to hold down a parent, whilst another member of the same family is made to administer the lash with his utmost strength. These things seem heart-sickening to relate, nevertheless they are true, and not a day passes without many individuals being subjected to such treatment.

When they leave their miserable homes in the morning, each peasant carries upon his back a coarse cloth sack containing the dinner of its bearer; this consists of a loaf of brown bread, having the appearance of baked saw-dust, and if the bearer has been so fortunate as to have recently killed a pig, he takes with his bread a piece of raw pork. Before commencing work, these sacks are deposited in heaps upon the ground, and at noon, when the signal is given, they rush with the speed of half-starved animals, every one for his bag, and then commences a devouring of bread and salt in the most ravenous manner. Each gang is allowed a mug for water, and this is passed from one to another until all have been served. Such is the manner in which these poor creatures toil on through their period of existence, without a ray of hope to cheer, or a single solace to alleviate their woes.

Attached to every plantation is a church, in which the villagers congregate on Sunday. The minister is a Greek Catholic, generally called Batushka or Pope; he preaches

in Greek or Latin, and has always among his hearers spies or secret police, who are stationed by government, to ascertain that no other religion than that authorized by the Emperor, is propounded. Near the churches are always low public houses, where a kind of ardent spirits of the most intoxicating nature is sold. This liquor is distilled on noblemen's plantations, and from those, these houses are supplied. It is sold to the peasants for small quantities of flax, wheat, potatoes, or anything they are able to raise on their own piece of ground, and it is so cheap that five cents worth of flax will purchase a gallon. At the entrance of these houses a man is standing to receive the orders of the peasants as they enter; these being given, they pass into a large hall, in which are long tables with benches arranged on either side. Here they are soon seated, and father, mother, son and daughter alike, commence drinking; and there being always a fiddler present, they alternately drink and dance, until, at last, entirely overcome, they drop upon the floor to sleep until reason returns to them again. This is their usual routine for Sunday — first to church, thence to the public house for a carouse. And these scenes of drunken reveling, are the only amusement which these poor wretches know, and no gleam of knowledge shows them they are wrong. It may be asked, "is this possible?" The writer of these pages speaks from actual observation and positive knowledge. He does not pretend to give a history of the country, but as simply and truthfully as possible, to present a view of the real condition and sufferings of the white slaves of Russia and Poland. * * * * * * * * * Occasionally comes an order from the Emperor, for a hundred, or perhaps three or more hundreds, of men and women, to work on the roads, that they may be rendered

passable for the Russian army. The specified number is immediately selected, and with their overseers proceed to the place designated, where they labor until the work is completed; they are then turned homeward, and are afterward required, by working nights, to make up to their proprietor, the time that has been given to the sovereign. If perchance on their way home, the army should cross their path, they are immediately pressed into service to carry the burdens of sick soldiers; and these burdens are frequently so heavy, that were the peasants less inured to hardship than they are, they would be unable to sustain them. In this manner they are compelled to follow the soldiers for days and nights in succession, the women being taxed as heavily as the men; and should they sink with fatigue, they are beaten and kicked by the officers, until an effort is made to proceed — if this prove ineffectual, they are left by the road-side to die. When they reach a village, this gang is released and others are taken to supply their places. On their backward way, these weary creatures often find those who had given out and were left behind on the road; such, they manage to carry to within a night's journey of their homes, where depositing them as carefully as possible, they themselves go on, and the next night return with their wretched horses and convey the miserable creatures to their huts. This is done by night, for when again at work, the proprietor will not permit them to leave the plantation during the day.

Thinking the reader may inquire, "why are the lives of these slaves so little regarded?" I will endeavor to explain. As a general custom, the noblemen hire their plantations, and the peasants that work them, from government. When they lose one or more by death, there is deducted from their rent the estimated value of the

lost, consequently there is no real loss to the proprietor, and human sympathy or moral obligation is neither mentioned nor considered. Also, in case there prove to be an insufficient number of hands to perform the labor of the plantation, the noble is privileged to hire from the surplus of some neighboring one, and these laborers can be procured for about the value of six cents each, per day, they finding themselves, as providing their own food is called — such an arrangement is always agreeable to the peasants.

There is a government tax levied upon the serfs, requiring from every one the sum of from four to six cents a month; this fund is to defray the extra expenses of the Emperor, and is to them an amount occasioning much self-denial, and often positive suffering, for in the event of its non-payment, the debtors are obliged to receive into their huts two soldiers, and to supply them with food during thirty days. In such a case the men, instead of going to church on Sundays, are under the necessity of taking their small quantities of flax, potatoes, &c., (which they usually sell to provide for their only recreation,) to some secluded town in which Jews are permitted to reside, and there dispose of the articles at a sacrifice, and thus meet the demands of despotism — otherwise, they are subjected to the inconvenience above mentioned. There is also a yearly tax of five dollars per head, and this is oftentimes beyond their power to pay; yet the penalty is a whipping, dreaded as much as death itself, and added to this infliction, is that of having quartered upon them such a number of soldiers as the judgment of officials may direct.

And this is one mode in which Russia helps to sustain the largest standing army in the world. Such a condition

of things cannot continue; the advancement of the age will penetrate even to the regions in which tyranny holds her sway — tyranny, by far the worse, that it *claims* civilization for its ally, and the rights of nations for protection, thus deterring Christian countries from meddling with political observances.

It would be impossible for me to narrate consecutively, the facts that present themselves in illustration of the oppressed and degraded condition of that portion of our race called Russian peasants. I trust the reader will pardon the want of systematic arrangement, when he reflects that this purports to be but a selection from memory, (though of recent date) the object being to convey a correct impression of the wrongs and sufferings endured by many of God's creatures, under a *Christian* government and in an enlightened age.

Going backwards a little, I will mention that every nobleman is provided with a plantation officer, whose duty it is, to keep an exact account of the proceeds of the estate, and to transmit a monthly statement of the same to government. The only conveyance for this dispatch is by means of a peasant. The unfortunate man is ordered to be in readiness with his wretched horse; he is provided with a bag containing food and salt — there is suspended from his shoulder by a strap, a box, resting beneath his arm, and in this box is placed the official document, and after these preliminaries he departs, under a threatening injunction that it shall be delivered by the time appointed. Should his provision fail, he must beg or steal; should his horse die, he must perform the remainder of his journey on foot, but must not fail to reach the designated place by the day specified.

I will relate an incident that I had the sorrow to wit-

ness. When about dismounting at one of the rope ferries of the country, I beheld a miserable looking creature, with his box and bag, waiting for the boat to touch the shore. He was without his horse, it having died on his way. Soon after he stepped on board, some horses being driven rapidly on, came in contact with him and he was forced overboard. He sank, and the current being rapid, in rising, his box was separated from his arm, but he lodged against a tree that had fallen into the stream, and to this he clung with almost superhuman strength. With hope of assisting him, I seized a pole and rushed to the river side, when he cried out — "For God's sake, save the box, or let me drown!" The box was swept down the stream, and it was impossible to rescue it, but by means of a rope, the man was dragged from his perilous situation, and he went forward in nearly a state of distraction, at the thought of the dreadful punishment that awaited him. The penalty paid for such a misfortune, is one hundred lashes for the delay, and another hundred for the loss of the dispatch.

## CHAPTER III.

I HAVE sometimes heard remarks to this effect, that the peasants are in a better condition than they would be, if more liberty were allowed them. Ignorant and degraded as they are, yet, being oppressed until life can prove only a burden, does not improve even the condition of slavery. Besides, these slaves are human beings, possessing all the elements of elevation which are common to the educated races; and though knowledge has not opened to them her magazine of riches, still, nature will assert her supremacy, and the latent fire occasionally flashes forth, discovering that wretchedness may be aggravated by the consciousness that a higher, better state, belongs to man, of right.

These peasants are naturally kind and sympathizing; in liberality towards strangers they are really remarkable, considering their own state of destitution. If a traveler pass through the village and but speak kindly to them, he will be welcomed to their cabins, and rendered as comfortable as their misery will admit. Such food as they have will be freely proffered, and for it, is always refused, the slightest compensation in return, though they may be compelled to live on a scanty supply for many days afterward. The magical influence of kind words, is never more plainly perceptible, than when bestowed upon the desolate — the wretched. Burdened as these creatures are by labor, suffering as they do from privation, yet, if

their brutal task-masters would occasionally smile upon them, or bestow a gentle word, it would be some alleviation to their lot. But no, such is the force of despotism, that it deadens sensibility and weakens intellect; power is said to corrupt even the better order of humanity, but power in the hands of a despot, converts the man into — almost the demon. The proprietors do not think of their serfs, as of men and women; they are *slaves* — mere machines — useful in operation, but requiring neither solace nor consideration. The wheels of machinery must sometimes be oiled, in order that friction may be lessened; also, servitude must occasionally be relaxed, that strength may be recovered for future exertion. But this is never because they are human and suffer as humanity; no thought of physical debility, no sympathy for broken spirits, enters the mind of the Russian slave-holder.

Do you inquire, "Is the Emperor fully aware of the condition of this large portion of his subjects?" My answer is, *he must be*, for the evil exists in an unmitigated form in every part of his vast dominion. I do not presume to say his eye has witnessed it to much extent, but his intellect can comprehend, and he cannot avoid the knowledge, that every tendency of his government is toward oppression; he also is aware, that subordinates are ever more inveterate in tyranny than the principal movers in the scheme. He knows, likewise, that any amelioration of suffering, any breathing spell permitted the down-trodden, is but so much oxygen afforded to the vital powers, and that these powers exist in every image of the Creator bearing the form of man. Nicholas is no simpleton — but he dare not suspend oppression!

All the lower faculties of the peasants are stimulated into active operation, and among these, aversion and terror

are predominant. Should a Russian noble call at their huts, as sometimes happens, they shrink from him with positive loathing; but when any one in the dress of another country appears, they instantly uncover their heads, and if he speak civilly to them, they kiss his hand and utter, "May you live long and prosper!"

The Jews hold yearly fairs in their towns, and some members of each peasant's family are allowed to attend for one week. They take with them their horse, ox, sheep and pig, and diligently seek an opportunity for exchanging them for others that are more valuable than their own, or to obtain something *to boot* in their bargain. In case of failing to effect this, they resort to any device to obtain, if possible, a few rubles; they will do any kind of work, and will not hesitate to steal, but are never known to perpetrate a cruelty. They know nothing of morality or wickedness; these would be words to them, devoid of meaning. They are not taught, how should they understand! Perhaps the question may be asked, "Are there none whom philanthropy would prompt to instruct these creatures — to teach them what is right, and to warn them against wrong?" Probably there are, and the penalty would be, banishment to Siberia for life.

I remember an instance of this nature. A Christian lady, widow of a nobleman, made an effort of the kind. She visited the cabins of the peasants, taught them many things, endeavored to instil impressions of right, and to weaken the power of superstition over them. She attended the Jews' fairs and held meetings for instruction, and was really effecting much good, when lo! the change was perceived — the police notified the government, and an order was issued for her arrest. However, she offered money for her release to the magistrates who were attend-

ing her to the carriage, and their cupidity being stronger than their sense of duty, they accepted her terms, and she again, but more cautiously, pursued her labors. Agreeable to law, magistrates can remain in office but three years, consequently, at the expiration of that period new ones supplied the places of the lady's favorers; after the lapse of a little time she was the second time arrested, and on this order was committed to prison. During her incarceration she suffered almost every indignity to her person, afterwards was publicly whipped, and then banished to Siberia for *life*.

I have previously mentioned, that the surplus slaves of one plantation are occasionally hired by the neighboring proprietors. This is frequently done when they are to be used as transports for articles of produce to the different cities. I have also, before adverted to the miserable state of the roads, but will mention here that post roads must be an exception; these are always in excellent condition — but on these peasants are not allowed to travel, unless they transport for government. Sometimes a gang, laden with various kinds of produce, sets forth on a journey of fifty or an hundred miles. An amusing incident occurred, within my own knowledge, connected with one of these caravans. * * * * A German, of some wealth, having traveled as far as Warsaw, there invented a carriage of the miniature order, to be propelled by himself, and in this proceeded on his tour. Having arrived at the top of a hill, he descried at the foot about forty of these peasants, with their horses and merchandize. On perceiving him in his strange vehicle, they immediately left horses, produce and all, and with the greatest speed ran across fields and meadows to the nearest village, where, calling upon the priest, they announced that they had seen the evil

spirit descending in a carriage without horses. The priest, humoring their superstition, took bottles containing holy water, and went forth with them to drive away the demon. On approaching the German, they commenced throwing the water towards him, at the same time crying out, "keep off! keep off!" and on coming nearer the inquiry was put, "Are you man or devil?" He answered gaily, "I am not devil, but man"—yet their fears were not allayed until he left his little carriage and walked about before them.

Three holydays are given the peasants during the year —Christmas, New Year, and Easter. On these days they attend church at an early hour, but instead of resorting to the public house afterwards, as on Sundays, they return home and receive their friends, feast upon pies, dance, and wind up as usual, by drinking to the worst stage of intoxication. The pies mentioned, have paste made of cracked rye, which is filled with small pieces of fat pork, and sometimes, as a greater luxury, with bits of herring that have been purchased at the Jews' fair.

When a marriage is to be celebrated, the villagers make a regular turn out, with their horses and wagons; this is to them a grand display. In the first conveyance, are the bride and the bridegroom, also a fiddler and a fifer; this wagon is decorated with bushes. Following the car of dignity is a long train of wagons with their motley occupants; these all in due order proceed to the plantation, and the peasants, after kissing the hands of the proprietor and officers, go thence to church—during all this time they are singing to the extent of their voices. After the ceremony has been performed, they repair to the den of drunkenness, and there carouse in the most indecent

manner. When they return home, the bride and bridegroom receive presents from every person in attendance, such as hemp, flax, rye, potatoes, turnips, onions, &c.; bread and salt are esteemed the most valuable gifts.

On the occasion of a birth, they assemble to lament that another being is added to the list of sufferers. For a time they refuse food, and make the most ludicrous demonstrations of sorrow. This, however, is prohibited by government, and if their orgies of sadness be discovered, they are subjected to a whipping. Should a death occur, they meet to rejoice, but this also, if known, incurs the same penalty. Their funeral ceremonies are performed three days after the decease of the individual, (for so the law requires) and this is irrespective of weather or disease; the season may be either summer or winter, the sickness may have been fever or consumption, or any other mortal malady. The corpse is placed in a rough deal box, and the relatives and friends of the deceased, men, women and children, with bare feet, form a procession and follow it to the grave; but after their return, never fail to hold a carouse, ending in the most gross intoxication.

I am aware that the refined reader will be shocked and disgusted by these details, but let not refinement prevent the observing of facts, and pondering upon the cause of such entire degradation. These beings, with the faculties of men, have, from their birth, been treated merely as brutes. The senses crave, though the intellect lie dormant; — the real, the actual, is around them, and their reality, how low! how sad! Their utmost stretch of intelligence can only lead them to desire — they know not what!

The writer has no Utopian scheme for sudden elevation — that is not practicable: the sure principle of moral

regeneration operates slowly, as viewed by human eyes; 'One day with God, is as a thousand years" to man — think not "He is slack concerning his promise" — our duty is to work according to our knowledge and our means, leaving the result to Him. The pressure of despotism is always downward; its root, its principle of resistance, may be found in the upper regions of its influence. Therefore, in whatever form it may manifest itself, whether in the theory of general government, or in the order of social life, that tends eventually to form government, should not a monopoly of power be strictly guarded against?

I have related some instances of punishment, such as are frequently occurring; I will now mention one more out of the usual course of events. The facts of this case will appeal to the sympathies of every individual, be he of high or low degree — though he may have placed himself behind the feeble defence of ridicule, or disgusted by his own experience in sensuality, may disclaim loudly and stupidly against the existence of true and tried affection. The instincts of nature are in themselves pure and holy. There are affinities of *mind* among even the oppressed — the degraded. Let the scoffer sneer, and in sneering attest his own corruption. The man or woman who jeers at God's appointment, is unworthy the consideration of one who recognizes a loving Father, in the manifestation of real attachment among his creatures.

A young man of noble lineage, Michalowsky by name, was appointed by government, to the situation of clerk to the officer on a plantation, After having served for some length of time, acquitting himself to the entire satisfaction of his superiors, he became deeply interested in a beautiful young peasant girl, who was employed upon the

same estate. This young woman indicated an unusual capacity, and a degree of intelligence quite remarkable for one of her condition, and this, at length, induced him to propose spending his evenings at her father's hut, for the purpose of teaching her to read and write; though, of course, it must be done without the knowledge of his superiors.

His effort was crowned with, perhaps, too much success, for she was a ready scholar, and soon gave evidence of her instruction. By this time, the young man had become so deeply interested that he proposed marriage, and was accepted. He continued his instructions, intending to give her a passable education before the marriage should be consummated. But, unfortunately, his intentions now became so obvious, that they attracted the attention of the secret police, and an intimation of the same was forwarded to government. Had he chosen to marry without educating her, the offence would have passed without notice, but educating a peasant is a crime for which a fearful penalty must be demanded. Orders were forthwith issued, that the young man should be transferred to the army as a common soldier, for life; he was awarded to a regiment that was destined to the vicinity of the Black Sea, the most sickly part of the country, where, if not killed in battle with the Circassians, he would be likely to die of malignant disease.

The girl was made stewardess to a regiment going to a different part of the country; a situation the most degraded in which it was possible for a woman to be placed, where she is compelled to submit to the most brutal outrages, or, in case of resistance, undergoes the severest tortures, as pulling out the hair, and disfiguring the face, besides receiving frequent blows from the whip of officers,

and kicks and thrusts from soldiers. But through all these sufferings, the poor creature remained constant to the idol of her heart.

By his uprightness and attention to the duties of his position, Michalowsky gained the favor and esteem of the commanding officer of the regiment, who one day kindly inquired as to the cause of his habitual depression of spirits. The kind words were unexpected, and the natural response was, an entire and unreserved communication of his story. The officer was deeply touched, and knowing Michalowsky to be more competent than the generality of soldiers, contrived that he should be made bearer of despatches to different regiments in the country, so that, in process of time he might possibly ascertain the locality of his promised wife.

After a long, wearying perseverance, he found her regiment; *they met.* Who will attempt to describe the event! Their feelings, restrained by dire necessity — the outward calmness that takes its rise almost from despair — the caution which the want of alternative renders nearly mechanical — these, can be felt, but cannot be expressed.

But again, they met, and devised a plan for escape. This could only be effected in the summer season, as her course must of necessity be through the woods. Her mark of progress was to be a few sprigs of bushes, placed in a particular manner, that he would recognize when he should attempt to follow. She succeeded in making good her escape, and traveled many days and nights, subsisting merely upon berries, wild apples, hazel-nuts, &c., having no shelter from the weather, save that afforded by the luxuriant growth of the forest through which she wandered.

Not long afterward the young man effected his retreat

to the Pushcha Bialowiezo, (woods) and he pursued his journey some twenty or thirty miles, guided only by the now, almost indistinct marks, left by the girl as she proceeded. Winding through dense thickets, with a miserable uncertainty before him, hope, at times, became nearly dead within; but again he would rouse himself, and press on with, almost, a feeling of encouragement. At length, he approached a pass where he found the concerted signal bearing the appearance of having been recently placed, and with renewed energy he urged himself onward. In the course of a few hours he beheld the object of his search lying beneath the trees, and to all appearance, quietly sleeping. But, on coming up, he found that, overcome with fatigue and despair, she had laid herself down, as she supposed, to die. He endeavored to arouse her, and immediately set about procuring such sustenance as the woods afforded; this, added to the stimulus of his presence, so far revived her, that they were soon able to continue their journey. Guided only by the sun, they shaped their course towards an outlet, and after the lapse of a few days, were so fortunate as to reach a village, where they engaged themselves to a peasant to work for their support. They next applied to the priest to marry them, but the law required the names of candidates to be published for three successive Sundays, before the ceremony could be performed. They had previously changed their names, and therefore supposed themselves secure against discovery; but unfortunately, a description of their persons had been forwarded to the officers of the different villages, and the circumstance of their entering together, as strangers, served to aid in their detection; they were taken and sent back to government. Oh! the horror of the sufferings that there awaited them!

A detachment of one hundred soldiers was ordered out upon the parade ground; these were formed in two lines, and in the hand of each soldier was placed a bunch of thorn bushes, previously prepared by soaking, that they might not break. The victim was bound upon a two-wheeled cart, having his naked back exposed — on each side of him was a soldier, and in front were stationed two drummers. When the word was given to move, the drummers commenced a slow march, in order to drown the cries of the sufferer, and as they proceeded, each soldier, to the utmost of his strength, inflicted a blow with his dreadful weapon. At the end of the line a physician was in waiting, who inspected the *subject*, and declared that he would hold out to endure the balance, and the same number of blows were again inflicted. The wretched creature was then taken to the hospital, where his wounds were dressed; he subsequently recovered, and was placed in his former regiment, under orders for severe restrictions.

The girl was also inhumanly tortured. Two pieces of board were nailed together in the form of a cross; to this she was bound (entirely divested of clothing) and received twenty-five stripes from the Pletnia (a kind of whip made by braiding strips of raw-hide, and having a heavy handle attached, for wielding.) After undergoing this infliction, she was also returned to her former situation in the regiment.

A year elapsed, and during that period, these unfortunate individuals attended strictly to the duties of their respective positions; the officers began to relax somewhat in their oversight, probably considering it impossible they would again make the rash effort to escape. Expediency effects wonders, and Michalowsky being competent in

matters of which his fellow soldiers were ignorant, he was again appointed to be the bearer of despatches. Love and hope are not easily eradicated; with much precaution he once more found means of communicating with his beloved, and another escape was planned, but through a different portion of the country from their former route. Their scheme in this instance proved successful, for they met, and at a distant village effected the consummation of their marriage. They then returned themselves to government, proposing to receive any punishment, to be subjected to any suffering, but at the same time earnestly praying that they might remain together. There would have been *some* hope, had they attempted flight, but, in an appeal to exasperated tyrants, there could be none.

The miserable girl was sent to the most secluded part of the country, there to be employed in brick-making, carrying mortar, and other of the lowest kinds of drudgery; and with this account rests all the knowledge of her probable sufferings. The partner in her misfortunes was sentenced to receive four hundred blows, to be inflicted in the manner before described. After two hundred had been received, the physician reported that life would not sustain more than an additional hundred, and it would then be necessary to send him to the hospital. This was accordingly done, and when pronounced able to pay the entire penalty, the poor wretch was brought forth to satisfy the demands of law. He was soon dead, but the requirements of *justice* were not yet fully met, and many of the later blows were spent upon a lifeless corpse. The author witnessed this spectacle with his own eyes.

## CHAPTER IV.

I HAVE previously slightly alluded to the Jews. One of the modern geographies mentions them as enjoying more privileges in Poland, than in any other European country. This is a mistake. They are more *ill*-treated in Russia (and Poland now is Russia) than in any other part; they fare even worse than the serfs, and are, emphatically, THE WHITE SLAVES OF RUSSIA. They are not permitted to own either houses or land, except in some cities, where by dint of concealment they have amassed sufficient means to purchase, and by the same cautious method, have become property owners. After thus much is accomplished, they become useful as tax-payers, and in various ways can be made to subserve the interests of government; therefore, if they act discreetly, they are likely to remain unmolested.

They are a shrewd, calculating people; their intellects appear to have been sharpened by oppression, but the moral sense has been perverted. They are an anomaly. Oppressed and degraded as we find them, they seem to have an intuitive perception of the ruling passion in man or nation; and being cut off from every influence, save that which money can confer, as a consequence, the amassing of wealth has become their chief object — not as an end, perhaps, but as a means. Power is the great *desideratum* with all who are not in the exercise of pure

Christian benevolence — *money is power;* and through this power opens the only avenue to influence for this straightened and contemned people. Their craft is indestructible — it may be read in the keen, restless eye of the lowest specimen among them — they may be debased in sentiment and corrupt in action, but they cannot be rendered lethargic and insensible. Few, however, are able to achieve anything like comfort or independence; but, as they all contrive to attain some amount of knowledge from each other, this, joined to natural quickness, is rendered available, even under the close restrictions that are imposed upon them.

The taxes levied upon the Jews are beyond the conception of a free and Christian people. First, there is a head tax, then a tax upon every door and window in their houses, also a tax upon every description of food they eat, and, in short, upon every thing that supports existence, with the exception of air and water, and with regard to these, their labor is so contrived that they obtain but a scanty supply. In order to meet these taxes, they are often subjected to dreadful hardships, and the miserable creatures will have recourse to any plan to satisfy the demand.

Twice in the year an order is sent forth by the Emperor, for impressment to the army; and by night the Jews' houses are forcibly entered, and all male children, between the ages of thirteen and fifteen years, are torn from their agonized parents, that they may be prepared to serve as Russian soldiers. These scenes are heart-rending, for never are found more strong family attachments, than among this unfortunate race. The boys are taken to a retired part of the country, and there are instructed in, and compelled to adopt the Greek religion, and when ar-

rived at the age of eighteen years, they are incorporated with the army, for the term of twenty years.

The system of Jewish education is also the care of government. Their teachers must be Jews, and none other. These teachers are required to procure licences, for which they must pay exorbitantly, and then, even the method of teaching is prescribed by law. Their very sanctuaries are invaded by the demon of despotism; their priests must purchase licences, and their mode of worship is dictated by government. The same power also appoints a priest, (who by the way is a Jew) to exercise a strict espionage during the exercises of the synagogue.

The Jews formerly were clothed, the male, in a gown reaching down to the ankle, and a short trouser extending not above the knee; these were never changed nor washed, but were worn until they became too old and ragged to conceal their nakedness. They wore neither collar nor cravat; the head was covered when out of doors with a broad brimmed hat. Their beard was not shaven, except upon the upper lip, and they had a superstitious reverence for long hair passing down on either side of the face, which they never cut and scarcely ever combed. This hair was highly prized by them, much as the Chinese value their indispensable que.

The dress of the female was also a gown, having a belt passed across the back, that gave to that part the appearance of an ordinary dress with a waist, while the front was left to hang loose from the shoulders down. They had upon the head a shawl, arranged in such a manner as entirely to conceal the hair; but this article was only worn before marriage, for as soon as the event took place, their heads were closely shaven, in order that their hus-

bands, who had never beheld their hair, might not afterward be obliged to look upon it.

Some years since the Emperor made a law requiring them to change this dress for that of the peasants. This was considered a great calamity. They immediately resorted to their synagogues and fasted and prayed for the removal of the evil; but prayers and fasting were of no avail, and they were eventually compelled to submit. In some few instances, there was a refusal, but the offenders were imprisoned, which, of course, deterred others from the useless rebellion. One might frequently see Jews in nearly a state of nudity, they not having sufficient means to procure the clothes ordered by government. The pieces cut from their long gowns would have sufficed to make garments for their children, but even that privilege was denied them, these pieces being allowed as perquisites to the soldiers who officiated in the cutting off.

Jews are not permitted to reside in sea-port towns, and are not allowed to travel from one place to another without a passport, yet, in this particular, they are not more closely restricted than any other class of inhabitants, all alike being subject to this requirement. It may be remarked, in reference to the matter of passports, and the strict surveillance exercised by the police over all orders of the people, that in traveling from place to place, no person can remain in one house more than a short time, without causing himself to be reported to the police and depositing his passport; and should the master of the house fail to have this attended to, he is liable to a fine, and imprisonment. The performance of this exaction is, as may be supposed, attended with much trouble and expense. It may not be uninteresting to describe the manner in which money is extorted from individuals [illegible] are en-

deavoring to procure passports. When arrived at the police station, the applicant is met by a sentry, or guard, to whom it is necessary to pay a trifle before he can proceed, and the same is demanded in several instances before he can gain admission to the department; and should he fail to pay this tax, from inability or otherwise, he will be compelled to tarry outside the larger portion of the day, under the plea that there is a great number of persons before him, waiting for a similar purpose. But we will suppose him to have gained admittance, yet the drain upon his purse ceases not even then, for now he is required to pay dollars instead of cents; and so tedious and vexatious are these details, that the unfortunate applicant is willing to pay largely rather than be detained longer. After handing over his passport, he is obliged to make known to the Chief of Police where is his place of residence, to what town he is going, and how long he intends to remain; he is then given a receipt for the same, and is at liberty to go — but should necessity compel him to stay over the time specified in the permit, he will suffer both fine and imprisonment.

The stranger is subjected to the still further annoyance of being followed by soldiers wherever he may chance to go. These wretches are repeatedly demanding his passports, and the only way to quiet their importunity is by bribing them; but this done with one set, the next day he will likely meet with the same vexation from another. If the traveler has lost his permit, he is immediately arrested and cast into prison, where he is obliged to consort with criminals of the worst description. If the stranger be a foreigner, he is incarcerated until his identity is certified, he is then transferred to the Consul of his country, who furnishes him with the necessary pass to the fron-

tiers, and he is thus literally driven from the country. If it is ascertained that a native Pole or Russian has falsely asserted the loss of his pass, he is thrust into the army as a common soldier — should the offender be a woman, she is severely punished.

Very few are permitted to travel with post horses, and unless they are government officers or spies, they are prohibited from stopping at post stations. So strict are the laws with regard to traveling, that strangers, unaccustomed to such restrictions, find it exceedingly difficult to proceed without very inconvenient hindrances. They are watched in public and in private, at the hotels and in the dwellings of citizens, at church and in the market place, for it is impossible to elude the vigilance of the secret police, who have the *entree* of every circle, from the highest to the lowest. Not a word must be uttered in deprecation of any measure of government — not an exception can be taken to the modes of punishment — not a remark may be made in disparagement of the Emperor or his laws, but the speaker is immediately seized, and without explanation is hurried into the "Black Wagon," which conveys him to prison. And here a few words in explanation of the "Black Wagon." This vehicle is a large square box upon wheels, and it is covered on all sides, being painted black, as its name designates; there is a ventilator at the top, affording its occupant just sufficient air for breathing.

The official spies who thus track the steps of travelers, are generally the outcasts of the best society, and it is imperative they should be highly educated; for the better carrying out their nefarious designs, they are required to speak with facility a number of languages. It is unnecessary to add, they are well paid, besides being allowed

to pass free through the length and breadth of the land. Whilst journeying, should these men make themselves known, they will have large quantities of money and many valuable presents bestowed upon them, and the individuals that fail to contribute, are generally obliged to pay dearly for the neglect. How lamentable, when we consider the immense power for evil, thus placed in the hands of men who are dead to every principle of right, and who, to satisfy a grudge, to be revenged for some real or fancied injury, will often prefer false charges, and thus, while pandering to their own vindictive passions, will scruple not to destroy the happiness of the innocent victims of their malice!

These men enjoy the privilege of being present at any entertainment given by noblemen, and can demand the names of all the visitors; and in order to facilitate their schemes, they assume the dress and appearance of men of rank. They enter into familiar conversation with the guests, and in this manner entrap many an unwary individual into the utterance of remarks obnoxious to the government; but no sooner are the words spoken, than the offender is transferred from the saloon to the "Black Wagon," which is waiting near at hand; and often without knowing in what particular he has transgressed, he finds himself consigned to lodgings in a prison.

With regard to the trial of political offenders — if the individual chance to have friends at court, or be in possession of vast wealth, it is barely possible he may be acquitted; but let it be remembered, it requires a very large amount of money to effect such a result. There is a peculiar feature in these cases. The arrested persons, instead of being simply kept in confinement until the period of trial, are immediately regarded as convicted

criminals, and committed to the hardest labor, irrespective of age or sex. What with bodily hardship, mental distress, and the deprivation of wholesome food, the miserable victims sometimes die before the time of trial arrives (often a happy release); but in event of their living, the period of investigation is generally prolonged from one to five years, and if they succeed in gaining freedom, it is to find themselves stripped of fortune, and with a shattered constitution turned destitute upon the world.

## CHAPTER V.

I PROPOSE in this chapter to give some account of the manner in which the ranks of the Russian army are from time to time supplied with recruits, and of the horrors attendant upon a system that violates all the better feelings of humanity, and brings desolation upon many an otherwise happy home. From every town or village seven per centum of the male population must be given up to the authorities; and that the requisite number may be secured, at least twenty are taken, as only the healthiest are retained. The victims intended for proscription are known but to the officers and police. This practice is put in force once every year, and the fall is chosen for that purpose. When this period approaches, the inhabitants exhibit the deepest concern, all appearing to experience the sensations peculiar to impending evil, for this doom is dreaded even as death itself — and a living death it proves to the unfortunate beings who are selected. The agony of the relatives from whom they are torn may, perhaps, be imagined, but certainly cannot be expressed.

The men chosen must not exceed the age of thirty years, nor be less than eighteen, except in the case of Jews, among whom age is less regarded, the tender child, as well as the man, mature in years, being alike hurried to the same wretched fate. The names of the proscribed are entered in a memorandum, and when they have noted as

many as they require, a force of police and gend'armes is dispatched to secure them, and this is always done at night, when the unconscious victims are roused from their sleep to find themselves in the hands of the stern officers of law. A wooden lock is placed upon the leg of each, in order to prevent escape, and be he father, husband, brother or son, he is dragged from the arms of his wretched family and consigned to his dreadful doom. The cries of the sufferers by this inhuman outrage are fearful in the extreme. Children clinging to their father's legs, wives hanging upon their husbands' necks, mothers gazing, it may be for the last time, upon the features of a darling son, whose infancy they had watched, and whose manhood they had with pride anticipated; sisters again and again embracing the playmates of their early years, but upon whom they will probably never look again — the wretchedness of such a scene who shall attempt to describe! Still, this is but a feeble delineation of facts as they really occur, yet they may serve in some measure to give the reader an idea of what has to be endured yearly by thousands of human beings, upon whom the iron heel of the despoiler presses with frightful severity.

A circumstance occurs to me, that happened within my own circle of acquaintance. Residing in one of the Russian towns was a merchant, whose want of intrigue had caused him to be reduced by the exactions of government to comparative want. He had four sons, three of whom managed to effect their escape, and eventually reached America in safety; thence they regularly remitted to aid in the support of their aged parent. The youngest son, but ten years of age, remained at home. He was the pride of the old man's eyes — the delight of his heart; but this love was a constant source of misery, knowing, as he well did, that when

the season of proscription should come round, the child would be liable to be taken from him. His fears were not groundless, for ere long the ruthless decree of law, through its agents, a brutal soldiery, had robbed him of his only remaining son; and when the truth was made known the old man dropped senseless on the ground. However, he had friends who sympathized in his deep distress, and whose efforts were immediately put forth to serve him. In order to raise sufficient money to *bribe* the officers to procure the release of the boy, the father was under the necessity of selling all that he yet possessed; but after an interval of eight days, during which time the old man was unable to leave his bed, the child was set at liberty, and was brought to the bedside of his almost dying parent, literally naked. Joy gave the aged sufferer a momentary strength—he sprang from his couch—the boy was clasped once more to his father's heart; but nature could not endure the shock—"My boy! my boy!" was uttered, and then the son could only gaze upon a father's corpse.

The boy above alluded to subsequently escaped to America, and under the GLORIOUS "STRIPES AND STARS" can now openly pray for the onward march of liberty and the sure downfall of despotism!

But to return to the recruits; the miserable creatures are taken first to the guard-house, where they pass the remainder of the night, their relatives and friends usually standing around on the outside, uttering the most dismal cries and lamentations. On the following morning the *subjects* are chained together in fives and tens, and then packed by fifties in huge wagons appointed for the purpose. In this way they are carried to the barracks, (where are the requisite officers to control) and the arrival of recruits is awaited until the number attain to that of several thou-

sands. They are received one by one, in regular order; a doctor is in attendance to examine their persons; if they are pronounced fit for service they are next passed into the hands of the military barber, and the top part of each one's head is shaven perfectly smooth, and the back hair cropped very close, almost to the skin. After this operation, which is performed with the greatest rapidity, the recruit is dressed in clothes similar to those of the soldiers. He is not permitted to see any of his friends, many of whom follow on foot; and some of these devoted beings have been known to die of over-fatigue, or of sickness induced by exposure and suffering.

Those who happen to be rejected by the doctor are also delivered into the hands of the barber, who treats them in the reverse order of the others; the back part of their heads being shaven and the hair on the upper part closely cropped. After this is accomplished the poor wretch is not allowed time to dress, but is thrust out in a state of nudity, and his clothes are thrown after him. He is kicked and cuffed by the soldiers, who appear disgusted at his want of physical ability, whilst the victim of this brutal treatment is overjoyed at his release, and bears unmurmuringly all that may be inflicted. Men and boys can be seen running from the barracks, some entirely naked, with their clothes under their arms, and some in their haste even leave their garments behind them, so glad are they to get clear; their friends follow in crowds, and they appear more like the wild men of Africa than the inhabitants of a civilized region.

Should any one be seen with the back part of his head shaven, he is safe from molestation, but if any unfortunate creature, with the upper part of his head smooth, be discovered abroad, he is immediately captured as a deserting

recruit. If any person or persons attempt to harbor or conceal the fugitives, the offending individuals are liable to the loss of their property, and the male members of such families, all who are of suitable physical appearance, will be taken as soldiers, and the residue, old men and women, are doomed to perpetual exile in the wilds of Siberia.

When the men are properly shaven and dressed, they are formed into companies, and over every ten is placed an old soldier to look after them. They are now afforded food of the best quality, and this in abundance, the wooden locks are removed from their legs, and the liberty of walk is permitted them. The good living is furnished for a time in order to give strength and spirits, that they may be able to endure the hardships which are awaiting them After feasting in this manner for several days, they are driven on foot to some distant place, it may be thousands of miles from the part that is their home, this being the policy of government to prevent the possibility of communicating with their friends. On reaching their destination they then assume the dress of the regular soldier and begin to realize their true position. The drilling process is very severe; they are beaten like beasts until they become thoroughly acquainted with military duty and discipline, and their sufferings during this period it would be utterly impossible to portray.

From among the younger recruits some are always selected to be taught music, that they may become members of the band; of some they make tailors, and others, again, learn to be shoemakers. The soldiers, when not on march through the country, are drilled every second day; they never attain to the rank of officer, the officers being chosen from among the noblemen of the court, who are free to enter the army, and are always abundantly

provided for. The wages of the Russian soldier is three rubles per annum, payable once every four months; this sum is equal to about two dollars and twenty-five cents — what a yearly stipend! The rations are, to each soldier daily, two pounds of suchary, which is a very coarse kind of bread made of cracked rye, and baked very hard at first, then cut in small pieces and further dried in a heated oven; besides this a small quantity of salt is allowed and some soup. This soup is boiled in a huge caldron, capable of containing about three or four hundred gallons; it is about three-quarters filled with water, into the water is cast some cracked barley, together with the shell dirt, and to this a little salt is added, but nothing of the meat kind enters into the composition. The soup is dealt out by a number of men, each provided with a dipper, and every soldier, in his turn, comes to receive his allotted quantity. Sometimes an adventurous man, hoping to obtain a greater supply, ventures upon presenting a new and larger bucket, but woe to the unfortunate, if this be detected! he receives one hundred lashes upon his naked back!

The soldier's provision for clothing corresponds with his allowance of food. He is furnished with a long coat extending to the ankle; it is called a "shinel;" this garment is made of a coarse but thick Russian cloth, the color of it is the natural shade of the wool, which is gray; besides, he has a black *dress-coat* of similar texture to the other. He is also supplied with two pairs of black pants and two of white, and likewise with two shirts, made of the very coarsest materials, and two pairs of heavy boots; these comprise the Russian soldier's outfit, and these would undoubtedly be sufficient for the year, but being provided with neither bed nor bedding, he is compelled to use them for this purpose, which soon reduces them to rags.

The style of barracks is very peculiar. It consists of one room of immense length, capable of accommodating from three to seven hundred persons. Built up against one side of the apartment is a kind of shelf that is used for sleeping purposes. The soldiers manage to either beg or steal a small quantity of hay or straw, or indeed anything *softer than boards*, to lie on, and they cover themselves with their "shinel." There is, however, one comfort, the barracks are usually kept comfortably warm. These men are always hungry, as they are never more than half fed, for from the government's provision for the expenses of the army the commanders generally manage to secure a proportion to themselves of what is intended as support for the soldiers; and thus the officers gradually accumulate until they have acquired quite an amount of wealth at the expense of deprivation to their subordinates.

The punishment inflicted upon the Russian soldiers is exceedingly severe; for the smallest offence he receives a hundred lashes, and this discipline is extended to the nearest non-commissioned officer in command. The first grade above a common soldier is called in Russian, "Felt-webel," and the duty of a private requires him, on the approach of this officer, to remove his cap, and remain thus uncovered till the superior is beyond sight, no matter whether it be rain or shine. Should the soldier, through neglect or mistake, fail in the performance of this requirement, the officer will walk up and strike him in the face until the blood stream from his nose; he then takes the number of his company, and the poor wretch is ordered to be whipped for insulting an individual in command.

Whipping is of so common occurrence in the army that full ten per cent. of the men suffer this punishment daily,

and it is a familiar practice of the people to resort to the public squares day after day, in order to witness the infliction. They become so hardened that these scenes occasion not a pang when they look upon them.

## CHAPTER VI.

The term of service for the Russian soldier is twenty years, and during that period he is drilled certainly two-thirds of the time. As marksmen, notwithstanding their practice, they would never be able to compete with the American western boy of twelve years. Their skill is manifested in simply raising the gun to the shoulder and discharging it.

The health of these men is materially impaired by the use of strong and deleterious drinks, and this, joined to the hard labor they are compelled to endure, and suffering from the frequent infliction of punishment, unfits them, at an early age, for the performance of their duties; in truth, the Russian army is better *whipped* than *fed.* On account of their scanty allowance they will steal anything they can lay their hands upon, and their pilferings are conducted in the most adroit manner. Their large coat offers peculiar facilities for this sort of proceeding. It being of itself very long and wide, and the sleeves of corresponding proportions, open at the wrist, their wearers can easily slip in any article of the size of a spoon, fork, tumbler, or even of a pitcher, whilst there is little liability of detection. These purloined articles are readily disposed of, for although it is, of course, supposed they are stolen, yet the barkeeper of any public house will never fail to receive them in pay for "Wodka" (whisky) enough to produce

intoxication. When they enter a drinking place the forward man will call for a "groch wodka," and whilst the bar-tender is pouring out this measure, he dexterously thrusts forward his large sleeve and conceals whatever may come within his reach, of a size that can thus be disposed of. He then passes the stolen article to the one next behind him, this person transfers it to his rear neighbor, and so on it moves till quite beyond the vigilance of a detector. If the person in waiting accuse the individual nearest the counter, he immediately desires to be searched, but search proving of no avail, the article is consequently given up as lost, and no further trouble accrues. But, as rarely happens, if the soldier be detected in his pilferings, he is punished, not for the theft, but for its detection, his want of adroitness being considered the crime instead of the actual commission of the wrong. This is for the reason that the officers themselves are somewhat interested in these *gains*, as should the article or articles reach the value of three or four kopeckas, he receives a certain profit from their sale. A peasant who chances to leave his horse and cart outside an inn in which soldiers may be carousing, in all probability will find his cart minus its wheels; these will be stolen that they may get possession of the tires, and the iron in this manner procured, they barter for drink.

Whilst on marches through the country they improve their many opportunities for plunder, but horses are never taken, as they cannot dispose of this sort of *merchandize*, yet oxen, cows and sheep are almost *staple commodities;* these can be used for food, therefore anything of such kind is seized, killed, cut in pieces, and placed beneath their ample coats. So soon as they reach a wood, a fire is kindled, and the flesh is cooked and eaten, save a small

portion, which they reserve to sell at the next village for bread and liquor.

The soldiers are changed frequently from one station to another; they are allowed to remain but a short time in any one place, it not being policy to permit their becoming intimate with the inhabitants. The Polish soldiers are usually sent to the northern parts of Russia, and the Russians are placed either in, or on the borders of Poland; yet even with this arrangement there is a constant anxiety on the part of government. "A guilty conscience admits of no repose"—an adage that the Emperor faithfully verifies; he rests not himself, nor allows any rest to *his defence*, the army.

Each soldier has a "Raniec," or knapsack, which contains all of the apparel which he has not on his back; on the outside of it is fastened a tin can, containing water, in case of need. This knapsack is also furnished with several yards of thread, a few buttons, and some hooks and eyes (as the collar of his coat is always fastened by hooks, and he is subject to punishment if it be found open.) A brush and box of blacking is given him for his boots once in the course of a year.

On review, these knapsacks are examined by the officers, and so strict are they, that should the smallest article be missing, the supposed offenders are severely whipped; as a consequence, not a review passes without hundreds being obliged to suffer this punishment. The soldiers would sell their souls for "wodka," and it is for that poison they often dispose of the articles furnishing their knapsacks; then on the field of review they pass the required implements from one to another, but if in doing this they be detected, which is often the case, then dreadful is the penalty to be paid.

The cruelty of the commanders is just in keeping with the entire system of government. Whipping a common soldier to death is not regarded, and an inquiry is seldom instituted, even should it have been for no positive misdemeanor, but merely in accordance with the will of the officer.

When a company of soldiers is quartered upon a nobleman's plantation, they commit with impunity every kind of excess. They occupy the best rooms in the house — they take the best cattle for their use, and stable their horses in the parlor, if they choose so to do. A circumstance of this kind occurred, to which I was knowing. During such an unwelcome visitation to an estate, one of the non-commissioned officers became desperately enamored of a young servant woman in the establishment. This woman, intoxicated by her conquest, conceived the idea that all men should remove their caps whenever they might meet her. The deference was, however, refused by one man, and the "Felt-webel" forthwith ordered that he should receive two hundred lashes. These were inflicted, but subsequently the same individual encountered the girl, and again refused to lift his cap to please her. This conduct was reported to her lover, who directed the same punishment as before. In general, during the enactment of such a scene, the offended person is standing by as witness, and it is usually the case, that the poor sufferer cries out to his persecutor, calling him or her all sorts of honorary titles, and promising, if left go, to kiss his hands and feet, &c. But in this case the soldier was so exasperated, that instead of begging, he exclaimed, "After I get my whipping, I will pay you and your woman off!" To this the officer replied, "You shall be whipped until you do beg pardon!" But the soldier's answer was

still "No!" and as a consequence, the lashes were continued, and in the course of the following fifteen minutes he was a corpse. There was not the smallest investigation made respecting the affair, as one human being (and that being a Russian soldier) more or less, is a matter of no moment in the estimation of those in command. These cruel and inhuman deeds are constantly being enacted by the officers; the power is awarded them, and they use it to the utmost.

The commissioned officers in the army never suffer the indignity of corporeal punishment; they are imprisoned, except in cases of treason, when a "Court Martial" is summoned, and if convicted, they are whipped and are then obliged to enter the ranks for life, as common soldiers.

On New Year's day, Christmas, and during Easter, as also on the anniversaries of the birth days of the Emperor and Empress, the soldiers have what they call good living. They receive potatoes, corned beef and pork, and these to them are luxuries indeed. They are required to accompany their officers to the cathedral, and all are equipped in full uniform. Before going to the church they assemble in front of the guard house, where is placed a large tub filled with "wodka." Each soldier marches up, cup in hand; this he dips in to the brim, then raising it to his mouth he calls out, "Long live our Emperor and his family!" and without further ceremony swallows down the liquor. The soldier's cup is the top of the can before mentioned, and it will contain about one pint. Sometimes an individual will swallow the contents of his cup with the greatest celerity, and endeavor to obtain another draught; but this is likely to be detected, and invariably is followed by a whipping. The drinking operation is repeated after their return from church.

Whilst in church, they all pray for the Emperor and his family, and if any Cossacks be present on the occasion, they add, "We will die for our dear Emperor"—they imagine that dying in his cause insures them a direct passport to Heaven.

But among the crowd of prayer-offering men, may occasionally be observed the countenance of a poor broken-hearted creature, whose bosom is swelling with emotions that his lips dare not utter. The silent prayer that ascends from his soul, is not like the meaningless utterance of the stupid Cossack, but is the petition of agony, asking the blessing of the Highest on a father and mother who are left childless, on a wife who is widowed, and on children rendered fatherless by the doom that separates him from them forever. Such individuals are Poles, generally of fine families and excellent attainment, who have become victims of the secret spies before alluded to.

After dinner the soldiers visit and salute the officers, and though not permitted to enter the houses, they are again treated to "wodka," which is brought to the street and then dealt out to them; when this process is concluded, they are at liberty to spend the remainder of the day as they please, with the exception of being limited as to the distance they may go, and a carouse follows, as a matter to be expected, this usually ending in a decided row.

Such is the life led by the Russian soldier, and in no other country, it is presumed, can a parallel be found, where large numbers of men exist in a state of such utter demoralization, produced by the three-fold calamity of ignorance, poverty and despotism. When any member of the army becomes disabled and unfit for active service, whether it be by age, accident or war, he is cast off by

the government, and for the remainder of his life is obliged to beg, in order to obtain his daily sustenance. The poor wretch must also conceal the fact of his being a disabled soldier, or he will receive neither alms nor sympathy; and this concealment it is most difficult to effect, so that the unfortunate creature is often near perishing from hunger. The men who endure until their time has expired, are generally so thoroughly broken in constitution, as to be unfit for any mode of life, save beggary. The only privileges earned by their long term of servitude are, permission to travel through the country without paying for a passport, exemption from taxes, and from further services to the government. But here again is a provision, requiring the discharged soldier, during the first five years after his dismissal, to report himself at head quarters occasionally, in order to ascertain if his services are again wanted; should that not be the case, as in the event of war, he can return home, or be at large, as his inclination or circumstances may direct. Very few, however, are to be found after the expiration of their first period; most of them are so worn down by privation and abuse, that they sink as soon as the unnatural energy of fear and compulsion are no longer the stimulus of life. The officers are always well paid; indeed, I think they are more amply remunerated than in the army of any other country. They are at liberty to marry whenever they may choose, their means being even sufficient for the expenses of a family.

The army of Russia, in ordinary times, comprises from six hundred to six hundred and forty-seven thousand men, the most of whom are employed in executing, to the letter, the despotic laws of the country. Very strong bodies of soldiers are necessary on all the frontier lines; not a town or village, however insignificant, but requires the

aid of the army to maintain order. This is especially the case in, and near Poland, where the memory of wrongs in the past, and the curbed, yet indignant and independent spirit seek relief in the continual outbreaks of excitement. Finland also needs to be securely guarded, for should the Tartars find no garrison to oppose them, they would rise *en masse*. Courland, too, requires the same careful oversight. The army thus unavoidably distributed over an immense extent of territory, would leave Russia, in the event of war, a concentrated force of only some two hundred or two hundred and fifty thousand men. But from the enormous numbers of the empire, the Emperor can raise yearly an hundred, or a hundred and fifty thousand to swell the ranks of his army; and these, though comparatively undisciplined, under the direction of efficient officers, may be rendered active and efficient agents.

Again I say, the physical power of Russia is mighty, but TRUTH and FREEDOM are mightier still. She may put forth her tremendous agency, and perhaps the luxurious indolence of her allied opposers may allow a present triumph — yet DESPOTISM is cankered at its root — the boughs may still give signs of life, but the trunk ere long WILL DIE.

The Emperor has no reliable dependence upon his army, at least he is not entitled to have, and yet it is his *main* defence; in reality, how insecure an one? At the frontier stations the officers engage extensively, and the soldiers pettily, in smuggling operations. It is a notorious fact, that those whose duty it is to protect the revenue, are the most active contrabandists themselves.

Tyranny can never be in harmony with itself. There is no mutual dependence in its parts, and the forced existence can continue but a limited time, and then its muscles

will relax their contortions; its fluttering pulse will subside into the faint and delayed beatings of exhausted vitality — or the earthquake and the whirlwind will redress the wrongs of outraged humanity; and the sentence of public sentiment will guillotine, the already expiring monster of despotic principle.

## CHAPTER VII.

Having frequently adverted to the nobles of my country, I intend in the present chapter to illustrate, so far as possible, their characters and habits.

Although this class of individuals is much corrupted by the influence of government, yet are they well deserving the name of noblemen. Generous and hospitable in their dispositions and manners, they tender a whole-souled welcome to the stranger who may chance to cross their thresholds, and their attentions are of the most graceful and kindly character, calculated to place the visitor entirely at ease, and to make him feel as if he were enjoying the peculiar privileges of home.

The sports of the "field and flood" are thoroughly appreciated and entered into by the aristocracy. Connected with almost every plantation is either a small lake or river, and on this may be seen the beautiful gondola bearing its gay party of pleasure seekers. Hunting, during the proper season, is a favorite amusement, and in all plans for enjoyment the stranger is invited to participate.

The Polish noblemen, in character, are generous, frank and courageous; and a Polish noble has never been known to commit a crime, though he may have been guilty of many offences. Their education has been carefully

attended to. The different languages are taught in the respective seminaries of the country, and in particular, is the knowledge of French and German deemed requisite to all who claim a liberal education. Insisting upon the expediency, indeed the necessity of learning some trade, is also peculiar to the Poles.

The generality of readers are doubtless familiar with the anecdote of the young Prussian nobleman, who, becoming enamored of the daughter of a Polish aristocrat, requested her hand in marriage.

"And what will you do for my daughter?" inquired the old noble.

The young man having vast possessions, and the father of the lady being also wealthy, the question excited no small degree of surprise.

"Do for her!" replied he in astonishment; "why, take her to my home, where she will be supplied with all the luxuries and elegancies afforded by my estates."

"But," said the father, "what if you should not find your estates when you return?"

"I cannot understand how that can be possible," was the answer.

"But I can," rejoined the Pole; "look around and notice the many, who were once in affluence like yourself, but are now reduced to penury and want. Consider the precarious tenure by which estates are held; what to-day are yours, to-morrow may be yours no longer, as they are liable to confiscation at any time, should you chance to give offence to government. No, no; a man must have resources within himself, or he has no reliable dependence for support. Become master of a TRADE, and my daughter shall be yours."

The young Prussian, though deeming the requirement

an unnecessary one, complied with the terms, and after acquainting himself with the art of fancy-basket making, he presented to his intended father-in-law a specimen of his skill, and claimed his reward.

The forethought of the father was as fortunate, as it proved wise. Some time subsequent to the marriage of his daughter, he became involved in political difficulties, and the son-in-law, by endeavoring to assist him, was likewise made a participator in his misfortunes. The estates of both noblemen were confiscated, and themselves and families were condemned to exile. By dint of the most strenuous exertion, they managed to reach England, where the young Prussian began to render his trade available. Being quite destitute, he was at first obliged to rely upon the work of his own hands entirely, and the two families subsisted on the proceeds of his labor, while, scanty as they were, he contrived to put aside a small portion for the purchase of a further supply of material. In this manner he struggled on, gradually gaining a little, until he was enabled to establish a regular business, which soon became decidedly profitable, affording an ample support for those dependent upon him.

This circumstance is well authenticated, and the individual mentioned, is now at the head of one of the largest manufacturing establishments in England.

Some of the Polish noblemen have not been deprived of their rights by the Czar, but are permitted to enjoy their former privileges unmolested. They, indeed, comprise the "fathers of the country." Ages back, when the barbarous tribes overran and ravaged the country, their progenitors had stood foremost in battle, and their best blood had been spilled in defence of their homes and land. Such of these, as have not by overt acts become

obnoxious to government, are still sustained and honored in their positions.

A century since, the old men, and women and children, were held as the price for defeat of the party to which they belonged, and it may not be uninteresting to describe the manner in which they could be redeemed.

The chiefs assembled, and one was selected from either party, attended by one or two seconds, and a combat was arranged; before it commenced, however, it was customary for the individuals who intended to engage, on their bended knees respectively to swear to deal honorably with each other, to take no advantage, but to be guided by the strictest rules of justice. Then calmly and deliberately they commenced the contest, usually fighting with swords, and the first blood drawn decided the victory -- the party to which the wounded man was attached being required to deliver up its living spoil. Prisoners might also be redeemed by purchase — either by land or otherwise.

The Russian nobles are a widely different order. I will briefly speak of them. The Russians were originally divided into two classes — freemen, descended from freemen, and plebians, who were themselves enfranchised slaves, or the descendents of such as had been enfranchised; the former of these classes had, at first, immunities and privileges which the latter did not enjoy, but ultimately this distinction was done away, and both were treated in the same manner.

Regarding the servile body in Russia, from first to last, it was considered not worthy of any rights, either social or political, the slaves being exclusively the property of their masters, who could dispose of them according as their interest or pleasure might dictate. When the savage Slavi broke over the Russian frontiers, and devastated

the country, they put to the sword all who opposed them, and carried away many captives, together with the valuable effects of the inhabitants. After frequent succeeding ravages, and little or nothing was left to plunder, they began to settle in the border provinces. In this emergency, the voice of the nation called upon the nobles to lead them to fight against entire subjugation. Thus urged, they prepared for conflict, and led their miserable dependents to battle, but they soon forsook their post and abandoned their army to inevitable destruction.

This contrasts strongly with the conduct of the Polish noblemen. They were always foremost in battle, and their courage never failed, and their pretensions never deceived.

The Russian chiefs would plunder any weaker body of men, and take the little left by the Slavi, from them. This was done to indemnify themselves for their own personal losses. "Might," not "right," was the principle of action, and according to his success in fraud or oppression, was the estimation of the dignity of the individual.

These chiefs were the most abject cowards. So easily were they terrified, that on the approach of a mere handful of adventurers, the strongest castles were deserted without an attempt at defence. The sea-board castles were usually built upon some rocky promontory, and thus rendered difficult of access on all sides, while the inland fortresses were in general erected at the turning point of some stream. The Russian castles were all constructed upon a similar plan. The central and most imposing part was the square or keep, around which were grouped the outer defences. This keep was several stories high, and from its upper platform was presented an extensive view of the surrounding country. Some castles had a base-

court, or outer area, encompassed by walls having flanking towers; beyond this again was a mural enclosure, the exterior of which formed a kind of vestibule to the chief entrance. Outside of this was a deep moat, that could be crossed only by the draw-bridge. The interior arrangements were as follows:—The ground story had very thick walls, and the rooms, or more properly the arched vaults, had no windows, but were dimly lighted by loop-holes. In some cases a postern door gave access to the lower story, but the proper entrance was usually placed quite far up the wall in one of the fronts. The door opening to the interior had placed behind it another door, or portcullis, that is, it could be made to slide up or down at pleasure, thus to admit or debar entrance. On the second floor were the rooms of the wardens and the garrison; these generally had no windows in the front or outer walls, but were lighted by apertures from the passages. The third floor comprised the chief apartments, including the great hall, at the end of which was the fire place, a deep recess sufficiently wide to admit of benches on either side the fire. In the palatial halls of great castles, there was a dais or raised part at one end, and sometimes above, a gallery for musicians. This hall was lighted by narrow, lancet-headed windows, and some of the side rooms received a borrowed light from the hall.

The fourth and uppermost story was generally the best lighted, its windows being numerous, though narrow. During a siege, the larger and more powerful instruments of defence were placed upon this floor. The roof of the structure was surmounted with battlements, that in some instances were "machicolated"—which is, having a bulging course with openings, through which molten lead could be poured down upon the heads of close assaulters.

The mode of attacking these places was invariably the same, and that was by mining, battering the walls, and wheeling up to them immense covered machines, divided into several stages, from which the archers and cross-bow men could hurl their weapons at the soldiers who were stationed upon the battlements. But such was the resistance offered by the thick walled fortress, that a few determined men could hold them for months against a beleaguring host, notwithstanding its many means of assault.

Lovers of the picturesque are accustomed to look upon old, and especially upon dilapidated castles, with almost a doting reverence; but when reflection dwells upon their design, and the ultimate purpose to which they ministered, I think sorrow and aversion must take the place of reverence, and we can only long for the reign of peace, when communities may dwell in safety, not fearing the attack of marauder or oppressor.

The feudal chiefs had the most entire confidence in the impregnable character of their castles; also, each regarded the mettle of *his* sword as superior, and the training of his steed as better, than those of any opponents, and this ignorant conceit often served a fair turn in originating a fierce kind of valor, which defeated by onset, when deliberate attack would have failed to conquer, or calm resistance would eventually have been forced to yield. Yet it is worthy of remark, that the means of defence were greater than those of attack. Modern warfare has much augmented the latter class, and no fortress could long resist the force of balls and shells.

The whole life of a chief was devoted to the exercise of arms and to the training of his charger; it follows, of course, that the nobility became more and more ignorant, in spite of the gradual softening of national manners. Yet

these men, self-confident as they assumed to be, were repeatedly driven from their strongholds by a few barbarian invaders. The lapse of more than a century has certainly changed the aspect of the country in these particulars, and the customs of more enlightened nations have become known, and somewhat influence this realm of despotism at the present day, yet the surface only is presented to the transient sojourner.

It is the policy of the Emperor to place everything in the most propitious view, before distinguished visitors, and it is generally the case, that such individuals leave his dominions with favorable impressions. The pageantry of the Russian court is grand and imposing, and there is a universal deference paid to those strangers who are permitted to enter its precincts. This, as a natural consequence, flatters self-love, and enlists kindly feelings towards it. After having been received by the Emperor any person may be sure of the most gratifying attentions, wherever he may visit. Should he wish to travel in different parts of the country, he is directed to the most agreeable places, and the best roads and conveyances are pointed out — the darker and yet truthful side, is sedulously hidden from the casual observer.

The career of despotism has, however, passed its meridian. The innate, though long dormant principle of liberty, is stirring in and throughout Europe — and the struggle of the powers of the Old World, we will hope, may eventuate in the utter extinction of all unlimited individual influence.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Many years since, when Poland was the theatre for warlike prowess, all men who had assumed and sustained a prominent position in military matters, were designated Noblemen, and as such enjoyed the freedom of the country, were exempt from taxes and from any demands of government. Their achievements were recorded in the historical books of the country, and many of them held certificates of their acquirements — some however refused these, deeming them unnecessary, their deeds having won a notoriety that required no parchment memorial to substantiate.

Until the accession of Nicholas, these honors were continued, but soon after that event took place, an order was issued for the burning of the records, and he likewise required all such certificates as the before mentioned, should be forwarded to him. Thinking this might be merely to pass under his inspection and to obtain his signature, the nobles sent on their testimonials. These were also destroyed; and this was shortly followed by a command, that all persons considering themselves noblemen, should produce satisfactory claims to the title. This, of course, it was not now in their power to do; all their property reverted to government, with the exception of a small portion, about the amount usually allotted to the peasants, their badges were taken from them, and they

were compelled to exchange their costume for the garb of peasants, and were henceforth to live in the manner of that class of subjects.

At the same time officers were stationed throughout the country, who were the merest tools of oppression, slaves to the Emperor, being ready to execute any mission of tyranny without questioning or hesitation — and these men were made noblemen — and these men constitute a large proportion of the nobles of the present day. A very small number of officials failed to give evidence of entire satisfaction with the laws — such were also degraded, and became as serfs. We can conceive the miserable situation of the born peasants, who are condemned to toil through life without enlightenment and without hope, but how aggravated the fate of those that having been accustomed to luxury, possessing cultivated minds and refined tastes, are suddenly precipitated from this elevation and doomed to drag out the remainder of existence as companions for the lowest order of degradation, and as menials to perform the lowest services. Could the traveler who visited the kingdom in former days and received the hospitality of its gentry, enjoying comforts and luxuries, not to be excelled by those of any country in the world; I repeat, could the traveler of those days return and witness the condition of the children of those parents, would he not curse the despotism that had power to produce so disastrous a change? Alas! alas! for the woes of all in human mould! and alas! for the miseries and wrongs of Poland!

But life and spirit are not entirely crushed out from these wretched victims. One generation will scarcely efface the image of what they were, and still may occasionally be heard uttered the sentiments of some who prefer their present state of servitude to the conscious-

ness of having abetted, in the slightest degree, any scheme of Nicholas for the utter degradation of their country.

The nobles of the present day are highly educated men, yet they passively submit to being prohibited from freedom of speech, and also to many restraints, insignificant in themselves, but still excessively annoying and humiliating in their nature. For instance, the Emperor directs the manner in which they shall wear their beards — he also orders the shape of coats, hats, caps, boots, etc. — *fit details to employ the attention of one of the longest heads in Europe!*

An instance of cruel suffering occurs to me, the particulars of which I was personally known to. A widowed lady and her children, whose husband and father had died of a broken heart, concluded that as a solace to themselves and a benefit to others, they would devote their evenings to instructing the children of peasants, with whom they were now associated. The family I refer to, consisted of the lady, her three daughters, and one son. The peasants were invited to their hut, and a system of teaching commenced — but this was soon discovered, and information thereof transmitted to government. But before they were made subjects of complaint, the girls had resisted the base attempts of some of the officers, and in consequence had fallen under severe displeasure. The daughters were condemned to pass two years in the treadmills, and the son was sentenced to fifteen months hard labor in the salt mines; before this punishment took effect, *all*, mother, son and daughters, were publicly whipped.

Under the heavy pressure of affliction, the woman was deprived of reason, and accompanied only by her poor, half-starved dog, (which had been her companion in pros-

perity and remained faithful in adversity,) she wandered off in pursuit of her children. At different times she was taken by the soldiers, but the cunning of insanity enabled her to elude their vigilance and escape from them, but she was again seized, and an iron band placed about her wrist, to this being attached by a chain, a heavy bar, that she was compelled to drag along whenever she moved. Even this did not deter her, and the fourth time she escaped: she went with her dog to the burial ground, and there succeeded in digging a hole sufficiently large, as she supposed, to conceal them — she then collected a quantity of straw and leaves, which she matted together for a bed, and there she made her abode. In this place she remained unmolested, and continued for two years, subsisting chiefly upon nuts and berries that she procured during her wanderings in the day. Sometimes when she was absent from her den, the peasants would contrive to throw into it pieces of bread, and when she would find them on her return, she would exclaim, "The angels have given."

On the approach of winter she covered her hiding place with boards, to keep out the snow, and I was accustomed to place articles of clothing within her reach, so as if possible to prevent her perishing with cold. The reader is aware that in Poland the winters are long and severe, the snow frequently covering the ground to the depth of several feet. At such times she and her dog would burrow their way out when necessity compelled, but they remained most of the time in her place of concealment. In the early part of their third winter, a terrible storm occurred, and the snow continuing to fall during three days, she was completely drifted under. When the storm had somewhat abated, I repaired to the poor creature's abode, but to my

horror found no possible ingress to it. However, with the aid of some neighboring peasants, I commenced digging away the snow, and at length succeeded in effecting an entrance. But what a spectacle did we behold! The unfortunate woman and her dog were stretched stiff and dead upon the ground! the distressing sight can never be effaced from my memory.

During the stay of the daughters in the treadmills, an overseer became honorably attached to one of them, and on the expiration of her term of punishment, married her. For this generous act he was deprived of his situation, disgraced, and himself and wife driven forth to seek their livelihood by begging. The other two girls returned to the desolate hut, where they found their brother, who had been released from the mines some months before. Previous to her death the young man had sought his mother and endeavored to persuade her to return home with him, but the poor distracted creature refused to recognize him — at one time insisting that her son was dead, and at another, pointing to her dog, she would declare it to be her child.

The sisters were again made the subjects of degrading importunity by the officials, but these were indignantly resisted, and their resolution was nobly defended by their brother. For their heroism, the young man was sent to the army for life; the girls were falsely accused, and placed in separate regiments as stewardesses; this horrible situation I have before adverted to.

This is only one of the numerous instances that might be related, in illustration of the grievous sufferings to which many of the educated class in Poland are latterly subjected. The groans of that afflicted people cannot be heard in other lands, but their anguished cry ascends to the throne of

immutable Justice, and the avenging hand will eventually be stretched forth to redress their wrongs.

Since the disastrous revolution of 1830, the woes of that nation have been greatly increased. For the information of some who may not be familiar with the details of that struggle, I have carefully compiled, from reliable sources, a few of its events, and will here introduce them as historical facts.

It is well known, that Poland has been at three different times partitioned — first in 1772, again in 1793, and still further in 1795 — the latter time being when Stanislaus was deprived of kingly dignity, and the country was no longer recognized as a kingdom. In 1807 most of Prussian Poland was taken from Prussia, and became what was denominated the Duchy of Warsaw. By the Congress of Nations, held at Vienna in 1815, the larger part of Poland was awarded to Russia. This occurred during the reign of Alexander, and, notwithstanding the aid rendered to Napoleon by the Poles, that generous prince seemed disposed to manifest a lenient disposition towards his brave, but refractory subjects.

## CHAPTER IX.

When Napoleon, in the height of his military career, had succeeded in occupying Wilna, and the throne of Russia was trembling before him, the Polish nation confidently cherished a hope of regaining their former liberties and importance. They endeavoured to impress Bonaparte with an idea of the advantage that would result to him, as also to all of Western Europe, if such a destiny for them were accomplished. Deputies were despatched from Warsaw to that Emperor, representing the bulwark that Poland, in its full extent, would form against the encroachments of Russia. Its territory rightfully extended, from the Dneiper on the East, to the Oder on the west; on the north it reached the Baltic, and on the south was bounded by the Carpathian Mountains and Black Sea. This vast region, comprising many divisions, contains a population of twenty-two millions of people, who have the same origin, speak the same language, profess the same religion, and whose manners and customs are similar in almost all respects. And this portion of country the Poles desired to have returned to their possession. The appeal of the deputies concluded with these words: "Say, Sire, that the Kingdom of Poland exists, and that declaration will be in the eyes of the world, equivalent to the reality." To this was returned the answer: "In my situation I have many interests to conciliate, and many du-

ties to fulfill. If I had reigned during the first, the second, or the third partition of Poland, I would have armed my people to defend her. I love your nation. I authorize the efforts you wish to make. It is alone in the unanimity of your population that you will find the hope of success. I ought to add, that I have guaranteed to the Emperor of Austria the integrity of his dominions."

The Poles were unprepared for such a reply from Napoleon; they had so zealously fought for him, had so faithfully endeavored to advance his cause; thousands of their number had fallen in Italy, Egypt, St. Domingo, and Russia; and now, to have returned to them merely a formal, and probably, insincere expression of good wishes, greatly disappointed and saddened the hearts, that, a short time before, looked forward with confident expectation. The hope of individual existence died out in this people, but their integrity would not allow them to desert the cause of the Emperor, and even in the dark day of his destiny, he was not forsaken by them. At his request he was followed to Elba by many of the Poles who had served him in the day of his prosperity.

After the Congress of Vienna had given the Grand Duchy of Warsaw into the hands of Russia, the Emperor Alexander made a demonstration of kind feeling toward Poland, that secured to himself the good will of the people, although not the willing fealty to their enforced subjection. He visited Warsaw, and was received with proper respect by its inhabitants. He addressed the representatives of the people in the following words: "Gentlemen, I respect and love your nation. To these feelings on my part, in which all Europe partakes, you are entitled, by your continual and disinterested sacrifices for the prosperity of other nations. I swear to maintain your consti-

tution with all the privileges guaranteed by it; and this same constitution I promise to grant to your brethren in the provinces, which are to be united in one kingdom."

These promises, confirmed as they appear to be by the gracious bearing of Alexander, appealed immediately to the hearts of the Poles; and they credulously placed reliance upon them. However, they were soon to be undeceived. Before leaving Warsaw the Emperor raised the aged General Zajaczek, to the dignity of Prince, and constituted him Viceroy of Poland, at the same time making the Grand Duke Constantine, (Alexander's brother,) Commander in Chief of the Polish Army. A more unfortunate movement for the Poles could scarcely have been devised: Zajaczek was at too advanced an age to be competent for the post of Viceroy; he would now be only an instrument in the hands of younger and more active agents of the Government. Constantine was, in every respect, a tyrant, and soon after the return of Alexander to St. Petersburg, the encroachments of power began to be sensibly experienced.

In all the departments of Government, Polish officers were removed, and their places were suplied by mercenary and intriguing Russians; and before the expiration of one year, the Bureau of Police was extended and occupied by individuals, whom the people justly held in utter detestation. The brave and renowned body, the Army of Poland, whose exploits had been the wonder of Europe, and whose unyielding integrity had won, not only the admiration, but the respect and entire confidence of ONE, to whom confidence in aught, save his own invincibility, was little known — this body was now insulted and debased by the powerful representative of Tyranny — Constantine. Words cannot convey an idea of the atrocities perpetrated

by this monster. His persecutions were so barbarous and unrelenting, that during his first six months many officers, among whom was the celebrated Sokolnicki, committed suicide, and a large proportion of the officers sought their dismission. In this latter list, was General Chlopicki, whose choice was to encounter poverty, rather than to continue in the degrading service. Throughout the first entire year, few days passed without some of the soldiers putting an end to their miseries by suicide. But Constantine did not content himself with the exercise of cruelty, in the army, but meddled and controlled in all branches of the administration. Liberty of the press was forbidden, free-masonry was prohibited, and a regular system of espionage were established. The expenses of this body of spies was afterward ascertained to have amounted to $1,000,000, thus draining the resources of the country for the support of menials of oppression. It soon became unsafe to speak either in public or in private, for spies, like a pestilence, were spread through the entire land, and their baleful influence was acknowledged in the trembling solicitude of every class of native Poles. Conversations, no matter how innocent the intention, were distorted, and with the view of obtaining money as bribes, many of the most honorable persons were hurried to a prison, and some of these were never again to behold their families and friends, from whom they had been wrested.

Those who neglected to pay due deference to the Grand Duke, by removing their hats when he passed, were made to wheel barrows of mud, where they were exposed to public gaze. Students were considered particularly obnoxious; these were thrown into prison on the simple accusation of a spy, and there doomed to pine, perhaps, for years — blighting the promise of their after days, by

undermining their healths, and checking, almost beyond hope, the probability of eventual success. During the progress of the revolution many such individuals were liberated, and in the cells beneath the barracks many corpses were found — these were properly buried.

On the first meeting of the Diet, the Grand Duke presented himself among the deputies from Praga. Previously, however, a memorial had been sent to the Czar, asking the removal of several of the officers, whose conduct had been particularly oppressive. On this occasion different subjects were debated, of a nature annoying to Constantine — such as "the liberty of the press," the "abolition of system of spies," and the request to the Czar, before mentioned, was dwelt upon. Forthwith a decision was proclaimed, that the Diet should act in accordance with the will of the Grand Duke, and this order was enforced by surrounding the Palace and filling its galleries with guards. The debates were no longer to be public — a ticket from the police being required for admission. These tickets were only given to Russian Generals and minions of government, with their families. In the presence of such an assemblage, how was it possible to discuss, freely, matters pertaining to the interests of the nation? In this Diet might be seen the melancholy countenances of the descendants of Tarnowski, Zamoiski, Chodkiewicz and Kosciuszko — they were sitting in sad council over the destinies of their country, whilst they were often interrupted by the scoffs and ridicule of Russian spectators. The freedom of debate was paralyzed, and the Diet became merely one of those shams with which Russian diplomacy abounds, and which so deeply brand the treachery of that government.

In all the Bureaus, spies held important situations, and

these departments were ripe with intrigues and venality. Neither law nor right was regarded, and even the constitution became a matter of jest. "What is the constitution?" was the derisive question — "it is only an impediment to government and the course of justice; the Grand Duke is the best constitution!"

After a few years had passed, the nation continuing in this lamentable condition, a few noble and patriotic men considered that a revolution was practicable; and whilst secretly employed in concerting a scheme, they had the satisfaction of learning that a similar attempt was proposed in Russia, and they were cordially invited to join their forces in the desperate effort to free themselves from the despotism of the government. This invitation filled the Poles with joy, and they offered, with their whole hearts, to aid in the redemption of the Samaratic nation from the thraldom to which they had so long been subject. They met in the town of Orla, in little Russia, where oaths were administered, and they bound themselves to sacrifice life and property in the cause. They adopted resolutions, and means were planned for executing them; and in case of success, the Russians were to give to the Poles all Provinces within the boundary established by Boleslaw-Chrobry. The 25th anniversary of the accession of Alexander, was the day appointed for the first outbreak. On that day the imperial family and the larger portion of the army, would assemble on the plain of the Dneiper, for the purpose of celebrating the event. It was thought that many Generals might be gained over to the cause, and by this means the royal family could be secured. It had been proposed at Orla, that in the very onset the life of the Grand Duke Constantine should be taken. The proposal, however, was rejected — Prince Iablonowsky replying to

it in these words: — "Russians — Brother Samaritans! You have summoned us to co-operate in the holy work of breaking the bonds of slavery under which our Samaratic race has so long pined. We come to you with sincere hearts, willing to sacrifice our fortunes and our lives. Rely, my dear friends, on this our promise. The many struggles in which we have already fought for the sake of liberty, may warrant our assertions. Brethren, you demand of us the murder of the Grand Duke — this we can never do; the Poles can never stain their hands with the blood of their Princes! We promise you to secure his person in the moment of revolution, and as he belongs to you, we shall deliver him into your hands."

Both sides made strenuous efforts to increase their party, by inducing members of the army and others to join them. In Lithunia many prominent men lent their countenance to the conspiracy, among whom were Downarowicz and Rukiewicz — the former being the President of the Nobles, and the latter belonging to the Lithunian Corps. The plan of the approaching struggle had been carefully considered, and the arrangements were effected with the utmost caution, and there appeared to be a strong probability of success, when the sudden death of Alexander cast a damper upon the hopes of the patriots. But it was only for a little time that they delayed. The troubles occasioned by the respective claims of Constantine and Nicholas to the throne, rather seemed to facilitate the plan for revolt; and on the 18th day of December, at Petersburg, the first movement was made. Although some regiments and great numbers of the people joined the patriots, yet, in default of proper leaders and proper discipline, they were unable to stand the fire of cannon, and a few discharges served to scatter their numbers.

Constantine had given offence by marrying a noble Polish lady, and a written document was produced, which transferred the succession to Nicholas in his stead, and he was finally compelled to relinquish his claim. And with the reign of Nicholas commenced a system of revenge unparalleled in the records of civilized countries. The prisons were literally crowded with victims, some prominent individuals were executed on the gallows, and some two hundred persons belonging to noble families were banished to Siberia. That infamous inquisitor, Wiliamnow, exercised his ingenuity in devising cruelties for his prisoners. Among this number were Rukiewicz, Igelstrom, and Wigelin, and these were exiled to Siberia for life.

The heroic behavior of the two sisters of Rukiewicz deserves to be noticed. He was a true patriot, and had been secretary of a club in Lithunia. He had a small summer-house in his garden, which was strictly private, and here he kept concealed the papers belonging to the society. When arrested he was absent from home, and an officer was dispatched with a company of soldiers in order to search his premises and obtain his papers. The sisters being at home, were ever on the alert, and on perceiving the officer and suite approach, though immediately conceiving the truth, they were not paralyzed by their fears. The elder of the two requested the younger to remain and receive their unwelcome visitants, while she hastily collected some combustibles, which she carried to the summer-house, to which she set fire — thus destroying the register of about two thousand names of persons concerned in the conspiracy.

She returned to the house, and answered the inquiries of the officer respecting the cause of the fire, by saying,

"I only wished to save you the trouble of further brutalities — I have burned the papers of my brother. You will be sure not to find anything left, and now I am your prisoner — drag me along with you to increase the number of your victims!"

These estimable sisters were both ordered to a prison in which they languished for three years, and when liberated found themselves destitute and alone. Their noble brother was far distant in the wilds of Siberia. Notwithstanding the solicitations of friends to the contrary, they determined to share his hardships, and, if possible, to mitigate his sufferings. They expected to perform their dreary journey on foot, but sometimes they were favored with short conveyances on the wagons of peasantry; but of the final result of this undertaking nothing is known to us.

Warsaw was made the headquarters of intrigue, the influence of Constantine causing an inquisition to be established, composed of persons who were capable of being bribed by Russia. An aged and honorable senator was subjected to the infamous and barbarous infliction of the knout, and another committed suicide in anticipation of the torture. Wyczechowski, who, I regret to say, was a Pole, and a most unworthy son of a noble race — this man, not contented with pronouncing sentence of death, ordered the bodies to be exposed upon the wheel, after they had been hanged upon the gallows! But the virtuous Belinski was still president of the senate, and contrary to the will of the Grand Duke, countermanded the odious direction, and Wyczechowski was obliged to succumb. Belinski substituted imprisonment for the death penalty, and this arrangement was acceded to by all the senators, with one exception.

Nicholas was crowned Emperor of Russia in 1826, and again, in 1828, was crowned King of Poland, at Warsaw. He was desirous of avoiding the last-mentioned ceremony, that he might not be required to assume the responsibility of the constitution which guaranteed to Poland the privileges avowed by Alexander. But the distracted state of the country, and the persuasions of his minions, at length induced him to do it; thus adding perjury to tyranny, and cowardice to atrocity! Alexander was not a bad man at heart; but weakness is sometimes a synonym for wickedness, and the result of being led is often as disastrous, as being the instigator of oppression. He was prevented from a true perception of his duty by the distorted representations of those who were around him. He was naturally kind, and *kind to himself in particular.* He loved ease — he loved pleasure — and therefore made no efforts to obtain *direct* personal information of the subjects on which he legislated.

Nicholas, on the contrary, had all the errors, but was destitute of the redeeming points of Alexander. Nicholas was proud and passionate in his disposition; haughty and repelling in his demeanor. He was well calculated to inspire terror, but could awaken no feeling of affection. He could command, but would ever fail to win. His brother Constantine was his very prototype in these particulars, yet on a somewhat lower and more brutal scale. With such a head, and such an acting agent, what could await unhappy Poland but a series of the most barbarous atrocities.

## CHAPTER X.

In short, Russia seemed determined to root out our national feeling, by plunging us so deeply in distress, as to leave no opportunity for reflection upon any subject, save our aggravated sufferings. The number of spies was increased, and females also were enlisted in this service, so that no sanctuary, even that of home, was secure against these abominable visitants.

The greatest outrages were often perpetrated upon those who in reality made no resistance to the barbarous enactments. It will be remembered that the brewing and distilling of liquors, and the sale of these, together with tobacco, were permitted to all proprietors of estates, and, indeed, was their chief source of wealth. The capital, of course, was the most available market for these articles — and the frequent and abundant supply so reduced the prices, as to bring them within the means of the working class and of the soldiers. However, this soon attracted the notice of government, and a wealthy Jew, who was an agent in its employ, obtained the privilege of sole monopolizer of the sale of all such articles. Consequently, all persons who had these productions to dispose of, were under the necessity of gaining this Jew's permission, and for the permission they were required to pay an enormous tax.

This condition of things oppressed all classes, and irri-

tated the proprietors almost beyond the bounds of endurance. Petitions were presented for the removal of the exaction, but they effected nothing, except a more rigid enforcement of them. The Jew agent appointed guards, wearing a uniform, who infested every part of Warsaw, and often committed the greatest outrages. At one time a day laborer was returning to the city with some brandy and tobacco which he had bought at a distance. He was intercepted by these wretches, and taking from him all that he carried, they insisted upon a heavier fine than was the real value of the articles seized. The poor man had not the ability to meet their demands, and they were about to take him to prison, when, by a desperate effort, he succeeded in making his escape, and sought refuge on the estate of a nobleman in the vicinity. The nobleman, learning the treatment the laborer had received, censured the guards for their abuse, and detained the man, proposing to send with him, on the following day, a note, that might exonerate him with the Jew. Before he had time to effect this, however, he himself was arrested for having harbored a defrauder, and was carried to prison. A company of two hundred soldiers was quartered upon his estate for two weeks, and during this space of time they destroyed property to the amount of 70,000 Polish guilders. The nobleman was imprisoned through a whole year, and when released, found himself ruined in fortune, and broken in spirits. The poor man who had been the occasion of such disastrous consequences, received one hundred blows of the knout, which resulted in his death a few days afterwards.

This is only one of the many instances of extortion that were practiced upon the people. At length, two brave young Poles, Schlegel and Wysocki, ventured upon

the idea of a revolution, believing deliverance was yet possible. By secret means they communicated with others, and in this manner succeeded in forming several patriotic clubs. For five years Schlegel and Wysocki continued, with unabated perseverance, to move forward in their perilous course. They were never disheartened; they hesitated at no obstacles, but confiding in the omnipotence of justice, they threw their all into the scale, and liberty or death was the end in view.

Just at this crisis occurred the revolution in France, and the event of the three days of July carried dismay into the hearts of Constantine and his adherents. Yet, their fears only served to madden and to render them reckless. Their measures became even more barbarous, and the system of espionage more hopelessly galling. Not a day passed without witnessing the imprisonment of new victims; and it seemed as if there was an intoxication in the excitement that led the agents into the greatest excesses, in order to expedite their own downfall. On the 7th of September, forty students were arrested, being dragged from their beds, and hurried to prison. Every movement of the government tended to confirm the patriots in their project for a revolution, and they were cheered again by the news of a revolutionary movement in Belgium.

Numbers were being added to the association, and the circumspection that at first was the result of strict necessity, had become so much a habit, that now the effort was comparatively slight — the time for action seemed rapidly approaching. But just at this juncture, the Czar prepared to make war upon France and Belgium, and he was joined by Prussia and Austria. The army of Poland was put in requisition to form the vanguard of the expedition,

and every arrangement was made for the most speedy summons to march. Here was a dilemma; and it now became necessary to adopt measures accordingly. The revolution was also hastened by the following circumstances: — It was required of the citizens to furnish quarters for the army, and this being exceedingly unpleasant to the inhabitants, it was resolved instead, that a tax should be levied in proportion to property. This being equitable, gave entire satisfaction. But the manner in which it was executed, was utterly at variance with the spirit. It was so managed that the poorer classes were called upon for the heavier amount — indeed, they were often obliged both to pay the tax and provide quarters. All spies were exempt from every requisition of the kind. These impositions being discovered, and the asking redress from the agents of government eliciting no attention, the discontent of the people rose to a height that would no longer admit of concealment. In their indignation they took leave of their caution, and the public dignitaries were fearlessly insulted, and even the dwelling of the Grand Duke was, by some daring malcontent, advertised "to be let," from the following New Year's Day!

The eventful moment was now near at hand, and the true sons of Poland were impatient for the signal to commence the contest. The Grand Duke had for some time lived in continual terror. He was surrounded by guards to secure his personal safety; and patrols of Russian soldiers were constantly passing in the streets to insure the quiet of the city. The anniversary of the storming of Praga was observed in a solemn manner, and on its occurrence this year, eighty students, young, brave, and honorable men, had assembled to pray to the Almighty for the souls of their murdered ancestors. This was a usual

observance; but the Grand Duke had forbidden public devotions, and therefore they were compelled to meet secretly. Whilst they were in the act of worship, the doors were forced open, and Purgasczho with a company of soldiers entered; but the young men continued on their knees, and whilst remaining in this position were bound and dragged thence to prison. But this was the climax; patience could endure it no longer. The news spread through Warsaw in almost an incredibly short space of time, and immediate action was determined upon. A number of officers of the 4th Polish regiment were to mount guard on the 29th day of the month, and that time was fixed for the period of the first signal of revolt.

The annals of Poland present the names of many heroic men, and record many of the noblest achievements. Who will not recognize the bravery and honor of Boleslaw and Casimir, and Iagelo? Who reverences not the name of Sobieski? Who has not heard of Czarnicki, Chodkiewicz, Tamowski and Poniatowski? And, as for the name of Kosciuszko, it is the watchword of patriotism on either continent! But even these world-renowned names cannot dim the later stars of the revolution. Schlegel and Wysocki deserve to be recorded in the list of those who had preceded them, as patriots whom no discouragement could deter, and whom no briberies could corrupt. There was, among the band of patriots now collected, a unanimity of feeling that is rarely to be witnessed; and this unanimity gave strength to councils, and force to action. The Poles were nerved by the one resolution, to gain freedom, to enjoy the rights of civilization, and to extend those blessings, if possible, even to Russia. They imagined that Russians groaned beneath a despotism which they would joyfully shake off; and that the summons to freedom

would meet a loud response from thousands who were quiet only for want of stimulus to act. But, alas! they were, for the present, blinded by the gilded pageantry of Nicholas; and forgetting their sufferings in the past, they thought not of their future. Ingrates that they were, they were unresistingly led to do battle against the principle of liberty; thus covering themselves with everlasting disgrace.

Early in the morning of the 29th the patriots met to re-swear their oath, and to pray for the blessing of the Almighty upon their undertaking. They agreed upon a signal, which was the burning of a wooden house near the Vistula. The patriots were mostly young men; many of the number were students. They were to disperse themselves through the city, so that, on perceiving the signal, they would be in readiness to stir up the inhabitants.

The last stroke of seven had sounded — the flames were reflected upon the sky — when, throughout Warsaw, was heard the shouts of the revolters: "Poles! brethren! the hour of vengeance has struck! Down with the tyrants! To arms! to arms! Our country forever!" The citizens crowded together, and "Down with the tyrants! Poland forever!" was the reiterated cry. A body of students under Schlegel and Wysocki marched to the quarters of the Russian cavalry in order to take them by surprise. It now became necessary to get possession of the gates; this would render the egress of the troops extremely difficult, as a moat surrounded the barracks, and the few bridges were their only means of passage. The soldiers were thrown into the utmost confusion; the officers knew not what to direct, having no knowledge of the movement without, save the direct attack upon the quarters. The patriots, taking advantage of the panic, rushed with a shout through the gates. The feat was successful; and one

hundred and twenty young Poles effected the dispersion of some eighteen hundred Russian cavalry. The soldiers might all have been either destroyed or made prisoners, had the patriots but fired the barracks, these being connected with a range of wooden buildings filled with provender and other combustible materials; but this they would not do. Elated with present success, they abandoned the attack and turned to the city.

While these events had been occurring at the barracks, about a dozen students had been watching the palace, with the view of securing the person of the Grand Duke. The passages were strictly guarded; and at last they advanced to the very door of his apartment; but he had made good his escape through a secret passage. The patriots, without causing the least disturbance, hastily left the palace, but on descending a flight of steps, they encountered the vice-president of the city. At first he cried aloud for aid; immediately after he fell upon his knees and prayed for life. They retained him as prisoner, thinking they might be likely to gain available information from his fears. Meeting the Russian general, Gendre, accompanied by about a dozen *gensd'armes*, they attacked them, and Gendre falling, his attendants fled in terror.

The company that had been engaged in dispersing the officers and soldiers at the barracks, were now proceeding along the main road, and on reaching the bridge they heard a noise like advancing cavalry. There was no time to be lost; the cadets concealed themselves in a park near by, and received their enemies with a brisk fire. The road being narrow, it was not possible that the cavalry should turn for retreat, and sixty of them fell; the others effected their flight in great disorder. A little time following, the the young cadets met a squadron of Russian hussars,

and in the same moment they heard the cavalry from the barracks in pursuit. This was a crisis, but their courage did not fail. Some threw themselves into the ditch, to prevent the passing of the hussars; and the others, forming a line, and shouting "Poland forever!" made an attack at the point of the bayonet. The young Poles were again successful! The Russians fled, and the patriots, without the loss of one of their number, passed on to a part of the city called the "New World," where they found two Polish companies of light infantry under the command of Stanislaw Potocki and Trembicki. The cadets hailed them with the following words: — "Brothers! Are you here to shed the blood of brethren? Remember Russian tyranny! Come to our embrace, and hand to hand we will attack the tyrants. Poland forever!" The address was sufficient; they neglected the commands of their generals, and joined the populace. The two generals, however, refused, and even went so far as to reproach the soldiers with desertion. The cadets pleaded with them in the most respectful and earnest manner, and on their knees begged they would join the cause of their country. They offered to Stanislaw Potocki the command of the army, but he refused to accept it, and both generals joined insult to refusal These mistaken, but unfortunate men, fell victims to popular fury. The fate of Stanislaw Potocki was lamented by every worthy son of Poland. He was honored and beloved, not only by the army, but by the nation. Moreover, he was a strictly honest man. His adherence to the Russian interest grew out of a mistaken view of his duty, as the officer of a regiment, being paramount to his duty to the country at large. Notwithstanding, he was a true Pole, and had always avoided the companionship of Rus-

sians, and had ever despised their protection. Yet, his death cannot be considered unjust; it was the penalty paid to the principle of patriotism, by one who, by his acts, was publicly sustaining the cause of despotism. Trembicki's death was not lamented. He was an arrogant and troublesome man; a fitting tool for the cause he abetted.

After the union of the cadets with the light infantry, it was determined to march to the left bank of the Vistula, and there endeavor to establish order, so far as practicable, among the citizens; then to gain possession of the bridge, so that the communication between Praga and Warsaw might be uninterrupted through the night. The cadets commenced their march, singing patriotic songs, and shouting "Poland for ever!" Their shouts were answered from all sides; men, both old and young, and even women issuing from their dwellings, to swell the ranks of the liberators. When they had proceeded as far as the residence of the viceroy they were met by two officers with *gensd'armes*, who were going to the Belvidere to aid in defending the Grand Duke. One of these officers, Hanke by name, was a Pole; and the cadets, intercepting the way, begged them to dismount and join the popular interest. In reply, Hanke drew a pistol, and discharged it, wounding a cadet; which injudicious act was repaid by his death and that of his companion.

Other attempts to impede the cadets and disperse the citizens proved equally futile. While the events beforementioned were taking place, the 4th regiment was equally effective in another section of the city. At the first signal this regiment revolted. The men on guard sounded the alarm, and two battalions were almost immediately formed to attack the barracks of the Russian infantry. The shouts of soldiers and citizens, who were rushing to join the regi-

ment, were inspiriting to the patriots, but confounding to the Russians; in their confusion they attempted flight, but many of them, together with a number of spies, were seized by the assailants. Divisions were soon sent to liberate the inmates of the different prisons. This expedition was one of much peril, these places being strongly guarded by Russian soldiers. The prisons were stormed and the soldiers forced back into the halls, where many were massacred at the point of the bayonet. The doors of the apartments were then broken in, and those who were expecting only torture or death, were greeted with the joyful news of freedom. The scene was affecting beyond all power of description. Some of the captives were so reduced as to be unable to walk, and dragged themselves on hands and knees towards the arms of their friends. Among the prisoners were found four ladies, worn nearly to skeletons, who had thus cruelly suffered for the *heinous offence* of resisting the licentious advances of some Russian generals! Tears were not wanting on the occasion, and an oath was taken to avenge these brutalities. One hundred and seventy students, and about fifty older persons, were liberated from two prisons.

At the barracks of Stanislaws and Alexander, some companies under arms were found by the patriots. An attempt was made at resistance, but it was feeble against the powerful attack, and the guard was easily dispersed. In their panic some sought concealment in the cellars, from which they were dragged out by the Poles. By noon of the first day, the eastern, western and northern parts of the city were entirely in possession of the patriot soldiers and the citizens. Part of the south side was occupied by the Russian cavalry. Strong detachments were ordered to secure the bank and all the public trea-

sures. One of these patrols met the odious Col. Sass as he was fleeing for safety. He was challenged, but not obeying, he was immediately shot; thus freeing the country from one of its most merciless oppressors. He had been chief among the spies, and exercised his ingenuity principally upon foreigners, whom he would decoy to his house by *friendly* invitation, and with the assistance of female spies would endeavor to seduce them to the Russian interest, and render them fit to serve his purposes in their own countries. No blandishments were spared to gain those upon whom he once fastened his attention, and I regret to say he was too often successful.

When the city was thought to be nearly freed from the Russians, great numbers turned to the arsenal, in order to provide themselves with the further means of defence. But the Polish officer, Blummer, who commanded at that post, indiscreetly ordered his soldiers to fire upon the citizens. That order was his death warrant. The different apartments were forced, and great quantities of arms were distributed among the people.

Being supplied in this manner, the citizens were ranged in divisions, each under a competent commander, and dispatched to different quarters of the city. Some were to traverse the city for the purpose of arresting officers and spies who might be attempting to fly. A large number were taken, but one of the most obnoxious, Roznıecki, escaped. He had served forty years in the Polish army, having entered the service when Stanislaus was king. He held a command under Napoleon, though but little is known of him during that period. But under Russian administration he made himself one of the most detestable tools of tyranny. He became chief of the secret police, and various were the means he devised for extorting

money from the people. He was the means of imprisoning hundreds; whilst those who bribed him were nearly certain of promotion. Roznieckí was the intimate friend of the Grand Duke, and he was also the treasurer appointed to pay the spies. These he remunerated according as he estimated the value of their information. In this way he was enabled to cheat even the spies themselves. He kept a clerk concealed behind a high chest of drawers in the room where he was wont to receive these mercenaries; and whilst they were relating their *exploits*, this clerk was employed in writing down their statements; and when the narrator had concluded, Roznieckí would often protest he had heard the same account the day previous. He would then leave the room for a few moments, and return with the *written* statement, and in this way cheat the spy out of his disgraceful earnings. The sums thus defrauded he would put in his own coffers. He had been accused of heinous crimes, but had hitherto escaped punishment. When the first tumult of the revolution was heard, he was at the city hall engaged in giving orders to the different spies assembled there. Guilt made him a coward, and stealing out, he found a coach standing near; he paid a round sum to the coachman, who permitted him to drive off wherever he could best secure his safety, and having borrowed the man's cloak, he succeeded in effecting his escape. He was, nevertheless, hung in effigy by the citizens, and the body, decorated with twelve Russian orders, was kept suspended during seven days.

About three hundred spies were arrested. The office of the secretary, Marcrot, was attacked, and this person concealed himself in the cellar with some of his minions, and had the hardihood to fire upon the assailants; this resulted in their being immediately shot down.

As morning approached, and the quiet of the city was somewhat restored, the patriots, most of them, gathered in the Long street (Ulica Dluga) to advise as to measures for the coming day; and to consider the manner in which the nation should be appealed to.

In the address they recounted the cruelties of government, and the gradual demoralization of the people under the tyrannical exactions imposed upon them, urging the imperative necessity of a revolution, in order to preserve any degree of national honor. They besought the people to be of one mind; to unite their efforts in the holy cause; but on no account ever to do violence to humanity by perpetrating deeds of cruelty. "Dear brethren!" they said, "let no one have a right to accuse us of cruelty. May the sanctity of our cause never be polluted by barbarous passions. Having a single end in view — national freedom and justice — may we prove lions in battle, mild and indulgent to defenceless foes and repentant apostates. Brethren! let unity, love and friendship be ours. Let us forget private rancor and selfish interest! Children of one mother — our dear Poland — let us save her from ruin!"

The people manifested their enthusiam by repeated shouts of "Poland, for ever!" They swore to defend her cause, and never to yield, unless death put an end to their struggle. They then knelt before the Almighty, to return thanks for this signal deliverance, and to pray that His mercies might be contiuued. The scene was one of overpowering interest. An immense concourse of people bowed upon their knees, whilst the glare of street fires shed a lurid and fitful light over the uplifted countenances; these people, surrounded by perils, yet sending up the offerings of trusting, thankful hearts to the Great Dis-

penser of justice; it was a sight that might be placed in the moral records of sublimity.

The plans adopted for the defence of the city were these: Some of the barriers were defended by cannon. Officers with companies were detached to join the garrison at the bridge leading to Praga. Wagons were likewise sent to bring ammunition from that place.

Approaching the bridge the patriots found themselves opposed by a body of cavalry. This company were ignorant that the light infantry who had joined the patriots were near, and upon receiving a volley were thrown into momentary confusion. At this juncture, some detachment stationed in the Border street came up, and the cavalry was obliged to retire, after suffering considerable loss. Such are the details of the first twenty-four hours of the Polish revolution. Amid all the tumult consequent upon the outbreak, still the most admirable order prevailed, and the populace evinced none of the recklessness of life and property usually attendant upon these occasions. None were slain, nor severely treated without the greatest provocation having been given.

The windows of the houses were crowded with ladies who witnessed many of the deeds, and joyfully waved their handkerchiefs by way of encouragement. After the Russians were expelled, the order of the city was undisturbed; and the songs and shouts that rung the air, were the outpourings of grateful and patriotic hearts.

Poland was free! for a little time Poland was free! Alas! that it was of short duration. The prelude and opening of the struggle I have recounted; it were needless to follow, in succession, the vicissitudes of that memorable contest, in which might prevailed over right, and

the power of the oppressor again raised the standard of despotism. The force ordered against Poland was, at least, 200,000 men, and some 300 pieces of cannon — and to this she could only oppose some 32,000 infantry, about 13,200 cavalry, and 96 pieces of cannon.

Such an unequal contest would appear like madness, if the energy and enthusiasm of the Poles be not taken into consideration. Between the periods of February 10th and the 2d of March, thirteen sanguinary battles were fought, and many brisk skirmishes occurred.

But right and energy proved inefficient to subdue, when Russian bribes and Russian policy were brought to bear upon those whom a common principle should have united. The *free* countries of Europe passively witnessed the most unrighteous subjugation of a nation, whom their privileges and their progress had helped to stimulate. It needs no comment. But the day is approaching when the power of the East will be broken. Poland is not forever lost.

## CHAPTER XI.

In treating of the Polish revolution, I have alluded to the noblemen of an earlier period, and it may not be uninteresting to relate some particulars concerning them as individuals. Their characters aided largely in forming that of the nation, and the reverence with which their names are regarded, has powerfully operated in sustaining the honor and integrity of Poland's later patriots.

Boleslas the Great ascended the throne in 992, being then twenty-five years of age. Gregory the Fifth then filled the papal chair ; Hugh Capet had established himself in France ; Otho Third, and Basile Third, were the sovereigns of the East and West.

Boleslas was not an only son, and, in conformity to his father's will, was under the necessity of submitting to a partition of his kingdom. His co-heirs were, his brother Wladyboy, and a natural son of his step-mother. Boleslas soon discovered that they were not likely to add to the happiness of the kingdom, or to prove able coadjutors with himself, and he unhesitatingly expelled them from the kingdom. However weak and unfaithful they might be at home, they proved themselves annoying enemies abroad, and they sedulously sought to revenge themselves by instigating war against their country. They visited Germany, Bohemia, and Russia, endeavoring to raise allies in their cause.

Under such circumstances, it will readily be perceived, that Boleslas had numerous difficulties to surmount in the outset of his career, but his powers of mind were equal to the emergency. He formed and disciplined an army from a mass of men who were destitute of any idea of order or of military tactics.

He gathered about him the youth of the country, and himself exercised them in military performances, in order that they might serve as models for future troops.

Boleslas was *the* individual of an age, yet he was in advance of *his* age, both in thought and in action. His intuition served as experience, and he had glimpses of futurity which his course tended to make reality.

Boleslas Second, Duke of Bohemia, had given part of Silesia to Wladyboy, but still keeping possession of Cracow, appointing a governor to rule there subject to himself. At this period, Adalbert, Bishop of Prague, raised his crusade against the violence and abuses of the nobles, and fearlessly through Hungary and Krobatic preached the Christian faith. Some of his brother-workers met martyrdom; but Adalbert continued his labors, and at length came to Boleslas, who received him with much distinction, and mentioned Prussia as worthy of his efforts. Adalbert followed the advice thus given, and, accompanied by Gaudent and Radzyn, they proceeded to Dantzic under an escort; but there martyrdom awaited them. Adalbert was slain by idolaters. Boleslas caused his body to be brought and deposited at Gnezne. A hymn, composed by Adalbert in honor of the Virgin, has since been chanted in the churches, and was sung by the army of Boleslas before going to battle.

The Duke of Bohemia, Boleslas Second, died in 999, and Boleslas Third, who succeeded, at the very first proved

himself cruel and unprincipled. This determined Boleslas of Poland to make war upon his dominions. Without warning, he fell upon Cracow, took the town by assault, and put the garrison to the sword. This only led the way to further conquest, and he pursued his career as far as the Carpathian mountains: like Hannibal, he led his army over hitherto considered inaccessible heights, and from these pointed his men to the beautiful plains of Hungary below.

After his dominion was thoroughly established, his next step was toward rendering it splendid and permanent. For this purpose, he sent to request the Pope to crown him with all due religious ceremonies. This request was refused, for about the same time the Duke of Hungary preferred the same petition, accompanied by the offer of spiritual jurisdiction, whereas Boleslas wished nothing but papal sanction to his regal power.

Boleslas was crowned, but he dispensed with the Pope's sanction, and he could rule without it. Boleslas Third, Duke of Bohemia, still lived, and his cruelties spread terror through his circumscribed dominion; but by a climax in atrocity he became to his people, that they would bear no longer; he was driven away in disgrace, and Wladyboy was chosen to rule in his stead. Wladyboy did not long exercise his authority; he died a year after his accession. Boleslas had witnessed the elevation of his brother without jealousy and without anger. Yet his repeated acts of cruelty, and, at last, determined hostility against his benefactor, roused the vengeance of the King beyond control. Wladyboy was sentenced to have hot iron applied to his eyes, and afterward was cast into a dungeon, where he died a lingering and fearful death.

The day after the Duke's death, Boleslas entered

Prague, his troops, with little difficulty, conquered Bohemia, and soon all Moravia became dependent upon that crown. But Boleslas found a most annoying adversary in Henry of Austria, who was able, for a time, to gain a doubtful advantage over him. At one period, nearly all the states of Germany were in alliance against him. It now became important that he should obtain sanction of his royal dignity from the Pope, and for this purpose he resorted to indirect means.

There was a monastery in Great Poland called Kazimierr, and to this he resorted privately, and made a tender of immense sums to any monk who would undertake to visit Rome, with the plea of paying, what is called Peter's Tax, but with the real view of obtaining the Pope's countenance for the king. At first all the monks refused; but gold is mighty, and at last one was induced to assume the responsibility. Soon following, Boleslas set out on his return, but some of those who escorted him turned back to the monastery, in order to obtain the treasure that the king might have left behind. The monks were all murdered, with the exception of one who chanced to make his escape; and that one was the individual to whom the money had been entrusted. He succeeded so far as to commence his journey, but was arrested on the way and made prisoner.

Thus intercepted in his plans, Boleslas could only rely upon the contingencies of war; and after seven years of contest, during which he was mainly the conqueror, it was thought by all parties desirable that peace should be concluded.

Vladimir, Duke of Küow, died in 1815, and Boleslas now interfered in the affairs of Russia. The Duke had divided his estates between his twelve sons and this

arrangement soon proved the cause of dissensions among the heirs: the eventual result was all took up arms against the eldest brother, Sviatopolk. In order to escape their fury, he sought refuge in Poland. Boleslas still remembered the inroads of the Russians, in the time of his father, and he now availed himself of the opportunity for regaining the possessions. He rushed into a bloody but successful war. His troops ravaged the country, and Henry, becoming really intimidated, was the first to seek a peace. This settled matters with the Germans, but Russia still presented immense forces against him; yet in a little time this also was placed at his discretion, for his victorious army was actually in besiege of Küow. This city was not only strongly fortified, but was possessed of vast means for sustaining her population. The siege, however, was so long continued that it brought on a famine, which at last compelled the town to surrender. Nothing was removed but the treasures of the Dukes; the inhabitants suffered no molestation from the conquerors. But a conspiracy being formed by the Russians for the assassination of every unarmed Pole, Boleslas was so much enraged, that he gave up the city to be sacked.

Before reaching his own country, on his return, he had another bloody engagement with the Russians under the command of the intrepid Yaroslaf, but in this again he was victorious, and the enemy, astonished at his prowess, gave him the name of *Chrobry*, or valiant.

The last years of Boleslas's life were devoted to promoting the happiness of his people. His officers were directed to place beneath his own eyes the results of investigations of the magistrates who had jurisdiction in the different districts.

He formed a council of twelve men, of suitable age and

wisdom, whose duty it was to visit throughout the provinces, and to hear the complaints of peasants, to follow out the detail of their wants, and to watch with the utmost carefulness that all the laws should be scrupulously observed.

Yet Boleslas had one more desire to accomplish, and that was to obtain his coronation. We remember his vain attempt to gain the concurrence of the Pope. This failing, he resolved to render his own power the means of obtaining the end proposed. He summoned an assembly of his bishops, and, with imposing religious ceremonies, placed the crown upon his own brow.

This great man reigned twenty-five years, and died on third of April, 1025, deeply regretted by the nation which he had elevated—honored and respected even by those whom he had subdued.

The ancient town of Tarnow is crowded with associations of the powerful and warlike family of Tarnowski. Here the traveller reposes amid scenes of surpassing beauty, and the ruins of its once noble castle, awaken the remembrance of other days, when its lords, possessing almost kingly dignity, dispensed alike their justice and their favors. Alas! the broken fragments of the massive walls speak only of former grandeur, and attest but the universal truth of "passing away."

The pensive mind dwells with a melancholy pleasure upon these mementoes of a by-gone age. It recalls the feats of heroes whose bones lie mouldering in the soil below. It traces the gradual change of mental life, and contrasts the development of a present age with the highest advancement of the past; and in the retrospect, it recognizes the power of individual talent in every movement of

progression, and the influence of individual passion in every instance of suffering and decay.

John Tarnowski was born in the year 1488. He was the son of John Amos Castellan of Cracow, and from his earliest years gave promise of remarkable talent. His memory was astonishing, being able to recite hundreds of verses in succession without the slightest apparent failure.

At this period, few of the noble families resided in towns; they preferred living upon their estates, where they could best display their taste in adornment, and meet the demands of extensive and luxurious hospitality. In such a home passed the early years of Tarnowski, relieved by frequent residence at the Court of Drzewiecki, Bishop of Przemysl. When still very young, he was presented to the king, John Albert; but amidst the effeminacies of a Court, his taste forbid their influence, and he turned for companionship and instruction to the number of aged warriors whom circumstances placed within his reach. His ambition caused him to visit other countries. He passed through Syria, Palestine, the coast countries of Africa, thence to Germany, England, France, Italy, and Spain. At Portugal he was received by Emanuel with marked distinction, and was appointed to command a body of troops in a war against the Moors. In the ranks of Lusitania, Tarnowski acquired a relish for the manners of chivalry that never after was divested from him. He carried it to his northern home, and it impelled him to many hazardous undertakings.

In September, 1514, 33,000 Polish troops found themselves opposed to 80,000 Russians. Tarnowski, clad in the manner of a Castilian knight, advanced, and challenged any warrior among the Russians to single combat.

The commander-in-chief, an aged officer, reproved the bravado of the young aspirant, and advised him to dispense with the chivalric notions of the south, for they were unsuited to the northern discipline of Poland.

Nevertheless, the courage and daring of Tarnowski so influenced his companions, that they proclaimed him their chief, which appointment was subsequently confirmed by Sigismond himself.

The province of Pokehia was not long after invaded by the Palatine of Walancie, and, on receiving this information, Tarnowski marched with six thousand men against Walachia. He fortified himself at Oberstein, and although the enemy, numbering some fifty thousand, were encamped on the adjacent heights, he made the bold venture of attacking them. Tarnowski was the victor, and was honored by the king with a triumph.

Shortly following the defeat of the Wallachians, the Russians attempted the possession of Lithunia, and this people in their terror requested the king to give them Tarnowski as a leader. The request was complied with, and Tarnowski entered Wilna and assumed the command of the Lithunian army. He pursued the Russians as far as Starodoub, where the Regent and many of the nobles were strongly garrisoned. The walls were joined and supported by a bank of earth—these forming a secure defence against the power of artillery; but the Polish engineer fired the palisades by means of gunpowder and pitch, and soon the entire fortifications were in ashes. The fire spread into the town; terror and devastation were on every side; and thus menaced, the Regent and officers concluded to surrender at discretion.

We find Tarnowski equally great in council as in war. His policy was not that of the liberal of the present day,

but still he was greatly in advance of his age, and was a zealous promoter of the prosperity of the people.

His greatness excited much jealousy, and his enemies, with the Palatine of Cracow as their head, endeavored to bring disgrace upon his name, and particularly to detract from his influence with the king. Sigismond was easily swayed by his queen, a beautiful and haughty woman of Italian origin. She created dissensions, and tried to lower all who seemed to command the respect of the king and of the nation. But personal injuries could not make Tarnowski forget his loyalty; and when a band of 150,000 men, who, in compliance with Sigismond's orders, had assembled for the common defence, transformed themselves into mutineers, he was foremost in lending aid to sustain the king upon his throne.

After the death of Sigismond, Tarnowski was an invaluable friend and counsellor to the young king, in the agitating debates which succeeded the coronation.

Tarnowski was a zealous friend to science and to art. He endowed the college of Tarnow, and gave every encouragement to the labors of the learned. He died in 1561, universally beloved and respected for both his public and private virtues.

## CHAPTER XII.

John Sobieski was born in 1629. He belonged to a noble Polish family, and his education corresponded to his brilliant expectations: he learned not merely the theory of war, but became familiar with the languages, history, politics and philosophy. When he had scarcely arrived at the age of sixteen, he set out on his travels, accompanied by his brother Mark. He became the pupil and friend of Conde, in France, studied law and the policy of princes, besides cultivating the arts, in Italy; and whilst in Constantinople, he carefully calculated the resources of the immense power with which he might yet be called to contend.

Not content with visiting these countries, he still purposed to continue his investigations, but an insurrection of the serfs, and likewise an invasion of the Tartars, called him home to aid in the defence of his own country. John Cassimir was then the elected king of Poland, and in his elevation the family of Sobieski had an important influence. The young hero was therefore looked upon with partial eyes, and his bravery soon won him, despite of his youth, a distinguished position in the army.

After this insurrection was put down, more powerful foes arose; Charles Gustavus of Sweden on one side, and the Muscovite Alexis on the other, threatened to ravage the entire country. These formidable adversaries were not to

be defeated; the Polish armies were conquered, Cassimir was driven from the throne, and for a time Poland ceased to be a nation.

At this early period of Sobieski's life, his genius displayed itself as if in full maturity; and with the most indefatigable perseverance he labored to restore his country to an individual position. There were fine hearts remaining—those that were true and brave; such never despaired, and through their exertions noble and peasant at length combined, and Cassimir was again placed upon the throne. Sobieski was appointed the principal agent in the government, and through him only could the death penalty be inflicted. It was with much joy that the Poles witnessed their favorite chief at the head, not only of the military, but the civil affairs of the country. He fully equalled their expectations in all the emergencies of the remainder of Cassimir's reign.

During the reign of Michael, Sobieski acted an equally important part. He triumphed over Cossack, Tartar, and Turk; but this success availed not to save the kingdom from disgrace, for the feeble-minded king consented to the most ignominious terms of peace. Sobieski retired in disgust, and the vilest aspersion of his character was the consequence. This soon called the intrepid patriot forth, and whilst silencing calumny, he effectually ruptured the disgraceful treaty.

Sobieski again appeared on the field, and his wonderful exploits excited and astonished Christendom. Michael soon after died, and this event summoned a meeting of the Diet for the purpose of electing a sovereign. The unanimous voice was, "Let a Pole reign over Poland!" and John Sobieski was called to the throne. He was now King of Poland, but his new dignity brought not repose

from toil. He was soon called upon to defend the country against the invasion of Mahomet, at the head of a formidable and well-trained force. Sobieski had not more than eight thousand men, and these were so situated, as to render the arrival of supplies somewhat uncertain. Nevertheless, he invested Lemberg, and calmly waited the event.

His situation was desperate, but he knew not despair. A heavy fall of snow, that was blown in the face of the foe, afforded the first opportunity for attack, and Sobieski sallied forth with his little band. They were roused to enthusiasm by his favorite cry, "*Christ forever!*"—the Infidels were routed—and the victory was considered *a miracle!* Yet this disaster did not deter the Turks from prosecuting their design. An army of 300,000 men was placed under the command of the Pasha of Damascus, and to oppose this mighty force Sobieski could only present about 10,000 men. With this comparatively small number he placed himself as advantageously as practicable, and sustained a bombardment through twenty days. The commander of the Moslems was confounded by this continued resistance, and admiration gradually merged in superstition, and he proposed terms of peace, but they were rejected by Sobieski.

The bombardment was recommenced, but Sobieski ordered the shells to be quickly gathered and sent back into the ranks of the enemy. The Turks, from this destructive process, supposed the Poles had received a reinforcement from the Tartars, and for forty-eight hours they ceased from action. What was their astonishment, when on the morning of the 14th of October, Sobieski, with his little band came forth from his intrenchments, and regularly drew up for battle. They immediately invested him with supernatural powers, and refused to contend longer with a *wiz-*

*ard king.* The Pacha dictated liberal terms of peace, which were immediately complied with.

A short peace followed the campaign, but during this Sobieski's life was harassed by political intrigues, instigated by his wife. From these, however, he was soon diverted by another war with the Turks. They penetrated into Hungary, and threatened the subjugation of Austria. The Pope was in dismay, and sent couriers to the Polish hero, to pray him to assist in saving the Church; also offering subsidies from Rome for his command. With these, when joined by the Austrian forces, Sobieski found himself at the head of about 70,000 troops, and this being a larger number than he had ever before commanded, he considered himself able to contend with all the infidel world.

A violation of national liberties had caused the Hungarians to revolt against Leopold, their king, who was also emperor of Germany, and to form an alliance with the Turks. Mahomet notified Leopold that the Austrian troops must be withdrawn from Hungary, as that country was now his ally. Leopold sought aid from Sobieski, who was rather disinclined to listen, but his queen turned a more favorable ear to the request. The king could not resist the artifice of his wife, who had her own reasons for advocating the measure; he promised to raise 48,000 troops for the assistance of Leopold; but a certain provision nearly deprived the emperor of his powerful ally. Sobieski refused to sign any treaty, unless the emperor would style him "His Majesty," and this acknowledgment of regal dignity Leopold for a time persisted in refusing. The necessity of the case at last induced him to yield, and John Sobieski united his present fortune, but not his destiny, with the arrogant but still servile monarch.

The Grand Vizier, with his army, marched along the

course of the Danube, and reached Vienna, having met but a feeble opposition. The cowardly Leopold retreated from town to town, and at length sought only his own safety, leaving his capital to be defended by his subjects. Vienna was well fortified; the Duke of Lorraine threw a part of his infantry into the city, and placed the remainder on an island in the Danube, north of the town. On the 8th of July the Turks began their attack upon the walls. By the 1st of August they had effected a considerable breach; the suburbs were in their possession, but still the garrison defended itself bravely.

It had been represented in France that Sobieski had become too unwieldly and decrepid to take his place at the head of an army. Great was the astonishment, therefore, when he commenced his march, and on the 15th of September reached the summit of the mountains that overlook the capital of Austria. The Turkish commander could scarcely believe his eyes, when he beheld the glittering lances of the Poles, as he was not aware that the *wizard king* was again in action.

As the king descended the mountain, the shouts of his army bore to the Moslem ranks the terrifying name of Sobieski. The contest was of the most obstinate kind, and by five o'clock Sobieski had relinquished all hope of success for that day, but observing Mustapha calmly taking his coffee in a tent, he was so enraged by this contemptuous coolness, that he resolved upon a general assault. The shock was dreadful; the terror inspired by the name of Sobieski, the valor of the Poles, but more than all, the providence of God, decided the victory. In one hour's time, Sobieski was in possession of the enemy's camp. The next day he entered Vienna, and was received with the

warmest expressions of gratitude, and the greatest demonstrations of joy.

All Christendom rejoiced; Protestants and Catholics, forgetting minor differences, united in the general thanksgiving for their rescue from Moslem power.

But notwithstanding the general joy, Sobieski was miserable. Poland was racked by divisions within itself, and new discontents were daily occasioned by the want of union in its councils. The intrigues of the queen embittered the State, and thus harassed, the king resolved to divest himself of royal dignity and retire to private life. No sooner was this become known, than dissensions were quelled, and even his enemies joined in the petition that he should continue to be their sovereign. He remained king, but it was merely nominal. Sick of public life, he wandered from one place to another, at one time dwelling in a tent, at another sojourning in a castle. The world no longer offered consolation, and in his weariness he turned inward to religion and philosophy. His death was occasioned by an over-dose of mercury, intended by himself to relieve his suffering, but which prostrated beyond all power of rallying. He died on the 17th of June, 1696.

## CHAPTER XIII.

THE records of history do not present a fairer name than that of Thaddeus Kosciuszko. A real hero, an unswerving patriot, and still more, an HONEST MAN, he stands before the world, a beacon to all classes, and an object of reverence to all nations.

Kosciuszko belonged to a noble Lithuanian family, and was born at Warsaw in 1756. He was placed at the school of Cadets in that city, and his industry and proficiency so won the admiration of Prince Czartoryiski that he promoted him in the corps of Cadets, and at his own expense sent him to France, where he pursued his military studies with much profit. On his return he was made captain, but an unhappy circumstance of a private nature rendered it necessary for him to leave Poland.

Previous to his coming to America his mind had been prepared by the study of history and by reflecting upon its various incidents, as also by the discipline of Mathematics, to take part in the struggle for freedom in which America was then engaged. He became the aid of Washington, and won distinction on many occasions. A number of distinguished Frenchmen were serving at that time in the American war, and among these were La Fayette and Lameth. By these men he was highly esteemed, and he was eulogized by Franklin, and received the public thanks of Congress. He was made General, and returned to Poland in 1786.

The Polish army was organized in 1789, and Kosciuszko was appointed major-general by the Diet. In 1791 he served under Prince Joseph Poniatowski, and during this campaign his name became generally known in Europe. In the following year he still further distinguished himself against the Russians, performing some of the most hazardous, but successful exploits. Stanislaus eventually submitted to Catharine, and Kosciuszko retired from service and consequently was obliged to leave Poland. In a state of discouragement he retired to Leipsic, but soon after heard the pleasing intelligence that the Assembly of France had conferred upon him the rights of a French citizen.

The oppression of Russia so roused the spirit of some of the more daring Poles, that they determined upon a desperate effort to free themselves from subjection. The plan was devised in Warsaw by the friends of Kosciuszko, and with one voice he was selected as their leader. In obedience to their call he repaired to Warsaw. When he had fully acquainted himself with the proposed movement, he imparted the project to some well-known patriots, who objected to countenance it, considering the plan an injudicious one. Kosciuszko, however, would not be deterred, but went himself to the frontier and dispatched two approved generals into the Russian provinces of Poland to make preparations for the outbreak. But owing to misunderstanding or to mismanagement, the insurrection broke out before the period determined on.

The sound to arms was immediate. Cracow was strongly garrisoned by the Russians, but these were expelled, and on the 24th of March Kosciuszko entered the city in triumph. However, he remained only long enough to publish a manifesto, and then with 5000 men he marched forth to encounter the enemy. At Wraclawice he met the Russians,

twelve thousand strong; he routed these and turned back to Cracow. The popular ferment had by this time risen nearly to fury; the garrisons at Warsaw and Wilna had been all massacred or made prisoners. Kosciuszko checked, so far as possible, the general tumult, and endeavored to secure order by organizing the government of Warsaw. He sent troops against different stations, and early in June, at the head of 13,000 men, he marched out and attacked the enemy at Szcnekociny. In this battle the Russians gained the advantage, and Kosciuszko was obliged to retreat. Once more in the capital, he was enabled to defend himself against the frequently repeated attacks.

Just at this juncture, the battle of Chelm was lost by the Poles, and Cracow was basely delivered to the Russians by the governor. Under these trying circumstances Kosciuszko manifested the most admirable composure and promptitude. The difficulties were increased by the king of Prussia, who, coöperating with the Russians, laid siege to Warsaw in July. Kosciuszko kept them at bay, and after a two months' defence, was finally able to repel them. The Prussian King raised the siege, and the confidence now placed in Kosciuszko was without limit, and well was it deserved. His every power was devoted to his country. Cincinnatus-like, he labored in his position, until supposing peace to be secured, he tendered to the national council his resignation of the command that had been delegated to him.

This state of things did not long continue. Austria, in concert with the other powers, raised her standard against Poland. Kosciuszko left Warsaw in command of about 21,000 men, and was attacked at Macieiowice by the enemy, numbering about 63,000. The battle was dreadful;

the confederates were repulsed three times, but the fourth attack broke through the lines of the Poles. Kosciuszko fell from his horse and was left for dead upon the field. He was found by some Cossacks, who recognized him, and he was conveyed to St. Petersburg, where the infamous Catharine caused him to be immured in a dungeon.

The heroic Poles continued their desperate struggle under Wawrzecki, but at length Warsaw was wrested from them, and another calamity followed close in succession, and on the 18th of November the Polish army was dissolved.

Kosciuszko was confined two years in prison. On the death of Catharine and the accession of Paul, he was immediately liberated, and many marks of esteem were tendered him by the emperor, but he declined them all, and seemed anxious to leave the Russian dominions. He passed some time in England, thence visited the United States, and in 1798 returned to Europe. He spent the greater part of his remaining days in France, and mostly in retirement. In 1814, when the Russians had penetrated into France, and were approaching Paris, it was with astonishment that they discovered Kosciuszko in that part of the country. The Russian army was engaged in plundering the commune in which he resided, and he recognized a regiment of Poles among the troops. Mortified and indignant, he rushed towards the officers and boldly reproached them for the barbarous proceeding. "Who are you, that you dare to speak to us?" was the angry question. "I am Kosciuszko!"—the arms of the soldiers were immediately cast down, they threw themselves at his feet and prayed his forgiveness for the outrage they had committed.

Kosciuszko could never be induced again to enter

Poland. He afterward travelled with a friend to Italy, and in 1816 settled at Soleure ; the next year he freed all his serfs, executing a deed which should secure the full performance of his intention. His death occurred in October, 1817, and was caused by a fall with his horse, from a precipice. His remains were removed to Poland, and placed in the Cathedral of Cracow, between those of John Sobieski and Joseph Poniatowski.*

* Through the kindness of Professor Mapes, the writer has been favored with an introduction to Mrs. Evans, daughter of the late Lieut. General White, at whose house Kosciuszko was domesticated during much of the time of his sojourn in America. General White resided in New Brunswick, N. J., and the family seat is still occupied by Mrs. Evans, the little Eliza, to whom Kosciuszko refers in some of his communications. This estimable lady generously afforded me many minute particulars, a few of which I will note for the interest of my readers.

She describes Kosciuszko as having been small in stature, thin and pale in countenance, and of a quiet and apparently reserved demeanor. He usually wore a handkerchief bandaged across his forehead, in order to conceal a deep scar caused by a gash received in battle. He had also been wounded in the leg, which so lamed him as to render the aid of crutches necessary in walking. He was simple and unostentatious in his habits, unwilling to be made the object of special attention, and carefully avoided neighborhood notoriety. He pertinaciously resisted any attempts to obtain his likeness, and one day perceiving a lady stealthily endeavoring to sketch his features whilst he was lying upon a sofa, he immediately threw a handkerchief over his face. He was always attended by his own servant, who had accompanied him from Europe, and catered to his taste and ministered to his fancies after their own fashion. He remained in the hospitable family of Gen. White for many months, during this time making occasional trips to Philadel

phia. His friend and confidant, Julian Ursin Niemcewicz, who had also been imprisoned at St. Petersburg, now shared with him the kindness of the Whites in America. The following are transcripts of letters written by them from Philadelphia;—they are interesting merely as being relics of two noble spirits that have passed away:

*Phil., January 26th,* 1798.

To Mrs. White,

New Brunswick.

I cannot rest, Madam, before I obtain your pardon, in full extent and force, for the trouble I gave during my stay at your house. The uneasiness hangs upon my mind, and my feelings suffer greatly. I was perhaps the cause of depriving you of a pastime more suited to your inclination or satisfaction than with me. You never were out on a visit, you were pleased to inquire every day what I liked or disliked, every wish was complied with, every thought was presented to make my situation more comfortable and agreeable. Let me read in your answer forgiveness, and I beg Eliza to solicit for me. I am too much indebted to express in words corresponding to my obligation and gratitude. Let it suffice that I will never forget, neither will thy memory cease for a moment in my breast. May the gods of health, wealth, content, and happiness attend you the whole of your life.

With respect and esteem, and sincere friendship, if you will allow me,

Madame,

Your humble and obedient servant,

T. KOSCIUSZKO.

*Phil., Oct. 24th,* 1798.

To General White,

N. Brunswick, N. J

Dear General:

I wrote a week ago to Mrs. White, but am afraid she has not received it.

I write you these few lines in order to inform you that on Saturday next General Pinckney will pass through New Brunswick on his way to Trenton, and I thought you and Colonel Bayard, and other citizens of Brunswick who will be glad to see him, and I took the liberty to give you this notice of it.

With my best respects to Mrs. White, Miss Ellis, Col. Bayard, and Patterson family,

Your affectionate and
obedient servant,
J. NIEMCEWICZ.

Whilst in America Kosciuszko was the subject of repeated attentions from the Court of St. Petersburg; large parcels arrived containing valuable presents, but these he invariably refused to have opened, and directed their immediate return.

His final departure from this country was conducted with the strictest secrecy, not even his most intimate friends being made acquainted with his intention. His favorite attendant was not aware he had gone until finding the crutches which Kosciuszko had left behind, at his last stopping-place in Philadelphia. The man was greatly distressed at the seeming want of confidence manifested towards him by the master whom he had so faithfully served.

## CHAPTER XIV.

Julian Ursin Niemcewicz, the friend and companion of Kosciuszko, Secretary of the kingdom of Poland, the statesman, historian, and poet, was born in the year 1758. His varied talents and rare acquirements, attracted notice and admiration, whilst he was still at an early period of youth. He continued with succeeding years to win his way to eminence, and in 1788 was elected to the Diet as representative of the Palatinate of Polish Livonia.

Here his talents were put in full requisition. The council was torn by the intrigues of faction, the people were obstinate and turbulent, and much danger was apprehended from enemies abroad. But Niemcewicz was equal to the task. He sustained his liberal views with an eloquence that silenced opposition, and caused the haughty aristocrats to quail beneath his withering indignation at their abuse of privilege.

He lent all his energies to the cause of liberty, and, not content with speeches in the Diet, he, in connection with two of his patriotic friends, established a political journal, devoted entirely to the propagation of liberal principles; and, although this paper was of short duration, it served materially to advance the popular cause. His poetical powers were also called into full exercise, and his heroic verse wakened the dormant spirit in the breasts of many of his countrymen. The stage also was made to forward

his favorite project. The comedy of the "Return of the Representative," was a clear exposition, not only of his talents, but also of his principles. The drama of "Casimir the Great" presented many startling views, and was adorned with sentiments of the truest patriotism.

When the immortal Kosciuszko appeared as the champion of his country's rights, Niemcewicz was also upon the ground, and became aid-de-camp to the great commander. He dictated all proclamations, bulletins for battles, orders of the day, etc.

He likewise was imprisoned at St. Petersburg, after the fall of Poland, but was released upon the accession of Paul, and subsequently followed his illustrious friend to America. Desirous of again meeting his family, in 1809 he returned to Warsaw, but again sought America, and there married an American lady, to whom, in his former visit, he had become warmly attached.

After the Grand Duchy of Warsaw came into existence, the Poles, once more, anticipated the restoration of their country, and many of her ardent friends returned into her bosom; amongst these was Niemcewicz, and, being appointed Secretary of State, he accepted the position, and remained in it until the events of 1830. During this period, literature, particularly poetry, formed the relaxation of his private hours.

After the revolution of 1830, he went to England, where he lived for a time in a retired manner in London: he journeyed thence to Paris, and there remained until the close of his useful and honorable career. His death occurred in 1841, and the last tribute of respect was paid by numbers of Polish, English, and American residents, joined to a large class of the higher order of French citizens.

We subjoin some specimens of Niemcewicz's productions, as they are not in general circulation. The following poem is addressed to an old and esteemed friend, and has reference mainly to matters pertaining to America.

"With my wounded commander, compelled to depart,
From thee, oppressed Poland, the pride of my heart;
An asylum I sought, o'er the dark rolling sea,—
In the land of the noble, the brave and the free;
But e'en there, the sad thought of my country would rise,
And the tears of deep anguish would roll from my eyes.

"In boundless savannahs, where man never strayed,
Amid woods, that ne'er echoed the axe's keen blade,
In the foaming abyss, where the clouds of bright steam
Round the falls of the roaring Niagara gleam;
And on the deep sea, when the white sails are spread,
Lo! the shade of my country—all gory and dead!

"Full of bliss to my heart is the thought of that day
When to Washington's mansion I wended my way,
To visit the warrior, the hero, and sage,
Whose name is the day-star to each coming age;
By his valor the new world rose happy and free,
And her glory his endless memento shall be.

"His features are still on my memory defined,
With the fadeless and delicate colors of mind;
Full noble, majestic, with crown of swan-hair,
And a brow deeply writ with the finger of care:
Old Roman simplicity marked his fine face,
Expressive of dignity, grandeur and grace.

"When an exile from home, with deep sorrow oppressed,
In the new world a pilgrim, unknown and unblessed,
With no light to illumine the shadows that spread
Like the gloom of the sepulchre over my head—

My lonely condition made woman's bright eye
Mould the beautiful tear-drop of sweet sympathy.

"But the feelings of pity were soon changed to love,
That bright seraph of mercy bequeathed from above!
With the gift of her fond heart she sweetened my woe,
Making hope's dying embers with sweet brightness glow;
Since then my neat cottage, the meadow, parterre—
Rich pleasures of freedom!—have been my sole care.

"Far away from the crowd of the giddy and vain,
From the thraldom of tyrants, the rude and profane—
From the folly of idlers, that cumber the earth,
Wasting life's precious reason in profitless mirth,
Ambition and avarice disturb not the breast,
While hope points the soul to the realms of the blest.

"So pure were the joys, and so peaceful the life,
That I shared with my lovely and beautiful wife,
I might have been happy, could man but forget
When his country with deadliest foes is beset;
But too oft the sad thoughts would convey me away,
In the stillness of midnight, the bustle of day,
Through the foam-crested waves of the dark-rolling sea,
To thee, distressed Poland, once peaceful and free!"

The other selection is of a different character, and alludes to Glinski, an apostate chief of the sixteenth century. The measure is unlike the preceding, and the movement somewhat less smooth and mellifluous.

"In a dark, dreary dungeon, where the beam,
The gladdening beam of sunlight never shone,—
Where from the dismal roof its little stream
Of twilight pour'd a pendant lamp,—alone
And conscience-tortured, sat, misery bound,
Glinski—in victory and in crime renown'd.

"His forehead, years and grief had furrowed o'er
His gray hair hung disordered on his brow;
His bloody sockets saw the light no more:
Plough'd were his wasted cheeks with scars and woe.
He sat, and leaned upon his hand: his groans
Were echoed by the dungeon's stones.

"With him his only child, his daughter fair,
A very gem of virtue, grace, and youth:
She left the smiling world and the free air
Her miserable father's woes to soothe—
Pleased in that fearful solitude to stay,
While life's young bloom fled silently away.

"'Father! I pray thee by these tender years,'
So spake the maid, 'be comforted, and chase
Despair; though chains hang heavy on thy years,
Yet hope deserts not e'en this desert place;
Time yet may smile upon thee; thou may'st rest
Thy gray old age upon thy country's breast'

"'My country! breathe not that dread name to me,
For crimes rush down upon my tortured thought,
And wakened conscience gnaws the memory,
And gentle sleep these eyes will visit not.
Did I not head her foes?—and can the name
Of traitor but be linked to death and shame?

"'All that can raise a man above mankind—
All that is good and great in war or peace—
Power, riches, beauty, courage, strength of mind,—
Yes! nature gave me these, and more than these;
I wanted nought but laurels—which I found—
And glory's trophies wreathed my temples round.

"'The locust-swarming hosts of Tartars broke
Upon Lithunia and Volhynia's land,
Plundering, destroying. Their terrific yoke

Spared neither age nor sex; their fiery brand
Of desolation swept the country o'er,—
Children and mothers drowned in father's gore.

"'I sought the invaders' ravage to withstand,
Proud of their strength, in wide-spread camps they lay;
But they were scattered by my victor-hand.
The misty eve looked on the battle fray,
While corpses on the Niemen's waters rode,
And Infidel blood the thirsty fields o'erflowed.

"'When Alexander on his dying bed
Lay, mourned by all his children-subjects, came
The news that the defeated Tartars fled,
Upon his clouded brow joy's holy flame
Kindled sweet peace: "Now let me die,
For I bequeath to Poland victory!"

"'My deeds, my monarch's praises, warmed my breast,
And love of daring violence grew. The fame
Of Zabrzezynki oft disturbed my rest;
I—a most foul and midnight murderer—came
And butchered all in sleep. My Poles rebelled:—
I joined with Poland's foes, by rage impelled.

"'I looked upon a battle-field; I saw
Many a well-known corpse among the dead.
Then did fierce agony my bosom gnaw,—
Then burning tears of conscious guilt were shed;
And I implored forgiveness from my king—
Forgiveness for a vile and outcast thing.

"'I told my penitent tale. My foes had wrought
Upon the Czar, and roused him to distrust.
He met indignantly my honest thought,
Dashed my awakening virtue to the dust,
Bid them tear out my eyes, and bind me here
In galling fetters to this dungeon drear.

"'Ten years have passed, and yet I live. The sun
And the gay stars shine on, but not for me;
Darkness and torments with my being run;
My strength decays, my blood flows freezingly
Through my chill'd veins, and death—not gentle death—
Lays its hand upon my weakening breath.

"'Yet a few days—this corpse, my grief's remains,—
Will ask a handful of unfriendly earth;
Leave, then, my child! these foul and foreign plains,
Blest who can claim the country of his birth;
The Poles forgive—and thou shalt be forgiven.
My child, be blest, and I be left to Heaven!

"'Yes! thou shalt see thy country, and its smile
Shall chase the memory of these gloomy days;
Thy father's princely hall shall greet thee; while
Thy thought o'er long-departed glory strays;
Thy friends, thy countrymen, shall welcome thee—
Give thee their love—but pour their curse on me.

"'Yet e'en my death may hallow'd thoughts inspire:
From this scathed trunk may wisdom's blossoms grow;
My history shall check revengeful ire—
None other Pole shall join his country's foe.
Why should a traitor live?—when he hath bound
His veiled and sorrowing country to the ground.'

"Thus spake the miserable man. A groan—
A dark and hollow groan the dungeon filled:—
On her pale breast his snow-white head was thrown—
Death's shade o'ershadowed it—and all was still'd.
So died the mighty Glinski;—better lot
Might have been his, but he deserved it not."

## CHAPTER XV.

The name of Joseph Poniatowski is familiar alike to French and Polish ears, and by both nations is he equally honored.

Poniatowski claims Warsaw as his native place, where he was born in the year 1763. He figured in the unsuccessful struggles of 1792 and '94, and subsequently attached himself to the French service, in which he continued to distinguish his name until 1814. He commanded a corps in 1813, composed of French and Polish soldiers, which was always stationed as an advance guard. In order to bind him more closely to the interests of France, Napoleon appointed him a marshal of the Empire.

Arranging for the retreat from Leipsic, the Emperor gave his final orders to each chief in succession. Poniatowski stated that out of the eight thousand men he had commanded he had but a remaining eight hundred. "Well, then," replied the Emperor, "it is to you and yours, Prince Poniatowski, that I leave the duty of covering my retreat —eight hundred heroes are worth eight thousand men." Faithful to their orders, this brave body accomplished their perilous duty.

Poniatowski, on receiving his orders, went directly to the faubourg, and commanding the troops to shorten their ranks, he delivered the message of Napoleon to them. Just at this moment the alarm was spread of a fresh attack

by the enemy ; " The allies are marching towards the town," was hurriedly passed from mouth to mouth, and all felt that the hour of peril had indeed arrived.

The Emperor and Murat bade adieu to Frederick Augustus, and passing Poniatowski, they reached the gate of Halle. By this time the havoc had become terrific ; the bridge was blown up, and the trees were scattered in every direction. Yet no disorder pervaded this little body of devoted men. There were now two rivers to be passed, and without bridges ; but there was no quailing, no thought of attempting to desert their desperate undertaking. At length the advice was hazarded, for " the General to reserve himself for future service,"—" to follow the example of the Saxon army." The reply of Poniatowski was worthy of his nature—" God has confided to me the honor of the Polanders—it is to Him only I will return it." As the enemy gained upon them, he drew his sword, and animated his soldiers by his example, urging them to die rather than yield.

The ranks of the dead before them served as a kind of protection, and from behind they poured an incessant fire upon the allies. They repelled the attack of bayonet in a manner that fairly astonished the opposing commanders. During a whole hour they continued the contest when destitute of cartridges, and, in fact, whilst almost entirely unarmed. But such efforts could not but terminate. Poniatowski threw himself upon a horse and plunged into the Pleisse ; his horse struggled for a little, and then sank beneath the waves. The Prince was rescued by his devoted aid-de-camp, and they both succeeded in reaching the bank ; then crossing a meadow, they arrived at the Elster. Here a new horse was given to Poniatowski, and again he dashed into the water. All effort to save was this time

unavailing; both rider and horse went down, and Poniatowski was lost to Poland and the world.

The body was afterward recovered, and found its last resting-place at Cracow, near the ashes of Sobieski.

## CHAPTER XVI.

The geography and statistics of Russia have never been satisfactorily recorded. Except, perhaps, some of the estimates made, at great pains, within our own time, there are no available documents of that description extant; at least, none that can safely be relied upon. Systematic inquiry into the resources of the empire may be said to have first been instituted by Catharine II., and although the inquiries have been continued under each successive reign with increased energy, the results are still unsatisfactory. The clergy, who furnished the substance of the greater part of the returns, were comparatively ignorant; it is not, therefore, very surprising that their statements may not be considered reliable.

The magnitude of the empire presents one difficulty; the jealousy of the petty authorities another; and the monkish character of the imperial despotism a third. The great variety of nations or tribes embraced within the circle of Russia presents an aspect quite unexampled in the history of any other country. It would naturally follow, that where people are united under one government, and habitually drawn together by the same interests and pursuits, they should eventually assimilate and present the appearance of one body. Such, however, is not the case in Russia. There are many different nations, and each retains its own distinctive features in society and religion, one

never intermixing with the other, except for governmental purposes. The origin of the people who originally settled Russia has long been a question, or, rather, a series of questions, upon which history has shed little light; but this much is known—from the earliest data it has been noted for its barbarism, tyranny, and cruelty.

Prior to the accession of Peter the Great, he, like other royal princes, was persecuted, and was often within a hair's-breadth of losing his life. His half-brother was disqualified for reigning, long continued physical suffering having reduced him nearly to a state of idiocy. His half-sister, Sophia, used every art, suggested by her demon mind, to obtain possession of the throne. She called to her aid the brutal services of the Strelitz, an order of persons in the pay of the government, and with their assistance persecuted the unfortunate mother of Peter until she was compelled to leave the capital, carrying, it is said, the boy in her arms. In this manner she traveled a distance of sixty versts, (a verst is three-quarters of a mile) but the ferocious Strelitz tracked her footsteps and followed close on her path. Her strength at length began to give out, and her pursuers were gaining rapidly upon her. She could distinctly hear their yells and the tramp of their approaching feet; her heart trembled with horror, and in a state of desperation she rushed into a convent, to seek, as a last resort, the shelter of the sanctuary.

The Strelitz, uttering cries of savage triumph, were close upon her, and the despairing mother had barely time to reach the foot of the altar and place her child upon it, when two of the murderous band came up; one of them, seizing the young prince, drew his sword and was about to sever the child's head from its body, when the sound of approaching horsemen was heard from without. The ruf-

fian hesitated, and his fellow murderers in the church were struck with consternation, and in their dismay they abandoned their prey and fled, and Peter the Great was preserved to Russia.

The immediate result of these violent efforts of the Strelitz, was the declaration of the sovereignty in the name of Ivan. That prince, however, trembled at the idea of the responsibility thus thrust upon him, and knowing himself to be inadequate to the trust, he earnestly entreated his friends and counsellors to permit his half-brother Peter to be associated with him. The reasonableness of this request could not be denied, and consequently it could not be refused. By the consent of all parties, on the 6th of May, 1681, the coronation of Ivan and Peter was conducted in due form, Sophia being appointed regent, on account of the imbecility of the one and the youth of the other brother.

Sophia was now really in possession of the power she had so long coveted, but she yet desired to have that power formally recognized and publicly acknowledged. In order to exclude Peter from any future lien upon the throne, she planned and effected the marriage of Ivan, trusting to the issue to present an insurmountable barrier to the claims of the young prince, whose dawning genius, even at that early age, she appeared to dread. But this was not the only means resorted to by the daring Sophia, to crush the pretensions of Peter. She resolved not only to place impediments in his way, but, if possible, to render him incapable of reigning, should his succession become indisputable. With this view, she banished him in his early boyhood to an obscure village, where he was compelled to associate with low companions, by whose example she hoped his heart would be corrupted and his intellect debased.

General Menzies, an educated Scotchman, had been appointed by Alexis, the father of Peter, to superintend his education; but this man refusing to join the intrigues of the princess, was removed from his situation, and his pupil was consigned to the seclusion appointed by Sophia, and kept in entire ignorance of those duties and acquirements that were essential to his prospective station.

Through his early youth, his companions were of that class whose immoral habits and vulgar associations were only calculated to injure his constitution and pervert the vigor of his intellect. Youths who had been driven from respectable society by their excesses, were, by the princess Sophia, provided with means for their support, and placed about the person of Peter, with the vain hope of entirely debasing him by associating him in their degrading sensualities. But the development of natural talent could not be restrained. Peter became the leader, and not the follower, of those with whom he was associated. His genius was characteristically developed in the manner by which his influence was exercised upon his young friends. Much time was, of course, spent in profligate amusements, but the military spirit of the young Czar soon gave a nobler direction to their energies.

He formed his companions into a mimic corps of soldiery, in which each individual was obliged to pass through the regular gradation of service, himself setting the example of discipline by entering the ranks as drummer. After serving a specified time in that capacity, he became a private soldier, next an officer, and lastly, when fully qualified by experience, the commander of the amateur regiment.

This present regularity proved to be not merely the mockery of sport, but the well-directed practice of minds and bodies, destined to carry into actual service the ac-

quirements gained as the amusement of idle hours. Peter erected fortifications, and for forming intrenchments wheeled the earth in a barrow made by his own hands. The village became a military school, and the little band was an army of embryo heroes, moulded by necessity, directed by an intellect whose power even christendom does not question.

This boy-military force soon found itself confined within a too narrow space; it gradually extended itself, and soon occupied a portion of the adjacent neighborhood. Peter now became aware of the necessity of understanding the different languages of the country, and successfully applied himself to their acquirement. His own unaided genius rendered the feeble means afforded him available, and he also made considerable progress in mathematics, and whilst Sophia supposed him occupied with low pursuits and vulgar amusements, he was gradually preparing for his after noble career of power and usefulness. Nor was he alone in this improvement; his companions shared the benefit, and were all more or less elevated by his instructions and example.

Accounts of these proceedings at length reached the capital, but they excited merely derision, and the military display of the youthful band was considered as only the frolics of idle boys. The profound and varied pursuits of Peter were unknown, consequently no uneasiness was occasioned by his miniature parade. However, on the approach of manhood, his friends began to urge him to claim his seat in the senate, which eventually he did, and beginning to understand the machinations of Sophia, he set himself about circumventing her designs. At the age of seventeen he married a Russian lady, the daughter of

Colonel Capuchin. This measure, so bold and unsuspected, awakened Sophia to the real character of Peter.

Two years previous she had caused her image to be stamped upon the coin in connection with that of Ivan; but Peter's appearance in the senate and his subsequent decided measures, now caused her to tremble at her own temerity; but indefatigable in perseverance, she at last resolved upon a desperate effort for the preservation of her power.

Peter was rapidly gaining ground in popular favor. His genius had made itself apparent, and several bitter disputes had occurred in the senate between him and Sophia, in which she perceived that the majority of that body coincided with the views of the Czar. She therefore thought it necessary to lose no time by delaying to strike the contemplated blow.

The Strelitz, as before, were employed as the instruments of her vengeance. Under the cover of night, several hundreds of this body were despatched to the residence of Peter for the purpose of assassinating him. But he, being forewarned by friends, had retired to the monastery of the Holy Trinity, a place so often made the refuge of the Czars. There he called about him his personal friends and members of the senate, and advising with them, declared his intention of opposing the rage of woman by the strong arm of power, at the same time demanding their adherence and support. The call was promptly responded to, and soon a large number of the nobility and most of the army deserted Sophia and declared for Peter. The Strelitz, who (like all men of degraded character) possessed no real courage, shrunk from further effort so soon as danger threatened them.

Sophia finding herself abandoned by her accomplices and

servants, now changed her tactics and attempted to gain by flattery what she had failed to secure by fraud and violence. She appointed individuals to mediate between herself and Peter, proposing to bring their dispute to an amicable adjustment, and desiring to make some specific arrangement for her future mode of life.

But Peter had now the power in his own hands; he refused to accede to any terms of reconciliation, and insisted upon her entire abandonment of all authority. He represented the baseness of his sister's conduct to the commissioners who had been appointed to treat with him, and so influenced them that they resigned their trust and espoused his cause.

In this emergency, Sophia determined to try the effect of her personal presence. She was a woman possessing much physical beauty, and to a display of this she trusted to regain her influence over the soldiery. But in this, again, she was outwitted. She set out from Moscow escorted by soldiery, but on the way was met by an embassy from Peter, demanding the surrender of Scheglovitoi, the commander of the Strelitz, also the immediate banishment of Galitzin, the crafty minister of her intrigues, and requiring, besides, her full and entire resignation of all right or claim to the throne of Russia.

These conditions, hard as they were, Sophia was not in a position to refuse. She was deserted on all sides, and, for the first, realized that she had pursued a phantom that always vanished whenever she stretched forth her hand to grasp it. She acceded, and the commander of the Strelitz was beheaded; Galitzin and family were banished to the vicinity of Archangel, where they were allowed the daily sum of three kopecks (the value of three cents) each, for

their support. Sophia was compelled to shave her head and retire to a nunnery for life.

Great numbers of the Strelitz were put to death in the most cruel manner of the age—cruel, but yet a just retribution for their many acts of violence and murder.

## CHAPTER XVII.

Peter was now sole Sovereign of Russia ; for, although Ivan still lived, he was only nominally associated in the government. Immediately after the execution of the infamous Strelitz, Peter issued a proclamation, in which he declared that the name of Sophia should no longer be mentioned as Regent, or in any manner as connected with governmental matters, and at the same time directed her image should be struck from the coin of the country. Her personal favorites and servants were dismissed from all offices of state, and the young Czar reigned supreme.

From this period dates the era of Russia's prosperity. My object is not to give an historical detail, but simply to glance at the incidents which have been transpiring in that country during the past two centuries. The name of "Peter the Great" is connected with the general history of Europe. Previous to his time, the usages of civilization had acquired no permanent hold in Russia, their introduction depending merely upon accidental circumstances, and not upon any systematic effort of the sovereigns to effect so desirable a result. Thus, Russia had been Asiatic under the Runicks, but developed a tendency to become European under the Romanoffs ; but customs and influences vacillated, and there appeared no basis on which to ground either change or progress. The trade of the country was not beneficially arranged. Romanoff opened

a commercial intercourse with England, France, and Persia. Alexis enlarged upon the plans of his predecessors, and sent an embassy into Spain—also to France and Holland—for the purpose of acquiring information with respect to agriculture and manufactures. He invited to Russia some foreign ship-carpenters and sailors, with the view to the navigation of the Volga to the Caspian. The special object of reaching the Caspian by water, was to secure a more rapid and certain means of communicating with Persia, on account of the silk trade, which was then assuming a degree of importance. The rebellious Radazin, who roamed at large in the neighborhood of Astrachan, had hitherto interrupted these designs, and he could more easily be defied on water than on land. Alexis also established a trade with China, exchanging the Siberian furs for Chinese silks, and stuffs of various kinds. About this time, the hemp, soap, potash, and coarse linens of Russia, began to form articles of export, and were received largely in Sweden, she transmitting large quantities of iron in return—iron not having, at that period, been discovered in Russia.

Some progress had been made in the formation of laws, and, although the statutes were deficient for strong moral purpose, not taking a comprehensive view of human contingencies, still they opened the way to a perception and applicability of system.

The domestic character of the people was higher than might have been expected. Education had scarcely touched the confines of the Empire, but the people seemed to have purified themselves, by some unconscious process, from much of the grossness that had formerly marked them. They had a vague sense of moral obligation; of the sacredness of a pledge; of the reciprocal responsi

bility of kindred; and of unlimited obedience to their spiritual rulers. These intuitions supplied to them the place of knowledge, for they were yet profoundly ignorant.

In this state of things, what was required but a master mind, whose native powers would perceive, and whose practical ability would mould the elements subjected to his control? and this mind was found in Peter. His first step was to improve the art of war; next, the advancement of naval tactics, himself becoming a partaker in the discipline of naval operations. He issued a proclamation, calling on the patriarchs, the clergy, the nobility, and the trading classes, to furnish contributions for the building of a certain number of vessels, whilst he should be engaged in the construction of others. The two first mentioned classes, possessing sufficient knowledge to perceive the tendency of these operations, began to feel apprehensive as to the result; their influence would be endangered, consequently secret operations were made to work against the policy of the Czar. Many of the nobility joined in these schemes, but the honest energy of Peter was not easily withstood. The priests he never paused to conciliate; he considered them a body subservient to the state, and kept them ignorant of his intentions, that rendered them of necessity obedient to his will. But, moulding the people was a more difficult task. Obtuse through ignorance, and brutalized by habitual slavery, they were slow to perceive the benefits of amelioration or advancement; and, though it was for them he labored, they neither acknowledged nor appreciated his efforts in their behalf. In this state of matters, but one course remained for him to pursue; he must compel them to receive the benefit they refused; and an opportunity soon presented itself to bring this resolution to bear.

The order of the Strelitz was not yet abolished : they still congregated in various parts, and still continued a body in the capital. Knowing that disaffection prevailed among the people, they conspired against the life of the Czar. The plan was this : the city was to be set on fire in a number of places, and when Peter, according as he was wont, should have thrown himself among the populace, to aid their efforts, the occasion should be used to assassinate him in the crowd ; then to massacre, so far as possible, the guard of soldiers, and afterwards hasten to relieve Sophia from her convent, and place her upon the throne.

The leaders and principal instigators of this infamous plot were Tsickler and Sukanim, two prominent members of the Strelitz. The appointed place of rendezvous was the residence of Sukanim ; and, on the night specified for the attempt, a number of the leagued assassins assembled there at a grand banquet, in order to fortify themselves by a preliminary revel for their contemplated act. Two of the party, however, lost their resolution, and the liquor they drank served only to stimulate their fears ; so, taking leave of their comrades, under plea of going home to sleep for a few hours, they left the house, hastened to the palace, and discovered to Peter the whole plot. The Czar instantly sent orders to the Captain of his Guard, to repair with his troops to Sukanim's house : they were to be silent in their movements, so that the revellers might not be warned, but be entrapped in their own net. In his haste and confusion, he unfortunately mentioned the hour as eleven instead of ten o'clock, and despatched the communication without being aware of his mistake. A few minutes after ten he went alone to the house, expecting to find it surrounded by soldiers. However, to his great

surprise, he found the doors open and unguarded, but, hearing a noise within, he supposed the soldiers had already entered, and he went forward to find himself, single and unarmed, in the midst of the desperate band who were at that moment uttering the last word of the oath by which they pledged themselves to his destruction.

The unexpected circumstance occasioned some temporary confusion, but Peter's admirable presence of mind did not forsake him. He saw at once the peril to which he was exposed, and, though much irritated at what, he supposed, the culpable neglect of his officers, he suppressed his emotions, and, advancing with a friendly air into the midst of the group, accosted them in terms of familiarity. He said, that observing a light in the house as he was passing, and hearing the sounds of revelry, he had entered to share in their amusements; and, begging he might not interrupt their enjoyment, he asked leave to seat himself with them at the table.

Accordingly, seating himself, he filled a glass, which he drained to their health with the most apparent confidence and good will. The assassins, cowed by his cordiality, could not avoid returning the courtesy. But this masquerade did not last long; a few more glasses drew out the spirit of the malcontents; they became impatient of their object, and soon began to consult each other by signs and significant looks, upon the necessity of falling upon Peter at once. He watched their motions narrowly, but without seeming to do so; and at last they became more explicit, and one of them, stooping over the table, uttered to Sukanim, in a low tone, "Brother, it is time." Sukanim, shrinking, it is possible, from his personal responsibility as master of the house, hesitated to reply; but Peter, who providentially heard the approaching footsteps of his guard,

rising suddenly from his seat, struck the traitor a blow upon his face, which prostrated him on the ground, at the same time crying,—"Not yet, villain; if it is not yet time for you, scoundrel, it is for me!" At that moment the soldiers entered, and the conspirators, overcome with dismay, fell upon their knees, and in the most abject manner craved for pardon.

The Czar was inexorable; and, ordering the soldiers to take them in charge, he turned to the Captain of the Guard and struck him a violent blow in the face, reproaching him with neglect of duty in not being at the place by the hour appointed. That officer, who was exact to the time, produced the written order; Peter perceived his error, and, always as prompt to atone for injury as to inflict punishment, he clasped the Captain in his arms, and kissing him on the forehead, declared him free from all censure, and committed the conspirators to his keeping. The officer was immediately promoted to a high rank.

The next morning the wretched culprits were executed. He first condemned them to the rack, and while suffering the agonies of that punishment, he further ordered their members to be slowly and successively mutilated, and life to be extinguished by a final process. After this was over, their heads were placed on the summit of a column, and this was surrounded by the mangled limbs, placed in most revolting regularity. The sight struck the people with horror. It was in consonance with the barbarous habits of the country, but exceeded in disgusting detail anything that even the Russians had ever before witnessed. The only palliation to be admitted, was the exigency of the occasion, the customs of the country, and the imperfect education of the Czar.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

We next find Peter in Sardam, a town of North Holland, a few miles northwest from Amsterdam, a place in which there are a great number of shipwrights. Here, under the name of Peter Zimmerman, he hired himself to a builder, for the purpose of acquiring more perfectly the art on which he hoped to found the future greatness of his empire. In this capacity he observed the most scrupulous punctuality; was at his work during all the prescribed hours in common with the other men; he labored hard and received his wages like the other workmen. With the revenue of an empire at his command, it is worthy of remark, that he lived exclusively upon the small stipend which he procured by his daily toil.

Through this period he still attended to the cares of government, and from his lowly home at Sardam he issued instructions to his officials that guided safely the mighty country of which he was sovereign. After remaining sometime in Holland he went thence to England. William III. gave a hearty welcome to his Russian friend and presented him with a beautiful yacht, which Peter prized as a gift of inestimable value. But it was not to enjoy ease and to bask in the flattery of the court that he visited England; the same motive that sustained him under former privation still urged him onward for information and experience.

Retiring, therefore, from the palace, he took up his residence in one of the dock yards, and again followed his trade as ship builder. With this he combined a plan of fortifications, and also gave much attention to the sciences of Geography, Astronomy, Chemistry, and Anatomy, endeavoring to acquire a sufficient knowledge of each to appreciate and direct their progress when he should return to his own realm. After gaining what he deemed a sufficient stock to serve his purpose, he proposed to continue his journey, never allowing himself to indulge in repose or to enjoy the amusements to which opportunity frequently invited him.

However, he was suddenly called home to suppress a rebellion instigated by the Strelitz in favor of the Princess Sophia. This was soon put down and the offenders punished accordingly. In the year 1704 Peter granted religious freedom to his subjects, and the priests branded him with the name of Antichrist.

In 1707 he was privately married to Catharine Alexina, and the time had now arrived when he proposed to acknowledge this marriage to his subjects, and on the 6th of March, 1711, the Czarina, Catharine Alexina, was publicly declared to be his lawful wife.

After the lapse of a few years, the Czar, satisfied with the circumstances of the empire, and anxious to extend his knowledge of the political systems of Europe, resolved upon a tour for that purpose. When he before travelled, he was young, ardent, and undistinguished; under what different circumstances did he now set forth? Nineteen years had elapsed, and in that interval he had strengthened and enlarged his dominions, had subjugated many provinces, and had accomplished the great purposes of his wise ambition. True, he had also experienced reverses, but from

these a mind like his could not fail to deduce the most useful admonitions. In 1715 he set out, bearing with him the gratitude of his subjects, whom even this journey was intended to serve. The Czarina accompanied him, but falling ill upon the way, she was under the necessity of remaining a short time at Saleitz, but Peter continued on his tour; she soon recovered and rejoined her husband in Holland.

Peter visited Stralsund, Mecklenburg, and Hamburgh, and subsequently proceeded to Copenhagen, where he was received with great distinction by the King of Denmark. On this occasion a squadron of British vessels, under the command of Sir John Norris, and also one of Dutch ships, under Admiral Graves, arrived at Copenhagen, and it being understood that a Swedish fleet was on the waters, the four armaments, Russian, Danish, Dutch, and English, united under the standard of the Czar and put out to sea. Not falling in with the Swedes, they having secured their safety in Carlscrona, the fleets separated, and Peter, having taken leave of the Court of Denmark, proceeded to Hamburgh. This incident was ever afterward adverted to by the Czar as one of the most gratifying circumstances of his life; even his proudest victories afforded less pleasure in the recollection, than the moment when he raised his flag as commander-in-chief of the united fleets.

On reaching Amsterdam he was received with a delight and admiration almost approaching to idolatry. The people regarded him as their pupil in the art of ship building and commerce, and they felt a share in the glories of the "Hero of Pultawa," as if he were belonging to themselves. Nor did Peter hesitate in placing them as much at their ease in his presence as they formerly were when he lived and worked as one of their number. The cottage in which

he once had made his home remained as he had left it, but distinguished by the name of the "Prince's House." It had been preserved in order by the people, and was looked upon by them with unabated interest. The house still stands. In 1823 it was purchased by the Princess of Orange, sister to the emperor Alexander; by her it was surrounded by a neat building resembling a conservatory. The ladder leading to the loft where Peter was accustomed to perform his devotions, is still carefully kept, as are also a little table of oak, three chairs, some models he had used, and a few of his working tools. Over the mantel is inscribed "PETRO MAGNO ALEXANDER," and under this inscription is written in Prussian and Dutch—"*To a great man nothing is little.*"

He remained three months in Holland, and during this time he was occupied by a succession of trivial incidents, mostly connected with his former associates, all of whom were recognized by the Czar with the greatest cordiality. But whilst he was thus engaged in visiting dock yards, in exchanging models, and in receiving small tokens of popular attachment, he was not indifferent to matters of higher importance.

His intention was next to visit France, and preparations were extensively made in that country for his reception; but Peter, with his usual contempt of splendor, endeavored to avoid all display, so far as possible. Accompanied only by four gentlemen, he outstripped the escorts, and entered Paris without ostentation. His journey was a succession of *fetes*, and these were conducted on a magnificent scale. His fame had penetrated the haunts of art and science, and had been sounded in the halls of princes. Portraits of himself and the Czarina—medals bearing the most flattering inscriptions and ingenious devices, intended to repre-

sent some of the events of his life, started up before him in places where he might least have expected to meet tribute to his greatness. But he could not be flattered out of his simplicity. Declining the honors of the court, he retired to a private hotel in a remote quarter of the city, in order to employ his time in accordance with his own wishes, instead of being trammelled by the fatiguing and idle ceremonies of the Louvre.

Peter enjoyed a joke, even when practiced on himself. He had one private servant whom he liked better than any other, and with whom he often conversed on familiar and confidential matters. Prior to his leaving Russia, he had given orders to this man, that wherever they might be, and under all circumstances, he should be awakened every morning at precisely four o'clock. It happened one morning, that the Czar, being unusually sleepy, replied to the call, "I do feel very sleepy, let me rest fifteen minutes longer, and then you may call me." "No," said the man, "these orders were given by the Emperor of Russia, and you must obey them; get up immediately." Peter replied, "I will obey the orders of the Emperor of Russia, and you shall be rewarded for enforcing them, even on an emperor."

On the return of the Czar to his capital, he had the distress and mortification of finding that his son Alexis, then twenty-nine years of age, had been making disturbance in the government. The young prince was heir to the throne, and greatly beloved by his father, but Peter was prompt to punish as well as ready to reward. He would make no allowance for his son, but caused him to be closely watched until the period of his death, which occurred in July, 1718.

In 1721 the senate decreed to the Czar the title of

"Great Emperor and Father of his Country." He was addressed in the cathedral by the High Chancellor, and the senators rent the air with their acclamations of "Long live our great Emperor and Father!" When the *fetes* were concluded at St. Petersburg, Peter considered it proper to renew them at Moscow for the entertainment of his inland subjects, and as these people had never seen the sea, he ordered a little yacht and a frigate of sixteen guns to be mounted on sledges and driven for several days through the streets, with colors flying, and accompanied by a band of martial music. This exhibition not only pleased the people by its novelty, but served to aid them in forming a more correct idea of naval matters than they otherwise could possibly have acquired.

In the year 1724, the emperor was confined to his room for more than four months, under the care of a physician. So soon as his health was partially restored, he signified an intention of visiting the works on Lake Ladoga. His friends remonstrated against his imprudent step, but Peter's resolution was not to be shaken. The voyage occupied from the beginning of October to the fifth of November, and during this time Peter betrayed symptoms of a return of his disorder. Yet his spirits never flagged, and on one occasion he waded to his knees in water to assist in the rescue of a boat that had run aground. This unfortunate act hastened the catastrophe which human skill could not have much longer averted. He was attacked by fever and immediately conveyed back to St. Petersburg. His malady now made rapid progress, and he was almost constantly delirious. In the interval of reason he made many attempts to write, but the few characters he traced were nearly unintelligible; the only words that could be deciphered were a few written in Russian, "Let everything

be given—." He sent for the Princess Anna Petruna, for the purpose of dictating to her, but when she arrived he was speechless, having fallen into a fit which continued for sixteen hours. The Empress Catharine faithfully watched by his bedside during three successive nights, and at four o'clock on the morning of January 28th, 1725, he expired in her arms.

The funeral ceremonies were conducted on a scale of unprecedented magnificence, and the honors paid to his memory were not confined to the vulgar testimonials that ordinarily mark the death of sovereigns. They were the demonstrations of grief, the outbursts of sorrow from an afflicted people, who realized they had lost in him their father and the founder of their prosperity.

The character of Peter was fully developed in his acts. His life was one of action, and the impediments against which he struggled from the commencement to the close of his career, afford a partial, if not a sufficient, apology for his faults, whilst they much enhance his numerous and varied merits. Looking back to the circumstances of his youth, we may consider him to have been a self-educated man, and in everything that concerned the responsibility of the sovereign, or the duties of the commander, he owed nothing to the precepts or example of his predecessors, or to the influence of those around him. He was indebted to none; the wisdom and perseverance were his, and his only. He found the empire convulsed by disorders, the prey of petty and privileged tyrannies, weak through disunion, and trembling before nations more advanced and powerful than itself. He left it an ally and equal of the proudest state of Europe, augmented in territory, improved in trade, and with outlets upon the ocean for the extension of its commerce. The nation was freed from many of its ancient

and barbarous usages; society was advanced in civilization and knowledge of the arts of life; there was a well-disciplined and effective army, and a considerable naval force. The country possessed, also, numerous institutions for the culture of military and other sciences, for the promotion of the arts, etc., besides various charitable establishments that would have done honor to a later period. Peter gave to mankind a wondrous sample of the power of an individual mind. In his case it had elevated an obscure and distracted country, in an almost incredible short space of time, to the highest rank among the kingdoms of the earth. Taking into consideration the circumstances in which he was placed, and the low standard of morality in the nation; that no ennobling influence, except such as emanated from his own heart, was brought to bear upon him, we cannot expect that he could have accomplished his gigantic ends without committing many infractions of the strict principles of justice. We find the career of Peter the Great marred by occasional acts that derogate much from his magnanimity. The slave of turbulent passions, he sometimes reminds us of "Ivan the Terrible," and appears to vie with him in the needlessness and cruelty of his sanguinary punishments. At one time violating the laws of nature by the continued imprisonment of his son, and anon rebelling against his own sovereignty by an extravagant act of despotism which engendered hatred in the bosoms of many of his subjects. Still, we never find him abandoning for a moment the general interests of the empire. He had one distinct purpose, and to this he was ever constant, and at length had the satisfaction of finding his efforts towards that end crowned with entire success. On the whole, never was the title of "Father" more justly bestowed by a grateful people upon their sovereign, and

never were the solemn obligations it implies discharged with more unfaltering courage, perseverance, and wisdom.

Owing to political troubles, Catharine was compelled to assume the government on the very day of her husband's death; thus, for the first time since the reign of Olga in the tenth century, was the throne of Russia occupied by a woman. She died after a reign of but two years, and was succeeded by Peter the Grand, son of Peter the Great, a boy of eleven years. He lived but three years after his accession.

The Princess Anna was then called to the throne, but was restricted in the exercise of power; she could act only by the consent or advice of the senate. She died in 1740, and was succeeded by Ivan, a prince seventeen years of age, and at the expiration of the first year of his reign a revolution broke out, which placed the Princess Elizabeth upon the throne. During her reign of twenty-one years there was little or no advancement in civilization; nor was any improvement introduced or benefit conferred upon the people. After Elizabeth comes Peter the Third; he also was a grandson of Peter the Great. But another revolution soon followed, that resulted in Catharine II. being proclaimed sole monarch of Russia. Peter was compelled to abdicate the throne, and to swear allegiance to her. He was afterward cast into prison, and eventually was poisoned by order of Catharine. The character of this empress is too revolting for description. As a sovereign she was capricious and tyrannical; as a woman she was detestable. Her profligacy was too flagrant to admit of concealment, and the dissoluteness of her court shed its baleful influence through all ranks of society. Her life was a curse to her people, and her death a blessing for which christendom might be thankful.

Paul ascended the throne in 1776, and after a reign of twenty-four years was assassinated in the year 1800. He made many changes in the military system of the country, and attempted some things that he called reforms, but most of his measures might be deemed of questionable expediency. After his death Alexander was elevated to the imperial dignity. He was a noble specimen of the emperor; simple in character and manners, and mild in disposition, his life was devoted to the good of his people. The general European convulsion of this period inevitably checked the advancement of the private interests of the different countries. In Russia it was particularly the case. Being emphatically a military nation, this power was put in full requisition, and the more recent pursuit of the arts of peace was partially abandoned when the people were called to repel the invasion of the MAN OF CORSICA. Yet, to the utmost of his influence, did Alexander labor for the benefit of his subjects.

# APPENDIX.

## Number 1.

William Cox, an English traveller, visited Poland in 1778, and, with much care, collected and recorded many important events and circumstances connected with the country. He visited the tombs of her kings and heroes, and mused among the ruins of palaces and castles. We subjoin an extract from his account:

"Whilst contemplating the remains of Casimir the Great, I feel a sentiment of profound veneration. I regard him as one of the greatest princes that ever graced a throne. It is not, however, the magnificence of his court, the glory of his warlike exploits, or even his protection of the arts and sciences, that inspires me with this sentiment. It is his ability as a legislator, and his goodness to the inferior classes of his subjects. On reading the history of his reign, we forget that it is that of the sovereign of a semi-barbarous people. The superiority of his genius elevated him above his contemporaries, and he anticipated the more enlightened ages that were to come.

"It is to him that Poland owes the reunion of the Russian lands and of Masovia, insuring thereby the safety of

her frontiers from the inroads of the Teutonic knights He also attended carefully to the exterior administration built many towns, and enlarged and ornamented those which already existed.

"He encouraged industry, science, and commerce. He found Poland without written laws, and he gave her a regular code, couched in precise and simple terms. The means of obtaining justice were made easy, and the peasantry protected against the usurpations of the nobility. His consideration for this abused order procured him the surname of '*King of the Peasants*;' and this title, given him in derision by the nobility, was perhaps the most glorious that a sovereign can merit.

"About a mile from Cracow, may be seen the ruins of an ancient building called his palace. My veneration for his memory induced me to visit it. Some scattered columns of marble alone attested its ancient magnificence. The greater part of the building is evidently a work of more modern times.

"Casimir frequently resided in this palace. A mound of earth in the garden is still called the Tomb of Esther. To this beautiful Jewess, whom Casimir so greatly loved, it is said, the Jews owed the extensive privileges they so long enjoyed in Poland, and which caused it to be called the '*Jew's Paradise.*'

"Bartholomew Brozela, mayor of the locality of Lobzow seconded the king in all his acts of bounty: he did good in his master's name; each peasant had in him a generous protector. He did justice to the oppressed, and all, without exception, were protected by him against tyranny.

"King Stephen Batory, in repairing the habitation of Casimir the Great, entirely changed the form of the castle, and Sigismond Third destroyed all that had been done by

Batory. At a still later period, the work of Sigismond was not spared, and nothing was left standing except the principal walls.

"In 1815, the newly-born republic of Cracow sold this demesne, and in 1824, she ordered the purchaser to build an addition to support the walls of the former building. Modern taste presided over these repairs, and the castle lost its picturesque aspect; its Gothic arches were replaced by more elegant but less venerable architecture. One solitary memorial of the great Casimir was respected. It was a stone, bearing a sculptured eagle, with the date of 1367. At a later period, this was transported to Pularoy.

"Lobzow was a place of pleasure and festivity for some of the Polish kings. A manuscript, found by the researches of the learned and laborious Ambroise Grabowski, tells us that Sigismond the Third made it a second Capua; thus reproving his indolence and voluptuousness, —'Our enemies wage a bloody warfare, but our king, careless of consequences, remains inactive, and thinks only of masquerades, balls, and the society of unworthy favorites: he humors himself by listening to their voluptuous music, and passes his time rambling through the gardens of Lobzow with them. He considers the fine examples of the kings, his predecessors, unworthy of imitation. He surrounds himself with strangers and despises his fellow-citizens.'

"If Lobzow has been the theatre of memorable events, it has also witnessed romantic adventures. We relate one which did not want for singularity.

"Hedwige, while still a minor, was promised in marriage to William, Archduke of Austria, by her father Louis, king of Poland and Hungary. When she had attained

her majority, she was proclaimed queen of Poland, and her choice becoming free, she broke the engagement made without her concurrence, and offered her royal hand to Wladislas Jagellon, Grand Duke of Lithunia.

"William, deceived in his dearest hopes, as well as in his ambitious projects, formed the singular design of being present at the marriage of the princess—the most severe trial for one sincerely attached that can be imagined. Assuming the disguise of a merchant, he went secretly to Cracow; but, despite all his precautions, the police were informed of his arrival, and pursued him so closely, that the poor prince was forced to conceal himself in the castle of Lobzow, where he remained many hours hid behind a beam. The police searched the castle narrowly without suspecting where he was, and, when tired of their fruitless task, they retired. He left his hiding-place, vowing not to attempt any more adventures, and regained his country, keeping in mind but concealing the fact of his failure

"In 1512, Barbara, daughter of John Zapol, palatine of Transylvania, first wife to king Sigismond First, made a public entry into the castle of Lobzow, followed by three hundred knights, and on the 9th of February she was crowned in the cathedral of the royal castle of Cracow.

"In 1588, the mortal remains of Stephen Batory were deposited at Lobzow, where they were left for a space of time; and, after they had been exposed in great pomp in the reception-saloon, they were transported to Cracow.

"Wladislas Fourth, son of Sigismond Third, was born at Lobzow on the 9th of June, 1595. This castle was the favorite residence of queen Bona.

"Charles Gustavus, king of Sweden, when he approached Cracow for the purpose of invading Poland, established his head-quarters at Lobzow, the 28th of September, 1655

"King John Sobieski sojourned there before the deliverance of Vienna, awaiting the assembling of the army that was to open this remarkable campaign; and after the victory, when he sent to Poland the tents of the Grand Visier, he recommended the queen, Maria Casimir, to have them deposited in the vaults of Lobzow. . . . Frederick Augustus, elector of Saxony, passed some time at Lobzow in 1697 and 1706.

"The last king of Poland, Stanislaus Augustus Poniatowski, gave the castle and village to the academy of Cracow, that the pupils might exercise themselves in practical geometry; but the Austrians, after the invasion of Poland, confiscated this property.

"A popular tradition asserts that the remains of Esther, a Jewess of Opoczno, and a favorite of Casimir the Great, are at Lobzow. Stanislaus Augustus, during his visit to Cracow in 1789, had her tomb sought for, but the search was useless. Esther, one of the most beautiful persons of her time, had inspired Casimir with so much love, that she exercised a powerful influence over the heart and will of the monarch. Her tragical end must be regarded as a fable. The character of Casimir takes from it all appearance of truth; however, we will relate it on the faith of *romancers*. One day Casimir perceived that his favorite had a complaint in her head, bearing the unpoetical name of 'scurvy,' and, irritated at seeing that she had so long deceived him, or in a fit of disgust, he threw her out of the window. Esther, it is said, died from the effects of her fall."

The following are snatches of songs from the effusions of one of the national bards:

"Traveller, if thou art a stranger, think of the instability of all below and tremble; but if thou art a Polander,

weep. Who may equal the heroes that have inhabited this castle? Look back on past ages; see what Sarmatia *has been*, and behold also what she *is!*

"Greece sought in vain for her ancient glory in the land of Alcibiades; she admired the days that were past, and mourned over those that were present. Casimir built this castle; past ages have saluted him with the name of 'Great.' He it was who built so many other edifices; who protected the poor laborer; who lightened the yoke of an oppressed people; who transformed a troop of slaves into men.

"He endowed his country with benificent rays; he repressed the insolence of the great, and, notwithstanding his love of peace, he extended the frontiers of Poland.

"He triumphed over the Teutonic knights, defied the Jadvings and Lithunians, reunited the Russias to the mother-country; and this monarch, otherwise so great, became the slave of his passions.

"The charms of Esther pleased his fancy; he admired her beauty; but beauty has to submit to the common law. Esther died, and Casimir built her tomb in a place she had loved while living. You who can feel for the grief caused by love, give a tear to this tomb, and adorn it with a flowery wreath. If Casimir erred, other heroes have been guilty of similar indiscretions. In the presence of this castle, this memorial of his magnificence, let us sing the glories of the great Casimir!"

## Number 2.

*Imperial Manifesto of February, 1832, relative to the Union of Poland and Russia.*

"By the Grace of God, Nicholas First, Emperor of Russia, King of Poland, etc. When, by our manifesto of January 2d, last year, we announced to our faithful subjects the march of our troops into the kingdom of Poland, which was momentarily snatched from the lawful authority, we at the same time informed them of our intention to fix the future state of this country on a durable basis, suited to its wants, and calculated to promote the welfare of our whole empire. Now, that an end has been put by force of arms to the rebellion in Poland, and that the nation, led away by agitators, has returned to its duty, and is restored to tranquillity, we deem it right to carry into execution our plan with regard to the introduction of the new order of things, whereby the tranquillity and union of the two nations, which Providence has entrusted to our care, may be forever guarded against new attempts.

"Poland, conquered in the year 1815 by the victorious arms of Russia, obtained by the magnanimity of our illustrious predecessor, the Emperor Alexander, not only its national existence, but also especial laws sanctioned by a constitutional charter. These favors, however, would not satisfy the eternal enemies of order and lawful power. Obstinately persevering in their culpable projects, they ceased not one moment to dream of a separation between the two nations subject to our sceptre, and in their presumption they dared to abuse the favors of the restorer of

their country, by employing for the destruction of his noble work, the very laws and liberties which his mighty arm had generously granted them. Bloodshed was the consequence of this crime. The tranquillity and happiness which the kingdom of Poland had enjoyed to a degree until then unknown, vanished in the midst of civil war and a general devastation. All these evils are now passed. The kingdom of Poland, again subject to our sceptre, will regain tranquillity, and again flourish in the bosom of peace, restored to it under the auspices of a vigilant government. Hence, we consider it one of our most sacred duties to watch with paternal care over our faithful subjects, and to use every means in our power to prevent the recurrence of similar catastrophes, by taking from the ill-disposed the power of disturbing public tranquillity. As it is, moreover, our wish to secure to the inhabitants of Poland the continuance of all the essential requisites for the happiness of individuals, and of the country in general, namely, security of persons and property, liberty of conscience, and all the laws and privileges of towns and communes, so that the kingdom of Poland, with a separate administration adapted to its wants, may not cease to form an integral portion of our empire; and that the inhabitants of this country may henceforward constitute a nation, united with the Russians by sympathy and fraternal sentiments, we have, according to these principles, ordained and resolved this day, by a new organic statute, to introduce a new form and order in the administration of our kingdom of Poland.

*St. Petersburg*, *Febuary 26th*, 1832.

NICHOLAS.

Secretary of State, Count STEPHEN GRABOWSKI."

After this imperial manifesto the London Courier pub-

lished a document, from which the following is an extract:

"We perceive that the manifesto of the Emperor of Russia, relative to Poland, which we gave on Saturday, has excited general indignation in France, as well as in this country. Perhaps, as the Poles are not of a character to be awed into submission by the power of the oppressor, whilst the slightest chance of emancipation is open to them, it is better for the cause of humanity that they should be bound hand and foot in the bonds of slavery, than that any opportunity should be afforded them of again saturating the soil of Poland with the blood of its best and bravest patriots. If life, with disgrace, be better than death without dishonor, the destruction of the nationality of Poland may not be so great an evil as the world at large imagines. If the utter impossibility of successful revolt be clearly shown, the Poles may at length wear their fetters without resorting to vain attempts to shake them off; and the monarch who has enslaved them, may gradually witness the extinction of mind, in proportion as he coerces and binds the body.

"But what a sad disgrace it is upon the government and the people of this country, to have neglected, in proper season, the means of securing to the brave and unfortunate people of Poland a nationality which would have given to them the form and substance of liberty without involving the necessity of a rupture with the power which has conquered them. Is it not true, that, at a time when the warm-hearted and generous portion of the people of this country were calling upon the government to exercise the influence and power of the British crown on behalf of the Poles, the reply was—'We cannot go to war with the Emperor of Russia for foreign interests—we cannot insist

upon his evacuating Poland, and leaving the country in a state of complete independence ; but we will use our good offices towards obtaining favorable terms for the insurgents ; and we have already the satisfaction of knowing that the Emperor Nicholas has declared that the nationality of Poland shall in no way be forfeited, and that in all other respects the world shall be astonished at his generosity towards the vanquished.'

" Is there a member of the goverment, or any other person, who will tell us that such language as this was not made publicly and privately, in Parliament and out of Parliament, in the newspapers and out of the newspapers, and that the sole excuse for non-intervention was not the real or pretended belief that the nationality of Poland would be respected, and the conduct of the Emperor Nicholas be full of generosity and magnanimity. Gracious God ! and are we come to such a pass that the sovereign of a semi-barbarous country can laugh at the honor and dignity of the British name ! Is all the respect that he can show to the good offices of the British government, in behalf of a great minded people, to be found in empty professions and unmeaning declarations ; and are we to put up tamely with one of the greatest insults that ever was inflicted upon the government of the country ? Was it for this that we conciliated the Autocrat of the North on the Belgian question ? And is all the return of our concessions a bold and naked defiance of our power, and a determination to convince the world that the days of British influence are passed forever ? Perhaps we shall be told, even now, of the *magnanimous intentions* of the Emperor of Russia ; but the cheat is too stale. Everybody knows, not only that we have truckled to Russia in vain, but that to deception she has added insult, and that at this moment there is

a Russian ambassador in town, with instructions to cajole the government on the Belgian question, and to withhold the ratification of the treaty until after the passing or rejecting of the "Reform Bill," when the Emperor may be enabled by a change of government to dispense with it altogether. But we are tired of the subject; the more we look at it, the more we feel disgraced. We blame not this or that minister; for the intentions of the government towards Poland, we firmly believe, were kind in the extreme; but we blush for the country at large in having purchased the chance of peace at the sacrifice of honor."

Below are some of the organic statutes of Poland, given by the magnanimity of the Emperor Nicholas.

ART. I. The kingdom of Poland is forever to be reunited to the Russian Empire, and to form an inseparable part of that Empire. It shall have a particular administration, conformably to its local necessities, as well as a civil and military code. The statutes and the laws of cities and towns remain in full vigor.

ART. II. The crown of the kingdom of Poland is hereditary in our person, and in our heirs and successors, agreeably to the order of succession to the throne prescribed by all the Russias.

ART. III. The coronation of the Emperors of all the Russias and Kings of Poland, shall be one and the same ceremonial, which shall take place at Moscow, in the presence of a deputation from the kingdom of Poland, which shall assist at that solemnity with the deputies from the other parts of the empire.

ART. IV. In the possible event of a regency in Russia, the power of the regent or regentess of the empire, will extend over the kingdom of Poland.

Art. V. The freedom of worship is guaranteed; every one is at liberty to exercise his religion openly, under the protection of government; and the difference of christian faiths shall never prove a pretext for the violation of the rights and privileges which are allowed to all the inhabitants. The Roman Catholic religion, being that of the majority of our Polish subjects, shall be the object of especial protection of the government.

Art. VI. The funds which the Roman Catholic clergy possess, and those of the Greek church united, shall be considered as the common and invaluable property of the hierarchy of each of these creeds.

Art. VII. The protection of the laws is assured to all the inhabitants without distinction of rank or class. Each shall be empowered to assume dignities or to exercise public functions, according to his personal merits or talents.

Art. VIII. Individual liberty is guaranteed and protected by the existing laws. No one shall be deprived of his liberty, or called to justice, if he be not a transgressor of the law in all the forms prescribed. Every one detained shall be apprised of the motive of arrest.

Art. IX. Each person arrested must submit to a delay of three days to be heard and judged of, according to the forms of law, before competent tribunals; if he be found innocent, he will instantly obtain his liberty. He will be equally restored to liberty who shall furnish a sufficient surety.

Art. X. The form of judicial inquests directed against the superior functionaries of the kingdom, and against persons accused of high treason, shall be determined by a particular law, the foundation of which shall be accordant with the other laws of our empire.

ART. XI. The right of property, of individuals and of corporations, is declared sacred and inviolable, inasmuch as it will be conformable to existing laws. All the subjects of the kingdom of Poland are perfectly free to quit the country, and to carry away their goods, provided they conform to the regulations published to that effect.

ART. XII. The penalty of confiscation shall not be enforced but against state crimes of the first class, as may hereafter be determined by particular laws.

ART. XIII. Publication of sentiments, by means of the press, shall be subjected to restrictions which will protect religion, the inviolability of superior authority, the interests of morals and personal considerations. Particular regulations to this effect, will be published according to the principles which serves as a basis to this object in the other parts of our empire.

ARTS. XIV AND XV. The kingdom of Poland shall proportionably contribute to the general expenditure, and to the wants of the empire. The proportion of taxes shall be levied after the manner formerly settled, till the new fixing of taxes.

ART. XVI. The treasury of the kingdom of Poland, and all the other branches of the administration, shall be separated from the administration of the other parts of the kingdom.

ART. XVII. The public debt of Poland, acknowledged by us, shall be guaranteed as formerly, by the government, and indemnified by the receipts of the kingdom.

ART. XVIII. The Bank of the kingdom of Poland, and the laws respecting credit, shall continue under the protection of government.

Art. XIX. The mode of commercial transactions between the Russian empire and the kingdom of Poland, shall be regulated according to the respective interests of the two countries.

Art. XX. Our army in the empire and in the kingdom shall compose one in common, without distinction of Russian or Polish troops. We shall reserve to ourselves a future decision of this, by an especial law, by what arrangement, and upon what basis, the kingdom of Poland shall participate with our army. The number of troops which shall serve as the military defence of the kingdom will be also intimately determined upon by a law.

Art. XXI. Those of our subjects of the empire of Russia, who are established in the kingdom of Poland, who possess, or shall possess, real property in that country, shall enjoy all the rights of natives. It shall be the same with our subjects of the kingdom of Poland, who shall establish themselves, and shall possess property, in the provinces of our empire. We reserve to ourselves to grant hereafter letters of naturalization to other persons, as well to strangers as to Russians, who are not yet established there. Those of our subjects of the Russian Empire, who may reside for a certain time in Poland, and those of our subjects of the kingdom of Poland, who may sojourn in the other parts of the empire, are subject to the laws of the country where they may reside.

Art. XXII. The superior administration of the kingdom of Poland is confided to a council of administration, which shall govern the kingdom in our name, under the presidency of the governor of the kingdom.

Art. XXIII. The council of administration is composed of the governor of the kingdom, of superior directors, who

superintend the commissions, and among whom are divided the interests of the administration, of comptroller, presiding over the supreme chamber of finance, and of other members, whom we shall appoint by special orders.

For the following memorial of the Polish exiles, I am indebted to the "New York Herald." This memorial gives the best elucidation of the Polish question that has been written. It cannot fail to be read with interest throughout the United States. It is understood to have been written by Stanislaus Worcell, distinguished as a philosopher, scholar, and patriot :—

*To the President of the United States of America, the Memorial of the Polish Central Democratic Committee.*

Poland, every way oppressed as she is, may worthily understand the grandeur and the bearing of American policy. She does understand them ; she appreciates both the inner meaning of the manifestations of American sympathy with the elements of the European future, and also the reserve imposed on those manifestations by existing international relations : and, respecting that reserve, but profiting by the last and perhaps the most significant of those manifestations, she, through us, would place in the hands of the government of the New World those informations which she knows to be indispensable to every State preparing to actively influence the future destinies of Europe.

It is to this, by their position, by their power, by the renovating principle which, in the strength of their youth, they inaugurated in modern history, that the United States of North America seem to be called. In proclaiming themselves independent, and at the same time republican,

in the face of a world yet altogether monarchical, they boldly took the initiative of that progressive movement which was to draw all people after them, and assured themselves the first place in the new order of things created by them.

And, as if the republican principle itself had needed to preserve the affiliation of its historical development along the ages, the only great republic of the worm-eaten Europe of that day, Poland, expiring under the violence of royal conspirators and the deleterious influence of monarchical elements which had been introduced into its bosom, sent the latest of the heroes of her past to die under the walls of Savannah, and borrowed from the war for American independence, the hero-initiator of her future—Kosciuszko.

To the American monument of Pulaski responds the mound raised to Kosciuszko upon his natal shore by the hands of all Poland ; and, since the mighty shades hovering over them grasp hands athwart the thickness of the terrestrial globe, the indissoluble pact is sworn of the common destinies of America and Poland.

For since then Poland has not one instant ceased to live in the shroud with which the kings had wrapped her ; and, at that moment in which America is preparing to give back to her old mother, Europe, that youthful life whose germs were her's, and to preside over her future destinies, Poland finds herself ready to re-enter the lists and to reconquer the existence which the monarchies refuse her.

It is this last fact which should be known to America ; it is of this that we are to inform her—and we are competent to do it ; for, representing in the emigration the renovating principle of Poland, that of its future vitality, we have, since 1830, mixed in all the manifestations of Polish national life, from those of the martyrs of the expedition

of Colonel Zaliwski, in 1834, to those of the prisoners issuing triumphantly in 1848 from the dungeons of Berlin, and the unknown names which since, even until now, have borne witness to the vitality of their country before the inquisitors and the executioners of Vienna, of Berlin, of Warsaw, and of Petersburg.

It is also we, the Polish Democratic Society, who have furnished chiefs to those sons of Poland who, wanting battle-fields in their own country, have sought them since 1849 in Hungary, in Italy, in Germany, bearing the Polish flag wherever floated that of freedom, of which it was the inseparable companion.

But it is not of the subterranean life of Poland that we would bear witness, nor even of that eccentric life which, lacking scope to manifest itself within, broke the vase and spread itself beyond, in the form of emigration or of legion. All that is known, ascertained, incontestible ; and more, all that is of the past. What we would bear witness of is the near future of Poland and those elements of the present which already guarantee its infallible advent.

Confidants of the secret thoughts of our people, through a thousand channels, worn underneath bars, frontier barriers and seas, by the repressed love of liberty on one side, and the exile's love of country on the other, in order that they might communicate together and concert the means of reunion, we simply tell you it is so, and establish the fact. But if it is not permitted us to furnish the proofs of its existence, of that general, universal disposition of men's minds which but dissembles itself the more carefully as it thereby assures itself a prompter and completer satisfaction, of that sullen fermentation, progressing in a manner so uniform, though rapid, as to be imperceptible until the moment in which the vase is broken, we can and are

about to prove that it cannot be otherwise, and that if the cabinets of our oppressors misunderstand this fact, and by the measures which they take and the events which they provoke are rendering it inevitable, it is because the principle upon which they base themselves is a principle of death—a fatality, blinding them, and pushing them to self-destruction.

One of the grounds of security upon which our oppressors are so foolishly slumbering, is the apparent inaction of Russian-Poland in 1848. This inaction was fatally imposed upon it by its position then; and this position is now reversed.

No where more than in Poland has a general movement need of time to ripen and burst forth—for a double reason, peculiar to this country:—On the one hand, the want of great centres of population, and the difficulty of communication between widely-strown villages, and on the other the marked separation between the people and the noble class.

This separation is one not only of interests, but also of habits, of beliefs, of affections, and, in most of the provinces, of dialect or language. The only sentiment which unites them is their love of country, but so differently conceived that the proper moment for rising could not be the same for both classes, unless it should be imposed upon them both by European events. It is to the treasons of the nobility that the people attribute the defeat of the efforts in which it has taken part since 1794; and, though the nobles may be now ready to join in a popular movement, because they are convinced that without it their own force would be insufficient, the people would not obey the appeal of the nobles, unless it obtained from them farther guarantees than they have already given. For the Polish nobility alone the meaning of 1848 was clear; so the people

remained everywhere passive, except in the Grand Duchy of Posen, where, being nearer to events, it better understood them, and responded with an ardor of patriotism which even the nobles, whose policy was one of expediency, thought it necessary to calm. Besides, it needed, for the mutual understanding of the two classes for a common movement, and still more for any concert between populations dispersed over an immense territory, more time than elapsed between the triumph of February and the fall of Rome and Hungary, without taking into consideration the bad effect produced on the public mind by the dealings of the French government with the partitioning cabinets, the massacres of June, and the triumphs of the reaction at Vienna, Berlin, and Dresden, in Baden and in Lombardy, the bloody suppression under the very eyes of the French ambassador of the rising in the Grand Duchy of Posen, and the bombardment of Cracow and Lemberg. The Russians, waiting, were concentrated in Poland for the new effort they were purposing to make in Hungary against the European revolution; and Poland had to remain a moveless spectator of the grand drama played under her eyes, without the great majority of her inhabitants comprehending what it meant.

Both time and a direct appeal were waiting.

Now she has already had the one, and is about to hear the other.

And it was not at the first shot fired on the Danube that the time of preparation began, but indeed in that same year, 1848, which appeared to have made so little impression upon the Polish people.

What the massacres of Gallicia, organized by Metternich, and conducted by Szela, had hindered in 1846, the revolution of 1848 accomplished. The serfs of Gallicia

were emancipated, were admitted to the national representation, saw their former lords hold out their hands to them and sit down beside them on the legislative benches; and, although the Austrian government has endeavored to have the honor of this attributed to itself, yet, since it has afterwards exacted from the peasants the price of the ceded lands and the abolished soccage labor, since it has also done away with the Representative Chambers to which the revolution had called them, some hundred thousands of emancipated peasant-proprietors now in Gallicia are to the millions of Polish serfs under Russian domination a living testimony of what they have to expect from the revolution in Poland.

This great, this decisive question, of the future destinies of Poland,—this of the emancipation of the serf and of the throwing open the land to be cultivated by him for his own use, free from all feudal charge, and without indemnification for the proprietor, which had been discussed and affirmatively resolved in the Polish emigration for a number of years—has been, since then, regarded by the class of territorial proprietors in Poland as in fact decided; and the peasants' unbelief of the promises of their lords, till then not followed by deeds, has had to give way to the evidence of the accomplished fact in the provinces which the revolutionary movement had passed over. This immense progress toward the fusion of the classes, from which the independence of Poland must proceed, has been found accomplished since 1849. The propaganda of the alliance between the national and the social ideas thenceforth slowly extended among the unemancipated people, and progressed there uninterruptedly, while above it each of the triumphs of the reaction threw trouble, disheartening, and too often doubt and apostacy, in the souls of

the noble and privileged classes. From this arise the erroneous judgments of tourists in Poland as to the spirit of the populations, of which they never touch but a single surface layer, without ever having time or means to sound its depth.

It was in this disposition of mind that the affairs of Turkey found Poland. Their action on the masses was doubly decisive.

Certainly the nobility could see and did see in it a complication from which the derangement of the European equilibrium might issue, and thence an occasion for new national efforts. But, accustomed to judge of events from the relations of the journals, and reading there how all the powers of Europe were determined to maintain peace, or at least the *status quo* of territorial divisions, by confining the war to the limits of Turkey, it thought, conscious of its own powerlessness, that it might content itself with waiting some deliverance from without—something like the Napoleonist intervention of old time in the affairs of Poland. From that nothing could result, except, at very most, a change of masters.

But the people judges not from such premises ; and consequently it arrives at very different conclusions. It has traditions, and believes in them ; it has impulses, and it follows them. Its acts are determined by its feelings more than by its reason ; or, rather, the popular reason, which we improperly call instinct, takes special count of its affections, its wants, its faith, and the facts which meet its understanding, without complicating them with calculations and arguments beyond its reach. Now, the events which are passing in Turkey, by their proximity, as well as by their notoriety, are especially of a nature to impress it and to determine it to a rising.

For a year past it has seen its fields traversed by two immense avalanches of soldiers coming from the North, and precipitating themselves southward into the two yawning gulfs of Wallachia and the Caucasus. There the Turkish scimitar lays them low; for the cannon roars, the Te-Deums in the churches resound unechoed, but none return to bear witness of the victories they have won. On the contrary mysterious voices whisper in the ear that word—defeat; and the faces of every regiment that arrives are more downcast and more pale than those that went before. And yet these armies are not enough; they are being exhausted, they are shrivelling up: for sealed papers come to the village registrars, which, when they are opened, condemn nine of every thousand peasants to the hell of military service. At this mournful news the steppes are peopled with fugitives, the forests with rangers, and in the villages only old men, women, and children are left. The cholera never so unpeopled them as now the pitiless fear of the Czar. For how can the Czar be without fear, whom even the Turks are beating, while England and France are arming against him? France who, formerly, in spite of England, could pass one night at Moscow, and only be driven thence, according to the popular sentence, by the Generals Frost and Famine—now France is no more in the eyes of the people of Poland the France of 1812, but that of 1848. It is the revolution which enfranchised our brothers in Gallacia; it is emancipation; it is freedom—it is Poland. Heretofore, between the free peoples and Poland rose the insurmountable wall of the Russian, Austrian, and Prussian forces, untied together in one fascis of royal conspiracy; to-day this conspiracy is dissolved, Russia isolated, and her army, the principal barrier, removed from the West to the South. Between the

West and Poland there is no more barrier; access to Poland is left free to the European Revolution: for what matters to the people the letter of Napoleon III. and his conservative assurances? Does it know them? Can they have on its imagination the same influence as the memory of the revolutions of France, Vienna, Berlin, Venice, Rome, and Hungary? All these revolutions, which, six years ago, did not move it, have since appeared to it, clothed with the prestige of the past. Paris, Vienna, Berlin, Rome, Venice, Hungary: they all mean Liberty. Poland, it is Liberty; and more, it is independence, glory, bravery. And liberty is the abolition of the Russian recruiting system, the abolition of soccage labor, the abolition of a vexatious police—it is the proprietorship of the land; it is freedom for religious worship, free-trade, markets open for its grain and cattle—it is, in a word, wealth, prosperity, well-being. This is how the good sense of the people of Poland sums up the present question, and solves it with one single argument: the Turks can beat the Russians—why may not the Poles?

Under these circumstances, any appeal would determine them to rise—no matter whence it might proceed, from a town, the fields, or the forests, from a Cossack or a noble, from the steppes of the Ukraine or a fleet in the Baltic—provided it is sufficiently noised abroad to be heard throughout the country, and of sufficient duration to reach its farther frontiers. But this appeal has already reached them, and now stirs their minds, reheartens them, and sharpens their scythes and lances. And this appeal is an old legend, an accredited prophecy, an article of the popular faith; it is the apocalyptic prediction of the Cossack Wernyhora.

This prophecy, uttered after the confederation of Bar, on the banks of the Dnieper, and conceived in a sense em-

inently Polish, has since penetrated into all the provinces of Poland, and found believers everywhere among the people.

This prophecy, in old yellow manuscripts, passing from hand to hand among our grandfathers, was preserved by them, if they were noble, with that sort of veneration which attaches to a curious monument of the visionary patriotism of old time; but, if they belonged to the people, was learned by heart as a confirmation of their hopes and a guarantee of their realization. After having very clearly predicted the total dismemberment, the utter fall of Poland, it indicates, in apocalyptic images, the fruitless efforts which will be undertaken for its relief, and ends with the prediction of a universal cataclysm, terminated by a war, in which the Turks, allying with Poland, shall come to water their horses in the Vistula, but which shall be decided by the maritime intervention of England. Then, says Wernyhora, all Poland will rise, glorious and triumphant, and engage in one great and last battle, in a locality of the Ukraine, which he mentions by name, and pursue the fleeing Russians into a defile, also mentioned, where our final triumph shall be sealed by their utter extermination. In the minds of the great majority of the people of Poland, the names mentioned in this prophecy have passed into the condition of a sacramental formula; they are part of the articles of its belief, and have taken over its determinations the authority of a commandment of the Most High.

Here, again, may find place what has already so many times in history put the systematic doubt of skepticism to the proof—the pretended effect will have determined the cause, the prediction will have produced its own fulfilment, and the fact will have taken place solely because it had

been announced. It is not only very natural, but also necessary, inevitable, fatal, in the eyes of whoever knows the circumstances and dispositions of the people as we know them. The people of Poland, following the events of the present war, will rise because it will find motives determining it to rise; and will not be able to hinder itself from obeying them; it will rise because these motives are suggested to it, not by a system of policy of which it understands nothing, nor by conspirators in whom it could have no confidence, and who, moreover, once discovered, would draw into one ruin both their plans and the end they proposed to attain—but by greater events, having a clear and positive meaning for it—by a redoubling of oppression caused by the conscription and by military and police exactions—by the wandering life to which all the young and robust generation has been reduced, and the mutual contact into which it has been thrown in the forest depths, which served it as a hiding place—by the recollections of 1848, which only by now have had time to ripen in its mind—by the hopes of freedom and amelioration which it connects with them—by its legitimate desire of holding territorial property—by its love of family, of kindred, and of country, and its hate of foreign oppressors—by the spectacle of the fear and consequent weakness of those whose defeats on the Danube are the first satisfaction accorded to its thirst for vengeance, as well as an encouragement to its daring—by the vague belief that the peoples which triumphed six years ago continue to live, all stricken down as they are, and that they will, like itself, profit by the divisions of their oppressors—by its traditions, its beliefs, its recollections, and its prophecies. It will rise, in fine, because, for the first time since the partitionings, not only throughout the eight Palatinates of the so-called king-

dom of Poland, as in 1830, or in the Grand Duchy of Posen and the republic of Cracow, as in '46 and '48, but also in Lithuania and Volhynia, in the Ukraine, in Podolia, in Gallicia, everywhere, even to Little Russia beyond the Dnieper, and White Russia beyond the Dzwina—its passions find themselves in accord with the desires of the nobles, who this time will obey the appeal of the people, even though they should not conspire on their own account, and will throw themselves into the ranks to win at the point of the lance some compensation in consideration and renown for the position lost to them by the revolution. And now, what will be the consequence of this rising, to the future of Europe? This, for the sake of our cause, and in accomplishment of the duty which we have to fulfil towards the peoples, our brothers—this is what we are about to examine.

As Mr. Drummond very pertinently said in the House of Commons, without Poland there can be no useful or profitable issue to the war of Europe against Russia. Leave that its frontiers of 1826, and the first misunderstanding between England and France, to say nothing of Prussia and Austria—heterogeneous bodies whose interests draw them together, without, however, uniting them—will open to it again the way to Constantinople, which, besides, is accessible to it from two opposite sides—from the north across the Danube and the Balkan, from the south across Thessaly, Macedonia, and Epirus. And henceforth Constantinople is necessary to Russia, not only as its outlet to the Mediterranean, but because it must have the Greco-Slavonian world in order to reconstitute for its own advantage, the empire of the East. The Slavonian world alone would have no historic meaning; would remain incomplete, or must bring Austria and Europe down upon it, as it

would be forced to encroach upon them ; besides, it is less rooted in European traditions than the Byzantine tendencies, which, since Vladimir the Single-handed, at Kijow, and John Basilides at Moscow, have pursued Czarism even to the winter palace, and there, in our days, baptized the grandsons of Catharine, and then the sons of Nicholas, with the names of Alexander, Constantine, and Michael. Authentic or apocryphal, the testiment of Peter I. reveals the real thought of the Czars ; Poland as the means, Constantinople for the end. If we would not that Russia should have Constantinople, we must not leave it the means of conquering it ; we must take from it Poland, its first stage on the road to the empire of the East. Master of Poland, Russia sooner or later renews the empire of the Porphyrogeniti.

And Poland in the hands of Russia serves it to attain a double end—an end yet nearer, in the normal situation of Europe, than the destruction of the Ottoman Empire—an end which Russia is attaining pacifically, silently, by the aid, not only of its underground agents, its hired writers, the secret societies it organizes in the border countries, but also by the growing influence of its religious, commercial, and industrial relations : we are speaking of the concentration at Moscow and Petersburg of the direction of all the Slavonian peoples of that grand system of absorption which they name Russian Panslavism. Let it keep Poland, and some fine day Russia will see its protectorate invoked by all the Slavonians of Germany and Turkey, from the Styrian Alps in the west, and the Hartz Mountains at the north, to the Balkan at the south and Varna in the east—hauling then into its immense net those Roumanian populations for which it now contends with Turkey, and adding to the crowns of Kazan and Astracan those of Bul-

garia, Servia, Montenegro, Dalmatia, Illyria, Crotia, Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia. Then it will no longer need to displace a large number of its troops; it will have only to excite troubles, and, after having let the Germans and Turks be driven out by the Slavonian populations, to step in to stop the effusion of blood, and to establish an order of things permitting it to act as protector against all future oppression, The Slavonian Empire will be founded at one swoop.

The reason of this is, that Russia is, at the present time, the only great Slavonian power; and so offers to the Slavonian populations, oppressed by the German, Ottoman, or Magyar races the only element wanting to them for constituting themselves nationally—the leverage of its strength.

No!—Russia has no force of attraction on a great portion of these peoples but that of its material power. Silesians, Moravians, Illyrians, Dalmatians, Croats, and now an immense majority of Tcheks, belong to a different faith—to the Latin Church; and in their language approach much nearer to the Poles, who, with them, constitute the western branch of the Slavonian dialects, than to the Russians. And as to the Slavonians of the South, who, without belonging to the Russian Church, belong yet with it to the great Eastern Church, having Constantinople for religious metropolis, it is independence and liberty, and not Czarian despotism to which they aspire, for which they invoke assistance, and not domination, and an assistance they would gladly exchange for the friendship and brotherly support of a free, a strong, and a republican *Poland*. Even among the Cossacks of Little Russia, there are none who do not, in their hatred of Czarism, turn their hopeful eyes towards an alliance with a Poland reconstituted upon new bases, in whom they know, from the Polish pupils of their

University of Crakow, so numerous since the closing of the Universities of Wilna and Krzemieniec, that they would find not a master, but a friend.

Let Poland rise, then, (and we have proved that she will rise), and risen, let her maintain herself in the rank of independent nations rejoicing in the plenitude of their rights, and Russia will find itself deprived of all possibility, either of putting itself at the head of the Greco-Slavonian world by the conquest of Constantinople, or of establishing the Panslavenian Empire, of which else in a very near future the possession is unfailingly assured to it.

Poland, then, is a necessary element of the new European equilibrium, an indispensable guarantee for the security of the Western States, and consequently a condition *sine qua non* of any definite treaty, an end forcefully prescribed for the operations of the present war, if any profit is to be drawn from it for humanity, for Europe, or for the belligerents themselves.

However, we cannot, and we should not, dissemble that the rising of Poland will completely alter the conditions of the present struggle, and that if, on the one hand, it assures the security and progress of the peoples allied with Turkey, it may, on the other hand, menace more than one of their governments, detach Austria and Prussia from the alliance, and remake, to the advantage of liberty and right, that map of Europe which was drawn by despotic force.

It is in vain that the governments of France and England assure their respective countries of the acquisition of the two great German powers to their confederation against Russia. This acquisition is owing only to the assurance given by Napoleon to Austria and Prussia of his help against any revolutionary attempt. Now France may keep down Italy, and by maintaining tranquillity there, hin-

der any outbreak in Hungary. But when Lord Clarendon, in the same speech in which he announces to the House of Lords the good news of the Austro-Prussian alliance, lets peep out the possibility of the re-establishment of Poland (if it is that which he really means under the denomination of portions of territory taken from the neighboring powers,) he forgets that this re-establishment would be a death-blow to his two allies. The Poland of 1815, even if augmented by all the provinces which have fallen to Russia, would not satisfy the exigencies of the awakened national sentiment. The limbs violently separated by their dismemberment would rejoin each other. Deprived of Gallicia and the Grand Duchy of Posen, Poland would not feel itself living with that proper life which alone can assure its existence and stability, for it would not be on the recognition of its rights, but on the conveniences of the intervening powers, that its new existence would be dependant. Gallicia and Posnania would rise and proclaim themselves Polish ; and then Austria and Prussia, not finding in their alliance with France and England the promised security, would seek it in new combinations hostile to the two powers. But such an arrangement will never be : for Poland conscientiously feels her duty in the present crisis, and will rise without waiting for permission, knowing that to wait is to abdicate. Then Hungary will follow it, and with Hungary, Italy ; then the populations of Germany—Dresden, Berlin, Vienna, Carlsruhe, Hesse and Schleswig—will feel themselves revive ; then France, seeing her government on a wrong tack, and involved in inextricable complications for the sake of its alliances with worm-eaten despotisms, will return to the republic, and the year 1848 will be repeated, with more experience, and consequently with more perfectness and success. We

know not if all this enters into the calculations of the English government; but it all results from what we know to be the dispositions of the Polish populations; and this is why we should submit it for the consideration of the only government altogether disinterested in these matters, or rather the only one that can find in it a satisfaction of the principle after which it exists—the government of the United States of North America.

We do not think it necessary to discuss here the supposition—inadmissible according to us—of the consequences to result from a completely passive attitude on the part of Poland. Let it suffice us to establish summarily that for each of the oppressed nations—Italy, Hungary, France, &c.—the difficulties thrown in the way of their emancipation, on the one hand, by the Franco-Austrian alliance, being immense, and those occasioned to the allied powers, on the other hand, by the insurrection of the Greek provinces, being very great, those powers would be led to conclude a hasty peace on the first advances made to them by Russia, leaving intact in Europe an order of things so oppressive and monstrous, that, even if the dangers now menacing them from Russia should be removed, revolution would remain imminent, and peace be less assured and more precarious than ever.

It is to prevent this return to the deplorable *status quo* of the present time that, to make use of a celebrated remark applied to the Supreme Being, if the insurrection of Poland is not in the order of inevitable destinies, it ought to be invented; the more necessary is it, consequently, this insurrection being a fact foreseen, to take count of it in all plans relative to European affairs, and for every state preparing to influence them to take some pains to facilitate

its bursting forth and the bearing of its fruit, for the general well-being and for its own stability in Europe.

We should think ourselves unjust toward the United States if, misunderstanding the generous nature of their intentions with regard to Europe, we were to insist upon the advantages which its emancipation would render to their influence, their power, their commerce, and their material prosperity. It is so fine a thing for colonies, emancipated by their own heroism, and elevated to the rank of powers of the first order, to return to the mother country youth, vigor, development, and political progress, for the germs of civilization which they had taken from her, and the liberty that they had known how to snatch with armed hands from her unjust ambition, that mere views of material interests, however vast they may be in themselves, seem as nothing compared with it. Without stopping farther, then, at this, and without availing ourselves of the recollections which the sons of the heroes of the war of independence preserve of their fathers' Polish comrades—Pulaski, Kosciusco, Niomcewicz—after having demonstrated the benefits which the rising of Poland, in the present war, upon the rear of the Russian armies, would bring to Europe, by striking her enemy to the heart and putting an end to the war of kings, as well as by deciding the final European revolution—after proving that in the present situation nothing else but this rising could have the same effect—we will content ourselves with explaining the conditions which may facilitate its success.

These conditions are of two kinds,—moral and material.

The moral consists of the collectiveness, the unity, and the universality of the effort; and depend, consequently, to a certain extent on the support which the insurrec-

tionary government will find in its spontaneous recognition by free nations. This government will only be installed by the insurrection itself—that is to say, by the armed people : and will make itself known to friends and enemies by its blows upon these last. But, before it can become a power, it must have been a party, an association, a principle ; and it is in this state of embryo that the epoch begins in which the sympathetic and effective, if not the official, recognition of free nations is especially necessary to it. To sympathize with and to assist the party, is to ally with the government which shall issue from it. Now, as there are two classes and two sorts of interests in Poland, there are also two parties in the emigration—that of privilege and monarchy, round which rallies the Polish aristocracy — and that of democracy, representing the people, its aspirations, and its rights. We have shown above how only from this last the insurrection and its government can proceed, and how the individuals belonging to the first will come perforce to join it—the party of the aristocracy now resting all its hopes and basing all its calculations upon the initiative of the Cabinets of France and England, the object of whose policy is quite another thing from the restoration of Poland. In the choice of the party with which henceforth the different governments ought to connect themselves, there can be no mistake. With the monarchical party, that of pretenders and diplomatists, the monarchical cabinets will be connected ; we do not deplore it. But to the democratic party, that of the people, of the national and humanitarian revolution—to the party recognized by the European committee, allied with France, with Italy, with Hungary, with Germany, with Moldo-Wallachia, with revolutionary Russia—to that belongs henceforth the alliance, the support, the recognition

of republics already constituted. Its flag has from the beginning been carried in the emigration by the Polish Democratic Society, from whose hands the country received it and adopted it in 1846, and toward which to-day the Polish people turn their eyes, to see what greeting it meets with from the peoples, what support it may hope for in its efforts. Every mark of sympathy from America for the Polish democracy, is more than an encouragement; it is a redoubling of strength for the coming insurrection of Poland.

Connected with the moral conditions of a successful rising is the written and oral, the public and private, the printed and epistolary propagandism which must precede action, and move it from a directing centre. It is upon us that this task devolves, and to us that the disposal of the material means necessary for its accomplishment is intrusted. We pass, then, to the material conditions of a successful rising.

Of these conditions, the Central Committee of the Polish Democratic Society is in a clear way of realizing one of the principal: the disarming of a portion of the hostile forces in Poland, through their defection at the moment of action. For this it has been only necessary to revive in the Russian army the remembrance of the generous intentions of Pestel, Mouravieff, Bestuleff, Ryleieff, and Kachowski, and to knit between the democrats of the two countries a sincere alliance, based upon the recognition of common objects and of mutual rights. This alliance has been concluded at London; a centre of Russian propagandism has been established; numerous, varied, and popular writings have been published; communications opened; and the ardor with which the writings are demanded, and new materials furnished, proves that the

revolutionary representatives of the two countries do not mistake as to the existence of the elements they represent, and the effect they reckon upon producing.

There remain for the preparatory period, perhaps already very limited, the gathering of the refugees, especially of those who are most distant from their country, at fixed points, whence they might be transported nearer and kept in readiness to enter the country armed, at the first moment of the insurrection ; the means of transport for them and also for those who must precede them ; and, while waiting, their keep and outfit.

For the period of action, supplies of arms and munitions of war, of which the arsenals in the enemies' hands can furnish but a very small part, and that not immediately nor everywhere. The supplies of arms should be contracted for and kept ready in depots where they might be handy at any moment for the use of the insurrection.

For both periods, funds, with which the insurrection, notwithstanding the revolutionary means of which it ought to make use, will probably be ill-supplied at the beginning, but which, rich in the immense resources of the nation, once constituted, it can easily reimburse. This need can only be met by the national credit, the resources of the class which now contains the germ of the future revolution being null, and the wealthy classes being interested not in nourishing but in retarding the insurrection, waiting the country's restoration from Cabinets which are disposed to do nothing for it. It is then for the States which would have a Poland restored by the hands of her own sons—that is to say, the only Poland capable of filling the part of protector and civilizer, to which she is called—it is for the States which feel the necessity of a Poland, which believed in the actual present existence of the elements of

her approaching resurrection, and which can reckon upon her—it is for them from to-day to open an account with her, not with the object of provoking a rising, which in every case is inevitable, but, by facilitating and hastening her success, to ward off many sufferings, many struggles, and much of bloodshed from Poland, and many mistakes and calamities from the other peoples of Europe.

This is what the Central Polish Democratic Committee, strong in its convictions and in the truth of the facts here brought under notice, and confident of the wisdom and generosity of the government of the United States, submits to it, in witness of its unbounded confidence, and as pledge of the decisive part which Poland will take in the approaching struggles of the peoples. It will believe it has attained its aim, if in its relations with the governments and with the peoples of Europe, during the present crisis, the government of the United States keeps count of the facts and assurances contained in this communication.

On behalf of the Polish Democratic Society.

STANISLAUS WORCELL.
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*The Polish Central Democratic Committee.*

London, 38 Regent Square, Grey's Inn Road, March 10.