

Annals of the Polish Rom. Cath. Union  
Archives and Museum

VOL. IV.

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A New England City  
and the  
November Uprising

A study of editorial opinion in New Haven, Conn.,  
concerning the Polish Insurrection of 1830-1831.

*by*

ARTHUR PRUDDEN COLEMAN

Lecturer in East European Languages  
Columbia University, in the City of New York.



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POLISH R. C. UNION OF AMERICA

CHICAGO, ILL., 1939

Annals of the Pilgrim, Round Church, United  
Archives and Museum.

Vol. IV. No. 1. 1913.

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NOVEMBER UPRISING

ARTHUR PRUDEN COLEMAN

Author of "The Pilgrim's Progress"

London: George G. Harrington & Co., Ltd., 1913.



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## The P.R.C.U. Archives and Museum

October 9th of 1939 will be a memorable date in the history of the Archives and Museum of the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America. The Museum Committee chose that day as the date for the official and solemn opening of the enlarged quarters of the rapidly growing institution. The whole third floor of the spacious P. R. C. U. Building, Milwaukee and Augusta Blvd., Chicago, has been added to house the relics of the past, after proper remodeling and furnishing.

In connection with the dedication ceremonies an appropriate program will be given in the P. R. C. U. Auditorium, North Noble and West Cortez Streets. Also the Second Annual Meeting of the Polish Society of History and Museum will be held.

We take this opportunity to invite representatives of educational institutions of kindred character, and all interested in history in general and in the history of the Polish group in America in particular, to take part in the aforesaid ceremonies of October 9th.

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The above announcement and invitation is the most eloquent proof of the progress made by the Archives and Museum of the P. R. C. Union in the past four years and particularly during the last twelve months. Founded only in October 1935, the Museum is now an outstanding institution of its kind in the country. Only few groups of Americans of foreign origin and descent were successful in establishing historical museums of their own, indicating their contributions to American culture, and the American Poles, through the P. R. C. U. Archives and Museum, became one of these. The usefulness of the institution has been recognized by some of the leading American and Polish cultural and scientific organizations

and their organs. Visitors, coming from all parts of the globe, marvel at the richness of the collections gathered in so short a time.

The splendid progress of the Museum was made possible by further cooperation of various organizations, and by the liberality of the friends of the Museum.

Światowy Związek Polaków z Zagranicy (The World Alliance of Poles Abroad), Warsaw, Poland, donated a beautiful set of original Polish peasant costumes illustrating the background of the Polish immigration in this country, and a monumental structure of ashwood and bronze, containing soil from historical Polish battlefields. This monument has an arrangement for a vigil light which will be lighted for the first time during the program on October 9th. The Polish Consulate General of Chicago since the beginning of the Museum strove to cooperate with it and endeavored to secure material from Poland which would interpret in the best way Polish cultural influences. To both, the Światowy Związek Polaków and the Consulate as well as to its chief, Hon. Dr. Waclaw Gawronski, we express our deep gratitude.

Our thanks are also extended to the Muzeum Narodowe (National Museum) of Warsaw, Poland, for a collection of several hundred photographs pertaining to the history and development of the Polish capital; to Mrs. Honorata B. Wolowska, President, and to the Polish Women's Alliance of America, who deposited the beautiful original painting "Pulaski at Savannah", by Stanislaus Batowski, with the Museum; this large picture, 20x12 feet, the property of the Polish Women's Alliance, was admired by millions at the Century of Progress Exposition in Chicago in 1933, and was unveiled by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt in the Chicago Art Institute in 1934; to the Rev. Stanislaus Rysiakiewicz of Jamaica, N. Y., who donated an original letter by Thaddeus Kosciuszko and two costly and rare Polish girdles (pasy sluckie) of the 17th and 18th century; to

the late Rev. Stanislaus Federkiewicz of Suffield, Conn., who donated a large collection of old Polish coins a few days before his untimely and tragic death; to Dr. Charles K. Wachtl of Philadelphia, Pa., who enriched the Museum with many valuable gifts, among them a collection of portraits of Polish Kings in originals by Thaddeus Zukotynski, an early Polish-American painter; to the Polish American Gold Star Fathers' and Mothers' Association of Chicago, for a collection of photographs of Polish soldiers of the American Army who lost their lives in the World War; to the Rev. Stanislaus Wlodarczyk, C. M., of Brooklyn, N. Y., who donated a well arranged and bound collection of 10,000 post cards illustrating Polish history and culture, and to all other friends of the Museum. They have proved by their spirit that they appreciate and approve of the endeavors of the Museum.

Following are some statistics from the report of the Custodian for the year 1938:

The P. R. C. U. Archives and Museum were visited by 5,238 persons during that year; this number comprised 45 group visits, 29 of which were composed of school children. Eighteen groups were composed of people of other national origin than Polish. Eighty three students availed themselves of the material at the premises and 54 institutions and individuals received informations on the history of the Poles in this country by mail. One hundred seventy nine objects (duplicates) were exchanged with or donated to 23 institutions. Ninety four objects were loaned to 74 reliable institutions and persons.

The Polish Historical Society and Museum of America, affiliated with the Museum also had a prosperous year. The number of its perpetual members, those who pay \$100.00, increased since last year from 12 to 34. Supporting members pay \$5.00 yearly, and regular ones \$1.00 yearly.

The P. R. C. U. Archives and Museum endeavors to be of the greatest possible service to all seeking any information on the history of the

Poles in America. We invite all such students to make free use of these facilities, and the Custodian will gladly make convenient arrangements.

The Archives and Museum is open to the public on Tuesdays from 1 to 5 p. m. and on Fridays from 7 to 9 p. m. Schools and societies may visit in groups any time, upon previously notifying the Custodian. Admission is free, no entrance fee being charged.

The P. R. C. U. Archives and Museum collects anything which has any bearing and the history of the Poles in the United States. It will appreciate the donation of any of the following:

Books and pamphlets on the history and biography of the Poles in the United States; reports of Polish-American Societies and Institutions of any kind; books and pamphlets by American-Poles on any subject; books on Poland or any Polish subject in any language, published in the United States; files of Polish-American newspapers or magazines, complete volumes or single numbers; portraits of Polish - American pioneers and eminent persons; photographs and pictures illustrating Polish life in America; autographs and manuscripts, maps, medals, badges, uniforms and banners of Polish-American Societies, etc.

Communications and gifts may be addressed to the Custodian of the P. R. C. U. Archives and Museum, M. Haiman, 984-986 Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Ill.

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(From June 9, 1938, to July 1, 1939)

(There are three classes of membership; regular with a fee of \$1.00 yearly, supporting with a fee of \$5.00 yearly and perpetual with a single fee of \$100.00. The numbers beside names are registration numbers and signify the order in which members joined the Society).

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This study by Prof. Arthur Prudden Coleman, Ph. D., pertains to the second wave of pro-Polish sympathies in the United States. The first wave was born of the sympathies of Americans toward the Kosciuszko Insurrection of 1794; the second one came in the wake of the news of the November Insurrection of 1830-1. Though the author has limited his field of research to a single American city, the subject of his study is truly representative; in those years of 1830-1, so memorable in Polish history, the whole country, almost without exception, thought and felt about Poland, just as New Haven did.

The American sympathies for Poland outlasted the insurrection itself. They culminated in 1834, when the United States offered a haven to a large group of Poles, former soldiers of the valiant Polish army, and at the time homeless exiles.

So much for the theme of Prof. Coleman's paper. As to the author himself, he is one of the outstanding authorities on Polish subjects in the Anglo-Saxon world. The editor of the Annals feels greatly honored by the opportunity to give space here to his able pen.

**Miecislav Haiman.**

## PREFACE

When the history of Polish-American cultural relations is finally written, the work will be a synthesis and an interpretation of the isolated findings of many individual researchers, a great deal of whose work will have been done in the files of American newspapers.

A pioneer in this field, and an assiduous worker, is Mieczysław Haiman of Chicago. Mr. Haiman's study of **The Fall of Poland in Contemporary American Opinion** (Chicago, 1935), his **Polacy wśród pionierów Ameryki** (Chicago, 1930), and his **Ślady polskie w Ameryce** (Chicago, 1938) are rich in source material pertinent to this subject.

In endeavoring to discover how Americans felt about the Polish Insurrection of 1830-1831, I have limited my field for the moment to a single New England city. Of all the New England cities which I might have investigated, I chose, finally, New Haven, Connecticut. I did this because I know New Haven, I am familiar with its mind and temper through long association with it, and because New Haven was in 1831, as it still is today, not only an important city but one of the most "New England" of New England's cities.

I wish to express my gratitude to the Library of Yale University and the Free Library of the City of New Haven for placing at my disposal the files of New Haven newspapers for 1831. Through the courtesy of these two libraries I was able to have all the New Haven papers for that year examined.

The papers thus examined were:

**The Connecticut Journal**, weekly, Henry E. Peck, ed., founded 1767.

**The Connecticut Herald**, weekly, John B. Carrington, ed., founded 1804.



**The Columbian Register**, weekly, Joseph Barber, ed., founded 1812.

**The Chronicle**, weekly, Henry E. Peck, ed., founded 1827.

**The Advertiser**, semi-weekly, Henry E. Peck, ed., founded 1829.

**The Palladium**, weekly, soon to be daily, James F. Babcock, ed., founded Nov. 1829.

**The National Republican**, weekly, Samuel Hazard, ed., founded July 23, 1831.

It was found, in the case of **The Advertiser** and **The Chronicle**, to be a waste of time to examine every issue, since both were edited by Henry E. Peck of the **Journal** and the sentiments expressed in all three were identical. With this single exception, every issue of every New Haven paper was examined for news or comment concerning the Polish Uprising.

A paper embodying the findings of this study was read by the author at the Eighth International Congress of Historical Sciences held in Zurich, Switzerland, from August 28th to September 3rd, 1938. It was one of only five papers presented at that Congress to deal with an American theme.

## CHAPTER I

### NEW HAVEN AND THE NEW HAVEN NEWSPAPER IN 1830-1831

New Haven, Connecticut, the seat of Yale University, was in 1831 the third capital of all New England and the semi-capital of its own state. Only Boston, the home of Harvard University, and Hartford, Connecticut's official capital, outranked it. In sheer beauty there was no city in New England that could compare with it, deep-harbored and bastioned to right and left as it was by the majestic peaks of East and West Rock. With its spacious, quiet Green, its frequent open squares and its rows of stately elms, New Haven possessed the serenity and charm of a country village. Most of its dwellings were two-story frame houses painted white and trimmed with green blinds. An occasional more pretentious home in the red-brick-and-white of old Connecticut completed the pleasant picture.

At the time of the November Uprising, New Haven was going through a fundamental reorientation of her economic life. A city of 10,000, of homogeneous Yankee stock, she had derived her prosperity in the past from sea-borne trade, so that until only a few years before she had hardly been conscious at all of her hinterland. Now that the American war with England in 1812 had changed all this she was actually courting that hinterland, actually making efforts to draw to herself its untapped riches. By 1831 the Farmington Canal had been almost completed and the merchants of New Haven were seeing in this link between seacoast and back-country a permanent source of prosperity for both town and farm.

A breakdown of the spiritual and cultural isolation which had always marked New Haven was bound to accompany industrialization and the beginnings of this breakdown were being felt even in the early thirties. With the death of Timothy Dwight the Elder a decade and a half before

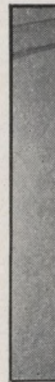
(1817) Yale University had lost a President who who was the very personification of New England's classic Puritanism and soon she was to feel the buffetings of Unitarianism, with its emphasis on the living spirit and its strongly social conscience. Symbolically, Horace Bushnell, Connecticut's own prophet of the new gospel, entered the divinity school at Yale in the very year which our study covers.

New Haven was in 1831 on the verge of opening its soul to romantic influences emanating from Germany, from the recently awakened Slavs and from the English Lake Poets. In Hezekiah Howe's bookshop, where all New Haveners of taste and learning browsed, the poet Percival was buying the poems of Mickiewicz and translating them into verses of his own. Thus, although New Haven was not to be bound to New York for seventeen years, although candles and whale-oil lamps still lighted the city's finest homes, and though coal-burning cook stoves were still a novelty, old, theocratic New Haven's spiritual isolation was, nevertheless, breaking down and the romantic renaissance was coming on.

In the field of journalism the year 1831 lies at the end of an era. What Mr. Haiman wrote in his **Fall of Poland** about the American newspaper of the 1790's was as true of 1831 as it was of the early post-Revolutionary period. It was just before the age of cheap, newsy and independent papers ushered in by James Gordon Bennett's **New York Herald**.

Thus the 1831 papers were overgrown, four-sheeted affairs, weeklies for the most part, and priced at two dollars a year. They were made up of vast columns of foreign news, of oddities gleaned here and there, of stale, indifferent advertisements and quantities of political news. Whereas today the newspapers of New Haven are a clearing house for news from the city's rich and populous hinterland, in 1831 they were the repository far more frequently of news from the

Left: Mementos pertaining to Helena Modjeska,  
case with banners, etc.





Left: Mementos pertaining to Helena Modjeska, case with banners, etc.



Above: View of the northern wall of the Museum. Visible busts of Paderewski, Archbishop J. Cieplak, Rev. J. Dąbrowski

P. R. C. U.  
ARCHIVES  
AND  
MUSEUM  
IN PICTURES



"General  
Pershing",  
original portrait  
by  
Adalbert Kossak.

Right: Original uniform of a soldier of the Polish army recruited in the U. S. in 1917-19, gift of the French Government.



Above: Portrait of Archbishop J. Cieplak, by Bakałowicz, and original Stations of the Cross from the oldest Polish church in America, in Panna Maria, Texas.



Polish-Russian front than of accounts of what people were doing in nearby Derby or Cheshire.

Newspapers had in 1831 a single reason for existence: they were the vehicle for carrying the news and waging the polemics of the political parties. New Haven newspapers were that year more crowded than usual with political news for political conventions were being held for the first time and there was a great deal to report. Most of the city's press was ardently pro-Clay, that is, National Republican, with the **Register**, under Joseph Barber's editorship, the solitary warrior on the side of Andrew Jackson.

1831 was a quiet year on the whole for New Haven except for political fermentations, and its editors were glad to use Polish news to fill up their long columns. As a matter of fact, the only local event striking enough to throw politics and foreign news into eclipse was the spirited uprising of New Haveners in protest against someone's proposal to establish a college for Negroes in the city.

## CHAPTER II.

### EARLY REACTION TO THE UPRISING

On Sunday morning, January 30, 1831, when the packet ship *Sovereign*, Capt. Champlin in charge, docked in New York harbor, it carried newspapers from England and the continent through December 19th of the previous year. The next morning the startling character of the news contained in those papers was revealed to the New York public. It reached New Haven on the following Friday by way of the semi-weekly *Advertiser*.

The news brought by the packet *Sovereign* was the first word to reach American readers of the outbreak of the Polish revolutionary movement against Russia. When New Haveners read their *Advertiser* on the 4th of February they learned that on the night of November 29th, 1830, a band of young Polish patriots from the Sub-Ensigns' School broke into the palace of Grand Duke Constantine in Warsaw and raised the cry of revolution.

The *Advertiser's* comment on the Polish news was equivocal:

"We have filled our columns with foreign intelligence of an indistinct but interesting character," he wrote (Feb. 4th). "The revolutionary spirit is extending with rapidity and fervor and with every prospect of a joyful consummation. The movement was sudden and unexpected and its immediate success complete; but there is much reason to fear that this long oppressed nation can have little to hope for in a struggle against the prodigious power of Russia."

And later,

"That Poland may throw off the fetters of her conquerors and assume the condition she once held among nations must be the desire of every grateful American. Pulaski, Sobieski, Kosciusko are names dear to history and it should be remembered that Poland has a host of patriots, if not as eminent, at least as ardent. To look back and view her as she appeared when Sobieski led her armies to the relief of Vienna, the Queen of the East of Europe, and contrast her, a great, powerful, extended nation, with the little Duchy of Warsaw, an appanage

of Russia, and the change which a few years has wrought seems incredible.

No people have been more desirous of liberty, none on the European continent more worthy of it, than the Poles. That they may attain it pure, peaceful, perfect, we sincerely wish, though we little expect it except through a general European war."

On the 8th of February the Tuesday papers had their first opportunity to hail the Polish uprising, and with one accord they did it, the *Journal* by reprinting Mr. Peck's editorial of the previous Friday, the other papers with original comment. Mr. Carrington said in the *Herald*,

"The foreign news in this paper, commencing on the first page, will be found interesting. The wheels of revolution are still rolling onward and oppressed and degraded. Poland has followed the example of France and Belgium... thus far with equal unanimity and success..."

Rejoicing that the scenes enacted in three days the previous July in Paris had been repeated in five days in Warsaw and "a political revolution consummated," Mr. Babcock of the *Palladium* expressed on the 8th his profound hope that at last Europe's "sodden state" was to be leavened.

The "political revolution" to which Mr. Babcock referred was, of course, the appointment of General Chlopicki, a veteran of the Napoleonic Wars, as civil and military dictator of the Kingdom of Poland. The New Haven papers carried a full and detailed account of the steps by which this action came about, from the nocturnal revolutionary outburst of November 29th, the seizure of power by the Moderates represented by Prince Adam Czartoryski, the quick suppression of the revolutionary element and the issuance of a set of demands upon the Tsar.

Wishing to comment on the Polish news in each issue of their papers, yet confused by the welter of unfamiliar names and ideas, New Haven editors quickly adopted the policy of selecting some item for elaboration that concerned a person familiar to their readers. Thus it happened that the French statesman Lafayette came in for more editorial notice in New Haven than anything he

was able to do in the Polish cause warranted. His speech in the Chamber of Deputies on the 14th of December was repeatedly noticed.

What Lafayette actually said that day in the course of debate on the expansion of the National Guard, was that France should arm, in order to be ready, not to interfere in the internal affairs of any other country, but to defend herself and to prevent the seizure of a friendly state like Belgium, or Poland, by an unfriendly Power. The editors of New Haven, remembering their own Monroe Doctrine and seeing in Lafayette's delin- eation of what he believed the French policy should be a French Monroe Doctrine, quickly stretched a point and saw France already march- ing to Poland's rescue.

"The question now is," wrote Barber in the *Register* for February 5th, "if Russia should march down upon the Poles, will not a new coalition be formed of France, the Netherlands, some of the old German states, etc., to act against Russia, and those Powers which may adhere to her policy. The late affair in Poland affords more grounds to apprehend a general war in Europe than any other event in the revolutionary occurrences of the old world during the last year."

And in the *Herald* Carrington concluded his editorial of the 8th with,

"The struggles of unfortunate Poland will command the warmest sympathy of every friend of liberty, and we rejoice to see that regenerated France is disposed to take such a stand as not only to protect her own rights but to prevent any improper interference by belligerent powers in determining and establishing the rights of others, whose circumstances are similar to her own. France maintains a powerful and independent attitude, and though anxiously desiring the preservation of peace, it is evident she will not shrink from the contest, should the Holy Alliance, by any species of coercion, attempt to weaken or subvert the foundation upon which she has erected a government of liberty and law."

While Babcock of the *Palladium*, fearing Russia would not heed the warning implicit in Lafay- ette's pronouncement, warned his readers (Feb- ruary 8th):

"Mighty in resources, proud of her courage, pertina- cious in her determination and wedded to the 'divine rights' of her nobles, she (Russia) will carry the conflict to the field. Man everywhere in the European world, fired with the outburstings of liberty, will resist her colossal strength, and the issue will be between the oppressor and the oppressed—between freedom and despotism. Already we feel the tremors beneath our feet, in apprehension of the impending shock."

In this manner the news of Poland's first post- Partition Uprising was received by the news- papers of New Haven. All greeted it with mingled hope and fear, seeing in it the menace of a gen- eral European war. All recognized the Polish Uprising as a chapter in the long struggle for human liberty and, sympathizing with it, believed its only chance of success lay in the general con- flagration they dreaded to see approaching.

### CHAPTER III HOPE AND FEAR

The high point of the Polish news which reached New Haven during February and early March was the succession of manifestoes which issued from Petersburg and Warsaw in late December and early January. Except for the **Register's** favorable notice of the unexpected participation in the struggle of the Jews (Feb. 12th), comment on these manifestoes left no room for comment on any other aspect of the Uprising during that period.

One of the Polish Provisional Government's first acts was to dispatch a set of demands to the Tsar. The demands were that (1) all Russian troops be withdrawn from the Kingdom, (2) constitutional rights be restored in full to all persons in the Kingdom, (3) **all Polish provinces**, including Litwa, Volhynia, Podolia and Ukraine be united under a single government, (4) the Emperor himself come to Warsaw and open the Diet on December 18th. On hearing of the Uprising the Tsar's first act was to write to Senator Grabowski a long letter in which he called the Uprising "infamous". This he issued on the 17th of December, and followed it on the 24th with a lengthy manifesto calling the Poles to their senses and repudiating the act of the revolutionists.

When the Tsar failed to appear on the 18th of December for the opening of the Diet, the Poles opened the Diet themselves, thus performing officially the first act of deliberate revolution, since under the constitution only the King or his Viceroy could declare the Diet in session. On receiving the Tsar's manifesto of December 24th, the Provisional Government issued a manifesto on their own part in which they declared, among other things, that the Tsar was no longer King of Poland. The Tsar's manifesto was reported in New York late in February, the Polish retort, issued

on the 13th of January, was published in New York during the first week in March.

A violent attack on the Tsar's manifesto came from Barber of the **Register** on the 26th of February. Calling it a "compound of vanity and blasphemy," he warned Nicholas that "a haughty spirit goeth before destruction". An equally violent expression of praise for the Polish manifesto accompanied the manifesto itself when it was printed in the **Journal** on the 4th of March. Concerning it Mr. Peck declared,

"With sentiments so exalted, spirits so energetic and patriotism so ardent, it seems scarcely possible that the brave, awakened Poles can be again subjected to a detested bondage..."

Poland, meanwhile, stands alone, firm, resolved, but alone; ready, nevertheless, to encounter the savage Cossack and the fierce hordes of Russia, to stake life itself upon the issue, to save all or lose all. The sympathies of the free in all parts of the world, England, France and America are with her, but fear, policy and remoteness hold them all aloof, and she must achieve her destiny by herself. What a host of glorious recollections will the Poles carry with them to the battlefield! They look back through a vista, dimmed indeed by an oppression of sixty years, to an age of glory, when their history was emblazoned by the renown of a Sobieski. Their struggles for liberty have been sanctified by the efforts and sacrifices of a Poniatowski, Pulaski and Kosciusko. Their present determination is worthy of the olden time. May their success be commensurate with their zeal."

Military events on the Polish-Russian front filled the news columns of the New Haven papers from the moment the struggle between Pole and Russian assumed a military aspect, which happened in the latter half of January. Since the early war news was favorable to Poland's cause, the first day of March saw Babcock of the **Palladium** praise the Polish soldiers for their enthusiasm and for their splendid organization, while the **Journal**, on the same day, commended them for their energetic resistance. Babcock was glad to see, also, that the Provisional Government was adopting the principles of the French Revolution by extending to all classes of society, even to the Jews, the rights of free men.

Because the war news was so unintelligible to the American reader there was little comment on it at first and it was not until the spectacular events of late February which crystallized around Grochów that any editor felt qualified to express an opinion. Then, on April 12th, in the course of an article on the state of Europe in general, the **Journal** ventured to declare,

"Poland is arming heartily and will battle it out to the last. But if she is to stand alone unsuccored, her defenses will be only a delivery of her people to the sword and of the state to deeper and more hopeless thralldom."

Through February and March the duel between the commander of the Polish forces General Skrzynecki (who had succeeded General Radziwill, the successor of Chlopicki) and Russian Field-Marshal Debich went on, the objective of Debich being, of course, to reach Warsaw and that of Skrzynecki to keep him from reaching it. New Haven editors followed the desperate, disheartening struggle in a mood of deep gloom. On the 21st of May the **Herald** voiced that gloom, declaring that the Poles, though brave, were too few in number to win alone and there was no one to help them. A week later the same paper expressed the hope that Poland might get some measure of constitutional government out of the struggle, if nothing more. On the same day (May 28th) it found cause for rejoicing on the part of the American farmer, if not of the Polish warrior:

"It (a general war) will create a demand for bread-stuffs and thus enhance the value of agricultural products immensely. If the war becomes general the probability is that the ensuing harvest will be the most valuable one to farmers that has been reaped for many years."

Skrzynecki's vigorous prosecution of the war during March and his fair measure of success against Debich at Wielkie Dembe and Iganie gave rise to the **Journal's** somewhat rhapsodic comment on May 27th and to an editorial in similar vein by Babcock of the **Palladium** on the 25th:

"Poland, glorious Poland," the latter concluded, "with all her former reputation for skill and bravery and magnanimity in war has far exceeded the most sanguine

anticipation of her friends. It was never supposed that the enemy could walk over her fields without wading through the blood and trampling over the bodies of her high-souled defenders, but that she should repel and drive back the hordes of disciplined barbarians that swarmed around her and so soon act upon the offensive, amazes, astounds her warmest admirers."

The passivity of Field-Marshal Debich during April frankly puzzled the **Journal's** editor and on June 21st, when news arrived of his being outmanoeuvred by Skrzynecki, he wrote, "We do not know what it (Debich's defensive attitude) portends."

In April General Dwernicki, already an important figure in Poland's military operations because of his early success (Feb. 14) at Stoczek, decided to carry the war into the eastern provinces of the Polish realm. To this end, therefore, he led his army beyond the borders of the Kingdom of Poland, crossing the River Bug that formed the boundary, on the 11th of April. To the editor of the **Palladium** this was a cause for sorrow, since it meant that the war was going to be fought on an ever-widening front.

"Poor Poland," he wrote on the 19th of July, "is remembered daily in the prayers of all the people of the earth who are free or who hope to become so. It is impossible to anticipate the result of their present conflict."

Just a week later the same editor turned again to Poland's fate and seeing it grow increasingly hopeless wrote,

"Would to God they (the Poles) might know with what anxiety the people of this free land look to their struggles and feel for their cause—sure it would encourage them to know that the hearts of the whole nation are with them—and, if possible, would add strength to their arms and courage to their souls."

The object of the Russian military advance had been from the beginning the Polish capital, Warsaw. The renewed activity of Debich's push toward Warsaw which took place in the latter part of May caused Americans to believe the capital would soon fall. Thus, on the 23rd of July, on reading of Skrzynecki's negligible successes, the **Register** called what he read not



nearly so encouraging as "American friends of liberty could wish," while on the 30th the only cause for rejoicing he could discover was the negative one that Warsaw had not yet, so far as he could learn, been taken. It was just at this time that the **Journal**, which had previously been disheartened (July 26) because it felt Skrzynecki's reported successes to have been exaggerated, saw on the 29th a cause for hope in the battle of Ostrolenka (May 26).

Like the **Journal**, the **National Republican** too read this famous battle as a Polish victory. Admitting that it was actually a Russian triumph, the editor called it, nevertheless, a moral victory for the Poles and a physical victory for them too, since the Russian loss of man power was so appalling great.

The death of Field Marshall Debich on June 10th was commented on editorially by the **Journal** (Aug. 5th) and the **Register** (Aug. 6th). Calling the news from Poland "first on the public mind", the former rejoiced because Debich, "the Balkan Passer" as he was always called, was dead. It attributed the commander's death to a combination of "cholera morbus, choleric temper and brandy." The **Register** felt Debich's death would exert an intoxicating effect on the Polish mind, since it was Debich who had boasted he would enter Warsaw in sixty days.

Prussia came in for a word of condemnation on the 13th of August, because of her attitude of non-cooperation with the Polish revolutionists. On that day the **National Republican** concluded an editorial with the paragraph,

"Words fail us to express our abhorrence of the dastardly conduct of Prussia toward the Poles, aiding and comforting their enemies and throwing every impediment in the way of succor and help from England and France. We cannot but think that a terrible retribution will one day overtake these mortal enemies of the human race."

The death of Field-Marshal Debich was quickly followed by the appointment to supreme command of Ivan Fedorovich Paskevich, hero, like Debich

himself, of the recent war with Turkey. Paskevich's strategy was directed toward the single objective of seizing Warsaw, and toward this end he led his army across the Vistula in mid-July. Having made the crossing near Plock, he advanced without resistance to Łowicz. General Skrzynecki, meanwhile, loitered outside Warsaw, reading the French papers and expecting momentarily military aid from the government of Louis Philippe. With Paskevich drawing closer each day to the capital, the people of Warsaw grew daily more desperate. Finally it was decided that a new commander had to be chosen and Skrzynecki was removed. In his place was installed the hero of the recent abortive campaign in Litwa, Henryk Dembiński. Meanwhile, Warsaw seethed with rumors of conspiracy and with authenticated stories of treason in high places.

This unhappy state of affairs in the beleaguered capital was reported in the New Haven papers in late August, along with news of the death of Grand Duke Constantine. The treasonable plotting among Polish leaders the **Register** called "more foul than that of Arnold and Co., during the American Revolution," and Constantine's death was hailed by the same paper as a cause for rejoicing.

Paskevich's triumphal and unresisted advance during late July and August gave rise to repeated expressions of gloom on the part of New Haven editors.

"Will kings never combine but for the destruction of liberty?" exclaimed the **National Republican** (Sept. 10th). "And if they will remain passive in this case, where is the voice of the people? Shall it not be heard? And in England and France, as well as in our own beloved land, is't not now omnipotent?"

Honor to our name, the *vox populi* of America at least will be lifted on this subject, both here at home and upon every shore where her sons are cast..."

And on the 18th of October Carrington of the **Herald** mourned, prophetically,

"Poland must slumber again in the arms of legitimacy and the cool calm of despotism, but the blood of her sons

will eternally cry out for vengeance on her oppressors, and freedom alone can appease their **manes**. Poland will yet be free, and reassert her standing among the nations of the earth—and till then the usurpers of her rights will stand upon a volcano ever ready to burst beneath their feet."

The long-expected and long-dreaded collapse of Warsaw, which took place September 7th, was reported in New Haven the first week of November. Two notes characterize the editorial comment that followed the unhappy news: regret for Poland's fall, now believed to be inevitable; and censure of the French government.

"We have no longer anything to hope or fear for Poland," declared the **National Republican** (Nov. 5th) . . . . "Language has not the power to express the indignation we feel at the diplomatic hypocrisy that has only flattered the people in their deep despair; the tongue too feeble to hurl forth the curse that swells our heart, upon the poltroonery of a government (the French) that only lacks courage to array itself in all the despotism, inconsistency, and hostility to human rights which marked the Cabinets of all the Louises and Charleses that the Bourbon dynasty has inflicted upon France."

"Thus has perished," lamented the **Palladium** (Nov. 8th), "as brave a nation as ever bled for freedom. Enlightened Europe looked on and coolly saw a nation butchered that might have been saved, perhaps without a blow. To France Poland looked, the liberals of Europe looked, America looked; all looked to France as the benefactor and protector of the country of Kosciuszko—all have been disappointed . . .

If a general war should rage, as soon it probably will, throughout Europe, there is but little doubt which cause will be successful—Liberty or Despotism. From the present state of Europe there is faint hope that even now Poland will not be annihilated."

In Warsaw's fall the **Journal** believed it saw the death-blow to Louis Philippe:

"France demanded of her government," it declared (Nov. 8th), "that interference which might long since have established the independence of Poland without bloodshed. Her government denied the demand. If the people ascertain that to this refusal to aid has been added a treacherous interference to destroy Poland, their rage will be boundless."

Warsaw's fall and the tremendous interest it aroused in America was the occasion for some detective work on the part of the New York newspaper from which a majority of the news reported in New Haven papers was taken. The journal was the New York **Courier and Enquirer**. In early November the editor of this enterprising paper determined to use the general interest in Warsaw's fate to trap those journalists in other cities who systematically purloined news from the **Courier** without acknowledging the debt. In a few copies of a certain issue the **Courier** printed an entirely false account of the doings in Warsaw, relating in glowing words how the Poles had triumphed over their enemy and saved the city. The copies containing this story were delivered to the editors whom the **Courier** held under suspicion. Among these was Babcock of the **Palladium**. Fortunately for his readers Babcock "caught on" to the hoax and exposed it in no uncertain terms, declaring that such serious matter should not, on any account, be made the instrument of a jest.

With Poland's fate sealed by Warsaw's fall, as everyone conceded it to be, American editors turned their attention toward the progress of the English Reform Bill. On the 10th of December the **Register** buried the Polish cause so far as New Haven was concerned with this final tribute, copied from the Rochester (New York) **Republican**:

"The policy of Europe is now developed. Liberty is to be put down:—in Poland, in Italy, in Belgium, in France and in England. The divine right of kings is to be sustained; the conspiracy is complete. If the people will do it they can always conquer. But rivers of blood must flow ere the voice of freedom shall be heard in enslaved Europe. **Poland has ennobled her name**—'twill live while kingly truncheons which environ her shall be prostrate."

## CHAPTER IV

### MATERIAL HELP FOR THE POLISH CAUSE

When Americans sympathize with a cause they invariably contribute generously to funds for the advancement of that cause. This was true in 1831 when the Polish Uprising forced the Polish emergency upon the attention of the American public.

The *Palladium* was the first newspaper in New Haven to ask its readers straight out what they intended to do on Poland's behalf. Taking as his text a report (see *Palladium*, March 2nd) that Polish women were forming a nursing corps, while Americans in Paris were forming a committee to send money to Poland, Babcock inquired on the 22nd of March,

"While the Poles are stripping themselves of all their ornaments and substituting for luxuries the bare necessities of existence, while the females of Poland have let fall the implements of housewifery and assumed the weapons of war, while the citizens of England and France are creating funds for the assistance of this brave people, shall the United States be backward in lending a helping hand to the same cause—a cause that is more nearly allied to their bosoms than to those of any other nation on the globe? Have we forgotten that their countryman, the brave Kosciusko, poured his blood freely beside our Washington in our struggle for freedom? Prayers and sympathy alone will not impede the march of the tyrant. While we as a nation have ever been free to sanction the resistance of the oppressed, let us not be slow to offer them something that will be of more substance in their pressing need than good wishes alone. The Greek will bless us for what we have done for him (except the building of the frigates) and the Poles have a claim upon us for the services of their warriors in our own revolution."

The next exhortation of this nature came from a New Haven gentleman who lived in Warsaw and who wrote his appeal to the *Journal* (April 19th). To this gentleman's urgency that Americans help Poland with money and supplies, the *Journal's* editor added his own exhortation and

a warning that, since Louis Philippe was completely faithless, the Poles were bound to lose unless others turned in and helped.

On the 10th of May, in the *Herald*, appeared the first evidence that the help so earnestly requested above might actually be materializing.

"We are authorized to say," declared the *Herald*, "that a gentleman of this city well known for his patriotism and philanthropy will give a hundred dollars for the benefit of the Poles, provided a liberal sum shall be raised in the city from other sources, and will pledge himself to give one hundred dollars yearly for the same object so long as it is necessary. Who will begin?"

Not until September did the matter of material help for Poland get in the papers again. The reason for its resurgence at that time was the reported success of the American Committee in collecting funds for the Poles, and the appointment in July of Samuel G. Howe as agent in charge of carrying the funds to Poland.

"Were we in Europe," declared the *National Republican* (Sept. 10th), "we feel that our government would have sent thousands of her sons to pay off the debt due the manes of Pulaski and Kosciusko, due to that spirit of liberty who, wherever her votaries bow, beneath the oppressor's sword or peacefully under their own vine and fig tree, has ordained her first great law that they love and aid each other. Our hearts acknowledge this law."

And further, in the same editorial,

"That the language of these addresses (speeches on Poland's behalf made at a recent meeting in New York) will be re-echoed throughout the land we cannot doubt; and that it will result in something more than empty sound we both hope and trust. To send men will not be expected of us. But if we send money and our blessing, and the laggards of England and France will send men and ships, Poland may yet be saved. A moral influence is peculiarly ours: and it is by such influence that the world is to be regenerated. The expression of our sentiments may influence England and France at length to speak out upon this subject, and when that takes place, depend upon it, the Northern bear will skulk back to his marshes and icebergs."

When these warm, hopeful words were being written Warsaw was already beyond hope and the

end of the Uprising was at hand. Uneasy lest this might be the case, Babcock of the **Palladium** wrote on the 13th of September:

"We are now waiting most anxiously for news from the seat of war. The next arrival will probably bring us very interesting intelligence. Will it be the fall of Warsaw? No! Forbid it, Poland! It cannot, it must not, shall not be! The banners of Poland yet wave triumphant over the walls of her capital, flouting defiance to the enemies of liberty. What have the patriots now to fight for? — the very heart of Poland, where are centered all they hold most dear, their wives, their children, their homes, their altars, and their laws. Can men who have achieved so much against thrice their number and strength now be conquered upon the very threshold of their home? They will present a front impenetrable to the combined force of the miscreants of Russia and Prussia. 'Thrice is he armed, who has his quarrel just.' Did ever a nation make a more noble sacrifice? Did ever man show more courage, more skill or more wisdom? They have had to contend with merciless vagabonds and treacherous friends within. They have looked abroad for aid and found nothing but disappointment—did they despair at misfortune? No, they grasped the steel yet firmer—they nerved their hearts yet stronger, resolving to live or die freemen. Poland is not yet conquered. Her soil may be polluted by the footsteps of her enemies—her banner may have fallen when not one Pole was left to shield it with his bosom—yet Poland is not conquered. Her heroes have borne their trophies to God."

Thanks to such editorials as the above, plans for helping the Poles with money and supplies matured in every city during September. Of such plans the **Journal** remarked on the 23rd of that month:

"The citizens of America must aid Poland or she will fall without a succorer. We can do little for them with arms, but we have money—we have provisions, and we have sympathy, that we can spare. Exertions are making in many places, to show our good wishes for Poland, and our citizens will shortly be called upon for their contribution. Will they not cheerfully impart it?"

And on the 27th:

"The West Point cadets have contributed \$248 for the Poles. A meeting will shortly be called in this city for the purpose of concentrating the disposition of our citizens to relieve the Poles."

That certain young hot-heads took the challenge of Poland's need for man-power seriously we gather from an editorial in the **National Republican** for October 29th:

"The government paper says that by an act of Congress passed in 1818 it is against the laws of the United States for the young gentlemen of Philadelphia and New York to embark on a Polish crusade, a beautiful thing in theory but **impracticable** in practice. Instructions have already been issued from the President to the District Attorneys of the above-mentioned cities to throw cold water on the ardor of these gallant youths—in other words to institute proceedings against all who violate the above law."

It was not more than a week after this editorial appeared that word came of Warsaw's fall and the New Haven press, no longer daring to cherish hope of Polish success, abandoned agitation designed toward helping Poland in a material way.

## CHAPTER V.

### VERSE INSPIRED by the NOVEMBER UPRISING

As Mieczysław Haiman has repeatedly pointed out,<sup>1</sup> a mass of spirited and sincere, but mostly indifferent, verse appeared in the United States during and immediately following the Uprising in celebration of the Polish cause. The first of such verse to come out in the New Haven papers was an effusion by a certain self-styled "Florizel". Apostrophizing a "day" foretold by General Pulaski, Florizel cries out,

"Roll on, roll on the destined day,  
By sage and dying warrior told,  
The star has beamed and guides the way  
To scenes that fate's dark curtains fold.  
Onward! the day will break; the hour  
Draws nigh when tyrants shackles fall,  
And Destiny's loud clarion high,  
Bewarns the Prince of despot power—  
"Freedom has waked—the tyrant thrall  
Has ended—and the cry  
By patriots echoed shall ascend  
Like holy incense, and shall blend  
With songs of triumph from the free,  
In chorus, shouting Liberty!"

O God! shall yet that visioned sun  
Rise with such healing in his beams  
Or hath it risen? Hath it begun  
The glorious work, which in bright dreams  
The patriot sages (slumbering now)  
Predicted? Ah! shall yet again  
The broken spirits that surround  
Sarmatia's altars, firmly bound  
In wearied life—in death—(and when  
They meet in Heaven, that vow  
Will be recorded there anew)—  
To cherish still the land where grew  
Their infant hopes—where buried sleep  
Their murdered sires—where ruined stand

<sup>1</sup>In *Polacy wśród pionierów Ameryki*, Chicago, 1930, pp. 249-285, and in *Ślady polskie w Ameryce*, Chicago, 1938, pp. 245-294.

Their sacred homes—where now they weep  
The tyrant chain.—Shall they yet twine  
The laurel wreath—the happy few  
That live redeemed? Oh, soil divine!  
Whose parted souls in Heaven now shine!  
Pulaski's, Kosciuszko's land!  
Fondly do we remember yet  
The days when fate seemed brooding o'er  
Our happy soil; when darkly met  
For death on our devoted shore  
Freedom's best friends—her sternest foes.  
When legions hovered round the spot  
Where hung upon the thread of fate  
The hopes of millions and the great,  
The good of distant lands, were not  
Forgetful of our wrongs, they rose,  
They freely bared the arm of might;  
They poured their blood in freedom's fight—  
And deeply we remember still  
That Heaven lent aid and ever will.

And will there live in this loved land  
When Time's unstead, destroying hand  
Hath swept its way for rolling ages—  
Will there exist proud souls that swell  
When on those glorious days they dwell?  
Fame's noblest, brightest pages!  
Or when the tide of Time has rolled  
A few swift years its headlong course,  
Will one oblivious spirit hold  
Those hearts of Freedom's last resource—  
The soil that gave them birth—  
The tale by kindred patriots told,  
Of noblest deeds of earth—  
Will then one spirit hold them light?  
A son of sires who in that fight  
The first, where leagued o'er Freedom's grave,  
They darkly met the tyrant's slave,  
And won the meed of Heaven?  
O God! forbend! Our prayer shall be  
For Poland and for Liberty!  
Till shackles fall—till despot-bolts be riven,  
And tyrants yield their sceptres to the free.

—Florizel.

Feb. 14, 1831.

In the *Herald* for May 10th appeared a verse called "The Autocrat's Prayer", inspired by the Tsar's manifesto. The appearance of this verse on this date may prove that it was written for the New Haven paper, since its later publication,

noted by Mr. Haiman,<sup>2</sup> in a Buffalo paper, did not occur until June 22nd.

Four days later, on May 14th, the *Register* celebrated the Uprising in the long "Polish War Song", a piece of verse that had been clipped, probably, from a larger journal:

On, hearts of steel, the Russian band  
Are gathering in your native land.  
On, hearts of steel! the Cossack's scream  
Has roused the mother from her dream;  
'Twas roused when Kosciusko fell,  
When Warsaw's streets gave forth a flood  
Of maidens' tears and fathers' blood!  
I see the flaming city there,  
I hear the cries of fell despair;  
I hear the Spring Mine's dreadful roar,  
I see a ruin stained with gore:  
On, hearts of steel! your country calls;  
Shall tyrants spoil your fathers' halls?  
Shall Polish maidens weep in vain?  
On, hearts of steel! again—again!

On, hearts of steel! The Tartar horde  
Is on your pleasant villas poured;  
Shall Poland sink without a blow?  
Shall her red blood in torrents flow?  
Shall Danube thunder o'er her slain  
While Cossacks scour o'er hill and plain?  
On, hearts of steel! for vengeance cry!  
Free Poland, or in battle die!  
Shrink not from bayonet or spear;  
Conquer, or press a soldier's bier;  
Then shall the page of history tell  
How well you fought,—how nobly fell!  
And glory with her dazzling wreath  
Shall gild the agonies of death.  
On, hearts of steel, for freedom fight,  
Or Poland's sun will set in night.

On, hearts of steel! the war steeds neigh,  
By Cracow at the close of day.  
Think how Suvarov baneful stood,  
Polluting e'en a sea of blood,  
When Poland sunk beneath the blows  
Of tyrants and of inward foes,  
Vile traitors to the land they trod,  
Scorn'd by the free and cursed by God!

<sup>2</sup>See Haiman, *Polacy wśród pionierów Ameryki*, op. cit. pp.249-250. This poem appeared, according to Haiman, in the Buffalo (N. Y.) *Courier and General Advertiser* for June 22, 1831.

On, hearts of steel, make bare each sword,  
Fall furious on each Tartar horde,  
Lay Russia's host upon the plain,  
Break from each tyrant's galling chain  
And Poland from the dust shall soar,  
To own a tyrant's power no more.  
On, hearts of steel! Or Freedom ne'er  
Will make her glorious dwelling here.

On, hearts of steel! Though cowards fly,  
Unfit to live, afraid to die—  
Thy true born hearts shall never quail,  
Before the showers of leaden hail;  
Thy blades shall glitter in the sun,  
The blood of Poland's foes shall run,  
Till it shall wash away the stain  
Of bowing to a tyrant's chain.  
What though the land be drenched in gore,  
Thy banner, Poland, high shall soar,  
And nations shall exult to know  
A tyrant fell at every blow,  
While Freedom, hovering in the air,  
Shall fix her home forever there:  
Then, hearts of steel, again,—again,  
I bid you seek the battle plain!"

In the *Palladium* for May 17th appeared another Polish War Song, a reprint from the *Baltimore Gazette and Daily Advertiser*. Entitled the "Dombrowski Mazourka" it was inspired, evidently, by the song of the Polish legionaries who fought under the celebrated General Dąbrowski.

"Once more among the free and brave,  
O Poland, we'll replace thee;  
And banish from thy soul each slave  
Who breathes but to disgrace thee.  
Is there a sword that now shall sleep  
Against the side that bears it?  
His country's curse forever keep  
With him—the wretch—who wears it!

#### CHORUS

Ages of glory  
For thee our dreams betoken,  
In the proud page of story,  
When thy bonds have been broken!

No! like a star, whose steady light  
Some passing cloud had shaded,  
Or flowers that the winds of night  
Have for a season faded;

So Poland yet shall pierce the gloom  
 That veils her native splendor,  
 When bless'd again with that bright doom  
 Our lives—our deaths—shall lend her."

In June, despite the fact the the gloomiest of news filled the columns of the papers, the **Register** published a verse inspired, its author declared, by "the late successes of the Poles". Reprinted from the Boston **Centinel**, where it was credited to one "H. U. C., a very young student of Harvard University", this poem, "Poland", is one of the best verses in the whole 1830-1831 vintage:

"Joy! Joy! brave land, for thou shalt yet be free;  
 Oppressions's galling chains shall clank no more  
 Amidst thy halls and palaces. Rejoice!  
 Thy prayer is heard and thou hast gained a name  
 Among earth's empires that shall ever live.  
 Thy star of glory has not set; its beams  
 Have reached the western world, and freedom's sons  
 In proud America shall hail its light.  
 Fight on, brave Poles, by braver heroes led,  
 Rise from the ashes of thy fallen princes,  
 And shout thy country's watchword—"Kosciusko!"  
 Fight on! and in the hour of battle think  
 Thou art contending for thy fathers' home;  
 That thy red blades are carving thee a name  
 Upon the tablets of eternity.  
 Thy strife is but a tournament, yourselves  
 The combatants, and Poland the arena.  
 The prize, thy country; and the world spectators.  
 Fight on! thy cause is holy; and the God  
 Of Heaven shall be thy champion. His arm  
 Shall stay thee in thine hour of need, and help  
 Thee to achieve thy glorious liberty.  
 Unharm'd thou shalt escape the wreck of nations.  
 The anarchy of lawless power usurped,  
 Thou'lt be the cynosure of infant states  
 And in far ages hence thy guiding voice  
 Shall cheer them on to glory and success.  
 New England's sons have wept for thee in woe,  
 And now their song of triumph  
 Shall peal resounding over distant shores.  
 Success to thee, brave land, thy misery  
 Once touched a chord within my youthful breast,  
 That thrilled responsive to thy grief; but now  
 That thrill is joy; for thou'rt victorious,  
 And humbled Russia is a monument  
 Of Poland's power—of trampled freedom's might.  
 Yet Poland, shouldst thou fail, thy patriot arms  
 Will weave a chaplet for thy conquered brow;  
 And thou shalt shine conspicuous for thy bright

Encircling halo of immortal fame.  
 But thou'lt not fail, for woman is thine aid;  
 A ministering angel, she has shed her light  
 Of radiant glory round thy battlefield,  
 And fought for thee in spirit. Mankind  
 Shall quote hereafter, Poland's lovely daughters  
 And bid their own look up to them and love.  
 Fight on, brave land: the God of Hosts is with Thee!"

It was not long after this poem's appearance in the **Palladium** that the **Register** commented editorially on the very aspect of the Polish struggle referred to by H. U. C. in his last line, the question, that is, of which side had the support of the Deity.

"Nicholas blasphemously asserted a few months ago," wrote Mr. Barber on the 18th of June, "that he had a powerful ally with him—that God was on the side of legitimacy and that the Polish rebels should be punished. Thus far things appear as though Nicholas had spoken proudly without consulting his Ally in a becoming spirit—and that he has not received that aid of which he was so confident."

Clearly, Mr. Barber agreed with the poet that the God of Hosts was on the Polish side!

On the 2nd of July there appeared in the **Register** another verse on Poland reprinted from the **Albany Argus**:

TO POLAND

Stand to your arms, ye brave!  
 Let thy banners proudly wave  
 O'er oppression's bloody grave  
 To fall no more.  
 Spurn the abject name of slave.  
 And through the battle's roar  
 To Freedom's temple soar:  
 And thy reeking country save,  
 From a tyrant, despot, knave.

Poles! bid every heart awake,  
 Bid every soul fresh courage take!  
 Let every arm a sabre shake,  
 High in the air.  
 The chains of thralldom break,  
 And bravely, nobly dare  
 Thy wrongs no more to bear,  
 Strike—strike for thy children's sake!  
 Strike—the sword of vengeance slake!

On, ye brave,—on to victory,  
 On, and let the nations see  
 The mighty fall of tyranny!  
     Nerve thy hearts with steel—  
 Purge thy fair land from slavery—  
     Let the cannon's peal  
     The doom of tyrants seal;  
 And thy boasted war-word be  
     "Noble death, or Liberty!"

Onderhook, June, 1831.

—F. T.

Two days after this poem appeared came the Fourth of July, American Independence Day. To celebrate the holiday Mr. John Babcock entertained a party of about thirty on his farm some four miles from New Haven. According to the Journal's account of what took place toasts were proposed after dinner and among these was a rousing toast to Poland, proposed in this manner, "Poland, be free! or leave the soil to slaves. There is a refuge for your sons in a land of freedom!"

During late August Poland had a large place in the literary departments of New Haven papers. In the *Palladium* for the 16th appeared a long tale about a noble Polish youth, Count Micielski, whose body, fallen on the field of battle, was rescued by his comrades. The story told how these tore out the boy's heart and carried it on a pike into the midst of the enemy's own ranks to the utter rout of the superstitious Russians. In the same journal for the 23rd was the first installment of a story called "The Polish Wife", a horror tale from the front, besides a poem, written for the *Palladium*, called "Poland and Liberty".

Young Freedom grasped the flaming brand  
 That long illum'd Columbia's land,  
 She bore it through the upper air,  
 And France beheld its meteor glare.  
 Belgium's tyrants cursed the sight  
 When they beheld its dazzling light;  
 But onward still the goddess flew.  
 Till Warsaw's heights press'd on her view.  
 'Twas here she ply'd the burning brand,  
 And lighted up Oppression's land—  
 And as the gloomy darkness fled,

Unrolled her banner and thus said:  
 "Wake, Poland! Wake! or seek a grave—  
 No longer live a tyrant's slave:  
 In Heaven ye hope, in God ye trust,  
 Then cease to bow ye to the dust.  
 Wake! sons of freedom—once again  
 Shake from your souls the despot's chain.  
 Go, kneel around the patriot's tomb,  
 And on it swear to fix the doom  
 Of the usurpers of the land,  
 Made gallant by that sleeper's hand.  
 Whose ashes lie beneath the sod  
 Whose spirit winged its way to God.  
 Swear by Kosciusko's sacred name,  
 And your oppressed country save,  
 To rank among the free and brave;  
 Or swear upon a gory bed  
 You'll lie among the honored dead."  
 They heard her voice—they saw her rise;  
 And seek her home amid the skies.

And now each Polish heart beat high.  
 And vengeance gleamed in every eye;  
 The son and sire—the serf and lord,  
 United, grasp the faithful sword.  
 A righteous cause shall be their shield,  
 Their buckler in the battlefield.  
 O Poland! thou shalt soon be free,  
 The God of Battle fights for thee!"

Two books containing accounts of the Polish Uprising and an explanation of its causes served to keep Polish affairs in the literary columns of the New Haven papers after the poetry crop began to dwindle in volume. The first of these books was James Fletcher's *History of Poland*, published as Volume 24 of the handy little Harpers' Family Library Series; the second was Major Joseph Hordyński's *History of the Polish Uprising*, published in Boston.

"We are mistaken," wrote the *Herald's* reviewer concerning the former, "if this volume does not prove the most popular of the whole Family Library and indeed the most popular thing that has yet issued from Harpers' prolific press. Its publication now is exactly in time. The Polish Revolution is the engrossing topic of the day; the fate of Poland the subject of the most absorbing interest, and her success the ardent prayer of every lover of mankind. A volume then giving the history of this noble people from the earliest times through all the struggles of the last century to the present crisis of their fate must



be eagerly sought for by the public. There is not a nation on earth that has passed through more revolutions and political modifications, that, even aside from the present contest, have displayed more undaunted heroism, or are more worthy to be free, than the Poles. Consequently, their history, even if it said nothing of the present revolution, must be deeply interesting. But at the close of this volume there is a sketch of the tyranny of Constantine (who, it will be seen under our foreign head, has gone to account for his enormities) and the rise and progress of the present commander-in-chief. We would be glad to make extracts, but the crowded state of our columns obliges us to defer it till next week."

Sure enough, next week as promised, on the 3rd of September, appeared in the *Herald* a column and a half from the *History of Poland's* account of "The Atrocities of the Grand Duke Constantine." On the 6th, moreover, the *Herald* mentioned Fletcher's work again, this time editorially. The editor found it "peculiarly interesting from the present situation of that unfortunate country and also from the association of some of its most exalted patriots with the History of the American Revolution."

Major Hordyński's account of the Polish Uprising was destined later to be widely noticed in the American press. For the moment the New Haven papers had little to say about it save the *Palladium's* advance notice of its publication, on November 5th, and an interesting description of the author himself as he appeared in his arrival from Prussia. Both were copied from a Boston paper.

The fall of Warsaw, which occurred during the first week of September, gave the *Register* an excuse for copying from the *Philadelphia Gazette* the following lament:

"The Barbarians are in Warsaw! The lover of independence will mourn over the sad catastrophe: yet let none despond. The fire of liberty can be extinguished but for a season; and Europe may yet be regenerated, despite the adverse result which has happened to the advanced guard of Freedom.

..... They never fall who die  
In a great cause: the block may soak their gore:

Their heads may sodden in the sun; their limbs  
Be strung to city gates and castle walls,—  
But still their spirit walks abroad. Though years  
Elapse and others share as dank a doom,  
They but augment the deep and sweeping thoughts  
Which overpowered all others and conduct  
The world at last to Freedom."

The last poem of the year inspired by the Polish Uprising was the long one called "The Broken Lance" that appeared in the *Register* the last day of the year, copied, as so many of the *Register's* verses were, from the Albany *Argus*.

"A broken spear—it lay  
Upon the battleground  
Where stouter things that day had failed,  
For hearts, the hearts of men had quailed  
And he who bore it to the fray  
His death-bed found.

Upon its burnished blade  
The thick blood had congealed,  
Those clots of gore, how well they told  
That it had graced no coward's hold  
And that the hand that grasped it played  
No joust in field.

Oh who can tell what thought  
Burned in that soldier's breast,  
When leaving all he loved, he swore  
By Heaven that hears that nevermore  
Would he return till he had wrought  
His country's rest.

"Go when the strife is done  
And ask about the plain.  
If victory crown the right, my voice  
With thine may yet again rejoice,  
But seek for me, the field unwon,  
Among the slain!"

Such was his short adieu  
To home and all its bliss  
The rigid Polish martyr gave  
When furnished with his lance and glave  
He stooped and from his love's lips drew  
Their last, last kiss.

The strength of Warsaw fell,  
The foe broke down its gate,  
And on the altar she had built  
The blood of liberty was spilt.

Herald there needed none to tell  
That wife her fate.

Unsexed, without a tear,  
His poor, cold corpse to lave,  
She wandered forth at deep of night,  
With none to witness the sad rite,  
And gave her soldier and his spear  
A single grave!"

—Viator.

Strangely enough, New Haven's leading poet, the eccentric and scholar James Gates Percival, did not contribute a single piece of verse on the theme of the November Uprising during the whole course of the year 1831, though ten years earlier he had written the ringing "Day-Star of Liberty"<sup>3</sup> song exalting the Polish cause. Percival's only statement to the New Haven press on Polish affairs during the entire year was, so far as can be determined, a note on the pronunciation of General Skrzynecki's name in the *Journal* for June 28th. When the Uprising had subsided, however, and Poland's cause was temporarily lost, Percival did write a poem on Poland. This was his "Polish War Song"<sup>4</sup>, composed on a theme from Julius Słowacki's *Jan Bielecki*. Though written after the event, this was probably the best verse of all to come out of the United States as a consequence of the November Uprising.

<sup>3</sup>Percival, *Poems*, New Haven, 1821, p. 31.

<sup>4</sup>This appeared first in *The New England Magazine*, April 8, 1835, p. 291. It may be more conveniently found in *Dream of a Day*, New Haven, 1843, pp. 140-141, or in Haiman, *Ślady polskie*, op. cit. pp. 281-282.

## CHAPTER VI CONCLUSION

Surveying the mass of Polish material which appeared in the New Haven papers for 1831, one can not fail to observe that identical principles inspired the comment of each and every editor. Every journal hailed the Uprising in the very first issue published after definite word of the outbreak of revolution had been received. All greeted the news in a spirit compounded of sympathy and dread: sympathy for the men who had undertaken the revolution and dread that the outcome of their desperate venture would be unfavorable. All feared that a general European war would be precipitated by the Polish Uprising and all hoped, likewise, that in such a war would lie Poland's chance for independence.

New Haven editors looked with one accord to France as Poland's Savior and their disappointment in Louis Philippe was bitter indeed when it became clear he would do nothing. They were conscious, on their own part, of the emptiness of words in an emergency like the Polish, and were eager to send money and supplies as a token of sympathy.

Every man and woman was his own poet in 1831, and quantities of home-made verse poured forth under the impulse of the Uprising. In all this verse, as in all the editorial comment, hatred of Russia unadulterated by the slightest note of sympathy for her, rose like a great fountain, higher with each successive batch of news from the scene of conflict. Americans were too close to the War of 1812 to endure the thought of tyranny in any form.

Every step of the Polish struggle was followed with intense interest and every New Haven editor acted as though he had a personal stake in Warsaw's capitulation and in the collapse of the cause.

They were interested because the defence of Liberty was a cause closer to their hearts than any other. To New Haveners of 1831, as to their Founding Fathers of 1638, Liberty was indeed the pearl of great price. So it happened that over a hundred years ago, the idea of Liberty Embattled leaped across four thousand miles of land and sea to bind more powerfully than telegraph or radio in mystic fellowship the brave Poles and the citizens of the town which was then and still remains the pride of the "fierce democracie" of Connecticut.

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Nov. 29, 1830.—Assault on the Belvedere Palace, an act of violence provoked by young patriots, one of whose leaders was Peter Wysocki, a sub-lieutenant in the Ensigns' School.—Reported in USA: New York, Jan. 31; New Haven, Feb. 4, 1831.

Nov. 30—Meeting of an Administrative Council under leadership of Prince Adam Czartoryski.

The Council appeals to the Grand Duke Constantine to restore order. He refuses.

Dec. 1—The Council orders, in the Tsar's name, that order be restored and expresses regret over the events of the night of Nov. 29th.

Dec. 3—The Council replaces itself by a Provisional Government, with Władysław Ostrowski as Marshal. The temper of this body is decidedly Moderate.

Dec. 3—Demands on Tsar drawn up and sent by special messenger to St. Petersburg. (For demands, see text, p. 38)

General Chłopicki looms as choice for Dictator. Maurycy Mochnacki wishes to oppose this choice and unmask Chłopicki but is prevented.

Grand Duke Constantine allowed to leave Warsaw unmolested.

Dec. 4—Volunteers and money pour into Warsaw.

National Theatre crowded with people of all classes for performance of Bogusławski's *Krakowiacy i Górale*.

Dec. 5—Sunday—a day of prayer in all Poland, especially Warsaw.

Dec. 6—General Chłopicki chosen Dictator.

Dec. 14—Lafayette calls for defence at meeting of Chamber of Deputies in Paris. Hints army may be needed to help Poland.—Reported in USA: New York, Jan 31; New Haven, Feb. 4.

Dec. 17—Tsar Nicholas pronounces the Uprising "infamous".

Dec. 18—The first official act of revolution: meeting of the Diet.

Dec. 24—Tsar Nicholas issues manifesto calling Poles "to their senses".—Reported in USA: New Haven, Feb. 26.

Jan. 12—Chłopicki dismissed and General Michael Radziwiłł named to succeed him as military commander. The Diet takes charge of civil affairs.

Jan. 13—Polish Manifesto declaring Nicholas no longer King of Poland.—Reported in USA: New York, March. 4.

Jan. 15—Lafayette again speaks for the Polish Question in Chamber of Deputies and a subscription for the Poles is taken up by him in Paris.—Reported in USA: New York, March 14.

Jan. 27-28—Polish Question again debated in the French Chamber.

## MILITARY EVENTS

### The Campaign against Warsaw

Feb. 14—Gen. Dwernicki vs. Russian General Geismer at Stoczek. Russian loss much heavier than Polish.

Feb. 17—General Skrzynecki outmanoeuvres Field-Marshal Debich at Dobre.

Feb. 25—In subsequent fighting at Wawr and Grochów Skrzynecki conducts himself heroically.

Feb. 26—Skrzynecki chosen Dictator.

Mar. 30—Skrzynecki victorious at Wielkie Demby.

April 10—Skrzynecki victorious at Iganie.

### The War in Volhynia

Apr. 11—Dwernicki crosses the River Bug, carrying the war into Volhynia.—Reported in USA: New Haven, July 19.

May 1—Collapse of the Uprising in Volhynia as Dwernicki lays down his arms in Galicia. Sporadic uprisings in Volhynia and Podolia in June and July.

### The War in Litwa

May 22—General Chlapowski carries the Uprising into Litwa, which has been eagerly awaiting its coming.

Chlapowski successful at Bielsk, Gielgud establishes a central government for Litwa and Samogitia at Kejdany. Russian artillery concentrated near Wilno.

July 13—General Chlapowski crosses into Prussia, laying down arms.

General Gielgud shot by a subaltern, and his 8000 men follow Chlapowski into East Prussia.

Gen. Henryk Dembiński returns with 4000 men to Warsaw, abandoning Litwa.

### The Push toward Warsaw

May 22-26—Skrzynecki vs. Debich at and near Ostrolenka.—Reported in USA: New Haven, July 26.

June 10—Death of Debich.

Paskevich becomes Commander.—Reported in USA: New Haven, August 5.

July 17-18—Paskevich crosses the Vistula near Plock, meeting, to his surprise, no resistance; Paskevich advances to Łowicz.

Aug. 10—Skrzynecki removed by Diet and General Dembiński placed in command of Polish forces.

Rumors of treason and of conspiracy in high places in Warsaw.—Reported in USA: New Haven, August 27.

August 15-18—Revolutionary faction takes control of the Provisional Government. Krukowiecki placed in charge of civil matters, General Malachowski of military.

Sept. 5—Paskevich approaches Warsaw, expecting long and severe resistance.

Sept. 7—Fall of Warsaw.—Reported in USA: New Haven, Nov. 5.

THE END



A. S. Z.  
18.4.50

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