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"STRIKE, BUT HEAR."

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**POLAND, RUSSIA,**

AND THE POLICY OF THE LATTER TOWARDS

**THE UNITED STATES.**

BY

**MAJOR G. TOCHMAN.**

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BALTIMORE:

JOHN D. TOY, PRINTER.

1844.

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# LECTURE

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

MEMBERS OF THE STATE LEGISLATURES

OF

New York, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, Virginia,  
Ohio, Indiana, and Kentucky,

AND BEFORE THE

MEMBERS OF THE NEW JERSEY STATE CONVENTION,

ON THE SUBJECT OF THE

Social, Political and Literary condition of

P O L A N D,

AND HER FUTURE PROSPECTS,

Conjointly with the policy of Russia towards these United States.

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BY

MAJOR G. TOCHMAN,

A POLISH EXILE.

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AT THE END OF THE LECTURE ARE ADDED

RESOLUTIONS OF THE ABOVE LEGISLATIVE BODIES,

PASSED AFTER HEARING MAJOR G. TOCHMAN:

ALSO,

FOUR COMMUNICATIONS, forming Major Tochman's part of a Controversy in the columns of the National Intelligencer, upon the same subject.

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BALTIMORE:

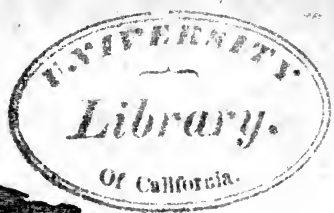
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#### HONOURABLE SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES:

SINCE the memorable year 1794, when Kosciusko the great martyr in the cause of freedom and of Poland fell,—and the name of that unhappy country was sacrilegiously erased from the map of Europe, continual efforts have been made to justify that dismemberment—Time's bloodiest picture,—when "Sarmatia fell unwept, without a crime."

A host of speculative writers, have, consequently, endeavoured to impress the public mind with an idea, that the mass of her people before that event, were slaves or serfs, subjected to a few nobles!

On this plea, it has been falsely asserted, that the Polish people at this moment under the governments of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, are happier than before, and that the dismemberment of their country, has injured only the interests of a few nobles—petty tyrants.

Not long ago, there appeared in one of your most prominent papers, the *National Intelligencer*, a series of communications, entitled "*The Northern Nations of Europe, the Poles, the Russians, etc.*;" and the writer of these communications, on the basis of deductions drawn from such misrepresentations, ventures to conclude with the assertion, that "to expect the resuscitation of Poland, is to expect the tide of human affairs to roll backward, and about as rational as to hope for the resurrection of the Roman Empire."

Such writings, whether they are intended to justify the infamous act of the spoilers of Poland, or only produced from ignorance on the

part of their authors, have always been, and continue to be the source of great mischiefs to the whole community of freedom; because, in either case, they deprive it of lessons gained through ages of experience, and divert the people from the way in which their own proper interests and duty with regard to mankind and themselves would lead them.

Considering, just and correct views upon this subject, to be of the greatest importance to the interests and welfare of every freeman, I am very desirous, as far as in me lies, to disabuse the public mind of the prejudices and errors, which such productions have a tendency to create.

To do this, it is necessary to make some preliminary explanations of our social and political institutions:

Previous to the introduction of Christianity, which took place at the end of the tenth century, (996,) and during the three subsequent centuries, Poland was a despotic monarchy. Her kings, although sometimes elective, were absolute rulers. As to the real condition of her people in those early days, but very little is known. We find them, however, in the eleventh century divided into four classes.

*First*, the Wojewods, a rank corresponding to that of lords in England or peers in France; they were a privileged class, and the king chose from their body his assistant council—consisting of twelve members; the bishops and the prelates, belonged also to that class.

*The second class*, were the Nobles; they had no share in the government, in the day of the infancy of their country; their public duty was merely to defend it, in case of a foreign invasion—and for this purpose they were organized into a militia, which afterwards took the name of *pospolite* (*pospolite ruszenie*.) They always fought on horseback.

*The third class*, were the agricultural people, called *Wiesniacy*, which means, the people living in villages, the peasants; they were a free and independent people; but they were mostly tenants;—their public duty was to guard the castles in time of war, and all those who volunteered to fight the battles of the country in open field on horseback, were ranked with the nobles, and in time all became noblemen.

From time immemorial, the owners of land used to build entire hamlets and villages, and the poor people who wished to settle in them, used to take a lease of as many acres of land as they pleased, with which were given to them, a cottage, a stable, a granary, two or three cows, as many horses, and all the agricultural implements. The produce of such a farm, belonged to the tenant; he could dis-

pose of it as he pleased, and paid his rent by working on other land of the owner. Generally from two to four days work per week, was demanded for each fifty or sixty acres; which rent the tenant could pay, labouring personally or employing his servant or a hired man. The labour of every man having been counted for one day's rent; the tenant could pay his weekly rent in one day, by sending to the owner of the land, a number of labourers equal to the number of days due from him. All these tenants (or as we call them peasants) were under the protection of national law, as well as the nobles; possessed entire freedom of action, and would remove whenever and wherever they pleased;—provided they fulfilled the obligations which they had voluntarily contracted.

Some of these peasants, in addition to the rent which they paid in labour, gave eggs, poultry, and a certain quantity of flax. They might be compared with the English tenants in soccage.

*The fourth class* of people at that early period, were the prisoners of war and their descendants;—these were considered as slaves of the nobles and Wojewods who made them prisoners; their condition, however, was not worse than that of the English villeins and tenants at will. But, what I wish you to observe is this,—that all these slaves and serfs were emancipated at once, and declared to be as free as the peasants, by the great National Assembly, held in the City of Wislica, in 1347,—which Assembly also limited the power of the Kings, and laid the foundation stone of that new Polish Constitution, which in the course of subsequent political events, made Poland an elective monarchy, and finally a republic.

It is true, that even while Poland boasted of the republican form of government:—while her kings, though elected for life, were only the head of the executive, and her legislative power was invested in a Diet composed of two chambers,—a Senate and a House of Representatives,—even at that time, the peasants were not admitted to any legislative or executive office. This necessarily made them a subordinate class, and they were very often abused by the nobles, which gave some of our own writers occasion to blend and compare their condition with that of the real serfs of other countries. This evil was, however, in the nature of things;—Poland (like other countries of Europe) having been formed on the ruins of savage tribes, the mass of the nation were illiterate, ignorant and superstitious, and in such condition the sovereignty of the democratic principle could not be extended to all her people, for such liberty would have stopped the progress of civilization, and reduced Poland to the rank of savage nations. A reform of mind was necessary to extend this sovereignty,—and there is something truly sublime in the mea-

asures which our fathers adopted to accomplish this purpose. They established schools throughout the country as early as the fourteenth century. The children of the peasants were admitted to the same schools in which the children of the nobles were educated; and all those who graduated, were declared to be nobles *de jure*, and as such were entitled to the full enjoyment of all the rights of free citizens of the republic.

Poland was so successful in reforming her people by these two means, viz: military merit and education, that in the course of a single century about one-eighth of her population became nobles; and in the sixteenth century, when her population did not exceed 15,000,000, she boasted of about 480,000 voters. This speaks very highly for her, considering that France in this nineteenth century, after so many bloody revolutions, with a population of 35,000,000, numbers only 180,000 voters;—300,000 less than Poland numbered two centuries and a half ago, with her population of only about 15,000,000.

Such historical facts and testimonials, evince that the character of her nobles, differs entirely from the feudal nobility of the rest of Europe. The nobility of Poland sprang from among the country people, and are the creation of an adopted reform of the nation, while the feudal nobility of the rest of Europe, originated in the ascendancy of a conquering race over the original inhabitants.

This difference will better be understood, when it is known that there are in Poland many hamlets and villages, inhabited by a population of nobles only, who are as poor as the peasants, and till the soil with their own hands, and who before the partition, notwithstanding their poverty, were always in the enjoyment of political rights—equal with nobles worth millions of money, and to whom thousands of peasants paid rent in kind or in labour.

Another trait of our history, will perhaps more forcibly show that her nobles cannot be confounded with the feudal nobility. In the sixteenth century, all the titles of Princes, Counts, Barons and others, which had, in former centuries, in consequence of foreign influence, found their way into Poland, were abolished; only one order of nobility, called the *equestrian order*, was recognized, and every nobleman, rich and poor, without distinction, was eligible to the office of King. The kings were elected by the nobles, and a plurality of votes decided the election.

There were only a few families to whom it was permitted to use the title of Princes; these were descendants and relations of the old Sovereign families: Prince Adam Czartoryski, the President of our government in 1830 '31, who is now in France as a political exile,

is one of them.\* A few families enjoyed the titles of Counts and Barons, which were given to them by the German Emperors; but neither these foreign titles, nor the title of Polish Prince, gave any superiority over the nobles: the poorest nobles were equal to them in the enjoyment of political rights.

The development of liberal principles, after the fall of the absolute power of the kings, was so rapid in Poland, that at the commencement of the fifteenth century, the Poles boasted of a law stating "Neminem captivabimus nisi jure victum aut in crimine deprehensum," that is: none shall be arrested, until legally indicted for a crime, unless taken in the fact. And in the middle of this same century, the inhabitants of the cities which had been recently built, mostly by emigrants from Germany, were admitted to legislative and public office, and were thus brought to an equal political elevation with the nobles.

When we reflect upon all these institutions, and then compare the condition of the Polish people with that of their contemporaries in the West of Europe where the feudal system was predominant, we cannot wonder that Poland gave birth to a Sobiewski, a Kosciusko, a Pulaski; and never to a Cromwell, a Robespierre, a Napoleon.

There has always been something in the very nature of her institutions, which must have influenced the social and political condition of all the European family and its offspring these United States. The illustrious French writers of the last two centuries, had made an engine of her institutions, praising them in their countless writings, in order to push their own countrymen to that great revolution, which has, in our days, freed France from eighteen centuries of prejudices, and changed the political aspect of all Europe, by spreading over it a better knowledge of the rights of man. And the framers of your own Constitution, looked to the institutions of Poland in their debates and deliberations. Jefferson said: "the re-elections of our Presidents would be a bad imitation of the Kings of Poland." This allusion was made to defeat the proposal of his opponents, who were in favour of unlimited re-elections of the Presidents of these United States.

But to shew how much more mankind is indebted to Poland, for

\* Prince Czartoryski is condemned to be beheaded, by the Ukaz of Nicholas, dated the 4th of September, 1834, on account of the political services rendered to his native land during the revolution. His reputation, high respectability and patriotism, will certainly place him on the constitutional throne of Poland, should she recover her independence in his days. His lady, Princess Czartoryski, is President of the Society formed by the ladies of England and France, whose object is to lend assistance to the school which the exiles have established in France, for the purpose of giving a national education to their children of both sexes.

the present condition of the civilized world, let me for a moment recal your attention to the time of the invasion and dismemberment of the Roman Empire. It is a historical fact, that Christianity alone, saved the ark of civilization from the influence of the destructive power of the ancient barbarians. Before their invasion, Christianity had only one organized church, that is: an institution which possessed within itself a power to withstand the shock of invasion and the reign of disorder, and to communicate its light of knowledge to the nations that were emerging from the barbarian hordes, during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. But had not the Poles in these very centuries, sheltered the West of Europe from the repeated attempts at invasion on the part of the Tartars,—what would have become of Christianity and Europe?

The celebrated Melancthon, speaking on this subject, says:

“The magnanimity of this nation is especially displayed in their continual wars against the Tartars for the tranquility of all Europe. For centuries she has protected Europe against the Tartars and the neighbourhood of savage Asia. Let us never forget these obligations to Poland, and let us recollect who are the people, and in what regions of the earth they were made instruments of Providence, and by protecting Europe, enabled her to preserve within her bosom humanity, religion, and those arts and sciences so beneficial to society.”

And who was it, that in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries went forth the steel-clad champions of Christendom, and rolled back from the plains of Europe, the tide of Moslem conquest?

Look at the long list of the heroes in this noble strife, and you will find there, only the names of the sons of Poland.

Not only so, but on whatever page of the history of past ages we cast our eyes, we see Poland this morning star of the great principle which now governs the civilized nations. I mean the principle of conscience and toleration. When the Jews were persecuted and burnt alive throughout Europe, Poland gave them a home, and as early as the year 1264, granted them a charter guaranteeing their property, personal liberty, and freedom of worship.

At the time of the reformation, when both Reformers and Catholics were perishing in Germany; when the blood of the hundred thousand victims of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, was crying out from the bosom of the French soil; when England, Scotland and Spain were theatres of torture and fiery ordeal,—Poland alone offered an asylum to the persecuted of all religious creeds of all nations of the earth.

Rulhiere, a French writer, tells us that “mosques were raised amongst churches and synagogues. The City of Leopold had al-



ways been the seat of three bishops, Greek, Armenian and Latin. And it was never inquired in which of their three cathedrals, any man who submitted to the regulations of the country, went to receive communion. At last when the Reformation was rending so many States into inimical factions, Poland alone, retaining her ancient religion, received into her bosom the two new-sects."

Such recollections flash from every page of the annals of Poland; and ages will not erase from the memory of man, that the blood of her heroes consecrates the soil, in whose bosom the ashes of millions of the persecuted of other lands, are reposing side by side with the ashes of their protectors and defenders.

True it is, that in that age of universal intolerance, the attempt was made to plant its seed in Poland, but no effort of a few bigoted fanatics could succeed; there always was in Poland more freedom in the spiritual power, and more independence in the secular, than in any other christian country.

I cannot forbear, to relate some facts connected with this part of our history—and the peculiarity of national principles, which are, and must ever be, a source of pride to every Pole.

About the time when John, King of England, kneeling before the Legate of Rome, promised to pay a tribute of 700 marks, for the kingdom of England, and 300 for that of Ireland—and Henry IV., Emperor of Germany, prostrated himself barefooted before His Holiness, Gregory VII., the Polish nation was excommunicated for having dethroned the tyrant, Ladislas II. The clergy even of that early day, stood firm by the side of the nation, and refused to publish the excommunication of His Holiness, on the plea that they did not think it proper that the Church should interfere in the political affairs of the State. Several German armies invaded Poland in order to enforce this excommunication—our fathers defeated them and elected Boleslas IV.

In a more recent time (1573) the Diet passed a law that freedom of worship should be allowed for ever on the soil of Poland, to all religious denominations; and, in consequence, when throughout Europe, the term Dissenters was applied only to the Protestants, the same Diet enacted, that the Polish people, both Catholics and Protestants, should mutually be considered as Dissenters in matters of religion. But, perhaps, the most striking feature of the Polish tolerance, is furnished by the fact, that at the time of the thirty years war, when Sigismundus, of Sweden, King of Poland, had sent to Ferdinand II. of Germany, a reinforcement of 8,000 Cossacks against the Protestants, the Legislature passed unanimously an act, declaring all the Cossacks who should remain with the

standard of the Emperor, traitors to their own country. And it is a tribute due to the principle enshrined in the bosom of the Poles of all religious creeds and ranks, to mention, that there were several Catholic Bishops in the Senate, and the Catholics had a large majority in both Houses of the Diet, when the laws, which I have just referred to, were passed.

Let us now glance, for a moment, over the more recent records of her history:

When the discharge of the muskets of the heroes of Lexington, Concord and Bunker Hill echoed in Europe, our country was invaded by hundreds of thousands of foreign soldiery—our cities, towns, and villages were smoking—our mothers were mourning and lamenting for their murdered sons and husbands; but still their palpitating hearts did not hesitate long—between the horror of which they had been witnesses in their native land, and the joy which they felt on receiving the news, that there was another spot on the globe, where the standard of liberty was waving.—The genius of liberty announced to our mothers that the cannons of Washington called to the new world, their surviving children,—and hundreds of Poland's noblest sons obeyed this summons. The grave of Pulaski hallows your soil, . . . and the monument of Kosciusko looks down upon one of your noblest rivers.

Do not these testimonials conclusively show, that her vital element has always been, and still is, a rational liberty of all men and their prosperity?

Yet, philosophers, book-makers, and pamphleters, professing themselves friends of mankind, attribute in their wisdom the dismemberment of Poland, to domestic dissensions only, and argue that "the growing power of Russia, is more beneficial to the human species, than the restoration of Poland would be!!"

I do not intend to defend the party strifes, which infected Poland in the last century of her existence as an independent nation. Neither do I wish to defend that provision of her Constitution, which admitting foreign princes to her elective throne, gave foreign powers an influence in her domestic affairs. I would only ask those who on such grounds endeavour to justify the dismemberment of Poland—whether it would be beneficial to the human species, if the English, the Mexicans, and the Indians, should combine against you, invade and dismember these United States, because you have two political parties? . . . .

Your Constitution and your ballot-box decide the differences between your parties—which are only the natural consequence of free institutions, of freedom of action, of freedom of inquiry—and you

enjoy the blessedness of liberty; a privilege which was secured to the people of Poland by her own Constitution.

Much has been said against the Polish *liberum veto*, which gave power to every member of the Assembly, to suspend the decision of the majority. But those who censure us for this veto power, carefully avoid to mention, that it was repeatedly abolished by the nation, and as repeatedly again forced upon it by the bayonets of the despotic rulers of the neighbouring countries, who used to oppose with arms in their hands, every reform and melioration in the free government of Poland:—Let me, Honourable Gentlemen, call your attention to the Constitution of the 3d May, 1791, which as the celebrated Burke says, “benefitted every body and injured no man,”—has it not ultimately settled the party strifes and abolished the *liberum veto*? This Constitution is the ark of the Polish nation, which floats over the deluge of misrepresentations and slanders forged against Poland’s murdered sons, as well as against those who have survived her by-gone battles, to revenge the injustice inflicted upon them and their country.

Many a pretended friend of mankind, is boasting over the system of education in Prussia and Austria, and proclaiming that even the Russian system of education is better than in France!!! The design of such boasting, is to create an impression that since the dismemberment of Poland, the moral and intellectual condition of her people has improved. To answer this sophistry, I need only refer you to the remarkable edict of Nicholas, dated the 21st of May, 1837, enforcing an ancient law of Russia, that forbids the admission of the serfs to the practical schools. The edict referred to, says, that such admissions “would be a dangerous mixture of different classes, and would produce a too glaring contrast between their civil rights and intellectual powers.” Does not this language conclusively shew, that Nicholas’ profession of being willing to educate and to emancipate the serfs of Russia, and to improve the intellectual condition of the Polish peasants, is like the invidious kiss of Judas, by which the Saviour of mankind, was betrayed into the hands of his executioners?

As to Austria and Prussia, there is indeed no doubt that their systems of internal administration, are better calculated to benefit their respective inhabitants than in Russia—but their systems of education, are intended only to supply the wants of their absolute governments—and consequently, the mind in neither of these countries is permitted, to inquire beyond the circle prescribed by the rules of their governments. The censorship is as rigid in Austria and Prussia, as it is in Russia—and each of those governments, in their

respective and peculiar manner, teach efficiently, how to despise liberty—how to invent new tortures for those who cherish it—how to seduce mankind by diplomatic smiles and writings—and how, in all ways, to counteract the efforts which the friends of liberty make to propagate its principles. These are the characteristic features of the Prussian, Austrian and Russian systems of education, of which the first has been so much praised in your country.

If those who foster and support education, are entitled to the regard of mankind, as they certainly ought to be,—what nation in Europe can shew a better claim to that regard than Poland?

I acknowledge, that France and England, and perhaps some of the small states of the German Confederacy, hold, at the present day, a rank superior to Poland, in the literary republic;—but let us hear what a French writer, Meur de Thou, describing a Polish deputation which was sent to Paris in the days of our independence, says:

“One of the most remarkable circumstances, was their facility in expressing themselves in Latin, French, German and Italian. These four languages were as familiar to them as their vernacular tongue. There were only two men of rank at the Court of Paris, who could answer them in Latin, the Baron de Milan, and the Marquis Castelleau Morissiere. They were commissioned expressly to support the honour of the French nation, which had reason to blush at its own ignorance. The Polish Ambassadors spoke our language with so much purity, that one would have taken them rather for men educated on the banks of the Seine and the Loire, than for the inhabitants of the countries which are watered by the Vistula and the Dnieper. This put to the blush our courtiers, who knew nothing, but were open enemies of science, so that when their guests questioned them, they answered only with signs and blushes.”

Muretus, an Italian writer, comparing the Poles with his own countrymen, bears testimony to the same effect, as also many other distinguished French, English and Italian writers.

Yet, whoever studies the history and literature of Poland in her own language, would farther see,—that none of the nine daughters of Mnemosyne was neglected in Poland,—that every one had her idolizing votaries,—that every one bestowed upon her own favourites her grateful gifts and her affections. Nor (says a prominent writer,) “was there any human science unattainable to the intellectual grasp of the Poles.” And indeed, some had thrown an embellishing lustre over its different branches, others had enlarged its sphere. Let us direct our eyes upwards to the blue sky of heaven;—who was it that pointed out the evolutions of the celestial bodies? Co-

pernicus, a Pole. Who was it that illustrated the nature of light, and the degree of its strength requisite for reaching us, through such immense distance as intervenes between the celestial bodies and our planet? Vitelio Ciolek, also a Pole—who in the thirteenth century, of course long before Newton, elucidated the principle of this science. Who was it that first detected the sexual organization of plants? A foreigner who is not acquainted with our literature would answer me Linnæus;—but let him open the Polish books, and he will learn that Zaluzianski, a native Pole, long before the birth of Linnæus, treated on this subject. His works, entitled "*Methodus Herbaria*," were published at Prague in the seventeenth century. There was no country, where learning flourished encircled with greater splendor than in Poland, in the days of her independence. Many a Pole, returning from war or the Diet, has spent his leisure hours in literary pursuits;—many, after the toils of a rural life, sought in them, a soothing repose. And the same illustrious men who were the supporters of the nations, were also the ornament of our literature; the same hand that wielded the sword, frequently guided the pen with no less facility and power; the same temples were often enwreathed with the laurels of the hero and the bard.

Learning ushered into light, even those whom poverty and humble birth, would seem to have consigned to obscurity and oblivion. Without multiplying instances, let me only mention the names of the Cardinal Hosius, of the Bishop Kromer, of the poets and philosophers, Janicki and Simonowicz:—their names are well known to the members of the literary republic. And what was their origin? The last three, were, sons of the humblest Polish peasants.

Even foreigners, versed in any branch of science or the arts, found in our country liberal rewards and honours. Many of them repaid their hospitable reception, by engrafting the saplings of their knowledge in our soil, which soon spread wide their exuberant branches, while in their own country, through negligence they had fallen into decay.

Some may say that all these things have passed away, and are no more. And indeed, such is the language of the philosophers, whose honesty does not permit them to destroy the testimonies of ages, only because the books containing them are too numerous, and not altogether within the reach of their grasp. Even more than this has been done, to impress the public mind with the idea, that the Poles have degenerated. A host of impostors have been poured in your country, some under the name of Polish exiles, to misrepresent by their unworthy conduct, the real character of the Polish people; and thus to induce the public to believe the arguments of these pretend-

ed friends of mankind, who proclaim that "the Poles are not capable of existing as an independent nation, and that absolute administration, whether of Russia, Austria or Prussia, is studiously beneficial to the great mass of the Polish people."

No one denies, Honourable Gentlemen, that since liberty "bade farewell" to Poland, she can boast of not even one school, literary institution, or library. The powers that have dismembered Poland have destroyed them all "for the benefit of mankind.!!!" But the mind of the nation does not cease to do the work, and Poland needs only a government of her own, to shine again on the stage of the literary republic.

To prove all these, I will limit myself to bringing, before your Honourable Body, a quotation from an article recently written in the Foreign Quarterly Review,—on the subject of the Polish literature: "The language and literature of Poland, have advanced to their present degree of perfection, in an equal ratio with the increasing misfortunes of the country, during the last fifty years. This phenomenon is so extraordinary, that it deserves the serious consideration of every reflecting mind. What, indeed, should seem more unfavourable to the progress of a nation's language, than its political annihilation, and the incorporation of its dismembered provinces with several foreign states, each respectively intent on destroying every vestige of its former nationality?—Yet it is a fact that Polish literature, is actually now reaching its zenith, and at no former period could Poland ever boast of more distinguished men in every department of science, learning and political eminence. Since the third partition in 1795, all the public museums, the library at Warsaw numbering 200,000 works, that of the society of the Friends of Science scarcely less rich,—and Prince Czartoryski's Library, containing invaluable materials connected with Polish history, and not fewer than 20,000 English works, were, after the melancholy events of 1830, carried off, for the second time to Russia. Yet these unpropitious circumstances, so far from retarding have promoted the growth of the national literature; the Polish works of sterling merit have been largely published, not only in several parts of Poland, but also at St. Petersburg, Moscow and Vienna. In fact, the hitherto unsuccessful attempts made for the recovery of independence, have invigorated instead of weakened the moral energies of the Poles, and the ardent feeling of patriotism which in former times was principally confined to one class, now animates, alike the inhabitants of every cottage and palace in Poland. That feeling alone prompts the rich and the poor to submit to every sacrifice for the restoration of their country. Their literature is more intimately connected with their political struggles,

than is the case with any other nation, and it is a most potent weapon which they best understand how to use."

In pursuance of these patriotic efforts, the Polish exiles, (the victims of the unsuccessful revolution of 1830,) to whose number I have the honour to belong, have established several printing presses in France, Belgium, and in some parts of Germany on the Rhine, where they print Polish books, pamphlets and periodicals; and republish all the Polish books which have been destroyed by the order of the Czar. And thousands of these books, pamphlets and periodicals are smuggled into Poland, and circulated secretly, to counteract the effects of subjugation, and the efforts of the spoilers of Poland, who design to annihilate her language and literature.

Such being the actual course of things in Poland, I ask—how can an inquiring mind believe the scandalous arguments and assertions, proclaiming that "to expect the resuscitation of Poland is to expect the tide of human affairs to flow backward, and about as rational as to hope for the resurrection of the Roman Empire!"

True it is, that the despots of the north of Europe, have swallowed Poland. They, however, will never digest her. She will rather decompose their own body. There are yet 24,000,000 of Poles, living in their native land, and breathing the same spirit whose power in the late contest, caused the Autocrat's throne to tremble to its very foundation.\* The exiles, like myself, are only their representatives, sent to foreign lands to guard their honour and to claim their rights. The dismemberment of Poland has not made the Poles,—Russians, Austrians or Prussians; they are still Poles, unfettered in soul,—and they obey the despotic rulers, either of Russia, Austria or Prussia, only as long as their present hampered condition, and their prudence, constrain them;—as long as the political ties of Europe, permit the crowned robbers, to keep from five to six hundred thousand soldiers, in the barracks and fortresses erected throughout our country.

But let us view the condition of the affairs of Poland, from another point.

We have already seen, that on whatever page of the history of past ages we cast our eyes, the cause of christendom, of civilization and the welfare of all mankind, have always been closely identified with the very existence of Poland;—in other words: Poland has always been the champion of christendom, the patron of civili-

\*As to the population of Poland, see, *Le Journal de travaux de la Société Française de Statistique Universelle*, No. 5, p. 119.

L'ouvrage de M. M. Traugott Gotthielf Voigtel, édition de 1835.

The statistical writings of S. Plater and Schnitzler.

zation, and the morning star of conscience and toleration—which are now the basis of the principle which governs the whole civilized world. And there is something, I know not what, within your hearts which I see to be with Poland;—or is it in the genius of Time which is winnowing the misrepresentations forged against her?—there is something which assures me, that you have no doubt, that the cause of my native land, is even now identified with that of all civilized nations. Let us, however, examine, how far it is identified with the interests and welfare of the living generation of the commercial communities of England, France and your own country.

You are aware that the part of Europe under despotic sway, numbers more than 140,000,000 of people, and that its political influence, especially that of Russia, is extended, directly or indirectly, over at least another 140,000,000 of people in Asia. And what are the social and commercial communications, between this mass of people and the inhabitants of other countries? If a subject of one of these despotic countries, whether merchant or not, wishes to travel in a foreign land, he is obliged to declare before the authorities, where and for what purpose he desires to go, and how long he will stay on his journey, both going and returning. He must wait some six or eight weeks, after this declaration, for a passport,—which will not be given to him, unless he is known to be a faithful adherent to the despotism of his government. In this passport an exact description is given of his person, from head to foot, and the routes by which he is to travel, and from which he is not allowed to depart, are minutely traced out. There are agents, maintained both at home and abroad; the *former* watch with argus eyes the social movements of the inhabitants, and of foreigners travelling through the country;—the *latter* disguised in different characters, dwell in or travel through foreign lands, not excepting your own country, and study the political movements of those they have been watching, in order to communicate them, to their respective governments. These agents, directly or through the intervention of consuls, or through other secret channels, are immediately advised of the departure of all persons who have obtained passports, in order that they may watch strictly their movements, and report them to their governments. Every traveller on his return is questioned as to what he has done or seen during his journey, and unfortunate would it be for him, should not his answers agree with the reports of the agents;—he is immediately watched by a secret police, and sooner or later he may expect a lodging in prison, or if he be a Russian subject, a delightful residence among the bears of Siberia.

To similar examination and vigilance, is a foreign traveller through



these despotic countries, subjected, in whatever character he may there appear:—whether as a merchant or as a visiter merely. He will also meet with a thousand other difficulties, which are all invented for the purpose of discouraging and preventing foreigners from visiting the country. Here, the traveller cannot obtain horses: he is told that they are all engaged for the Emperor, or his train, or to convey the baggage of the army. There, it is pretended, that the country is full of robbers, and government careful of travellers' safety, will not permit him to perform his journey in the way he wishes. At another place he will be told that the symptoms of cholera (also imagined) have made their appearance, and although he professes to apprehend no danger, they, in the name of the Emperor, will not permit him, imprudently to hazard his life. Every where his baggage is examined, and at no place on his route is he permitted to stop longer than during the time prescribed in his passport, or such as is necessary for a relay. If he wishes to rest in any place a single night longer than the passport prescribes, he must obtain a written permission from the local authorities, and in no case, is the inn-keeper or inhabitant, permitted to lodge a foreigner, without the consent of the police. (From this rule, to my knowledge, have been exempted only two or three native Americans, who had the good fortune to obtain personal favours from the Emperor, and were carried from St. Petersburg to Odessa and back again, at the expense of his Imperial Majesty.)\*

And what has been the immediate consequence of the introduction of these very regulations and others similar, designed as they have been, to maintain the permanency of despotic power in the north of Europe?

The English mercantile companies of Boharia and Samarand, belong to the things which are no more; the free-trade with Constantinople, Trebizond, Bassora, Bagdad, Balk, Mossel, and with the other cities of the East, has been declining every day of the last half century. The manufactories in England and France, (and I may say that to some extent also in your country) have been stopped;—and why? Chiefly, because the North and East of Europe and the West of Asia, are almost shut to the exports of their respective productions.

We are told that we have to attribute these things, to a new industry in the North of Europe;—and the factories recently established in Russia, which are only a new measure designed to suppress the little remaining intercourse with foreign countries—and also the rail roads lately made in Russia, Austria and Prussia, which are

\* One of them is a Bostonian.

mainly intended to concentrate more speedily their military forces in case of emergency, are represented to us as measures designed to improve the condition of the mass of the people of the North of Europe!!!

These artful machinations of the despotic hydra, do not stop here;—its writers boasting of the introduction of the steam factories and rail roads in Russia, seem to be willing to throw discredit upon the intelligence and industry of the Polish people, because they did not make use of them, in the days of their independence, that is: before the application of the steam power was known, and the rail roads were introduced, in any country.

There is something, however, in the very nature of the affairs of Europe, which disperses the gloom, which such misrepresentations of the real state of things, are producing. The far-sighted plans of the enemies of liberty and of Poland, have proved of no avail; and the true history of the Polish people, and their social and political influence on the welfare of mankind, past and future, are better understood now in Europe than they, ever, were before. We need only lift our eyes, look around, and reflect a little, to be convinced that it will be the lot of the people of Poland, as well as their privilege, to start once again in defence of the rights of mankind. He must be blind, indeed, to the events which are now passing in Europe, who does not recognize, that all the efforts of the European rulers, designed to maintain peace, in order to advance their personal views, must soon yield to this natural course of human affairs—which tends to open a free communication with that part of the Eastern World which now languishes under despotic sway; there being buried in the bosom of its soil, immense resources of wealth, on which, in the progress of human advancement, the prosperity of all commercial nations, and that of every human being, essentially depends.

Allow me to adduce, the opinions of English and French statesmen, on this subject:

In 1839, there was held in London, a great meeting of the first dignitaries of the British empire, which was also attended by some Deputies and Peers of France. The Chairman of this meeting was the Duke of Sussex, the deceased uncle of the Queen. Speeches were made by the presiding Duke, by the Marquis of Breadalbane, Lord C. Fitzroy, Lord Sandon, Viscount Loftus, and some other members of the British Parliament—and a series of resolutions were passed, one of which is as follows:

“*Resolved*, That the restoration of Poland, will, in the opinion of this meeting, be the surest guarantee, for the preservation of the liberties and the promotion of the general peace and welfare of all mankind,”

Similar resolutions, were afterwards passed by numerous meetings, held in other parts of England; and about the same time, the French nation presented a petition to Louis Phillippe, addressing her king in this language :

“Sire—France again reminds Europe of the rights of the Polish nation, which have been so repeatedly stipulated for by treaties.”

This movement, considering the source from which it came, and the causes which produced it, gives a conclusive evidence—*first*, that the efforts of the Poles to regain independence, are not isolated from the interests of England and France, relating to their international rights—and the welfare of their respective inhabitants, that flows from such rights;—*secondly*, it shows that the future welfare and prosperity of your own country, as far as they flow from, and depend upon the same international rights, are also closely connected with the cause of my native land. And it is not only so, on account of your constituting the same commercial community with England and France, and feeling already the pressure, which the anti-commercial policy of Russia has produced; but also, because by our being a free people, we are a part of your political community, and in point of principle, a part of yourselves.

I am aware, that of late an opinion has found its way into your country, that “as long as Russia stands a great Eastern power, you have nothing to fear on the part of Great Britain and France.” This sophistry was, with much zeal, propagated amongst you, in 1839–40, when England seemed to assume a hostile position towards Russia. Nicholas himself aided this diplomatic propaganda, by smiling on your ambassadors and travellers at St. Petersburg, to induce them to praise his affability, and to proclaim his good intentions towards these United States. But, Honourable Gentlemen, wait a moment and you will see, that as soon as the designs of the treaty, which the government of the Union has lately concluded with England, shall be accomplished, the benevolent Czar will turn away his gracious face.

I do not mention these facts, in order to induce your countrymen to fight for us;—this we do not want, and we do not ask—Poland has men enough to fight her battles;—she only asks that the people of this great country should not—at the expense of their own personal interests, and the safety of those human rights which Providence has entrusted to their guardianship—permit Russia, the wily and inveterate foe of those very rights, to make them an instrument of her various schemes, designed, as they are, to divide the people of Europe into parties, in order to weaken by such means, the moral forces of the cause of liberty and of Poland.

If England or France should feel disposed to make an attack upon

your Republic—what could prevent them from entering into an alliance with Russia against you? The recent alliance of England, concluded with Russia, Austria and Prussia, on the affairs of Egypt and Turkey, conclusively answers.

You have nothing to fear on the part of any European power, as long as intelligence and liberty shall be cherished in Europe,—as long as her despotic rulers, shall tremble before their own people. This is the doctrine you ought to cherish, if you would promote the great interests of mankind. But let the principles of slavery, propagated and defended by Russia, once prevail in Europe,—let her despotic rulers crush the remnant of people, still struggling for their liberties; and you alone, unaided and single-handed, will have to contend with the combined forces of all Europe, to maintain your principles, as well as the permanency of your Union and the rights of man.

If this danger appears remote,—if you think that it can never reach you in your proper persons, you ought not to forget, that it is the duty of every living christian, to bequeath unimpaired to his posterity, those blessings of liberty which he enjoys. You ought not to forget, that what you can now secure to your descendants, by an effectual sympathy with those who defend liberty in the old world, your children will perhaps not be able to obtain, even by pouring out their blood.

Already the European powers have an eye to the possession of California, the future key to the western coast of North America. You fear lest England seize upon that, and you overlook the fact, that Russia has, already, encroached on your North Western Territory and planted her military colonies, on some islands near California.

Even on this side of your continent, the ocean is no longer a barrier; the European powers, have all the facilities furnished by the invention of steam power, as completely at their disposal as you have or can have:—and it would be easier for them, to throw into your country, by their steam vessels, any number of their soldiery, than it is now to march their forces, from any given point of their respective empires to any section of Europe.

I respectfully beg you, Honourable Gentlemen, to understand, that we do not contest the bravery of your countrymen. The glorious achievements of your revolution is a testimony, which will speak for your fathers as long as the human race shall exist—and no one doubts, that should it be necessary to fight in defence of the rich boon, which they have bequeathed to you, you and your countrymen would prove to be sons and daughters, worthy of such sires. But permit me to remark, *that* bravery alone would not be sufficient to shelter you from

the destructive aggression of all Europe. The Poles have also displayed the utmost bravery. Examine our annals, and they will tell you, that 65,000 Poles, commanded by the famous Chodkiewicz, defeated at Chocim 392,000 Turks and Tartars—who left on the field of battle and in their retreat 120,000 dead;—that the famous Zolkiewski with 8,000 Poles, completely routed at Kluczyn 50,000 Sweeds and Moscovites, took by storm the city of Moscow, and brought to Warsaw as prisoners of war, the Czar Szuyski, and his two brothers. You are aware that 25,000 Poles headed by John Sobiewski, beat near 300,000 Turks under Vienna, and saved Christendom from Moslem yoke. And have you never heard to what a pigmy; the gigantic forces of Nicholas were reduced, by a handful of Poles in the late contest?—And yet you see a Pole before you in pilgrim garb, and there are thousands like me, scattered throughout the globe, besides those who are daily expiring in the grasp of the despotic hydra.

It is, by plots and not by bayonets, that despots succeed in conquering free people and reducing them to slavery. They sow distrust between nations coinciding in political views and principles,—and then complimenting one of them, they plot the ruin of the other. Lately when the rulers of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, combined against Poland, to effect her destruction, they professed themselves to be friends of England, and made treaties of alliance even with republican France. And now, when the English and the French begin to perceive, that they were deceived by the smiles of friendship of these despots;—when they see, that their commerce, their prosperity, their welfare, are at the will and mercy of the rulers of the North of Europe;—when they see, that even their respective liberties and independence are endangered;—and when, in order to save themselves and mankind from the impending danger, they express their opinion in behalf of the restoration of Poland;—attempts are made, to create, in your country, an impression against the expediency and practicability of such restoration. Hence, the efforts to justify the dismemberment of Poland. Hence, the scandalous arguments, insinuating an opinion, that the Polish people are not capable of existence as an independent nation. Hence, the assertions proclaiming that there is not even a hope, that Poland could ever regain her independence!!

Some may ask, what is the object or design of such attempts?

It is, because steam power and the pursuits of commerce, have brought you so near to Europe, that you are no longer inhabitants of a new world. . . . It is, because as a natural consequence of this change, your political movements and opinions, are observed and

considered in Europe, by its rulers and people, and have a great weight in its political scale.

It is evident, Honourable Gentlemen, that human affairs have taken a new course. The world is no longer governed by the sophism, that

“Might makes right.”

*Or by*

“The good old rule, the simple plan,  
That he may take who has the power,  
And he may keep who can.”

In this age of intelligence, there is no moving power but mind; all others, are passive and inert. Look at one of the vessels, which carry to the farthest regions of the globe, the evidence of the industry of your own country. See that puny being at the helm, commanding the winds of heaven and the waves of the stormy ocean—as if these laws of nature, instead of being ordained to hold the universe together, had, only been made to serve his particular purposes. . . . And yet, the merest breath of these winds which he has yoked to his service,—the merest drop of that fathomless abyss which he has made into his foot-stool,—if ignorantly encountered, would be more than enough for his destruction; but the powers of his mind have triumphed over the forces of matter, and the subjugated elements are become his obedient vassals. This mighty engine of the age, the power of mind, does similar wonders in the political affairs of empires. Whichever nation can grasp and wield public opinion of the world, will, with it, subdue the fleshy arms of physical forces, and compel them to work out its ends. It is, therefore, to enlist public opinion in behalf of the cause of my native land; to gain for it, the moral power, which such public opinion has a tendency to produce; and to counteract the evil, which the misrepresentations, I have alluded to in the course of addressing you, have caused us—that I appear before you, Honourable Gentlemen, and the public of your country,—lay on the altar of the free people of these United States, the true records of our history, and bring forth the services which Poland has rendered to mankind:

Respectfully begging you, in the name of my nation, that you should not forsake the land of Kosciusko and Pulaski;—when liberty from the battlements of Warsaw shall again

“Unfurl her standard to the breeze of morn,  
Peal her loud drum—and twang her trumpet horn—

*To rouse her champions—*

To strike for their altars and their fires,  
For the green graves of their sires—  
—— God, and their native land.”

(From the Albany Evening Journal, March 5, 1842)

## POLAND—MAJOR TOCHMAN'S LECTURES.

*Proceedings of a meeting in the Assembly Chamber at the Capitol, consisting of members of the two houses of the Legislature, citizens of Albany, and others, March 3rd., 1842.*

After the close of a lecture by Major Tochman, of the late Polish army, on the subject of Poland, Dr. PETER WENDELL, of the city of Albany, Chancellor of the University, was called to the Chair, on motion of Dr. Taylor, of Onondaga, Speaker *pro tem.* of the Assembly; and the following gentlemen were appointed secretaries—Morris Franklin, of the Senate, George A. Simmons, of Essex, and Lemuel Stetson, of Clinton, of the Assembly, on the motions severally, of Dr. Taylor, Mr. Grout, and Mr. Swackhamer.

The following resolutions were then read, after an eloquent speech by Major A. Devezac, of New York, and unanimously adopted:

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this meeting be tendered to Major Tochman for the eloquent and able lecture in which he has laid before it so vivid a picture of the glories, equalled only by the woes, of his heroic native country.

*Resolved*, That no sophistry, no fallacious representation of imaginary improvements, by Russia, either of the physical or moral state of Poland, can justify or expiate the injustice of the partition of an unoffending nation among rapacious neighbours, claiming no right over their victim save that of brutal strength, and offering no apology to mankind, save the success of their iniquity.

*Resolved*, That no citizen of a free republic can ever be indifferent to the fate of a nation whose annals shine with so many a bright record of her love of liberty, of religious toleration, and of scientific culture; nor can any American fail to sympathize warmly and deeply in the past wrongs, the present sufferings, and the future hopes, of the land which sent a Kosciusko and a Pulaski, to stand as worthy brethren in arms, by the side of Washington, in the van of the battles of our own freedom.

*Resolved*, That the proceedings of this meeting be published, and that a copy be communicated by the officers thereof to Major Tochman.

PETER WENDELL, *Chairman.*

Morris Franklin,  
Geo. A. Simmons, } *Secretaries.*  
Lemuel Stetson, }

(From the Boston Daily Advertiser, Sept. 19, 1842.)

### MAJOR TOCHMAN'S LEGISLATIVE ADDRESS.

In consequence of an error in the publication of the following in Saturday's paper, it is re-inserted with the proper correction.

Major Tochman, lately of the Polish army, delivered a highly interesting lecture upon the condition and prospects of Poland on Thursday evening, in the Hall of the House of Representatives, to a full meeting of members of the Legislature and the public.

After the conclusion of the address, which was replete with interesting facts, S. H. Walley, Esq., of the House of Representatives, was called to the Chair.

The following resolutions offered by Mr. Stevenson, Representative of Boston, were unanimously adopted.

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this meeting are due to Major Tochman for the interesting address with which he has favoured it this evening.

*Resolved*, That in the opinion of this meeting this community still looks with admiration upon the valour, and with grief upon the sufferings of the people of Poland.

(From the New Hampshire Statesman and State Journal, July 1, 1842.)

### MAJOR TOCHMAN'S LECTURE.

Agreeably to a resolution adopted by the House of Representatives of the State of New Hampshire, Major Tochman, a Polish exile, delivered an address upon the sufferings of Poland before His Excellency the Governor and Council, the Hon. Senate, members of the House of Representatives, and many citizens of Concord, in the Representatives Hall at Concord, Wednesday evening, June 22, 1842.

After the conclusion of the address of Major Tochman, on motion of Mr. Swasey, Speaker of the House of Representatives, His Excellency HENRY HUBBARD was chosen Chairman of the meeting.

On motion of Mr. Quincy, President of the Senate, the Clerks of the Senate and House of Representatives, were chosen Secretaries of the meeting.

Some very forcible and eloquent remarks were then made by His Excellency Henry Hubbard, Hon. Franklin Pierce, and Samuel Swasey, Esq.

On motion of Mr. Swasey, Hon. Josiah Quincy, of the Senate, Samuel Swasey, Esq. of the House, Andrew Pierce, Esq. of Dover, of the House, Hon. Simeon Warren, of the Senate, and Hon. Moses Norris, Jr. of the House, were appointed a committee to draft and report resolutions.

Mr. Quincy from the committee on resolutions, reported the following for the consideration of the meeting.

*Resolved*, That we have heard this evening with much interest, the very able lecture of Major Tochman, of Poland, upon the history and



condition of his native country, and the character, struggles and wrongs of her heroic, though unfortunate and oppressed people.

*Resolved*, That as Americans and as freemen, our feelings and best wishes are always with man in his contests against tyranny, and particularly are our sympathies enlisted in behalf of that brave and generous people, who have for centuries been battling, though as yet unsuccessfully, against the sceptered plunderers of Europe and trampers upon the common rights of man, and that the land which in the war of the American revolution gave Pulaski and Kosciusko to fight side by side, with Washington and Green, *our* battles for freedom, is now, in her present depressed condition, entitled to our fullest sympathies, and in the event of another struggle with her oppressors, would merit, and we trust *receive* the aid and co-operation of our grateful countrymen.

*Resolved*, That the cause of Poland is the common cause of the friends of freedom throughout the world,—that might does not sanctify wrong, and that though now humbled, dismembered and trampled under the iron heel of military despotism, we trust in the God of Justice, that the time will ere long come when she shall rise, break her fetters and be free.

*Resolved*, That we tender to Major Tochman our best wishes for his individual prosperity, and success, in the praiseworthy enterprise in which he is now engaged.

*Resolved*, That a copy of the proceedings of this meeting be signed by the Chairman and Secretaries, and presented to Major Tochman, and published in the different newspapers in this State.

On motion of Col. Pierce, of Dover, the foregoing resolutions were unanimously adopted—the meeting voting by rising.

HENRY HUBBARD, *Chairman*.

Harry Hibbard, }  
J. B. Wiggin, } *Secretaries*.

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(From the Vermont Patriot, Nov. 5, 1842.)

## LEGISLATURE OF VERMONT.

HOUSE.—*Wednesday Evening, October, 26, 1842.*

### POLISH AFFAIRS.

The House proceeded to the special order, being the following :

*Resolved*, That this Assembly, as the representatives of a free and independent State, cannot but feel a deep interest in the establishment and maintenance of free and liberal principles of government throughout the world. And while a proper regard to the character of our own government and people, for the preservation of quiet, both among ourselves, and in all regularly constituted governments, would induce us not to encourage forcible resistance and revolution, in any but extreme cases, we do consider that each case of that class must depend mainly upon its own peculiar circumstances.

We therefore have, and do esteem the case of Poland as one of such peculiar interest to all the friends of liberty, as to justify this declaration of our sentiments in regard to it.

In addition to the fact, that this free republic is enjoying the blessings of civil and religious freedom, as in some sense the price of the toil and sacrifice and blood of some of the noble and chivalrous sons of that ill-fated land, among whom we are proud to recollect Kosciusko and Pulaski; no one can trace the history of the wrongs and sufferings, and oppressions of that unhappy country in her struggle for liberty, and not feel that it is one in which every free government has a deep interest. The relations for a long time subsisting between Poland and Russia are, so to speak, but the personification of arbitrary power and heartless tyranny on the one hand, and sober, determined, intelligent, chivalrous and agonizing struggles for liberty on the other.

We, therefore, on the behalf and in the name of the inhabitants of the State of Vermont, do say to all the world, that we hope and trust in Divine Providence, that Poland will continue her aspirations and her struggles for liberty, till the autocrat of all the Russias shall know and feel, that it is the unalterable decree of the Ruler of the Universe that the principle of freedom, once developed in the hearts of a people, can never be extinguished by any course of oppression, however severe or long continued.

Major Tochman, of Poland, was admitted to the floor pursuant to a resolution of the House, and sustained the resolutions in a deeply interesting and eloquent speech. Mr. Canfield moved to lay the resolution on the table, expressing doubts of the propriety of making this a subject of legislation.

Mr. Harrison said, he deeply regretted that his friend from Arlington should have deemed it his duty, to take a course tending to ruffle or disturb the noble and generous sympathy, which he doubted not pervaded the bosoms of every member of the House towards the oppressed Poles and their distinguished countryman—who had so ably and eloquently discussed the resolution. For one, he did not feel disposed to break over the rules of parliamentary usage, by adopting any measure not within the legitimate scope of legislation; still, no *technical* parliamentary rule should prevent him from expressing his sympathy for the oppressed Poles—in his capacity as a member of that House—and his decided disapprobation of the course pursued by the Russian autocrat towards that chivalrous people. He would remind the house of the noble example set by the French government during the revolutionary struggle in our America; an example worthy the imitation of all the civilized nations of the earth, and one which, above all others, appeals to us.

Our Franklin, in the capacity in which Major Tochman presents himself to this body, presented himself at the court of Louis the XVI., representing the tyranny of Great Britain, with which we were oppressed, and asking their "sympathy" and their assistance. What did that great nation do? Did she stop to debate a question of parliamentary order, or to inquire of Great Britain what would be her views on that subject? No, Sir; she saw and felt that we were an injured and an oppressed people, she not only expressed her sympathy, but she sent her armies, her navy,

and the noblest present of all, her Lafayette. Where one of the nations of Europe has done so much for us, shall we refuse our *sympathy* for other of her nations, similarly injured and oppressed? No, Sir; God forbid; it is not in the heart of any true American to be thus ungrateful.

Mr. Canfield was further opposed by Messrs. Pettibone and Davis of N. and withdrawn, and the resolution was unanimously adopted.

Mr. Harrington moved a resolution of thanks to Major Tochman, which was also unanimously adopted.

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(From the New Haven Daily Herald, Conn. May 13, 1842.)

### MAJOR TOCHMAN'S LECTURE.

A meeting was held on Thursday evening, the 12th inst. in the Hall of Representatives, for the purpose of hearing a lecture from Major Tochman, late of the Polish army, upon the history and present condition of Poland.

At the close of the lecture, the Hon. WILLIAM S. HOLLABIRD, President of the Senate, was called to the Chair, and the Hon. Silas H. Hickok of the Senate, and Frederick A. Crittenden, Esq. of the House of Representatives, were appointed Secretaries.

On motion of Mr. J. C. Smith, Jr. a member of the House, the following preamble and resolutions were presented, and unanimously adopted.

Whereas, this meeting has heard with the deepest interest, the able and eloquent Lecture, delivered by Major Tochman, in defence and vindication of the gallant but oppressed people of his native land, and desirous thus publicly to express our feelings of sympathy in their behalf, therefore,

*Resolved*, That in all conflicts between the tyrant and the oppressed, our best wishes are due to the latter, and are especially extended to the Polish nation, whose history is bright with examples of heroism, and whose noblest warriors have fought by the side of our Fathers, in the great cause of American freedom.

*Resolved*, That in thus manifesting our emotions of pity and indignation for the cruel wrongs which have been suffered by Poland from the armed robbers of the north, we but echo the feelings of the whole American people, and particularly those of the people of Connecticut, who for two centuries, in every struggle for freedom, have ever been found in the fore front of the battle.

*Resolved*, That we tender to Major Tochman our best wishes for his own individual prosperity, and for the success of the noble enterprise in which he is so ardently and efficiently engaged.

*Resolved*, That a copy of the foregoing preamble and resolutions, signed by the officers of the meeting, be presented to Major Tochman, and also published in the different newspapers of this city.

WILLIAM S. HOLLABIRD, *Chairman*.

Silas H. Hickok, }  
F. A. Crittenden, } *Secretaries*.

(From the Richmond Whig, Va. 11th of March, 1843.)

### SYMPATHY FOR POLAND.

On Thursday evening last, agreeable to previous notice, the Members of the Virginia Legislature assembled in the Hall of the House of Delegates, and, after hearing an able and eloquent address from Major Tochman, a Polish Exile, in reference to the wrongs and sufferings of his country; on motion of Mr. Leake, of Albemarle, Joel Holleman, Esq. [Speaker of the House of Delegates,] was invited to take the Chair, and Richard H. Toler, of Lynchburg, was appointed Secretary.

Whereupon, Mr. Randolph, of Albemarle, submitted the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted.

*Resolved*, That we have heard, with feelings of the deepest interest, the able lecture of Major Tochman, on the history of the wrongs and sufferings of his native country, Poland.

*Resolved*, That ourselves enjoying the blessings of a free government, our feeling and sympathies are ever with the unfortunate in their struggles for liberty; and we, as our fathers before us, have viewed with the highest admiration the steady and intrepid resistance of that devoted nation against their oppressors. And we acknowledge, with gratitude, the services of a Kosciusko and a Pulaski, who shared a common danger with our fathers, in the eventful contest which gave us rank among the independent nations of the earth.

*Resolved*, That the cause of Poland is the cause of Liberty and of men against tyranny and power; and, although crushed by the giant arm of despotism, and trodden under foot, her patient magnanimity, and her invincible firmness, fore-shadow the dawn of a brighter destiny.

*Resolved*, That we tender to Major Tochman our best wishes for his individual prosperity, and the success of the enterprise in which he is engaged.

On motion of Mr. Frazier, of Augusta, the thanks of the meeting were tendered to Major Tochman, with a request that he will, at some time convenient to himself, repeat the address, to which this meeting has listened with so much pleasure.

On motion of Dr. Warren, of Surry, it was *Resolved*, that the proceedings of this meeting be signed by the chairman and secretary, and published in the newspapers of this city: and that a copy thereof be presented to Major Tochman.

And then the meeting adjourned.

J. HOLLEMAN, *Chairman*.

Richard H. Toler, *Secretary*.

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(From the Ohio State Journal, January 25th, 1841.)

At a meeting of members of the Legislature, citizens of Columbus, and others, held in the Hall of the House of Representatives of the State of Ohio, on the evening of January 22d, 1841, for the purpose of hearing from Major Tochman, late of the Polish army, the last of a series of Lectures,

by him delivered, upon the history of Poland—on motion of Mr. Vincent, a member of the House, Hon. Seabury Ford, Speaker of the House of Representatives, was called to the chair; and on motion of Gen. Bell, a member of the House, John W. Andrews was appointed Secretary.

At the close of the lecture, on motion of Mr. Van Vorhes, a member of the House, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

*Whereas*, this meeting have heard, with much pleasure, the several lectures relative to the history of Poland, delivered by Major Tochman, and are fully satisfied with the very able defence made by him—against the many slanderous charges preferred against her gallant, but oppressed people. For the purpose of giving an expression of our feelings thus publicly in their behalf, and also as an act of justice to that individual,

*Resolved*, That we tender to Major Tochman our thanks for his able and interesting lectures, with the assurance of our solicitude for his individual prosperity, and for the final triumph of Poland over all her enemies.

*Resolved*, That in thus manifesting our feelings of indignation and strong sympathy for the wrongs that have been suffered by Poland, we but echo the feelings entertained by the whole American people; and that the prayers of every patriot are ascending to Heaven for the speedy emancipation of her sons—the countrymen of Pulaski and Kosciusko.

*Resolved*, That a copy of the foregoing preamble and resolutions, attested by the officers of this meeting, be presented to Major Tochman.

*Resolved*, That the proceedings of this meeting be signed by the chairman and secretary, and published in the newspapers of this city.

SEABURY FORD, *Chairman*.

John W. Andrews, *Secretary*.

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(From the Indianapolis Tri-Weekly Journal, Indiana, Feb. 9, 1841.)

At a meeting of the citizens and the members of the Legislature and strangers in Indianapolis, at the close of Major Gaspard Tochman's Lectures on Poland, in the Hall of the House of Representatives, on motion of Mr. Elliott, Senator from Henry county, DAVID WALLACE, Esq. late Governor of Indiana, was called to the Chair, and S. V. B. Noel, appointed Secretary.

The following preamble and resolutions were adopted:

*Whereas*, This meeting have listened with great interest to the Lectures, delivered in this Hall, during the present week, by G. Tochman, late Major in the Polish army; and *whereas*, they have reason to believe that the public have been misled in regard to many facts connected with the history and manners of the Polish nation, by the writings of a certain gentleman, published in the National Intelligencer, over the signature of "Tacitus," and others, therefore,

*Resolved*, That we place implicit reliance on the historical statements made by Major Tochman.

*Resolved*, That we deeply sympathise with, and duly appreciate the calamities, which have befallen the Poles in the destruction and dismemberment of their country, and that this meeting look upon that destruction as an unwarrantable and craven assumption of tyrannical power, unparalleled in the annals of modern history, and deserving the execration of all republicans.

*Resolved*, That the aspirations of this meeting are, that Poland will again be free, will again become a refuge and a home for the oppressed and persecuted, and a beacon light, in the midst of the dark and besotted nations of the old world, to the friends of Liberty and Free Government.

*Resolved*, That we tender to Major Tochman our unfeigned thanks, for the gratification and information his Lectures have afforded us.

*Resolved*, That the proceedings of this meeting be signed by its officers, and published in the newspapers of this place.

DAVID WALLACE, *Chairman*.

S. V. B. Noel, *Secretary*.

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(From the Louisville Daily Journal, Ky. February 27, 1841.)

At a meeting of the members of the Kentucky Legislature, and citizens of Frankfort, held in the Hall of Representatives, at Frankfort, Kentucky, on the evening of February 16th, 1841, at the close of Major Tochman's last Lecture on the history and institutions of Poland, and the late revolution, by which Poland gallantly struggled to throw off the yoke of Russian depotism: on motion of Wm. F. Bullock, Esq. member of the House of Representatives from the city of Louisville, Major THOS. SPEED, from Nelson county, was called to the Chair, and Leonard Bliss, Jr. appointed Secretary. Mr. Bullock then offered the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted.

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this meeting be tendered to Major Tochman for his very able and interesting Lectures on the history and institutions of Poland, and the late gallant but unsuccessful struggle of that brave people, in the cause of Liberty.

*Resolved*, That the American people can never forget the land, nor the nation which sent to our revolutionary struggle such patriots as Kosciusko and Pulaski, who fought side by side with our Washington, and bled in defence of our liberties; and that we deeply sympathise with the woes and sufferings of that unhappy people, and trust in the retributive justice of the God of Nations, that Poland shall yet rise a great, a free, and happy people, and shaking off the yoke of the iron depotisms of the crowned robbers of the north, shall again resume her place among the independent nations of the earth.

*Resolved*, That we regard the cause of Poland as the cause of all free-

men, and that all the true friends of liberty throughout the world are deeply interested in her fate.

*Resolved*, That our best wishes and warmest sympathies will ever go with the gallant and distinguished representative and able advocate of Poland, who has just addressed us; and whether he wields the sword or the pen in her defence, may success ever crown his cause.

*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be presented to Major Tochman, and also that they be published in the newspapers of this commonwealth.

THOS. SPEED, *Chairman*.

Leonard Bliss, Jr. *Secretary*.

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(From the State Gazette, of Trenton, N. J.)

### MAJOR TOCHMAN'S LECTURE.

TRENTON, May 18, 1844.

At a meeting of the citizens of Trenton, *members of the State Convention* and others, in the Assembly room this evening, to hear the address of Major Tochman, in behalf of the sufferings and wrongs of Poland. This gentleman having closed his most eloquent and stirring Lecture, Gov. DICKERSON was called to the Chair, and S. R. Hamilton appointed Secretary, whereupon Col. Zabriskie (of the State Convention) presented the following resolutions, viz:

*Whereas*, This meeting has heard with the deepest interest the Lecture just delivered by Major Tochman, upon the wrongs and cruel oppressions inflicted upon the brave and gallant people of his ill-fated, but native land; and feeling it to be due to the great cause of liberty, for which so many of the sons of Poland have so nobly struggled, therefore,

*Resolved*, That we sympathise most sincerely with the oppressed sons and daughters of Poland—whose history is one continued transcript of valor, and devoted patriotism.

*Resolved*, That this public expression of our sympathy for the gallant, but cruelly oppressed people of Poland, is due to the great cause of liberty, as well as to the memory of some of her noblest warriors, who bravely fought beside our fathers in the great struggle for our independence.

*Resolved*, That we tender to Major Tochman our sympathies, and best wishes for his health and prosperity; and we sincerely trust that the period is not far distant, when his native land will be emancipated from thralldom, and restored to her nationality and independence.

*Resolved*, That the Secretary of this meeting furnish Major Tochman with a copy of the above preamble and resolutions.

Wm. Halsted, Esq. addressed the Chair eloquently in support of the spirit of the resolutions.

The resolutions were adopted, unanimously, and ordered to be printed and a copy furnished to Major Tochman.

Chief Justice Hornblower moved that the thanks of this meeting be presented to Major Tochman, for his learned, eloquent, and patriotic address.

*Resolved*, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the city papers.

MAHLON DICKERSON, *Chairman*.

S. R. Hamilton, *Secretary*.

## A LIST OF THE PUBLIC MEETINGS HELD ON BEHALF OF POLAND,

*By citizens of the United States, after Major Tochman's Lectures.*

1840.

*Marietta*, OHIO—October 26, A. T. Nye, Chair. J. W. Andrews, Sec'ry.  
*Oxford*, OHIO—November 10, Professor J. W. Scott, of the *Miami University*, Chair. A. B. Mayo, Esq. Sec'ry.

*Maysville*, KY.—26, Hon. Judge Reid, Chair. L. Collins, Sec'ry.

*Lancaster*, OHIO—December 12, Rev. W. Cox, Chair. Dr. L. I. Moeller, Sec'ry. Gen. Wm. Jas. Reese, moved resolutions.

*Logan*, OHIO—15, Dr. C. B. Guthrie, Chair. Flavius Case, Esq. Sec'ry.  
Gen. Thomas Worthington, m. r.

*Athens*, OHIO—21, Dr. C. Bierce, Chair. A. B. Walker, Sec'ry. Professor Reid, of the *Ohio University*, m. r.

1841.

*Mt. Vernon*, OHIO—January 2, Geo. Browning, Esq. Chair. J. C. Stockton, Sec'ry. Henry B. Curtis, Esq. m. r.

*Granville*, OHIO—8, Rev. J. A. Bronson, Chair. A. P. Prichard, Sec'ry.  
M. French, President of the *Episcopal Female Seminary*, m. r.

*Cincinnati*, OHIO—March 9, Hon. Judge H. Morse, Pres. Jonathan Pancourt, Esq. V. P. H. McDougal and J. W. Pratt, Esq. Sec'rys.  
Hon. Judge Reed, m. r.

*Zanesville*, OHIO—April 3, Hon. C. W. Searle, Chair. C. Moore, Sec'ry.  
Col. Manypenny, m. r.

*Wheeling*, VA.—14, Rev. R. T. Sedgwick, Chair. M. McK. Lamdin, Sec'ry. Mr. Nelson, m. r.

*Pittsburg*, PENN.—23, H. H. Van Amringe, Esq. Chair. J. Schoonmaker, Esq. Sec'ry. D. Ritchie and T. Shipton, Esqs. m. r. Committee, J. B. Butler, Ch. Van Bonhorst, W. M. T. McClurg, John Shipton, Josiah King, Esqs.

*Bedford*, PENN.—May 12, Maj. Sam. Taliaferro, Chair. Dr. G. B. Barclay, Sec'ry.

*Chambersburg*, PENN.—15, Rev. B. S. Schneek, Chair. Jos. Pritts, Sec'ry.  
Joseph Chambers, m. r.

*Carlisle*, PENN.—22, Rev. Henry Slicer, Chair. Prof. J. McClintock, of *Dickinson College*, Sec'ry. Professor Allen, m. r.

*Lancaster*, PENN.—28, A. B. Roberts, Esq. Chair. C. Keffer and J. W. Forney, Esqs. Assistant Chair. J. B. Bryson and W. G. Mackey, Sec'rys.

*Philadelphia*, PENN.—June 19, Benj. Matthias, Esq. Chair. Rev. J. Nicholson, Sec'ry. Rev. J. Kenaday, m. r.

*Portland*, MAINE—July 20, Gen. Fessenden, Chair. James Furbish, Sec'ry. John Neal, m. r.



- Bangor, MAINE*—30, His Excellency, Gov. KENT, Chair. J. C. Haynes Esq. Sec'y. John Apelson, Esq. m. r.
- Belfast, MAINE*—August 4, Hon. H. F. Anderson, Chair. Wm. H. Burrell, Esq. Sec'y. Hon. Alfred Johnson and A. T. Palmer, Esqs. m. r.
- West Prospect Village, MAINE*—5, J. C. Dickerson, Esq. Chair. Th. C. Barker, Sec'y. Rev. S. Thurston, m. r.
- Ellsworth, MAINE*—12, Rev. Sewall Tenney, Chair. Sam. Greely, Sec'y. Committee, Hon. T. Robinson, Joseph Wood, Esq. Dr. George Pascher.
- West Machias, MAINE*—14, A. L. Raymond, Esq. Chair. J. Sargent, Sec'y. Committee, William B. Smith, Albert G. Lane, G. S. Smith, Jr.
- Lubec, MAINE*—19, H. G. Balch, Chair. Sanford H. Hunt, Sec'y. Committee, J. C. Talbot, Jr. Jeremiah Fowler, Jos. Sumner, Esqs.
- Calais, MAINE*—September 13, George Downes, Esq. Chair. Charles J. Pike, Sec'y.
- East Machias, MAINE*—11, P. Talbott, Esq. Chair. J. E. T. Dunn, Esq. Sec'y.
- Augusta, MAINE*—19, Hon. L. Severance, Chair. Wm. R. Smith, Sec'y. Hon. Judge Redington, J. W. Bradbury, R. D. Rice and G. M. Weston, Esq. m. r.
- Brunswick, MAINE*—22, Hon. R. P. Dunlap, Chair. Professor William Smith, of the *Bowdoin College*, Sec'y.
- Hallowell, MAINE*—30, J. C. Lovejoy, Andrew Masters, Calvin Spaulding, J. E. Dumont, Paul Hickney, Esqs. officers of the meeting.
- Saco, MAINE*—October 6, Gov. JOHN FAIRFIELD, Chair. Geo. Seamon, Sec'y. P. Heines, m. r.
- Kennebunk, MAINE*—8, Barnadas Palmer, Esq. Chair. Timothy Frost, Sec'y.
- Cambridge, MASS.*—19, J. T. Buckingham, Esq. Chair. Abraham Edwards, Esq. Sec'y. Professor Jared Sparks, of the *Harvard University*, m. r.
- Boston, MASS.*—25, Col. Samuel Swett, Chair. Richard Robins, Esq. Sec'y. Geo. H. Snelling, Esq. and Hon. John Pickering, m. r.
- Lyceum of Roxbury, MASS.*—November 19, Richard Ward, Esq. Chair. Charles H. Dillaway, Sec'y. Gen. H. A. S. Dearborn, m. r.
- New York*—December 4, Meeting of the Board of Directors of the Mercantile Library Association.

1842.

- Batavia, N. Y.*—January 5, John Lowber, Esq., Chair. S. Wakeman, Sec'y.
- Buffalo, N. Y.*—13, Col. Ira A. Blossom, Chair. H. K. Viele, Sec'y.
- Lockport, N. Y.*—19, Charles E. D. Wood, Esq. Chair. Hiram C. Clark, Sec'y. Committee, H. Gardner, Joseph Center, Anson A. Boyce.
- Literary Society of Canandaigua, N. Y.*—29, Geo. Wilson, Pres. Wm. Jeffrey, Sec'y. Hon. Mark H. Sibley, m. r.
- Geneva, N. Y.*—February 4, Gen. Joseph G. Swift, Chair. James C. Brown, Sec'y.
- Utica, N. Y.*—15, Hon. Judge Gridley, Chair. Rudolph Sneider, Sec'y. E. A. Wetmore, Esq. m. r.
- Syracuse, N. Y.*—19, Gen. James Lawrence, Chair. Dr. Lyman Clary, Sec'y. Committee, P. Outwater, Jr. M. D. Brunet, B. D. Noxon, Rev. J. P. B. Storer, R. R. Davis.
- Pittsfield, MASS.*—March 12, Ezekiel L. Colt, Chair. Robert Cambell, Sec'y. P. Allen, Jr. m. r.

- Worcester, MASS.*—22, Hon. Judge Barton, Chair. D. W. Lincoln, Sec'y. A. H. Bullock, aid to the Governor, m. r.
- Middletown, CONN.*—April 21, Rev. Nathan Bangs, D. D. *President of the Wesleyan University*, Chair. Elihu Spencer, Sec'y. Hon. N. A. Phelps, Mayor of the city, and Hon. W. L. Storrs, Judge of the Sup. Court of Connecticut, m. r.
- Bridgeport, CONN.*—May 9, Hon. James C. Loomis, Chair. A. A. Pettengill, Sec'y.
- Hartford, CONN.*—13, Royal R. Hinman, Chair. <sup>Thos.</sup> H. Seymour, Sec'y.
- Cabotville, MASS.*—June 4, S. Adams, Esq. Chair. J. G. Ames, Sec'y. Committee, A. Le Baron Monroe, Wm. H. Clark, A. W. Stockwell.
- Greenfield, MASS.*—16, H. G. Newcomb, Esq. Chair. Hon. George T. Davis, Rev. Dr. Strong, Hon. George Greenell, Jr. Hon. Daniel Wells, m. r.
- Keen, N. H.*—June 13, M. Hale, Esq. Chair. G. M. Edwards, Sec'y.
- Hanover, N. H.*—June 28, E. D. Sanborn, Esq., Chair. Charles Low, of *Darmouth College*, Sec'y.
- Burlington, VERMONT.*—July 8, N. B. Haswell, Chair. I. N. Pomeroy, Sec'y. E. A. Stansbury, m. r.
- Keeseville, N. Y.*—July 16, Hon. G. A. Simons, Chair. G. Stowe, Sec'y.
- Saratoga Springs, N. Y.*—July 26, G. M. Davison, Esq. Chair, S. P. Nash, Sec'y.
- Troy, N. Y.*—August 5, Hon. Jonas C. Heartt, Mayor of the city, Chair. Hon. Geo. R. Davis, Sec'y. J. Neal, Esq. Hon. Judge Bull, Dr. C. S. J. Goodrich, m. r.
- New Bedford, MASS.*—31, James Arnold, Esq. Chair. Richard S. S. Andros, Sec'y. J. H. W. Page, Esq. m. r.
- Taunton, MASS.*—September 2, GOVERNOR MARCUS MORTON, Chair. Wm. A. S. Sprot, Secretary. Committee, Hon. James L. Hodges, Hon. Francis Baylies, Sydney Williams, Esq.
- Nantucket, MASS.*—8, Hon. Geo. R. Upton, Chair. Charles C. Hazewell, Sec'y. Committee, D. Jones, Jr. John H. Shaw, David Toy, Esqs.
- Dover, N. H.*—October 6, Benj. Barnes, Esq. Chair. John H. Wiggins, Sec'y. Committee, M. Paul, Noach Martin, John Parkman, I. P. Hale, J. H. Wiggins, Esqs.
- Portsmouth, N. H.*—12, Rev. Charles Burroughs, D. D. Chair. Albert R. Hatch, Sec'y. Ichabod Godwin, m. r.
- Montpelier, VERMONT.*—26, Hon. Samuel C. Craft, of the U. S. Senate, Chair. F. F. Merrill, Esq. Clerk of the House of Representatives of Vermont, Sec'y.
- 1843.
- Baltimore, MD.*—January 20, Nathaniel Cox, Pres. of the Lyceum, Charles S. Carter, Sec'y. G. Thompson Baird, Esq. m. r.
- February 25, Col. Harris, Chair. Charles Z. Lucas, Esq. Sec'y. Comm. T. P. Scott, Esq. Gen. Anthony Miltenberger, W. S. Petriken, Esq. Major James O. Law.
- March 1, Gen. Geo. H. Stewart, Chair. Major S. K. George, Sec'y. G. L. L. Davis, Esq. m. r.
- Norfolk, VA.*—April 18, meeting of the Light Artillery Blues, at their Head Quarters.
- Portsmouth, VA.*—25, Dr. R. B. Butt, Chair. W. L. Lee, Sec'y. Rev. Thomas Hume, and Dr. R. W. Young, m. r.
- Frederick, Md.*—May 21, Hon. Richard Potts, (of the Senate) Chair. A. B. Hanson, Sec'y. Comm. W. M. Addison, Lowe, Winchester, Esq'srs.

- Gettysburg*, PA.—June 13, Hon. Geo. Smyser, Chair. Robert G. Harper, Esq. Sec'y. Hon. James Cooper and Daniel Smyser, Esqs. m. r.
- Lancaster*, PA.—July 4, meeting of the Lancaster Fencibles, at their Head Quarters.
- Cambridge*, MD.—August 3, Dr. Joseph E. Muse, Chair. J. E. Henry, Sec'y. Comm. James B. Champlain, Benj. D. Jackson, Dr. Thos. H. Handy, James A. Stewart, Esq'rs.
- Westminster*, MD.—August 7, Jacob Shower, Chair, J. Smith and Thos. Hook, assistant Chair. J. K. Lonowell and J. M. Parke, Sec'rys. Hon. Wm. P. Maulsby, m. r.

1844.

- Westchester*, PA.—February 7, Hon. Judge Thomas S. Bell, Chair. John Marshall, Esq. Sec'y. Joseph J. Lewis, Esq. m. r.
- Plymouth*, Mass.—April 27, Col. John B. Thomas, Chair. J. H. Loud, Esq. Sec'y.
- Trenton*, N. J.—May 23, His Excellency Gov. ~~W. PENNINGTON~~ <sup>D. Haines</sup>, Chair. Hon. Halsted, m. r. Chief Justice of the State, Hornblower, and Gen. Hamilton, supported them.

*Reply to Mr. Darby's Communication published in the National Intelligencer, March 30, 1843.*

(From the National Intelligencer, of the 20th April, 1843.)

NORFOLK, VA. April 13, 1843.

MESSRS. GALES & SEATON:— I wish to say a few words in answer to the communication of "Tacitus," published in your paper of the 31st of March. The writer of the said communication brought before your readers, from the Richmond Compiler of the 11th of March, from the account of my Address pronounced in the hall of the House of Delegates, the following few lines: "One fact mentioned by the speaker deserves notice. He said that there were no counts or titled nobility recognised by his countrymen in Poland, except the equestrian order."

Had "Tacitus" quoted the subsequent lines from the same paper, the account of what I said would be as follows: "Which was so numerous as hardly to constitute an exclusive class; nor had there been for some time previous to the late ill-fated but noble effort to throw off the yoke of Russia; that the survivors of the former titled nobility were few and very old, and that the strolling Polish counts in this country, therefore, with perhaps no exception, are impostors."

These few lines give a correct meaning to the preceding paragraph; and "Tacitus" would have spared himself much trouble in animadverting upon what I said on the subject, had he not *dissected* the account of the Compiler.

"Tacitus" next quotes long passages from the work of Charles V. Kraitsir, M. D., published in Philadelphia, in 1837, and from the Analysis and Parallel of the Polish Constitutions, by Joachim Lelewel; after which he concludes: "Well might we pause and leave the reader to form conclusions inevitable from the testimony of two native Polish authors; but we cannot refrain from recurring to the hardihood of any other native of

the same country, standing before an American audience, and asserting that *there were no counts or titled nobility recognised by his countrymen in Poland.*"

It is of little importance that "Tacitus" made a mistake in representing Charles V. Kraitsner, M. D., to be a native of Poland. Mr. Kraitsner is a worthy and well educated Hungarian; he volunteered to defend the cause of Poland during the late contest, and, after the failure of our revolution, being not permitted to return to his native land, he arrived in this country, and is now a professor in the Virginia University. He never had a claim to be considered a Polish historian, and his book, to which "Tacitus" refers, is not free from many mistakes.

But, defective as the book of Mr. Kraitsner is, the quotations from this book, as ~~well as those~~ from the Analysis and Parallel of the Polish Constitutions, by Lelewel, which "Tacitus" brought forward, are in perfect harmony with my statements, as reported in the Richmond Compiler. The few families who were permitted, in various epochs of political changes, to use the title of princes and the foreign title of counts and barons, never had any political superiority over the nobles—who were very numerous, and never composed a separate political body.

"Tacitus" is mistaken in supposing that there existed a privileged class in Poland superior to the equestrian order—which was the creation of the reform of various half-savage tribes into a civilized nation: the noblesse who compose this order do not descend from the conquering race, as is the case with the nobility of the rest of Europe; and a feudal nobility never existed in Poland. According to our primitive institutions, every man who defended the country was a nobleman, and every man who graduated in the University was also a nobleman. Hence, there are more nobles in Poland than in the whole rest of Europe; and had not Poland been dismembered, till now, perhaps, all her population would have been nobles.

No one denies that the rich nobles made an effort to consolidate themselves into a separate political body, and that they did not associate much in private circle with the poor noblesse—who tilled the soil with their own hands. But such tendencies are inseparable from human nature. During seven years of my residence in this more democratic country than Poland ever was, I have not yet seen a poor daily labourer invited to the private circle of a family—whom fortune and education place above the former.

"Tacitus" brought to his assistance against me several quotations from the Analysis of the Polish Constitutions, by Lelewel, in order to refute a statement which, as it has been shown, originated from this gratuitous *dissection* of the account of the Richmond Compiler. And yet he has thus commented on these very quotations: "In Russia, however, the serf was not so far subjected to his owner, as to depend upon his moderation for life itself; on the contrary, in Poland the poor serf was utterly at the mercy of a master. Yet, in face of what no one can deny, Lelewel himself says, *"there were no slaves in Poland."*

The whole of this comment is utterly destitute of foundation. A Po-

lish peasant, or, as Lelewell calls him, *serf*, was but a leaseholder: he cultivated a few acres of land taken on a lease, from which the produce belonged to him, and he paid his rent by working on other land of the owner. He has been called *serf* by many Polish writers, *because* he was excluded from legislation and public office, unless he graduated in a University, which made him a nobleman *de jure*; and *because* he was subjected to such conditions, as he had contracted towards the owner of the land, on which he lived. This system gave certainly place to many abuses; but the nobleman never had over a peasant such power, as "Tacitus" represents in his appendix to the quotations from Lelewell's Analysis of the Polish Constitutions.

"Tacitus" says: "To those who are supporting this man's statements I say boldly, that there are at this moment, on what was Poland a century past, at least *twelve millions of people*, who would regard as the most severe infliction Heaven could pour on their heads the restoration of their former state of oppression:"

During the last half century nothing has been neglected on the part of Russia, Austria and Prussia—to impress the public mind with *this same* idea; but the very Constitutions of 1791, 1807, and 1815, which "Tacitus" declares to have before his eyes, refute all the misrepresentations of this kind: each of these Constitutions, tending to the melioration of the condition of the great mass of the Polish people, and also extending the enjoyment of political rights to a greater number of inhabitants.

"Tacitus" will, perhaps, answer, that the Constitution of 1807 was given to Poland by Napoleon, and that of 1815, by Alexander. But let it be understood, that both these Constitutions were written by native Poles, and both Napoleon and Alexander sanctioned them, only because the efforts of the Poles to regain their independence, placed them in such condition, that neither of them dared to refuse this sanction: the study of the history of Europe, from the time of the dismemberment of Poland, conjointly with the history of the Polish Legions—and the efforts of the Poles to regain independence, down to the fall of Napoleon, will evince of the correctness of this remark.

The Constitution of 1791 is the mother of the Constitutions of 1807 and 1815; and it is considered, by the living generation of the Polish people, as a legacy given them by old Poland: it is considered so, *because* it checked abuses, which had, in consequence of foreign interference, found their way into Poland in the last century of her existence as an independent nation; and, as the celebrated Burke says, "benefitted every body and injured no man:"

Kosciusko led the peasants alone, against Russia and Prussia, in defence of this Constitution. And in the late contest the peasants often exceeded the nobles in their devotion to the country.

"Tacitus" is mistaken in supposing that I spare the conduct of Austria and Prussia: It is well known that the present policy of Russia is to create an anti-Prussian and anti-Austrian feeling in the States of the

German Confederacy. . . . Many pamphlets subservient to this purpose, have been published in Europe. The *Pentarchy* is the most obvious publication of this description. My mission is *only* to place before the public of *this* country, in a true light, the real condition of *our own* affairs, and that of our future prospects, in order to counteract *thus* the evil, which the misrepresentations circulated by our enemies have caused us.

The manifestations of public opinion in favour of the cause of my country, are not (as "Tacitus" says) "wasted in air before reaching where they could have any effect." In France and England, every such manifestation, enacted in the legislative halls, has always been followed by diplomatic notes or protests on the part of the Russian Government. In this country, such diplomatic notes would not be considered; and for this very reason, the manifestation of public opinion in behalf of my country by the people of these United States, is more effective; it reaches the ears of the people of all Europe, and of Nicholas himself.

I, however, agree with "Tacitus," that "if anatomy as a science had been deduced from skeletons found in ancient sepulchres, it would be, as to usefulness, about of equal value with our general history." But its usefulness would be of no assistance to the efforts of "Tacitus" in behalf of Russia. The extracted, true element of the Polish institutions, would evince, that mankind is much indebted to Poland for their present condition: Poland *alone* defended the rights of man when the whole of Europe was languishing under feudal slavery. The Poles are enslaved; but *four* times as many slaves of other nations, are made free in their place. "Tacitus" correctly states that there has been a matter of great inquiry in Europe, "what would have been the effect probable on Western Europe had Slavon power found its centre around Warsaw in place of Moscow."

But why does he substitute his own opinion, for the conclusions of the European inquirers? These last maintain that "liberty having bid farewell to Poland," the whole of Europe must be "Cossack," if Poland should not regain her independence.

At a public meeting of the members of the British Parliament, held in 1839, over which the Duke of Sussex, uncle of the Queen, presided, an opinion was expressed as follows:

"*Resolved*, That the restoration of Poland will, in the opinion of the meeting, be the surest guaranty for the preservation of the liberties of Europe and the promotion of the general peace and welfare of all mankind."

No European politician, no man of common sense in Europe, except the agents of our enemies, would dare to maintain, as "Tacitus" does, that "its resuscitation is as utterly hopeless as the return of life of the corpse of a human being whose death terminated in the last stage of consumption."

When, in 1838, General Skrzynecki was appointed general-in-chief of the Belgian army, the three Powers that had dismembered Poland protested against this appointment. And why? Because a Pole at the head of the French vanguard (so is considered the Belgian army) caused

general revolutionary vibration in all the provinces of ancient Poland. . . . Previous to that event, when Nicholas visited Warsaw, he said to the Deputies of the city: "I have built a citadel here, and I declare to you, that, on the first disturbance, I will level your city with the ground."

This language from the lips of the Czar, and his fear of a single Pole at the head of the Belgian army, conclusively show, that Nicholas himself does not consider his power as strongly established in Poland, as "Tacitus" dare to represent to the American public.

I am sirs, your most obedient servant, G. TOCHMAN,  
A Polish Exile.

*Reply to Mr. Darby's Communication published in the National  
Intelligencer, April 25, 1843.*

(From the National Intelligencer, May 22, 1843.)

MESSRS. GALES & SEATON:—The first moment which is at my disposal, I embrace to answer Mr. Darby's challenge, headed, "*To the public in general, and Major Gaspard Tochman in particular*"—which appeared in your paper of the 25th of April, and I beg again the favor of using your columns. Had Mr. Darby read my communication in the *Globe* of the 19th of April, he would not have said that I wrote it, in addition to the reply which has been published in your paper of the 20th: the communication referred to being *verbatim* the same reply which appeared in your paper. The only difference between the two publications is, that throughout the reply in the *Globe* figures the name of Mr. Darby, for which, in the *National Intelligencer*, you deemed it proper to substitute the name of "Tacitus." This fact shows what credit Mr. Darby's statement—that there appeared in the *Globe* "an additional personal and aspersive communication"—is *deserving of*. But it is not to skirmish about such little and unimportant matters that I took the pen. All those who have read the communications of "Tacitus" published in your paper, and in some of the papers of Ohio, and also my replies which were inserted in some of the papers of Kentucky, Ohio and New York, can form their own opinion, which of us Mr. Darby or myself, has reason to complain of being abused. I cannot, however, forbear to mention, that Mr. Darby is absurdly mistaken if he really believes that my object in travelling and lecturing in America is to prostrate him. I do not know Mr. Darby; I have never seen him; and in my lectures I have nothing to do with the writings of "Tacitus." In 1839 and '40, I often referred to these writings, and publicly debated them, because they were then in circulation, and everywhere followed my foot-steps, so as to come into collision with my lectures. But now I do not need this reference, and had not Mr. Darby provoked me anew, through your columns of the 31st of March, I would have forgotten that I had ever seen the writings of "Tacitus," or heard of their author, Mr. Darby.

I appear before the American public in the name of my nation, Poland, in defence of the same cause whose unsuccessful issue in the late struggle

has brought me to this far off land. I treat of the subject of the history, institutions, wrongs, sufferings and future prospects of my country, and plead her cause before the American people—not that they should declare a war against the spoilers of Poland; but to enlist a public opinion condemning their perpetrations and encroachments on the rights of a once free nation. Does my success in awakening public attention to such an appeal, injure in any way Mr. Darby's personal interest or reputation?

I cannot conceive what motives Mr. Darby has to complain of, and to denounce as ignorant all those persons, who after having heard my lectures, organized meetings and expressed their sympathies in behalf of Poland. Let me tell Mr. Darby, that in the number of the supporters of the cause of my country and my own person, are the celebrated American historian, Professor Jared Sparks, and that distinguished scholar, Hon. John Pickering, of Boston;—the former moved resolutions at a public meeting held at Cambridge, the latter in Boston, both calling the attention of the American people to the character and importance of my lectures; that five Governors of the States, of both political parties, (three of whom are still in office) acted as chairmen of the public meetings convened to express their opinion in favor of the cause which I defend; that similar resolutions were passed by nine State Legislatures, of which four are whig Legislatures and five democratic; that about one hundred public meetings of the citizens and literary institutions, directed by the most distinguished men of both political parties, and the clergy of various Christian denominations, have, also, expressed their sympathies for the same cause and warmest wishes for the success of my mission.

Will Mr. Darby persist in his opinion, that in the number of these illustrious judges, there is none who knows “anything of Poland beyond the name, and that Count Pulaski and a few other Poles came to this country and fought under the American standard in the revolutionary war?” In my judgment, Mr. Darby does injustice to himself only, by abusing these distinguished gentlemen. His language—“let me advise such first to read history attentively, and to make themselves, by studying the national character, the general history and policy of Poland and contiguous States, competent by these means to become judges”—is unfair and malicious.

Mr. Darby challenges me to come to Washington after the opening of the next Congress, and to appear with him before persons from every section of the United States. And what does he wish me to debate with him? *Only* the strifes of the political parties! Well, I declare that none deny that our fathers had much trouble with the election of their kings; that there were one or two *incidents* where two kings were elected at the same time, and that they contested their rights of election, with arms in their hands; but can these incidents justify the perpetration of the invaders and spoilers of Poland? Is there any nation legally authorised to interfere with the domestic affairs of another? Will Mr. Darby show me a single family of our species, from the creation of the first man down to this day, free from some casualties of a similar nature?

My object in lecturing is not, however, to debate, to defend, or to con-



demn the factions which infected Poland in the course of her existence as an independent nation. I bring forth in a true light her institutions, explain the process of the development of her liberal principles, science and literature—and wish to show, by established facts, that her policy has always tended to benefit mankind, to secure the rights of man, and to improve the condition of the great mass of her own people. It is on the basis of such principles that I denounce the dismemberment of my country, as unjustifiable, injurious to the interest of all freemen, and sapping the security of every free nation. If Mr. Darby wishes to persist in his efforts to justify the perpetuation of her spoilers, and to debate with me the above topics, I am ready to answer his challenge. Ever since I commenced to travel and to lecture in this country, I have chosen the people of this great republic and their representatives, for my judges, and I will consider it as one of the greatest honors to which such a pilgrim as I am, can aspire, to be permitted to bring the great cause of my country before their Highest Tribunal at Washington—(the members of Congress.)

It would be superfluous to say anything about the Polish peasants, or, as Mr. Darby calls them, serfs; this subject having been, already, answered in my communication published in the *Globe* of the 19th, and in the *National Intelligencer* of the 20th of April.

As to the reproach that “religious intolerance entered Poland with the reformation,” I am disposed to believe that Mr. Darby made an unwilling mistake in accusing Poland of it: Rulhiere, a French writer, says: “Mosques were raised amongst churches and synagogues. The city of Leopold had always been the seat of three Bishops—Greek, Armenian and Latin; and it was never inquired in which of these three cathedrals any man who submitted to the regulations of the country, went to receive communion. *At last, when the reformation was rending so many States into inimical factions, Poland alone retaining her ancient religion, received into her bosom the two new sects.*”

Moreover, will Mr. Darby deny the historical fact, that in 1573, the Polish Diet passed a law enacting that “the freedom of worship is to be forever allowed in the Polish soil to all religious creeds?” Will he deny that when Sigismundus III. sent to Ferdinand II. Emperor of Germany, a reinforcement of 8,000 Cossacks against the Protestants, the Polish Legislature passed unanimously an act, declaring as traitors to their own country, all the Cossacks who should remain under the standard of the *thirty years war*? And who does not know, that in the days of Luther, and during all the time of the contest of the Reformers with the Catholics, the press of Poland was an engine of the former?—When the Catholics printed their books at Cracow, Posen and Lublin, the followers of the confession of Augsburg printed theirs at Paniówice, Dombrowa and Szamotuly; the Reformers at Pinczew, Brzesc, Knyszyn and Nieszwiez; the Arians at Rakow and Zaslav; the Greek sectarians, at Ostrow and Wilna.

True it is, that the attempt was made to plant the seed of intolerance, and that the Protestants, the Greeks and the Catholics too, applied to

foreign powers for protection. But who can reproach Poland for shedding blood to enforce conversions from one religious creed to another, as was the case throughout the rest of Europe? Who can deny, that notwithstanding all the efforts of a few bigoted fanatics, supported by foreign powers, the principle of intolerance (to which Poland gave the first example,) prevails on her soil down to this day, and makes a part of her national character?

It is a bravado, not worthy of a republican, to say: "Of those who dream of the restoration of Poland, how many have asked, much less answered, the why, how, when, and by whom this will be done?" Let Mr. Darby leave to the people of Poland to take care of their own affairs—they, certainly, will not ask for any assistance nor advice from Mr. Darby, to accomplish this great work.

I am far from intending to consider Mr. Darby to be a good friend of "*the good Master Nicholas*"—but I cannot withhold from remarking a very singular coincidence: Nicholas, to silence the complaints of the deputies of the city of Warsaw, said: "I have built a citadel here, and I declare to you, that on the first disturbance, I will level your city with the ground"—and Mr. Darby to silence myself, tells us: "were, indeed, the designs of such men as Major Tochman to be adopted, the sure consequence to the millions of people residing in what was Poland, would be blood, fire, and utter ruin."

Had Mr. Darby lived during the revolutionary war, (of this country,) and, had the fathers of this great republic listened to, and considered such arguments, Mr. Darby would be now an English colonist. Thanks to God, that Mr. Darby was born after the revolution; he would have had many apparent deductions to bring in support of his "historical researches," to trouble the glorious efforts of the fathers of his country;—the population, and the navy of the British Empire, having been much greater than are those of the three spoilers of Poland;—and the population of the colonies, having been scarcely equal to one seventh part of the present population of Poland.

I pass by the panegyric bestowed upon Louis Phillippe, King of France; let another hand depict the true character of his wisdom and humanity. I only defend my country's rights and honour, and beg Mr. Darby to declare, through the columns of the National Intelligencer, whether he wishes to debate with me, during the next Congress, her history and affairs, (not the strifes of the political parties exclusively.) If he should wish, he would confer a special obligation by sending me a copy of the paper with his answer, care of T. Parkin Scott, Esq. Baltimore. I ask this favour for fear lest his answer may escape my attention.

G. TOCHMAN,  
*A Polish Exile.*

BALTIMORE, May, 16, 1843.

*Reply to Mr. Darby's Communication published in the National Intelligencer, October 31, 1843.*

(From the National Intelligencer of the 6th of November, 1843.)

**MESSRS. GALES & SEATON:**—The communication of Mr. William Darby, which appeared in your columns of the 31st of October, might have misled many a reader from the right way of viewing the question at issue. You will, therefore, permit me to state the facts as they are.

It was impossible for Mr. Darby to find either arguments or authorities to refute the historical facts, which I adduced in my communication published in the National Intelligencer of the 20th of April, in reply to one of his "Essays on the Northern Nations of Europe." These motives only, I believe, could induce Mr. Darby to pass in silence its contents, and to resort to another kind of arms than the pen—that is, to a debate. I will not advance what other calculations might have induced him to "such alternative;"—the readers of our controversy being aware that Mr. Darby is a native American, and that the English language is not my vernacular tongue. But whatever construction Mr. Darby would wish now to give to his challenge, the words of it, are these: "I openly challenge you, Major Toehman, to come to this city, as soon as your convenience will admit, after the opening of the next Congress; we can then appear before persons from every section of the United States. If you accept such alternative, I am ready to meet you in open assembly on the following terms:

"*First.* Public notice to be given of time and place.

"*Second.* Each party to be limited to one hour.

"*Third.* You are yourself to choose whether to open or to close, but informing me in writing of your choice before meeting.

"*Fourth.* I pledge myself to show, in one hour, from historical evidence of the highest credit, that the crown of Poland was, at the demise of every king for more than two centuries before the (so called) partition of 1772, a mere bauble offered by different factions to Russian, Prussian, Austrian, French, &c., candidates," &c.

My answer to the above was as follows:

" \* \* \* And what does Mr. Darby wish to debate with me? Only the strifes of the parties! Well, I declare that none deny that our fathers had much trouble with the elections of their kings; that there were one or two instances when two kings were elected at the same time, and that they contested their rights of election with arms in their hands. But can these incidents justify the perpetration of the invaders and spoilers of Poland? Is there any nation legally authorized to interfere with the domestic affairs of another nation? Will Mr. Darby show me a single family of our species, from the creation of the first man down to this day, free from some casualties of a similar nature?"

"My object in lecturing is not, however, to defend or to condemn the factions which infected Poland in the course of her existence as an independent nation. I bring forth in a true light her institutions, explain the process of the development of her liberal principles, science and litera-

ture, and wish to show, by established facts, that her policy has always tended to benefit mankind, to secure the rights of man, and to improve the condition of the great mass of her own people. It is on the basis of such principles that I denounce the dismemberment of my native country, as unjustifiable, injurious to the interests of all freemen, and sapping the security of every free nation. If Mr. Darby wishes to persist in his efforts to justify the perpetration of her spoilers, and to debate *these topics* with me, I am ready to answer his challenge. Ever since I commenced to travel and to lecture in this country, I have chosen the people of this great Republic, and their representatives, for my judges; and will consider it as one of the greatest honours to which such a pilgrim as I am, can aspire, to be permitted to bring the great cause of my country before their highest tribunal at Washington—(the members of Congress.)

When this reply appeared in the columns of the National Intelligencer, Mr. Darby began to beat the retreat. So I consider his answer of the 24th of May: "I there propose no discussion of any kind. I claim but one hour to place, in the Major's presence, before an American audience, the cause of the decline and fall of Poland." Mr. Darby may now say whatever he pleases in relation to this matter; but whoever understands the English language, cannot give another construction to the words quoted from his communication of the 25th of April last, but that he challenged me to debate with him the subject in question. So I understood that communication when I wrote the above reply, and accepted the challenge; and it was on this plea that I stated in my advertisement (which gave occasion to Mr. Darby's protestation of the 31st of October) that I have accepted a challenge of debating with him some topics of our history.

It is difficult to face truth, before an intelligent audience, in defence of a wrong cause. Mr. Darby has heard me lecturing in Georgetown, the 23d of October; and if my "declaiming loudly" has induced him to eschew debate—why should it not be known to the readers of our controversy? . . .

I beg to be properly understood. I did not know Mr. Darby, personally, during all the *three years* of our controversy; I knew him only by reputation as a man of vast information, and I always felt for him that respect which is due to talent and a man of education. On my arrival in Washington, having learned that he was here, I paid him a visit, and, for the first time, we met face to face. The kind and hospitable welcome and reception, which he and his family gave me, have increased my esteem for my learned antagonist. I have nothing personal against him; and, should he please to examine the histories of Gallus, Bishop Kromer, Narusiewicz Bantke, Lelewell, &c.; should he please to glance over the sketches on Poland published in the Foreign Quarterly Review, and in the Edinburgh Review; should he read "Letters, Literary and Political, on Poland," published in London and Edinburgh, I hope there would be no controversy between us, and he would be as good a Pole *at heart* as I am by the right of birth.

I am, gentlemen, most respectfully, your obedient servant,  
WASHINGTON, November 4, 1843. G. TOCHMAN.

*Reply to Mr. Darby's Communication published in the National Intelligencer, November 9, 1843.*

(From the National Intelligencer of November 14, 1843.)

MESSRS. GALES & SEATON:—Once more I am compelled to request the liberality of your columns, to reply to Mr. Darby's communication, published in the National Intelligencer of the 9th instant.

I leave, entirely, to the intelligence of the readers of our controversy, the solution of the question, concerning Mr. Darby's construction of his own former words, challenging me "to appear before persons from every section of the United States during the approaching session of Congress," and "declaring to meet me in open assembly." It will, however, not be amiss to state, that when Mr. Darby does not wish to hear my "*Poloniads*," and eschews debate, I think that it would be inconsistent with propriety on my part, to be present when it should please him to declaim his "*Tacitusiads*."

He promises to show conclusively, that I am "ignorant of the history of my own country, or that I wilfully misrepresent it;" and he concludes, "as, if he really understands such history, he cannot but know the religious dissensions, persecutions, &c., which commenced with the Wasa family in 1586, and continued with little interruption to the final dismemberment of the Government in 1772. On the presumption that he understands the history of Poland, he must know the causes which led the Protestants of Poland to seek and obtain foreign protection in 1660 by the treaty of Oliva, and why, in 1686, the Princess Sophia Galitzen, half-sister to Peter the Great, as regent during the mental incapacity of her full brother, refused to sign that treaty, by which the Greek subjects of Poland were put under Russian protection. He has made a parade of boasting of the religious liberty enjoyed in Poland; and had he told his audience that this liberty began and ended with the Jagellons in 1572, he would have told them but truth."

These few lines, intended "to show conclusively, that I was utterly ignorant of the history of my native land, or that I wilfully misrepresent it," by a singular chance of fortune, evince that my learned antagonist is himself utterly ignorant of the subject. No Polish historian, and even none of my antagonist's authorities, arrayed in his last communication, can support the statement that, intolerance "began and ended in Poland with the Jagellons in 1572." The family of the Jagellons commenced its reign in Poland in 1386—and did not Poland grant to the Jews a charter guaranteeing their freedom of worship as early as the year 1264—when they were persecuted throughout the rest of Europe? The last member of the Jagellons died in 1572—and did not the Diet of Convocation in January of 1573 enact that the freedom of worship should forever be allowed on the Polish soil—to all religious denominations? Henry de Valois was elected after the extinction of the Jagellon's family;—and was he not obliged and forced by the Diet to take oath, to respect religious tolerance?

He could not even be crowned until he swore that he should interfere in favor of the French Protestants, who were then persecuted by his brother Charles IX.

As to the Wasa family, were they not Swedes? did not the Wasas introduce Protestantism in Sweden? One of them, Sigismundus, a Catholic, was elected King of Poland; he happened to be "a bigot," and endeavored to convert the Polish Protestants to the Catholic faith. Nevertheless, Mr. Darby will not point out a single instance, in which this very intolerant Sigismundus, the true scourge of Poland, was permitted or dared to use tortures, corporal punishments, or fines to accomplish his purposes; which measures of conversion were then the order of the day in Western Europe.

I can be answered that, at the time of the thirty years' war, he (Sigismundus) had sent to Ferdinand II, Emperor of Germany, a reinforcement of eight thousand Polish Cossacks against the Protestants. But did not the Polish Diet reprimand him for so doing? and did not the same Diet pass an act unanimously declaring as traitors to the country all the Cossacks who would remain under the standard of the thirty years' war?

Strange, indeed, to accuse the whole nation of intolerance for the intended deeds of intolerance of a stranger, because he happened to be elected King!

Nobody denies that there were instances when the Protestants were, for a while, excluded from legislation; but such measures were of a political character, and not the fruit of intolerance. When England persecuted Catholics, when Elizabeth rejected the interference of the German Emperor in their behalf and refused to soften the bloody laws enacted against them, this naturally caused reaction in the Catholic States; and as in Poland the Catholics were three or four times more numerous than the Protestants, the latter had to suffer exclusion from legislation. The same measure was repeated in the eighteenth century, on the ground of similar political purposes; but at no time did these political measures degenerate into persecution of another kind; and even when excluded from legislation, the Protestants were always admitted to municipal offices, and enjoyed all other political rights; and no Polish Protestant who examines the causes and the motives of such measures, utters a word of complaint against his country. As to the Greek believers, they were, perhaps, more severely treated; but not so much for difference in religion as because they were instruments of the German Emperors and of the Czars of Moscow, and at their instigations, used to invade contiguous countries, especially Turkey, with which Poland was at peace; and often they were the cause of the calamities of war, which the Turks and Tartars repeatedly declared, to take revenge on Poland for the misdemeanor of her Cossacks.

I really do not know what Mr. Darby means in saying: "On the presumption that he understands history, he must know the causes which led the Protestants of Poland to seek and obtain foreign protection in 1660 by the treaty of Oliva." If I have to take the meaning of this sentence according to its true construction, I must say that Mr. Darby does not understand the character of the war which led to the treaty of Oliva, and he

could have never seen that treaty. The facts are these: John Casimir, King of Poland, claiming the crown of the Swedish throne, protested against the accession of Charles Gustavus; this latter therefore invaded Poland to revenge the offence. His bold character pleased the Poles, and many nobles, especially Protestants, assisted him, which gave him a very easy victory over his adversary; and John Casimir was on the point of being dethroned. A deputation was sent to Charles Gustavus requesting, that he should convoke the Diet for his own election, to which the proud Swede answered that he had conquered Poland and did not want election. This injudicious answer of a Protestant Prince, caused all the nobles, Protestants and Catholics, to abandon him, organize a confederation, and call the country to arms. Sixty thousand Transilvenians came to assist Gustavus, and the Elector of Brandenburg placed at his disposal all his forces. Nevertheless the invaders were completely beaten, and almost entirely destroyed. The proud Swede returned to Sweden, and John Casimir was restored to the throne. This war led to the treaty of Oliva, by which some advantages were granted to the Elector of Brandenburg for having deserted Gustavus before the final termination of the war; and John Casimir, yielding to the request of the nation, resigned his pretensions to the Swedish throne, which had given occasion to the above war.

My learned antagonist boasts, further, that I have not denied in my last communication the facts which he pledges himself to prove. Let me remind him that these facts (as Mr. Darby calls them) are but the repetition of the contents of his communication published in the National Intelligencer of the 25th of April last, to which I replied through the same paper of the 22d of May. I therefore had no need to repeat my reply—whose contents Mr. Darby, in all his subsequent communications, passed in silence.

As to the long list of authorities of my antagonist, I have only to say that the German writers to whom he refers me, are writers of the last half century; some of them are evidently idolaters of the spoilers of Poland; not one of them is a Polish historian. They treat of Poland as much as its affairs are connected with their principal subjects:—as the life of Frederick the Great, of Alexander of Russia, &c. As far, therefore, as these writers deviate in their statements from the Polish historians, who wrote in the twelfth, fourteenth, fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they do not deserve more credit than the common talebearers. How can the writers of later days contradict the testimonies of the writers who lived some centuries ago, and relate the facts, of which they were eye witnesses?

With regard to the Polish authorities of my learned antagonist, I have to inform the readers of our controversy that the quotations adduced in the last communication of Mr. Darby, are not from Lelewell's history, but from his Analysis of the Polish Constitutions,—a small book published in France, and bearing a political and not a historical character. I refer Mr. Darby to the history of Lelewell, published in Poland, to learn the true character of our institutions, and the real social and political condition of the country.

Hordynski never wrote a history, but a book on the late revolution, which he published in Boston, Massachusetts; this book has no his-

torical merit of any other character than what relates to the revolution. Count Oginski, accepted amnesty and office from the Czar, and wrote his Memoirs under such influence. Mr. Darby answered me, in one of his communications, published in Ohio papers, that he has never read any book better written, than these Memoirs of Oginski, and expressed great surprise that I reject his authority, only "because he (Oginski) accepted amnesty to secure bread for his family, and did not go to Western Europe or the United States to look for a barren sympathy." Nevertheless, I again declare to Mr. Darby, that I cannot accept Oginski's Memoirs as a school-book for me.

In conclusion, I cannot conceal my surprise that Mr. Darby in support of his arguments devoted to justify the perpetration of the spoilers of Poland, resorts to the predictions of the dismemberment of Poland, by John Casimir in 1668. And no less do I wonder, that he sets forth the opinions of Mr. Robert Walsh and of Mr. Wheaton, to convince me that all the efforts of my countrymen to regain independence are chimerical,—because Mr. Robert Walsh and Mr. Wheaton are of such opinion. The predictions of John Casimir, are not arguments which could justify the invasions and spoliations of Poland. As to the opinions of Messrs. Walsh and Wheaton, they (I will use the words of Mr. Darby) "are not gospel" to bind the Poles to submit to their oppressors. Notwithstanding, no Pole complains against such opinions of Messrs. Walsh and Wheaton, and none would complain against Mr. Darby, should he limit himself to an expression of his own opinions—however unfavorable to their interest; but, when assuming the character of a historian, Mr. Darby misleads those who rely on his statements, when he endeavors, by dint of misrepresentations, to defeat the efforts of the Poles to gain the sympathy of the world, when he boldly proclaims that "the people of these United States were deceived into sympathy for the oppressor against the oppressed." Mr. Darby, therefore, must pardon a Polish exile for saying that, with all the respect for his talent, he will not rank him with those, who only express their opinions, but do not stay, deliberately, in the way of the efforts of his country in endeavoring to shake off the yoke.

I am gentlemen, very respectfully, your obedient,

G. TOCHMAN.

WASHINGTON, *November 13, 1843.*









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