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THE FALL OF POLAND

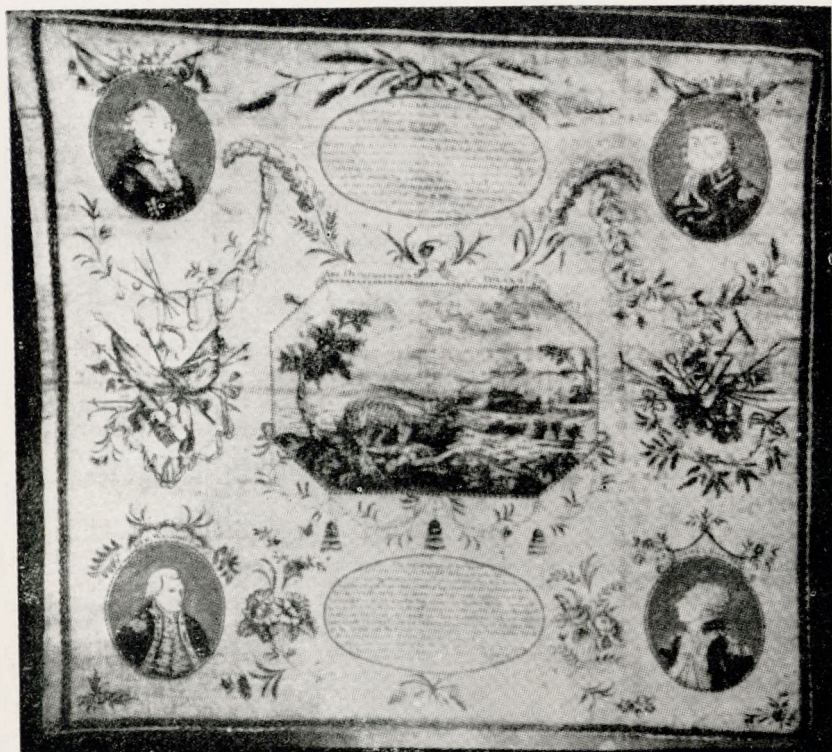
In Contemporary American Opinion



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From the collection of the Rev. Joseph
P. Wachowski of Toledo, Ohio.

THE DISMEMBERMENT OF POLAND

An early American printed chintz with emblematical scene representing the Partitions of Poland, surrounded by portraits of Washington, Lafayette, Stanislaus Augustus and Kosciuszko, emblems of Liberty, Labor and inscriptions (see page IX).

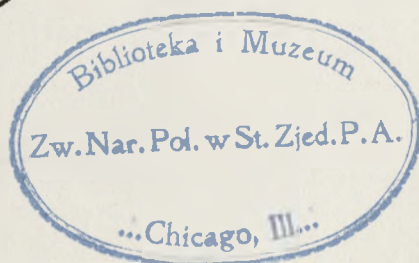
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THE FALL OF POLAND

In Contemporary American Opinion

by

MIECISLAUS HAIMAN



POLISH ROMAN CATHOLIC UNION OF AMERICA
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

1935



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FOREWORD

The friendship of the United States toward Poland is based upon gratitude for the sacrifice of Pulaski, Kosciuszko and the scores of other noble Poles who during our Revolutionary War, offered their lives in the cause of liberty, asking nothing in return.

During the dark days of national dismemberment, this feeling of gratitude became a tradition, a tradition sanctified by suffering and tragedy and when at last three generations after Pulaski's heroic death at Savannah, President Wilson moved by the advocacy of Paderewski and Colonel House announced his Thirteenth Point "a united, independent and autonomous Poland with secure access to the sea" the heart of America beat high in universal rejoicing.

Since that epochal day only fifteen years have elapsed and yet in that brief interval Poland has renewed its racial existence, areas laid waste and desolate in three theatres of war, have been reconstructed, a world port has been built on the Baltic, flourishing social institutions for the permanent security and welfare of thirty-three million united souls have sprung into being, and a proud and powerful country has taken its position among the nations of the world.

This is Poland of Pilsudski of which entirely too little is known even among well informed Americans. We are therefore much indebted to Miecislaus Haiman for his instructive and scholarly volume which with his "Poland and the American Revolutionary War" will be consulted not only by students and historians but by all who cherish sentiments of attachment for Poland and admiration for the significant far reaching role the Poles have played in the life of the United States.

JOHN CUDAHY

Warsaw, October 10, 1934.

PREFATORY NOTE

This book is intended as commentary and augmentative of Chapter I of the author's earlier work *Poland and the American Revolutionary War* (published by the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America for the Two-hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of George Washington, Chicago, 1932). The author hopes that it will serve its purpose: to reveal a forgotten episode in the history of American idealism and to strengthen the ancient ties of friendship between the United States and Poland.

The book is published under the patronage of the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America, and the author is indebted for this privilege to all Officers and Members of the Union, and especially to its President, Mr. Joseph L. Kania; to its former President, and now Treasurer, Mr. John J. Olejniczak, and to Mr. Frank S. Barc, Editor-in-Chief of the *Polish Union Daily* of Chicago.

He also expresses his gratitude to all those who so willingly assisted him in his work: to the Rev. Robert Howard Lord of St. John's Boston Ecclesiastical Seminary, for revising the manuscript and his expert advice; to the Rev. Joseph P. Wachowski of Toledo, O., for his permission to use part of his valuable historical collection and other services; to the staff of the Newberry Library; to Miss Catherine Sturtevant of the Rare Book Room, Harper's Memorial Library, University of Chicago; to Miss Jessica L. Farnum, Secretary to the Librarian, and to Miss Florence P. Spofford of the Library of Congress; to Miss Dorothy C. Barck, head of Reference Department, New York Historical Society; to Miss Marjorie Crandall, Reference Librarian, Boston Athenaeum; to the Librarian Robert W. G. Vail and Miss Dorcas Elizabeth Pierce of the American Antiquarian Society; to the Librarian Lawrence C. Wroth of the John Carter Brown Library, for their kind aid in his researches; and Mr. John Czech, associate editor of the *Polish Union Daily*, and Mr. Aloysius Gajkowski of Chicago, for their help in technical preparation of manuscripts.

Finally he acknowledges with thanks the permission of the Harvard University Press to use copyrighted material.

INSCRIPTIONS ON THE CHINTZ "THE DISMEMBERMENT OF POLAND"

(*Opposite the title page*)

(In the upper oval): The Polish Revolution one equally happy as honorable both to King and People has for its Era the memorable 3d of May 1791. On that glorious day the amiable and illustrious Monarch, having secretly cherished the flame of Liberty in the bosom of the Poles, presented them the plan of a free Constitution, Modelled after those of England and America, the acceptance of which was announced at Warsaw by the immediate discharge of two hundred pieces of Cannon. This Wonderful Revolution was accomplished in a single day without the smallest accident or disorder. The friends of Manhood and Freedom, the enlightened of all Nations hailed with pleasure the happy day. But short, alas! is their felicity who were alone permitted to repose during the short slumbers of accursed ambition.

(In the lower oval): The unfortunate Poles were fated not long to enjoy the blessing of Liberty. Russian influence soon recovered the shock it had sustained and was soon assisted by some treacherous Polish nobles. Villainous Prussia, and ambitious Austria also joined the infernal league. A few noble Poles however made a heroic struggle to save their freedom and their Country and the noble Kosciusko their illustrious General after many glorious battles was at last wounded and made Prisoner and the valiant Poles were forced to surrender to the armies of their rapacious Invaders, and to behold the final Dismemberment of their ill-fated Country.

Warsaw surrendered to the Russians on the 9th Nov. 1794—
During the siege this City Lost many thousands of its inhabitants

PRONUNCIATION OF POLISH NAMES

To facilitate the pronunciation of Polish names the following rules are given below:

- c, is always pronounced as *ts*.
- ch, very nearly like *h*.
- cz, as *ch*.
- g, is always spoken hard, like *g* in *get*.
- i, as *ee*.
- j, as *y*.
- rz, like the French *j*, as in *jardin*.
- sz, as *sh*.
- szcz, as *shch*.
- u, as *oo*.
- w, as *v*.

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I always wished well to her (Poland) and that with all my heart.

George Washington to Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz
(Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, *Pisma Różne*, Warsaw, 1803,
vol. I. p. 275).

* * *

A union of all free countries to save Poland from the rapacious bands of all spoilers.

A toast at the Fourth of July dinner of the Delaware State Society of the Cincinnati, July 4-th, 1793
(*Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware*, vol. XIII,
p. 23).

* * *

Unfortunate Poland! Freemen will never erase the sigh for thy deliverance! Would to God the avenging arm of Almighty justice might speedily punish the imperial Robbers who have trampled on the rights of nature and nations!

(*Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*,
Philadelphia, February 26, 1795).

* * *

The partitions of Poland figure in our memories, and in history, as the masterpieces of political corruption.

Resolutions of a meeting of citizens of Utica, N. Y.,
on September 9, 1831 (From the archives of the New
York State Library, Albany, N. Y.).

* * *

*The time was when Poland
Was mighty, was free;
Unstruck was her banner,
Unbent was her knee:
In the tourney of nations,
Still shiver'd recoil'd
The spear from her 'scutcheon,
Unriven, unsoil'd.*

*But empires were banded
To spoil, to divide;
And brave men submitted
Where cowards had died.
Her sceptre was broken
And shar'd — and her name
Lay a shadow — a blank
On the record of Fame.*

"Voyager" (*United States Telegraph*, Washington,
D. C., December 28, 1831).

* * *

Posterity will read with fainting heart the dreadful tragedy of Poland's fall.

(*Buffalo Journal and General Advertiser*, January 4, 1832).

* * *

The cause of Poland is closely connected with the cause of mankind. Liberty mourns over her fate, and the children of every enlightened land learn her story, and weep over her calamities.

Churchill C. Cambreleng of North Carolina in the House of Representatives, April 22, 1834 (*Gale's and Seaton's Register of Debates in Congress*, 23-rd Congress, 1-st Session, vol. X, part III, p. 3749).

* * *

No event in history has been regarded with so much astonishment and indignation, by all men possessing the common feelings of humanity and sense of justice, as the dismemberment of Poland. A country of ancient renown, one fifth larger than France, and containing twenty millions of people, has been ravaged, plundered, divided, subdued, and its political existence annihilated, by the treachery and cupidity of its three formidable neighbors, Russia, Austria and Prussia. In the annals of mankind there is not a more revolting chapter, than that in which are recorded the particulars of this conspiracy against the rights of men, this league of infamy between the strong to crush the weak and devour their substance. The dark picture of selfishness, rapacity, and violence, is not relieved by a single spot of redeeming light.

(Jared Sparks, "Life of Count Pulaski," *The Library of American Biography*, Boston 1845, 2-nd series, vol. IV., p. 369).

* * *

Who can refrain from tears as he passes down through the history of nations, and calls to memory the hard, untimely and sad fate of Poland — the oldest republic in modern Europe?... Russian tyranny had triumphed over a gallant nation, destined yet to be free. Prussian cowardice was exulting over a fallen republic, to whom she owed her national existence and high prosperity. German ingratitude was now revelling in its career of malice at a fallen enemy, which had repeatedly saved the empire and modern Europe from the fatal grasp of the infuriated Turk... This story of national villainy is beyond the power of man to describe, no language can describe it; but the story of Poland's wrongs and woes remains to be told in that awful day of accounts, when nations as well as individuals must meet their just retribution in that dread tribunal of Heaven, where Kosciusko and his holy patriots will appear as swift witnesses against the criminal authors of Poland's fall.

(L. C. Saxton, *Fall of Poland*, New York, 1851, vol. II, p. p. 453, 478, 492).

* * *

The partition and appropriation of Poland was the greatest crime in modern history . . . May the day be far distant when Americans especially shall cease to revere the memory of Kosciusko.

(*The New York World*, Nov. 6, 1863).

The cause of Poland is indeed the cause of oppressed humanity throughout the world. America would gladly welcome back the lost nation to her place among the great peoples of Europe.

(*The Commercial Advertiser*, New York, December 1, 1863).

To murder a man is something palpable, and so obviously damnable. But to blot a nation out of being, to strike down the life of a people and bury it out of sight for ever, this is what has been done for poor Poland, and we have only to drop a tear over her grave.

(Samuel Irenaeus Prime, *The Alhambra and the Kremlin*, New York, 1873, p. 274).

The practical extinction of an ancient nationality by neighbors, whose only justification for their conduct was that they were strong and Poland was weak, has been justly denounced as an act for which no defence could be made.

(James Breck Perkins, "The Partition of Poland." *The American Historical Review*, Vol. II, 1896, p. 76.)

The dismemberment of Poland deserves the most severe condemnation... It is a historical fact lamented by nearly every heart.

(William H. Taft, President of the United States, in his speech at Milwaukee, Wis. (*Narod Polski*, Chicago, October 14, 1908).

Free Poland should reappear speedily upon the map of Europe. Whether Russia and its allies win or lose in the war, the readjustment of national boundaries after this epoch making convulsion should undo the wicked work of those monarchs of the eighteenth century who tore bleeding Poland limb from limb.

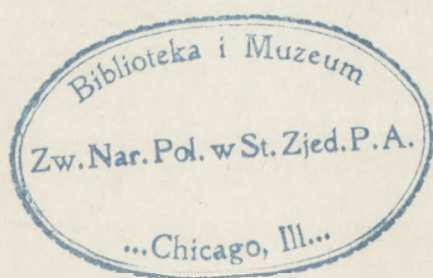
(*Chicago Daily News* as quoted in *Free Poland*, November 1, 1914).

There should be a united, autonomous and independent Poland.

Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, in his message to the Senate, January 22, 1917.

THE FALL OF POLAND

In Contemporary American Opinion



INTRODUCTION

If there was much poetic license in the words of Thomas Campbell, that "Sarmatia fell unwept", in regard to the Second and Third Partitions of Poland, there was little exaggeration in them when applied to her First Partition.

Once a powerful and important state, she had faithfully and devotedly performed her historical mission as the Bulwark of Christendom through centuries. Now weak and disorganized, but inoffensive and, indeed, even in her darkest moments still leading the rest of the world in some of her policies, she was invaded by her three militaristic neighbors, and by force and subterfuge dismembered. Russia, Prussia and Austria formed a league and in 1772, each occupied a large part of the adjoining Polish territory.

Campbell lamented that Poland fell "without a crime." Some historians may say that this too was only a poetic effusion; but no conscientious historian could deny that her main "crime" was only the fact that when her old social system based on high principles degenerated and became impaired chiefly through foreign influences, she was not able to replace it with a new one, introducing into public life the lower classes of the nation, as quickly as her neighbors grew into more and more vigorous, despotic and rapacious powers.

"When Poland was overcome, the fifth power in Christendom was trodden upon", said James Fenimore Cooper when he appealed to his countrymen to aid the Polish "November Insurrection" in 1831.¹ Nevertheless, Europe accepted the First Partition with coldness and indifference. Burke condemned it in England, Abbe Raynal in France, and a few others protested.² But the world at large, then dominated by despotism, without questioning accepted the excuse of the partitioning powers that the operation was performed for the benefit of Poland herself as well as of all Europe.

The question of the dissidents in Poland, so cunningly used against her at the time by Russia, may have had some further chilling influence on the opinion of the Protestant world as Poland was overwhelmingly a Catholic country, and the Confederacy of Bar (1768-1772), which made that first fight for the liberation

¹ *The Buffalo Journal and General Advertiser*, September 7, 1831.

² Robert H. Lord, *The Second Partition of Poland*, Harvard Historical Studies, vol. XXIII, p. 54.

THE FALL OF POLAND IN CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN OPINION

of Poland which preceded and became a pretext for the Partition, was strongly intermixed with Catholic watchwords.³

At the time of the First Partition there was yet no United States of America. There had been some connections between Poland and the English colonies in the past — quite interesting from an historical point of view, — but the country itself was known in America only superficially and mostly from descriptions of English writers.

Nevertheless, the events in Poland during the Confederation of Bar and the subsequent Partition must have been interesting to the Colonists, as they were quite extensively reported in the contemporary American press, which usually copied its material from British newspapers. The tenor of the news, however, was indifferent and the events evoked but little comment. Often the news was in the form of letters from Warsaw; but Warsaw was then controlled by Russian bayonets and therefore even these letters were colored with antipathy towards the Polish patriots.⁴

The European coldness and disregard toward Poland at the time of the First Partition were shared by America and affected at least a large part of its public opinion insofar as it had time enough to interest itself in foreign affairs. The Revolutionary War was at hand and the English Colonies soon became the scene of most important events. Then something happened which proved to the world that Poland was not yet dead. Thaddeus Kosciuszko, Casimir Pulaski and a handful of other Poles, mostly Pulaski's old comrades-in-arms from the Confederacy, traversed half the circumference of the globe to fight the battles of America. Their disinterested sacrifices and their blood were to become the strongest seed of a lasting American-Polish friendship. But there were, even among those who rebelled against the despotism of kings, a few ultra-legitimists who looked on Pulaski as a "regicide". The highly aristocratic John Adams, later the second President of the United States, condemned the attempt of the Confederates to abduct the King of Poland as late as 1787.⁵ In his eyes even

³ "By dissidents were meant Protestants and Calvinists... It was only when their intrigues with Sweden, under John Casimir and Augustus II, were discovered, that the traditional tolerance of the Polish constitution began to abate... Nevertheless, they enjoyed in Poland a degree of freedom which Catholics in England or Denmark might have envied" (Ladislaus Konopczynski, *A Brief Outline of Polish History*, Geneva, 1920, p. 34).

⁴ The name of Casimir Pulaski, the most famous Confederate, was frequently mentioned in the American press of that time and sometimes undeservedly defamed. "There is no Reason now to doubt the Blackness of Soul of this Pulaski, whose Generosity, Valor and Piety, have been for some time so highly extolled", reads a letter from Warsaw in *The* (Purdie's and Dixon's) *Virginia Gazette* of March 2, 1772, reporting the part the future "Father of American Cavalry" played in the attempted abduction of the King Stanislaus Augustus.

⁵ Charles Francis Adams, *The Works of John Adams*, vol. IV, p. 367.

Pulaski's heroic death at Savannah did not obliterate the "dishonor" of his connection with the affair.

When John Adams returned from his first visit to France, where he was sent to supersede Deane as a commissioner to conclude a treaty of alliance, he prepared a long report for the President of Congress, dated Braintree, 4-th August, 1779, concerning conditions in Europe. In that report he said in part:

"Poland, depopulated by the war and a vicious government, reduced by a shameful treaty to two-thirds of her ancient dominion, destitute of industry and manufactures, even of the first necessity, has no occasion for the productions of America. Dantzic sees her ancient prosperity diminish every day. There is, therefore, little probability of commerce, and less of any political connection between that nation and us." ⁶

This opinion of Adams concerning Poland might have been true, in some degree, in reference to the reign of the Saxon Kings, Augustus II and Augustus III, but as to the year 1779, it was entirely erroneous. The most vicious feature of her government was, indeed, the interference of the partitioning powers. The reign of Stanislaus Augustus witnessed a great industrial revival. The King himself and the nobles, breaking ancient traditions, were anxiously striving to revive the economic life of the country and Polish magnates especially became the pioneers of its industrialization. ⁷ The First Partition caused an economic crisis, but already by 1777 conditions had greatly improved and in 1784, if not earlier, the imports and exports of the Republic were again balanced. ⁸

Adams, of course, brought his opinion on Poland from France, and this is a striking example of how false were the impressions of the contemporary world concerning her. "The statesmen of the 18-th century did not know the value of the wealth and of the resources of Poland; they underestimated them," said an eminent Polish historian. ⁹

Such a harmful opinion can be ascribed to the undeveloped state of statistics, and of communication in that age, but also, in some measure, to the efforts of Poland's neighbors, especially of Prussia, to isolate their victim from the rest of the world. How

⁶ *Ib.*, vol. VII, p. 108.

⁷ "Economic Life of Poland," *The Polish Encyclopaedia*, Geneva, 1922, vol. III, p. 285.

⁸ Tadeusz Korzon, *Wewnętrzne Dzieje Polski za Stanisława Augusta*, Cracow, Warsaw, 1897, vol. II, p. 186.

⁹ *Ib.*, vol. II, p. 423. The whole second volume of the monumental work *Dzieje Wewnętrzne Polski za Stanisława Augusta* is devoted to the history of the economic life of Poland during the reign of her last King.

far these efforts were successful is shown by Adams' own report as well as by other facts.¹⁰

Adam's letter probably contained the only mention about the prospects of diplomatic relations with Poland during the whole Revolutionary War. There is no evidence that the question was ever discussed in the Continental Congress. The unwillingness on the part of America to enter into official relations with Poland was also caused partly by the inconvenient geographical position of that country.¹¹

Hereafter Poland's name was mentioned only occasionally in the American press or in popular discussion. Meanwhile the Americans still had their share of troubles despite the fact that they emerged victorious from a long war with one of the world's greatest powers. The internal conditions of their country were chaotic and desperate. The Confederation was a total failure. Without an efficient central government, with an empty treasury, burdened by debts, disrupted by fraternal quarrels and open rebellions, slighted by foreign nations, America sank into a condition which suggested a comparison with the worst periods in the history of Poland.¹² Historians justly called it "the most critical period of American history." "Our state vessel has sprung a leak; we must embark in a new bottom, or sink into perdition," said one of the delegates to the Virginia Convention of 1788,¹³ and this was a brief but true summary of the situation.

Fortunately, there were patriotic and wise men who understood this and who were willing to seek means of ameliorating conditions. Happily, too, the Atlantic which was the greatest ally of the Colonies in the Revolutionary War, still divided the young country from the tyrants of Europe.

While searching after parallels for a "new bottom" America now turned her attention to history. Various systems of free governments were studied, compared and measured to American conditions. It was then that Poland became a widely discussed subject, for the first time in history on this hemisphere.

¹⁰ Korzon tells of a striking instance of this brutal isolation: the conquering powers managed to keep the news of Kosciuszko's defeat at Maciejowice secret from Paris for a whole month (*Kosciuszko*, Cracow, 1894, p. 370).

¹¹ M. Haiman, *Poland and the American Revolutionary War*, Chicago, 1932, p. 1.

¹² Extract of a letter from a Gentleman in London, to his friend in Hartford, dated Sept. 25: "I have heard nothing of your doings in America. — Will your convention be able to invigorate your government or will my predictions be true—alas! I fear so. All Europe have an opinion you are sinking into anarchy and ruin; but when I reflect on the astonishing exertions during the war, to which you were roused by your extreme danger, I have some hopes. — Think of Poland" (*The Pennsylvania Packet and Daily Advertiser*, Philadelphia, December 21, 1787).

¹³ John Elliot, *The Debates in the Several State Conventions*, Washington, 1861, vol. III, p. 106.

INTRODUCTION

The man who introduced her into American political discussions was John Adams, then minister to London. While there, he published in 1787, a three volumed work: *History of the Principal Republics of the World, A Defence of the Constitutions of the United States of America*, which was a collection of essays, in the shape of letters, on the various forms of republican government. The work was mainly intended as a defense of the constitution of Massachusetts of which John Adams was one of the authors, and which was then violently assailed from many quarters. But at the same time the author had in view the question of the reconstruction of the federal system and wanted to impress on the minds of his countrymen the idea of a government with an independent executive and a double legislative body.

The first volume of this work reached America at the very beginning of the Federal Convention at Philadelphia and immediately gained great popularity. Two of its letters, XXI and XXII,¹⁴ contained a brief history of Poland, the first one written by an American.

The work had many defects chiefly because of the haste with which the author prepared it, and the two letters on Poland were also not without objections. Of course, the author was handicapped by want of proper sources. He based his essay on Poland principally on William Coxe's¹⁵ *Travels in Poland, Russia, Sweden and Denmark*. That work of an Englishman had a large circulation on both sides of the Atlantic and contained quite an accurate picture of conditions in Poland at the time of the Confederacy of Bar, but it showed also many faults common to all authors of travels who also attempt the role of historians; they are apt to become superficial. It was, therefore, adopted, at best, as a secondary source. Adams, however, wrote his *Defence* not for the sake of history, but for reasons of politics and his views may be taken as typical of American opinion on Poland after the First Partition.

The XXI letter, shorter of the two, gives a concise account of the Constitution of Poland to show in conclusion that the Polish government, consisting of a king and an assembly of nobles, "and nothing more", was out of balance; an unbalanced government, without a mediating power of the people between the king and the nobles, ever striving to increase their privileges, must lead to confusion and calamity.

The next letter is a summary of the history of Poland with a special emphasis on the development of the Polish constitutional system. The essay could stand no criticism in the light of modern

¹⁴ P. p. 72-74, and 74-90.

¹⁵ William Coxe (1747-1828), English historian and traveler. He visited Poland and other countries as a tutor and traveling companion to various English noblemen. The first edition of the above work appeared in London in 1784.

historical research. It was full of inaccuracies and was dominated by the tendency to show the Polish constitutional system at its worst, with nothing redeeming the picture. The distinguished author failed to observe that the Polish system, before it became impaired, was one of the freest governmental organisms in the world's history and not only allowed the nation to grow into one of the mightiest and most enlightened states in Europe, but also helped it to perform several outstanding deeds and to introduce some new political thoughts and methods which even today the world is imitating and striving to attain.¹⁶

"The present wretched state of the towns, compared with their former flourishing condition; the poverty of the peasants, whose oppressions have increased in proportion to the power of the nobles, having lost a protector when the king lost his weight in the constitution; the total confusion in all public affairs; the decline of importance and loss of territory; all show that absolute monarchy is preferable to such a republic," wrote Adams of the contemporary conditions in Poland, adding a very characteristic comparison: "Would twelve millions of inhabitants, under an English constitution, or under the constitution of any one of the United States, have been partitioned and dismembered? No; not by a league of all the absolute sovereigns of Europe against them at once. Such are the effects of 'collecting all authority into one centre', of neglecting an equilibrium of powers, and of not having three branches in the legislature."¹⁷

Such thoughts on the comparison between the destinies of the two countries must have occurred also to other minds.¹⁸ Of course, the primary cause of the conquest of Poland was her temporary national decadence, but the observations of Adams did not do her justice. There were other causes equally important: the geographical position of the country and the superior strength of the aggressors.¹⁹

¹⁶ See Antoni Choloniewski's *The Spirit of Polish History*, New York. 1917.

¹⁷ Charles Francis Adams, *The Works of John Adams*, vol. IV, p. 367.

¹⁸ A few years earlier a similar comparison was made by Thomas Cajetan Wengierski, a Polish poet, who visited the United States in 1783, and left an interesting account of his travels. In a letter to John Dickinson, then President of the Council of Pennsylvania, he said on leaving this country: "When I think, Sir, that with three million people, and without money you have shaken off the yoke of such a power as England and have acquired such an extensive territory,—and that Poland has suffered herself to be robbed of five million souls and a vast country,—I admit, I do not understand the cause of such difference" (M. Haiman, *Poland and the American Revolutionary War*, p. 147).

¹⁹ An eminent modern Polish historian, Dr. Ladislaus Konopczynski, says in his *Brief Outline of Polish History*: "The glorious dawn of a better life (in Poland) was stifled in its cradle by three potentates united, whom no nation could have withstood, even if it had not been enfeebled by a long and disastrous crisis" (p. 43). — Charles Francis Adams, the grandson of John Adams and his biographer, made this remarkable comment concerning

Of the First Partition of Poland which he calls a "consummation of all panegyrics upon a sovereignty in a single assembly," Adams says:

"Prussia was formerly in a state of vassalage to this republic; Russia once saw its capital and throne possessed by the Poles; and Austria was indebted to John Sobieski, a sovereign of this country, but a century ago, for compelling the Turks to raise the siege of Vienna. A republic so lately the protector of its neighbors would not, in an age of general improvement, without the most palpable imperfections in the orders and balances of its government, have declined, and become a prey to any invader — much less would it have forced the world to acknowledge that the translation of nearly five millions of people from a republican government to that of absolute empires and monarchies, whether it were done by right or by wrong, is a blessing to them." ²⁰

Such a verdict on one of the greatest wrongs in history coming from the pen of an American would be a tragedy were it not for the fact that Adams only repeated the opinion of the so-called "enlightened", but really morally perverted Europe of the 18-th century.

The letter closes with observations of Stanislaus Augustus on the government of Poland copied from *Oeuvres du Philosophe Bienfaisant*. ²¹ The ideas of the "philosophical" King highly appealed to Adams and he pays him warm compliments in a few instances.

"It is not to be doubted that if there had been a people in existence in Poland, as there is in Holland, to have given this amiable prince only the authority of a stadtholder, he would have

the constitutions of both countries and their geographical positions, so exceptionally favorable in the case of the United States and so disastrous in the case of Poland: "The Polish constitution of 1791 was immediately overthrown by the interference of neighboring powers interested to destroy it. The constitution of the United States has survived until now, and bids fair to last yet longer. But, if we could for a moment suppose the geographical position of the two countries to have been exactly changed, looking back at the nature of political controversies which agitated America for many years, it is at least open to question, whether as marked disorders would not have been developed under the constitution of the United States, as were ever found in the worst of times in Poland" (Charles Francis Adams, *The Works of John Adams*, vol. IV, p.p. 374-375, note).

²⁰ Nearly the same words were used by Alexander Hamilton and James Madison in article No. XIX of their famous *Federalist* (1788), written jointly by them and bearing perhaps some marks of the influence of the *Defence*. Calling Poland "a government over local sovereigns" and considering the First Partition as "a striking proof of the calamities flowing from such institutions", they say of her: "Equally unfit for self-government and self-defence, it has long been at the mercy of its powerful neighbours; who have lately had the mercy to disburden it of one third of its people and territories" (Henry Cabot Lodge, *The Works of Alexander Hamilton*, vol. IX, p. 113).

²¹ Vol. III, p. 2.

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said (to the authors of the Partition): 'I will die in the last ditch'," says Adams extolling the King.²² The immediate future showed how false were these suppositions.

During the Federal Convention called to frame a new and stronger constitution for the United States, Poland was frequently mentioned by various delegates and served the American statesmen as an example, in a negative way. However, Alexander Hamilton who was the first to invoke her name at the forum of the Convention, on June 18, 1787, proposed that the chief executive of the United States be elected, just as the Polish king was elected: for life. Even the seven years' term proposed by others did not suit him and he argued that, limited to such a comparatively short period, the executive would "evade or refuse degradation from his place" by every means, whereas an "executive for life has not this motive for forgetting his fidelity, and will therefore be a safer depository of power." He thought that "elective monarchies would be the best if they could be guarded against the tumults excited by the ambition and intrigues of competitors," and was sure that some "mode of election might be devised... as will defend the community against these effects in any dangerous degree."²³

The plan of Hamilton did not appeal to the majority of the delegates and was quickly dropped.

The example of Poland was again cited in the Convention, on July 17-th, during the discussion of the question whether the chief executive should be elected by the national legislature or directly by the people. James Wilson of Pennsylvania, jurist and statesman, and Gouverneur Morris cited the elections in Poland as an argument in favor of the latter method saying that "an election by the legislature will bear a real likeness to the election by the Diet of Poland."²⁴

²² Charles Francis Adams, *The Works of John Adams*, vol. IV, p. 369.

²³ Henry Cabot Lodge, *The Works of Alexander Hamilton*, vol. I, p. 374; Jonathan Elliot, *Debates on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, vol. V, p. 204.

²⁴ Jonathan Elliot, *Debates on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, vol. V, pp. 322-323. James Wilson, the first professor of law at the College of Philadelphia, said in a lecture in 1790, arguing for elective executives: "And whence this strong antipathy to choice? Popular clamors, popular disturbances, popular distractions, popular tumults, and popular insurrections are ever present to their view. The unfortunate and fluctuating example of Poland dances perpetually before their eyes. They reflect not on the cause of this example. Poland is composed only of slaves, headed and commanded by a few despots. Those despots have private purposes to serve; and they head their slaves as the instruments for executing those private purposes. In Poland, we search in vain for a people. Need we be surprised, that at an election in Poland, where there are only tyrants and slaves, all the detestable and pernicious extremes of tyranny and slavery should unite" (James De Witt Andrews, *The Works of James Wilson*, vol. I, p. 398). The opinion of Wilson shows again a strong influence of John Adams' *Defence*.

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Speaking before the Convention on July 25-th, James Madison touched the question which for many years after disturbed the minds of American statesmen. It was the fear that foreign powers might influence the elections of Presidents in the United States just as they did the elections of Kings in Poland.

"Limited as the powers of the executive are," he said, "it will be an object of great moment with great rival powers of Europe, who have American possessions, to have at the head of our government a man attached to their respective politics and interests. No pains, nor perhaps expense, will be spared, to gain from the legislature an appointment favorable to their wishes. Germany and Poland are witnesses of this danger. In the former, the election of the head of the empire, till it became in a manner hereditary, interested all Europe, and was much influenced by foreign interference. In the latter, although the elective magistrate has very little real power, his election has at all times produced the most eager interference of foreign princes, and has in fact at length slid entirely into foreign hands."²⁵

Madison was strongly supported in his opinion by Thomas Jefferson, then living in Paris as minister of the United States. Shortly after receiving a draft of the proposed Constitution, he, in a letter to Madison, dated December 20, 1787, pointed out what he considered two defects in it:—the first, the want of constitutional guarantees of basic privileges of the people, and the second, "the abandonment, in every instance, of the principle of rotation in office, and most particularly in the case of the President."

"Reason and experience tells us," he wrote, "that the first magistrate will always be re-elected if he may be re-elected. He is then an officer for life. This once observed, it becomes of so much consequence to certain nations, to have a friend or a foe at the head of our affairs, that they will interfere with money and with arms. A Galloman, or an Angloman, will be supported by the nation he befriends. If once elected, and at a second or third election outvoted by one or two votes, he will pretend false votes, foul play, hold possession of the rein of government, be supported by the States voting for him, especially if they be the central ones, lying in a compact body themselves, and separating their opponents; and they will be aided by one nation in Europe, while the majority are aided by another. The election of a President of America, some years hence, will be much more interesting to certain nations of Europe, than ever the election of a King of Poland was. Reflect on all the instances in history, ancient and modern, of elective monarchies, and say if they do not give foundation for my fears; the Roman Emperors, the Popes while they

²⁵ Jonathan Elliot, *Debates on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution*, vol. I, p. 422; vol. V, p. 364.

were of any importance, the German Emperors till they became hereditary in practice, the Kings of Poland, the Deys of the Ottoman dependencies. It may be said, that if elections are to be attended with these disorders, the less frequently they are repeated the better. But experience says, that to free them from disorder, they must be rendered less interesting by a necessity of change. No foreign power, nor domestic party will waste their blood and money to elect a person, who must go out at the end of a short period. The power of removing every fourth year by the vote of the people, is a power which they will not exercise, and if they were disposed to exercise it, they would not be permitted. The King of Poland is removable every day by the Diet. But they never remove him. Nor would Russia, the Emperor, etc., permit them to do it." ²⁶

In his letter to Alexander Donald of February 7, 1788, Jefferson repeated nearly the same ideas, ²⁷ and his opinion was often quoted in the subsequent discussion on the question of ratification of the new Constitution. George Mason, a delegate to the Virginia Convention, citing the case of Poland expressed the fear that the want of rotation in the President's office would produce European intervention and a civil war "in the bowels of our country." ²⁸

But Polish elections served also as an argument for those who still persisted in the wish to expand the term of the chief executive. The famous "Hartford Wits" ²⁹ even sung their warnings in verses against periodical elections of Presidents and cited the example of Poland in their *Anarchiad*:

*"Let Poland tell what woe returning springs,
Where right elective yields to crown the kings!
War guides the choice — each candidate abhorr'd
Found his firm title on the wasting sword,
Wades to the throne amid the sanguine flood,
And dips his purple in a nation's blood."* ³⁰

The Rev. William Gordon, historian of the American Revolution, wrote on the same subject to George Washington, on August 17, 1793: "I am fully convinced that one, if not more, of the persons in the United States is of opinion, that in time hereditary President must be chosen, to prevent the dangerous contests that periodical elections will produce, similar to what has happened

²⁶ Andrew A. Lipscomb, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. VI, p. 389.

²⁷ *Ib.*, vol. VI, p. 426.

²⁸ Jonathan Elliot, *The Debates in the Several State Conventions*, vol. III, p. 484.

²⁹ Richard Alsop, Joel Barlow, Theodore Dwight, Lemuel Hopkins and David Humphreys.

³⁰ Book XXIV; *American Poems, Selected and Original*, Litchfield, Conn., 1793, vol. I, p. 213.

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repeatedly in choosing Polish sovereigns.”³¹ The date of this letter shows how long all these fears persisted.

Introduced by John Adams and often quoted by other most eminent contemporary Americans, the name of Poland was frequently mentioned during the whole discussion on the new Constitution. Thus the example of Poland helped, in some measure, to shape the new basic law of the land; if in no other way, at least as a memento of what should be avoided to preserve American freedom. The discussion helped to acquaint the masses of America with Poland's history and institutions, however limited the scope of the discussion in this regard may have been. And though it failed to produce any emphatic voice of sympathy for her fate, striking signs of Poland's heroic resurrection which would attract the attention of the world were still lacking. But the moment for them was already at hand.

“Even a great nation may fall, only a vile one can perish,” said a Polish thinker of that epoch, Stanislaus Staszyc.

From the very beginning of the century, there appeared, beneath the supposedly deadly decadence of Poland, a strong tendency towards the reconstruction of the nation. This tendency grew stronger and stronger. The demands for reforms which would inject new life into the whole national structure were more and more frequent, and universal. At last, this movement became ripe about the time of the American Constitutional Convention.

Besides France, Poland was another country in which the influence of the American upheaval was most deeply felt. Of course, the French Revolution also exerted a direct strong influence on her, although Kosciuszko himself declared: “God sees that we are not starting a French Revolution”.³²

The example of the brave Americans inspired the Polish patriots in their efforts to avert the ultimate catastrophe. A year after the Convention the so-called Great Diet assembled at Warsaw and after three years of work reconstructed the mouldy national institutions from the bottom giving the country the famous Constitution of the Third of May. Its authors publicly acknowledged that they modeled their work partly after the American Constitution. In the debates of the Great Diet the names of Washington and other American heroes were invoked. Was not the Great Diet itself an echo of the American Convention, since both were convoked for the same purpose: to ameliorate the government?^{32a}

³¹ “Letters of the Rev. William Gordon”, *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, vol. LVIII, p. 570.

³² Tadeusz Korzon, *Kosciuszko*, p. 331.

^{32a} The *Warsaw Gazeta Narodowa y Obca* of August 10, 1791, describes a civic festival at Dublin, Ireland, in honor of the French Revolution, in which a lantern was carried with a transparent picture of the globe with rays projecting from America on France and Poland; the picture was inscribed: “The New World enlightens the old one.”

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The American influence in Poland soon culminated in the Kosciuszko Insurrection, in 1794. It was not a blind coincidence of facts, nor merely his military virtues which made him, the friend of Washington, the commander-in-chief and the dictator of the nation. The principles of his Insurrection were again greatly influenced by American ideas. The organization of it, especially of his peasant militia, was patterned after the American example with due regard to local needs and circumstances.

That this spiritual connection between the American and Polish Revolutions has not hitherto attracted such attention from historians as it deserves, is due to the long political death of Poland. During the whole of the last century even her name was studiously erased from the map and ignored by European statesmen, in order not to disturb the consciences of those guilty of her dismemberment. Nevertheless, the Polish Revolution was historically no less important than the American or the French. Born under a less lucky star than the two latter and suppressed quickly, it became the seed of life in which all the hopes and moral strength of the nation were secreted during the long years of slavery. More than that — though apparently suppressed at its birth, this effort of the dying Poland became the strongest incentive for all movements towards freedom in Europe during the 19-th century. In that period, Poles fought in the first lines against the oppressors of peoples in all lands wherever the standard of Freedom was raised, be it in Hungary, or in Austria, in Germany, or in Italy, in France, in Belgium, or in other lands, not excluding the American hemisphere. Thus the Polish Revolution, inspired greatly by American ideas, exerted its influence on the European history of the past century and even affected the subjects of Poland's tyrants.

Meanwhile the French Revolution preceded the Polish movement and made a profound impression in America. At first the whole United States rejoiced at the birth of French freedom. The overthrow of the French monarchy, in 1792, precipitated a "French frenzy" in America. The American masses went wild over France. They became imbued with admiration for everything which the French Revolution gave birth to, not excepting things trivial and ridiculous. This frenzy culminated in 1793, but the subsequent bloody terror of the Revolution and the insulting behavior of "Citizen" Genet, the French minister to the United States, brought about a reaction which gradually increased in strength. In time, their attitude toward the French Revolution divided the young American nation into two hostile camps — the Democrats, sometimes called Democrat-Republicans, who were more numerous and who kept faith with France notwithstanding all her excesses, — and the Federalists, less numerous, but led mostly by the great minds of the country, who drifted

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farther and farther away from France and sympathized rather with England in European politics.³³

The "French frenzy" after pervading for several years "every phase of American life, its politics, its literature, its pulpit utterances, its plays, its forms of social intercourse,"³⁴ nearly ended in a French-American war in 1797.

Where did American public opinion stand when the Republic of Poland began her last glorious struggles for freedom and independence? How were our Revolutionary fathers disposed toward her?

Truly, no research into historical archives would be necessary to answer these questions. The Polish Revolution electrified all freemen in Europe, nor could post-Revolutionary America remain indifferent to it.

Love of freedom, and sympathy for the oppressed were inborn in the generation which witnessed the American Revolution and still heard the inspiring words of Patrick Henry ringing in their ears: "Give me liberty, or give me death!" "The establishment of popular liberties among the nations of Europe, never failed to excite an abiding interest in the Western world," said the distinguished son of Massachusetts, Samuel Adams.³⁵

It is true, that the French Revolution somewhat prepared the ground in America for a change from general indifference into a most lively sympathy for Poland. The first news of the Polish Revolution found American minds already kindled with a desire for freedom for the kindred nations of the world. There is no question but that enthusiasm for Poland would have been aroused independently of sentiments for France.

Indeed, the first news of the Constitution of the Third of May evoked at once a jubilant echo in America and started a wave of popular enthusiasm for Poland which outlasted even the Third Partition and the total annihilation of the country.

During that most critical and, at the same time, glorious period of Polish history, 1791-1795, no other event of international importance, except the French Revolution, absorbed so much of the attention of Americans. With all the vigor of a young nation, the Americans became interested in the distant country of Kosciuszko.

The first news about the new Polish Constitution was printed by the *Columbian Centinel* of Boston, on July 6, 1791, and the American public was quick to comprehend its importance. That the news was startling may be judged from the fact that

³³ See Prof. Charles Downer Hazen's *Contemporary American Opinion of the French Revolution*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, extra vol. XVI, Baltimore, 1897.

³⁴ *Ib.*, p. 289.

³⁵ William V. Wells, *The Life and Public Services of Samuel Adams*, Boston, 1865, vol. III, p. 329.

it attracted the attention of George Washington himself, who a few days later remarked in a letter to his "belov'd" David Humphreys, then American minister at Lisbon: "Poland, by the publick Papers, appears to have made large and unexpected strides toward Liberty; which, if true, reflect great honour on the present King, who seems to have been the principal Promoter of the business."³⁶

Other Americans were likewise elated. Gouverneur Morris, then at Paris, noted in his diary under the date of May 22-nd: "The Kingdom of Poland has formed a new constitution which will, I think, change the political face of Europe, by drawing that Kingdom out of anarchy into power."³⁷ Humphreys and Joel Barlow whom the news also reached in Europe, expressed their praises in verse and congratulated the Polish King by letters. Poor John Paul Jones, sick and discouraged after his experiences in Russia, also sent his congratulations to Warsaw.³⁸ The American press, as a whole, received the news with enthusiasm. "A Nation of Fremmen has been born in a day" — commented the *Columbian Centinel*.³⁹ *The Gazette of the United States* called the Polish Constitution a "great and important revolution in favour of the Rights of Man."⁴⁰ All stressed the unusual fact that it was brought about without the shedding of a single drop of blood. In a comparison made between King Stanislaus Augustus and Washington, both men were spoken as: "active instruments of rescuing their countries from confusion and establishing just and free Constitution of Government."⁴¹

Soon after, when the Americans began their celebrations in honor of the French Revolution, Poland was accorded a place beside France. Both countries for a while equally occupied the hearts of Americans and whenever France was spoken of, Poland's name was usually also mentioned. In the presence of Governor John Hancock of Massachusetts students of Harvard debated "upon the comparative importance of the American, French and Polish revolutions to mankind," at the commencement exercises of 1792.⁴² During the anniversary of the French Revolution celebrated in Charleston, S. C., on July 14-th, 1792, a transparent painting was exhibited of "five nations who have

³⁶ Letter of July 20, 1791; F. L. Humphreys, *Life and Times of David Humphreys*, New York, 1917, vol. II, p. 125.

³⁷ E. C. Morris, *The Diary and Letters of Gouverneur Morris*, vol. I, p. 425.

³⁸ Robert Charles Sands, *Life and Correspondence of John Paul Jones*, New York, 1830, p. 53. The fact is mentioned by several other biographers of Jones, but the author of this was unable to locate the original of this letter.

³⁹ Boston, January 4, 1792.

⁴⁰ Philadelphia, July 23, 1791.

⁴¹ *The American Apollo*, Boston, March 23, 1792.

⁴² *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, Philadelphia, July 28, 1792.

preserved or acquired their liberty, viz. America, England, Switzerland, Holland and Poland, represented by their tutelar geniuses, each holding the colours of his relative nation.”⁴³

Above all, public enthusiasm manifested itself at public dinners which then were all the rage. The birthday of Washington, the Fourth of July, and other historic anniversaries, as well as various current events were merrily celebrated with dinners and honored by toasts, the number of which often grew to proportions entirely surpassing today's standard. It was the ambition of the smallest village to hold such dinners and to announce its toasts in the press, and hence many such toasts have been preserved to us.

During the years of 1792-1795, and even later, there scarcely was a public gathering in America without a toast to Poland or to Polish patriots. If Poland was not mentioned by name there certainly was no lack of toasts to the general success of the “heroic battlers for the right” and liberty, and for the destruction of all tyrants.

“The cause of Liberty and Rights of Man throughout the world;”⁴⁴ “The defenders of the Rights and Liberties of the People throughout the world;”⁴⁵ “The Sons of Freedom in every part of the globe;”⁴⁶ “May the sceptre of Despotism be wrested from the hands of Tyrants, and their People be crowned with the Cap of Liberty;”⁴⁷ “Annihilation to all despotic Governments;”⁴⁸ “The Extinction of Kings — May future Generations know them only by the pages of history, and wonder that such Monsters were ever permitted to exist”⁴⁹ — these are some specimens of the American sentiments of that time.

Some toasts, especially those of the Democrats, were even more Jacobinic. Though the majority of Americans did not sympathize with the execution of King Louis XVI, Capt. Singer's Volunteer Troop of Horse of Philadelphia drank “The memory of Joshua, the Jew, who slew thirty-one Kings,” at their annual dinner, in 1795.⁵⁰

⁴³ *Ib.*, July 31, 1792.

⁴⁴ Toast at the celebration of the Fourth of July at Goshen, N. Y. (*Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, July 25, 1793).

⁴⁵ Toast at the celebration of Washington's birthday in Charleston, S. C. (*Gazette of the United States*, June 1, 1791).

⁴⁶ Toast at the dinner in honor of George Washington at Savannah, Ga., May 19, 1791 (*Ib.*).

⁴⁷ Toast at the celebration of the Fourth of July at Poughkeepsie, N. Y. (*Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, July 25, 1793).

⁴⁸ Toast at the dinner of the Society of the Cincinnati at Providence, R. I., July 4, 1793 (*Ib.*).

⁴⁹ Toast at the dinner at Marlboro, Mass., July 5-th, 1797 (*Independent Chronicle and Universal Advertiser*, Boston, July 17, 1797).

⁵⁰ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, February 9, 1795.

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The Russian Empress, Catherine II, popularly called the "She-Wolf" in America at the time, and the King of Prussia, Frederick William II, were especially the targets of such malignant toasts, and other expressions of public opinion. They were generally hated and reproached on every occasion. Stanislaus Augustus seems to be the only European ruler popular in the United States at that period. This exception was often publicly emphasized. Not even his later traitorous conduct toward Poland deprived him of that esteem in America; he was considered a victim of circumstances, ever deserving pity.⁵¹

The Kosciuszko Insurrection intensified the enthusiasm for Poland in America. Many veterans of the Revolutionary War remembered him as their "most useful and amiable"⁵² comrade-in-arms.

"How glorious the enterprize!" wrote a contemporary writer. "With what emotion of joy did we hear the intelligence of *Poland in arms!* Kosciuszko was hailed as the deliverer of his country and numbered with the Washingtons of the age! What pleasure was inspired in our bosoms, when he was successful; and how did we rejoice when, insurrection starting up in every quarter of Prussia,⁵³ called Frederick's troops from the Rhine, shaking his throne and threatening a total dissolution of the confederacy of Princes."⁵⁴

Following the example of Humphreys and Barlow, other American poets strung their lyres to the tune of events in Poland. Quite popular was a brief verse of Dr. Lemuel Hopkins in which the author addressed these words to the Polish hero:

"O son of our great Son of Fame,
May deeds like his exalt thy name!
May fated Poland yet be free
And find a WASHINGTON in thee!"⁵⁵

When Kosciuszko fell on the battlefield of Maciejowice and was carried to the dungeons of St. Petersburg, Americans prayed for his delivery. His name was immediately linked in their minds

⁵¹ So, for instance, the Rev. Jedidiah Morse as late as 1796, wrote of Stanislaus Augustus as "the most amiable of monarchs, and whose memory is endeared to all lovers of liberty, by his conduct in the late memorable revolutions" (*The American Universal Geography*, Boston, 1796, vol. II, p. 303). Of course, the contemporary press did not disclose the whole truth of his pusillanimous conduct.

⁵² Gen. Nathanael Greene on Kosciuszko (M. Haiman, *Polacy w Ameryce*, Chicago, p. 23).

⁵³ The Polish insurrection in that parts of Poland which were seized by Prussia in the Partitions.

⁵⁴ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, February 26, 1795.

⁵⁵ "New Year's Verses for the *Connecticut Courant*," January 1, 1795; *The Echo*, printed at the Porcupine Press by Pasquin Petronius, p.p. 210-211; Charles W. Everest, *The Poets of Connecticut*, Hartford, 1843, p. 55.

with that of Lafayette, then also incarcerated by Austria. At many meetings both heroes were heartily toasted and wished an early liberation.

The "fated" Poland soon died in the iron embrace of her oppressors. What impressions that crime of despots made in America may be gleaned from the words of Noah Webster, the American lexicographer: "When Poland was cut up into three slices, for the three adjoining Monarchs, the most hideous outcry was raised by all lovers of freedom — and justly." ⁵⁶

The general enthusiasm for Poland remained unchanged even by the division of America caused by the French Revolution. The Democrats and the Federalists vied with each other in doing her honors and in toasting her patriots. The press of both parties equally manifested their joy over her triumphs and wept over her misfortunes. Foremost among the newspapermen as a sympathizer with Poland was Major Benjamin Russell ⁵⁷ of the Federalist *Columbian Centinel* of Boston, at that time the most influential and best edited newspaper in the country. He never missed an occasion to run an editorial, no matter how small the space available, expressing warmest sympathies for the Poles. And whenever Poland was the subject of his writing, his Democratic colleagues always re-echoed his sentiments.

The early American newspapers, though insignificant as to size when compared with the American press of today, printed whole columns, day after day, and week after week, of news about the Constitution of the Third of May, the Polish-Russian war of 1792, the Second Partition, the Kosciuszko Insurrection and the final dismemberment of Poland. The Constitution, many proclamations of Kosciuszko and other important documents were reprinted in detail by many newspapers.

Just like the "French frenzy," though on a smaller scale, the sympathy for Poland deeply affected American public life in those years. Public orators in stirring words depicted her calamities from pulpits and rostrums. Historical and geographical essays, though not always very accurate; maps of a making much finer than it is possible to produce in our machine age; poems, and even novels, ⁵⁸ apart from the press, disseminated new knowledge of Poland and her ideals.

⁵⁶ *Massachusetts Mercury*, Boston, October 10, 1797.

⁵⁷ Born in 1761, died in 1845. He served in the Revolutionary army. In 1784 he began the publication of the *Columbian Centinel*, which soon became the leading newspaper of America. For many years he occupied a seat in the Assembly and Senate of Massachusetts. *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* speaks of him as "a man who combined real ability with moderation of temper and singular modesty and disinterestedness" (vol. X, p. 567).

⁵⁸ Especially numerous were various geographical works which contained chapters on Poland with historical references. In 1795 there appeared in London a *History of Poland from its origin as a nation to the commencement of the year 1795, to which is prefixed an account of the geography and government of that country*. This anonymous work, poorly compiled and

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In 1796, the Rev. Jedidiah Morse, the first American geographer,⁵⁹ wrote a treatise on Poland, which if we omit the brief account of that country in John Adams' *Defence*, was the first ever written by an American and published on this side of the Atlantic. It appeared in his *American Universal Geography, or, a View of the Present State of all the Empires, Kingdoms, States, and Republics in the known World, and of the United States of America in particular*,⁶⁰ second edition, printed at Boston, by Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews. "The deep interest which Americans have taken in the affairs of this unfortunate country, has induced the Author to give a lengthy and particular description of it," says Morse in a brief foreword. His treatise, based almost entirely on the *History of Poland*, which was published a year earlier at London, comprises a geographical and ethnographical description of the country, an account of its constitutional system and a history of the reign of Stanislaus

consisting chiefly of excerpts from Coxe supplemented by *verbatim* reprints of news items describing the latest events in Poland, had a large circulation in America. It was embellished with a fantastic portrait of Kosciuszko in a Cossack robe with a large drooping mustache which did not resemble the Polish hero in the slightest degree. Of novels dealing with Polish subjects which appeared at the time in America, there may be mentioned:

Life and Adventures of the Chevalier de Faublas, including a variety of Anecdotes relative to the present King of Poland; 2 volumes, 12-mo.

Interesting History of the Baron de Lovzinski, with a relation of the most remarkable occurrences in the life of the celebrated Count Pulaski, well known as the Champion of American Liberty, and who bravely fell in its defence before Savannah, 1779. Interspersed with Anecdotes of the late unfortunate King of Poland, so recently dethroned. The New York Weekly Magazine, or Miscellaneous Repository, printed it serially in 1796 and 1797. It appeared also in book form in several editions.

Love and Patriotism! or The Extraordinary Adventures of M. Duportail, Late Major-General in the armies of the U. S., interspersed with many surprising incidents in the life of the late Count Pulaski. Printed serially by *The Daily Advertiser* of Philadelphia, in 1797. Carey and Markland published it later in book form.

Anzoletta Zadoski, probably published in England; advertised by James White "at Franklin's Head (opposite the Prison) Court Street," Boston, (*Massachusetts Mercury*, Boston, October 10, 1797).

Count Benyowsky's Memoirs and Travels, 2 vols., describing the adventures of the famous Confederate of Bar, were also widely read in America.

⁵⁹ Jedidiah Morse (1761-1826), Congregationalist minister and geographer. Born in Woodstock, Conn., he studied at Yale, and was pastor at Charleston, Mass., from 1789 to 1820. Persecuted on account of his orthodox beliefs, he later went to New Haven, Conn., where he died. He was the author of the first geography published in America and for a long time he was without an important rival in this field of literature. His works were translated into the French and German languages. He also wrote *A Compendious History of New England and Annals of the American Revolution*.

⁶⁰ Vol. II, p.p. 254-302; also edition of 1801.

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Augustus.⁶¹ It ends with a biography of Kosciuszko. Morse very strongly condemned the conduct of the partitioning powers, especially Prussia, and agreed with Burke that the "violent" dismemberment of Poland was "the first great breach in the modern political system of Europe."

Sentiments for Poland were evident even in trifles; in fashions for women Polish national dress was copied.⁶²

And if any other proofs were wanting, the attitude of George Washington would be sufficient evidence of the very strong sympathies contemporary America entertained towards dying Poland. During the last years of her independent existence he more than once attested that he "always wished well to her and that with all his heart."⁶³

The Polish poet, Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, who accompanied Kosciuszko on his second visit to America and spent a few weeks at Washington's estate at Mount Vernon as his guest, left a beautiful poem describing how the "Father of the Country" wept on hearing his account of Poland's misfortunes.⁶⁴

To the same Niemcewicz Washington wrote in 1798:

"That your country is not as happy as her efforts were patriotic and noble, is a misfortune which all the lovers of sensible liberty and rights of men deeply deplore; and, were my prayers during that hard struggle of any good, you would be now 'under your own vine and fig tree,' to quote the Bible, as happy in the enjoyments of these desirable blessings as the people of these United States enjoy theirs."⁶⁵

⁶¹ "Oh!" says he of the Constitution of the Third of May, "had this constitution, dictated by equity, enlightened by understanding, and founded on the imprescriptible rights of man, been suffered to operate its benign influence, unmolested by the ruthless arms of insatiable ambition, the Polish nation might, after having vegetated long in obscurity, and groaned under the yoke of oppression, have become one of the happiest nations of the universe!" (p. 294).

⁶² This was not the first time that the stately Polish national dress was imitated in America. During the famous "Meschianza" organized by the officers of General Sir William Howe's army at Philadelphia, on May 8-th, 1778, "the ladies of the black knights wore white sashes edged with black and black trimmings to white silk *Polonaise* gowns" (John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia*, Phila., 1870, p. 273). The musicians in Governor's Guards of New York wore the dress of Kosciuszko's "scythemen" still during the British-American war of 1812-1815; it consisted of "a Polish cap covered with scarlet cloth, and edged with black velvet, white feather; scarlet coat, pantaloons of white drilling, worn over boots with six bell buttons on the legs; black neck stock, black morocco belts and bright sabres" (R. S. Guernsey, *New York City and Vicinity during the War of 1812-1815*, New York, 1895, vol. II, p. 306).

⁶³ W. M. Kozłowski, "A Visit to Mount Vernon," *Century Magazine*, vol. XLI, p. 510.

⁶⁴ J. U. Niemcewicz, *List do Generała Kniaziewiczza*, Paris, 1834.

⁶⁵ Julian U. Niemcewicz, *Pisma Różne Wierszem i Prozą*, Warsaw, 1803. vol. I, p.p. 316-317.

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That the French Revolution left a much deeper impression on American history than did the Polish, was due not so much to the stronger sympathies, as to the importance of both countries in the politics of the United States. France was geographically nearer to America and politically very strongly bound to her by various interests and traditions. The events in Poland, on the other hand, were mostly of no material significance to America. Precious indeed to the heart of every Pole must be the purely idealistic American feeling for Poland in that epoch.

Perhaps, too, the misfortunes of Poland afforded America some practical advantage, in that they assured her safety in the world, then overrun by despotism; at least that was the opinion of some contemporary Americans. Many of them lived under a strong and constant fear that the tyrants of Europe, after crushing Poland and France, would turn against the United States, still weak, and just beginning its independent national existence under the new constitution.

"Every mind capable of reflection must perceive that the present crisis in the politics of nations is particularly interesting to America," said a "Circular Letter" of the Democratic Society of Pennsylvania of 1793. "The European confederacy, transcendent in power, and unparalleled in iniquity, menaces the very existence of freedom. Already its baneful operation may be traced in the tyrannical destruction of the constitution, and the rapacious partition of the territory of Poland; and should the glorious efforts of France be eventually defeated, we have reason to presume, that, for the consummation of monarchical ambition, and the security of its establishments, this country, the only remaining depository of liberty, will not long be permitted to enjoy in peace the honors of an independent, and the happiness of a republican government." ⁶⁶

Although these fears seem little justified now, yet, they were not made light of in those days. Alexander Hamilton rightly assured his countrymen that the dismemberment of Poland cannot be an incentive for despots, but rather an "obstacle to the detaching of troops from Europe for a crusade against this country—the fruits of that transaction can only be secured to Russia and Prussia by the agency of large bodies of forces, kept on foot for the purpose, within the dismembered territories." ⁶⁷

The distance between the two countries was the reason why America could not aid Poland in her desperate struggle. Even in case of immediate action months would elapse before American aid could reach her, ⁶⁸ while in the meantime circumstances could

⁶⁶ Geo. M. Dallas, *Life and Writings of Alexander James Dallas*, p.p. 55-56.

⁶⁷ H. C. Lodge, *The Works of Alexander Hamilton*, vol. IV, p. 276.

⁶⁸ In England where Polish sympathies were also strong at that time, "Polish subscriptions" were raised during the war of 1792 and the Kosciusz-

change radically. Besides, Poland was hemmed in on all sides by an iron ring of hostile bayonets.

"Brave but unfortunate Poles," wrote an American writer in 1795.⁶⁹ "Your distance places you beyond the reach of our assistance! But our ports are open to all the world; and our soil will furnish abundant supplies. Our ardent wishes will attend your struggles for your national rights!"

Notwithstanding the distance, however, there were some Americans who thought of an armed intervention of the United States on behalf of Poland. When the State Society of the Cincinnati of Delaware met at Wilmington to celebrate the Fourth of July, in 1793, one of the toasts enthusiastically received by those present was:

"A union of all free nations to save Poland from the rapacious bands of all spoilers."⁷⁰

The project of the Cincinnati of Delaware remained only a noble gesture, but there was one American who actually tried to rectify the wrongs done to Poland and to resurrect her as an independent power. He was Gouverneur Morris, one of the most eminent patriots of the Revolution.⁷¹

He spent two years in Paris as American minister, during which time he fearlessly upheld the dignity and interests of his country in the face of the Reign of Terror. After that he journeyed through Europe and was entertained by monarchs, ministers and celebrities of various countries. His high social position and his broad culture gained him many friends. His intimate relations with prominent Europeans, his keen power of observation and

ko Insurrection, but that help could not reach Poland even from there. War materials bought by Poland in England in 1792, were intercepted by the Prussians near the mouth of the Vistula (Walerjan Kalinka, *Ostatnie Lata Panowania Stanisława Augusta*, Poznan, 1868, vol. IV., p.p. 227, 246, 262).

⁶⁹ Probably Noah Webster. Reprint from a New York newspaper in the *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, February 26, 1795.

⁷⁰ Henry H. Bellas, "A History of the Delaware State Society of the Cincinnati," *Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware*, vol. XIII, p. 23.

⁷¹ Born in 1752, of an aristocratic family of large land-holders, settled in New York since Dutch times, Gouverneur Morris became an influential and leading advocate of American independence in his state. He served in the Continental Congress in 1777-1779, and enthusiastically supported Washington. He was later assistant to Robert Morris, superintendent of finance, and in this capacity presented a plan for a new coinage which, with some alterations, was later adopted and constitutes the basis of the present American system. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1787 and the author of the draft of the Constitution in its present form. In 1789 he went to Europe on private business, and became American minister to France, in 1792. He had the courage to remain in the French capital during the Reign of Terror and tried to help Louis XVI in his escape. His hostility to the Revolution caused his recall in 1794. Morris spent four more years in Europe, visiting various countries, and returned to New York in 1798. He represented his state in the Senate of the United States from 1800 to 1803. He died at Morrisania, N. Y., his birthplace, in 1816.

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his long sojourn in Europe, since 1789, afforded him a very good knowledge of her political condition.

After the Kosciuszko Insurrection, when the brutal conquerors began bargaining and quarrelling among themselves for the division of the remaining spoils, Morris formed a plan of his own to rebuild the unhappy country and to release Kosciuszko from the Russian prison.

The key of his plan was the reduction of Prussia, whose true character he grasped with that "curious insight and power of observation" ⁷² recognized by all his biographers.

"I ought to have said somewhere" — he wrote to Lord Grenville from Berlin on August 5, 1796, "and I will now say it here that the character of this people, formed by a succession of rapacious Princes, is turned towards usurpation. The war with France was disagreeable to them, because it melted down the accumulations of old Frederick, and did not present an immediate accession of territory. But the war with, or rather against Poland, was not unpopular, because the moral principles of a Prussian go to the possession of whatever he can acquire. And so little is he the slave of what he calls vulgar prejudice, that, give him the opportunity and means, and he will spare you the trouble of finding a pretext. This liberality of sentiment greatly facilitates negotiation, for it is not necessary to clothe propositions in honest and decent forms." ⁷³

Against this rapacious and arrogant state Morris planned to organize a coalition, the chief members of which were to be Russia and Austria. He thought that Russia could be induced to release Kosciuszko who was then to organize a new Polish army against the Prussians. By a division of Prussian conquests and some exchanges, so popular at that time, a new Poland, he planned, might be established.

Morris was on the best of terms with Lord Grenville, then chief of the British Foreign Office, to whom he confided the plan in the spring of 1795. Undoubtedly William Pitt was also acquainted with the scheme. They both often consulted Morris not only about American, but also about European affairs ⁷⁴ and now he urged them to support the plan.

Morris spoke about the plan also with Count Woronzow, the Russian ambassador at London, whose approval he evidently received in the beginning, at least in its main parts. Under the date of June 21, 1795, Morris wrote in his diary:

"Call at Count Woronzow's, who receives me with open arms. We have much conversation... Respecting Prussia, he seems de-

⁷² Theodore Roosevelt, *Gouverneur Morris*, p. VI.

⁷³ Jared Sparks, *The Life of Gouverneur Morris*, Boston, 1832, vol. III, p. 85.

⁷⁴ Theodore Roosevelt, *Gouverneur Morris*, p. 266

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cided that it ought to be added to Poland, and that Austria ought to recover Silesia and be permitted to possess herself of Bavaria." ⁷⁵

A few days later he again noted in his diary:

"This morning (July 8th, 1795) dress and go to Lord Grenville's... Go... then to Count Woronzow's... I recommended strongly Kosciusko to the Russian Court if they would use Poland against Prussia, especially if they mean to give some executable form of government to that country." ⁷⁶

In his letter to Lord Grenville, cited above, he discloses further details of his interesting plan:

"The plan I contemplated for reducing Prussia was, to erect a new but hereditary kingdom of Poland, with a constitution as free and energetic as the moral state of the people may admit. Such kingdom to consist of the country ceded by the last partition to Austria, and the whole of the Prussian acquisitions, together with the Prussias, ⁷⁷ Silesia, a corner of Lower Lusatia, the New Marche, and that part of Pomerania lying east of the Oder. I have no question that two hundred thousand Austrian and Russian troops would speedily have effected this, with the aid of Kosciusko and his Poles.

"With this, as with every other arrangement for permanent peace, I couple the possession of Bavaria by Austria." ⁷⁸

The plan was not impractical, considering the condition of Europe at the time. For many months of 1795 it seemed that the war between the tyrants of Poland was inevitable. Russia and Austria were more than once eager to crush Prussia whose greed for conquest knew no limit. Austria was the latter's ancient enemy and had long looked upon Bavaria with covetous eyes. England was tired of her Brandenburg ally and the plan would safeguard her possession of Hanover.

"I was impressed with the practicability of such a plan in the spring of 1795, and since I have been here (at Berlin) my belief amounts almost to conviction," wrote Morris in the same letter to Grenville; "but the most favorable moment has gone by, and the difficulties are increased." ⁷⁹

Notwithstanding the changed situation in 1796, he still saw a ray of hope for Poland. He thought that now "France, having no lever but Poland to move the north, a re-establishment of that

⁷⁵ E. C. Morris, *The Diary and Letters of Gouverneur Morris*, New York, 1888, vol. II., p. 92.

⁷⁶ *Ib.*, vol. II, p. 100.

⁷⁷ West and East Prussia of which the former was always Polish and the latter was attached to Poland for centuries as a Polish vassalage.

⁷⁸ Letter from Berlin, August 5th, 1795; Jared Sparks, *The Life of Gouverneur Morris*, vol. III, p. 86.

⁷⁹ *Ib.*, vol. III, p. 86.

country must become a leading object of her policy," and that France's "ally, the Turk would gladly contribute some purses, and make a powerful diversion... to wrest the dismembered parts of Poland from the present possessors, and unite them under some practical government." ⁸⁰ He urged Lord Grenville that England should not obstruct France in pursuing this policy.

Going later to Vienna, Morris met the Austrian minister Baron von Thugut to whom he confided his hopes for the resurrection of Poland. He warned him that "Russia must sooner or later be the enemy of Prussia from geographical reasons." ⁸¹

"He smiles at this," wrote Morris in his diary of Thugut's reaction to his words. ⁸²

"He did not seem to think there was any cause of apprehension... as Prussia is equally interested with Austria and Russia, in preserving the peace of Poland," he notes in another place. "But here he is, I believe, mistaken. It would suit Prussia perfectly well to erect a kingdom of Poland, in that part of it which is occupied by the imperial courts, and I know it is in the system of Prussian politics to play off, in case of necessity, a Polish insurrection against Russia." ⁸³

Thugut smiled in 1796; but, though not as soon as Morris hoped, for the oppressors of Poland managed to live in peace much longer for the sake of keeping their spoils, his words were almost literally fulfilled during the World War.

This ended Morris' efforts on behalf of Kosciuszko and Poland. However fruitless, they nonetheless do great honor to this American statesman.

Kosciuszko was liberated by Catharine's successor, Czar Paul I, and his first thought was of his adopted country. His second visit to America, in 1797 and 1798, strongly revived the popular sympathies for Poland. The people of Philadelphia where he landed, unhitched the horses of his carriage and drew it to his lodgings themselves. He was received enthusiastically everywhere and glorified in new rounds of toasts and poems.

"Welcome great Kosciuszko, to our shores—

Welcome, then advocate of freedom, here;

Banish thy griefs—exult 'midst plenty's stores—

And friends who know thy worth revere," ⁸⁴

one of the anonymous admirers greeted him. During Kosciuszko's stay at the home of Gen. Horatio Gates at New York,

⁸⁰ *Ib.*, vol. III, p. 84.

⁸¹ E. C. Morris, *The Diary and Letters of Gouverneur Morris*, vol. II, p. p. 236—237.

⁸² *Ibidem.*

⁸³ Jared Sparks, *The Life of Gouverneur Morris*, vol. III, p. 97.

⁸⁴ "Lines on the Arrival of General Kosciuszko at Philadelphia," *Kentucky Gazette*, Lexington, December 6, 1797.

William Dunlap ⁸⁵ produced "the new and much admired Play of Zorinski, or, Freedom to the Slaves," by the English author Thomas Morton. ⁸⁶ The play was also enacted in other cities and was probably the first one based on a Polish theme to be produced on the American stage.

Kosciuszko's arrival also provoked the first opposition in America against sympathies for Poland. The author of it was the vile-tongued William Cobbett, ⁸⁷ more famous as "Peter Porcupine," who groundlessly and unjustly suspected Kosciuszko of being "a mere tool in the hands of the (French) Directory." ⁸⁸ In his *Porcupine Gazette* he attacked Kosciuszko several times during his stay in America and even after his departure. He charged that "*it was for France he was fighting*, and not for the liberties of Poland," ⁸⁹ and boasted to the Democrats: "For my part, I am one of those who do not much regret the fate of the *Poles*. I do not think the parcelling out of Poland half so great an evil, as would have been its *nominal independence* under a gang of subaltern banditti, the agents of *your pay-masters at Paris*." ⁹⁰

But the attitude of Porcupine was the result entirely of his blind hatred against France and, as far as American public opinion is concerned, it was an isolated case. Moreover, Cobbett, despite his two comparatively short stays in America, was an Englishman, and always remained one.

After Kosciuszko's sudden departure from America, caused by events in Europe and his new hopes for his country, the name of Poland was gradually forgotten. It no longer appeared on the map of the world. It is a fact consistent with the laws of nature, that the living forget their dead! ⁹¹

But once written in the heart of America the name of Poland was never eradicated. Each new Polish struggle for freedom, and there were many of them during the past century, found a strong and sympathetic echo here. Only a few countries were showered with so much love and enthusiasm by the Americans as was Poland during the November Insurrection of 1830-31. This American-Polish friendship, contracted by Kosciuszko and Pulaski

⁸⁵ William Dunlap (1766-1839), American painter, dramatist and historian.

⁸⁶ "Diary of William Dunlap," *New York Historical Society Collections*, 1929-1931, vol. I, p. 222, 232-234.

⁸⁷ William Cobbett (1766-1835), an English politician and writer who had a very stormy career. Arriving in America in 1792, he at once engaged in politics and in his pamphlets and *Porcupine Gazette* launched violent attacks against the "French" party and many eminent Americans.

⁸⁸ William Cobbett, *Porcupine's Works*, London, 1801, vol. X, p. 88.

⁸⁹ *Ib.*, vol. X, p. 82.

⁹⁰ *Ib.*, vol. X., p. 81.

⁹¹ A characteristic illustration in point is the Rev. Jedidiah Morse's *The American Universal Geography*. In the edition of 1801 appeared his treatise on Poland, but it was omitted in later editions.

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and first reciprocated by the pro-Polish sympathies of 1791-1798, culminated in our times when President Wilson so effectively helped to wrest from the hands of the tyrants "a united, independent and autonomous Poland with secure access to the sea."

This volume contains nothing strikingly new, but it brings to light a handful of very sympathetic facts to prove what was hitherto only a supposition: America's sympathy for dying Poland. It will show that there was scarcely an American of prominence during the post-Revolutionary epoch who did not express his Polish sympathies either by pen, or at least by a toast. Of the first group many have already been mentioned. John Hancock, James Monroe, Samuel Adams, Gen. Horatio Gates, Gen. Thomas Mifflin, "Light-Horse Harry" Lee, Thomas McKean, Timothy Pickering, Gen. Stephen Moylan, Frederick Augustus C. Muhlenberg and many other eminent Democrats and Federalists were among those who raised toasts in honor of Poland and the heroes of her struggles for independence. Even John Adams himself who a few years earlier considered the First Partition of Poland an act of "mercy," later on hailed Kosciuszko as a hero of Freedom,⁹² and even Alexander Hamilton admitted in 1796, that the death of Poland, "once a respectable and powerful nation," was a "melancholy" event.⁹³

The compiler has thought that it would also be of interest to gather a brief account of these eventful years in Poland's history from the reports of the contemporary American press, notwithstanding the fact that they were mostly reprints from the English, or translations from the French press. In those days the news writers always treated the news of the day objectively; hence, the selection of items by the American printers shows in itself, in some measure, the trend of American opinion. The news items reprinted here will help to bring about a better understanding of the state of minds in the United States and serve as a commentary to the expression of this opinion. Furthermore, it has a specific flavor of the times; the peculiar style of that period may appeal to some readers. And lastly, the files of the early American newspapers are a bibliographical rarity not easily accessible to everyone.

The early American press reported the events in Poland in great detail. This fact alone is also a proof of the great interest which the United States took in Poland at the time. Naturally, the reports were not complete; they told very little of the nefarious bargaining for the division of Poland carried on by diplomats behind the scenes; the whole truth of such deals usually comes to light only after many years of painstaking research on the

⁹² *Massachusetts Mercury*, October 27, 1797.

⁹³ Henry Cabot Lodge, *The Works of Alexander Hamilton*, vol. VI, p. 349.

part of historians. Some events of lesser importance were unnecessarily stressed, while more important ones were treated too briefly; some entirely escaped attention of the editors. But, on the whole, their information was sufficient to give the readers a clear view of the situation.

Because of the vast mass of news, the items are reproduced here in their most essential and characteristic form, with the omission of much other less interesting reading matter. They cover the period from the Constitution of the Third of May (1791) to the end of the second visit of Kosciuszko to America (1798), and are thus confined to the limits of the first wave of Polish sympathies in America.⁹⁴

This material is supplemented with selections from contemporary pamphlets, mostly orations, from letters, etc.

A few remarks should be made about the technique of the early American press.

News from Poland came to America usually by way of London. It was furnished in most instances directly from Warsaw. In those days the capital of Poland, because of its geographical position, was an important news center covering the whole of Eastern Europe. The Polish postal service was one of the best on the continent. The events in Russia and her wars with Turkey at the end of the 18-th century were reported to western Europe usually from Warsaw, or from some other Polish town, from the "Frontiers of Poland," or from the "Banks of the Vistula."

The imperfect means of communication caused a great delay in the spreading of news. Today the distance between the United States and Poland is a week's travel, or even less. The electric spark exchanges human thoughts between the two countries in a few moments. Whereas in those days the only means of communication was the slow sailing vessel. It usually took from two and a half to three months and more, before the news from Poland reached America and appeared in the newspapers of New York, Boston, Philadelphia and other maritime towns. Oftentimes, another month would pass by before the same news was reprinted by the papers in small communities, in the interior of the country.

So, for instance, the first news about the Constitution of the Third of May, printed by the *Columbian Centinel* of Boston on July 6-th, 1791, reached here a little over two months after the accomplished fact; the *Gazette of the United States* of Philadelphia reprinted it as late as July 20-th, 1791.

The first news of Kosciuszko's Insurrection which broke out on March 24-th, reached America by the ship *Harmony*, from

⁹⁴ Of the material pertaining to the second visit of Kosciuszko only fragments illuminating American opinion, and with a few exceptions, only those which are not already known to his biographers, are given here, whereas his strictly personal affairs are omitted.

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Bordeaux, and appeared in the *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, in Philadelphia, on June 11-th, 1794. The *Columbian Centinel* printed the first news of the important battle of Raclawice (April 14-th) on June 25-th, 1794, falsely reporting it as a defeat of Kosciuszko, while the first news of the battle of Maciejowice (October 10-th), which ended the Insurrection, was printed in the *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser* on January 9-th, 1795. The sad "shriek of Freedom as Kosciuszko fell" was brought to the American shores by the ship *Amiable*, from Liverpool, after a hard voyage of more than two months.

The early American newspapers were quite different in appearance from those of today. Usually they contained four pages filled for the most part with small advertisements. The reading matter consisted of a little politics, national, state and local:—speeches, laws printed in detail, proceedings of the Congress and legislatures, etc.; sometimes of a few lines of local news, a bit of verse, or an anecdote; seldom of an editorial; and for the most part, of "Foreign Intelligence." Foreign news was the life of newspapers, but the irregularity of communication often made it difficult, especially in winter, for the printer to fill his empty columns. This irregularity also destroyed the successive order of events; later happenings were often announced before earlier ones.

The publisher of the paper was usually also its printer and editor; this explains the usual absence of editorials. Occasionally he printed news, prefaced by his own brief introduction which gave him an opportunity of "showing his colors." Some of the more prominent papers, however, commented on the news editorially quite frequently.

The "dull seasons," when no ships came from Europe, spelled grief to the printer. The following is a characteristic complaint:

"It is curious to observe how few events which generally come under the denomination of news are furnished by the United States in time of peace. If arrivals from Europe fail for three weeks, the whole American horizon is tranquil — a dead calm succeeds. The proceedings of the legislative bodies keep the politician awake; but porter houses and dram shops become dull, and the war folks, who live on the news of blood and carnage absolutely yawn about as lifeless as oysters. Patience, good people — westerly winds cannot blow always. — There is work enough going in Europe. The war between the high and low is not yet ended — a few stones only are yet knocked out of the old gothic fabric of feudal tyranny. But the whole structure must come down, and great events will precede the general crash." ⁹⁵

These words were really prophetic, but their author certainly had no presentiment that it would take more than a century and

⁹⁵ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, March 2, 1795.

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a "war of the nations" prayed for by the greatest Polish poet, Adam Mickiewicz, to sound the death-knell of tyranny in Europe.

In any event, contrary to what Campbell said, Poland did not go down to her grave unlamented by companions in arms of Kosciuszko and Pulaski on this side of the Atlantic. Probably in no other country was her fate so sincerely and so unanimously deplored by contemporaries as it was in the United States. After France, Poland was the first foreign country to win the universal sympathy of the youthful United States.

I.

THE FIRST BREAK IN THE YOKE

THE YOKE IS TO BE BROKEN.

Extract of a letter from Warsaw, August 3, 1790.

The ancient yoke of aristocracy shackling the people, is about to be broken forever by the Polish Diet, and the heretofore fettered subjects come forward and boldly assert and maintain the dignity and independence of their being. ¹

"A MEMORIAL OF THE PRESENT STATE OF EUROPE." ²

Poland so long accustomed to receive laws, and of late even a sovereign from Russia, is about to assert her violated rights. Aware, at length, of the disadvantages attendant on an elective monarch, and all the horrors of a tumultuous interregnum, the Diet is about to nominate the elector of Saxony, as successor to the amiable prince who now fills the throne, and to render the legal dignity hereditary in his family, the grandson and great-grandson of two of their sovereigns, a descendant from the illustrious Sobieski, a Pole too, by language and education. The Palatinates rejoice in the idea that under his patriotic reign, they shall once more enjoy domestic security and national independence. ³

"SUCCESSION TO THE CROWN OF POLAND."

The King of Poland is not like his brother of France, inert and ready to be carried, or driven, whither soever a multitude of self-constituted demagogues are pleased to command. While he is willing to submit to good advice, he is himself able to give the best, and to follow it in practice; at the same time, he has discernment, courage, and resolution to discover, and to resist baneful counsels.

When he was told that it was against his interest to permit the election of a successor to the Crown of Poland, during his own life, he nobly replied, "I love my country better than myself, and I am convinced that such a measure is alone calculated to resist the influence of foreign powers over the councils of the

¹ *Gazette of the United States*, Philadelphia, November 10, 1790.

² This is an excerpt from a review of current political events. Such reviews appear in the early American press quite frequently, mostly as reprints from the English press.—The original titles are given here as subtitles with quotation marks. In grouping the reprints the chronology of events has been observed principally

³ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, Philadelphia, March 22, 1791.

nation, and to counteract the evils which such an influence has always produced — there is therefore, no room for hesitation.”⁴

“GOD SAID LET NEWTON BE, AND HAVE LIGHT.”

Warsaw, April 19.

Yesterday was a day of triumph to millions, a day that will form a glorious epoch in the annals of this country, and render immortal the name of Stanislaus Augustus, in whom we revere all the qualities of a truly patriotic King.

If Newton found the world in want of light, he found it at least well disposed to receive it; but in what state did Stanislaus Augustus find Poland, on his elevation to the throne? Was it not in a state of anarchy, and still averse to a reform? Was it not exposed to all disasters, without any means in the King's hands to prevent them? The King felt the cause of so many misfortunes; he knew the defects of government, and was acquainted with the spirit of his nation. With unwearied exertion of his zeal and abilities, by gentle persuasion and example, he not only introduced order into the administration of different departments of the state, but even pre-disposed minds for the most difficult and most glorious reformation, a reformation in the sentiments of the nation at large, a reformation that inspired the inhabitants of cities, who for ages past had lived in a kind of slavery, with courage to reclaim the enjoyment of their ancient rights; and the nobility who had so long exercised the entire sovereignty, had even more granted to them than they asked.

Yesterday civil and religious prejudices were abandoned in the same moment, and the *Tiers Etat* admitted without distinction of birth or religion, to a participation of the legislative and executive powers, and declared capable of any office, civil, military, or ecclesiastical, excepting in the national cavalry, and in some offices destined for the benefit of a poorer class of a numerous nobility.

Mr. Suchorzewski, Member for Kalisz,⁵ a gentleman equally respectable for his integrity and ability, has the merit of having framed the bill that was adopted. As soon as it had passed the Members embraced one another, and their new brothers, the citizens,⁶ who were numerous present in the house. These, in token of their gratitude to the King, for the pains he has taken to obtain so glorious a reform in the constitution of their country, desired leave to kiss his hand. What a triumph for all parties! Now may we expect to see our half inhabited towns re-peopled, and our industry and commerce revived. Nothing but the emancipation of our peasants seems now to be wanting, in order to

⁴ *Gazette of the United States*, February 5, 1791.

⁵ John Suchorzewski, author of the bill of rights for the cities, but later an enemy of the Constitution of the Third of May. — Kalisz, a city and district in western Poland.

⁶ The term “citizen” means here an inhabitant of a city.

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render all ranks as happy as they are brave, and the country as independent and powerful as it is fruitful and rich; but this can only be effected by degrees.⁷

WASHINGTON AND FRANKLIN EULOGIZED IN THE DIET.

Warsaw, April 20.

Political events are expected here, which will excite universal astonishment. Our Cabinet has learned from those of Austria and Prussia, how much mystery frequently proves advantageous in operations of the nature of those in which we are at present engaged.

The 18-th of April, the day before yesterday, will hereafter be a memorable day in the annals of Poland. In the session of that day a law was passed by the Diet relative to cities and their inhabitants, which restores them to their primitive rights, associates them with the legislative power, and will serve as a basis for still more extensive regulations, to reduce the different orders of citizens, to that relative quality, which constitutes the very soul of a solid and just constitution. Upon this occasion, the plan of M. Suchorzewski, Member for Kalisz, was adopted. The substance of the principles which have been decreed agreeable to this project, is "to destroy the difference of orders and classes; to grant liberty to all citizens, without distinction; to restore nobility to its true origin, that is, to the prerogative of merit and virtue; but at the same time, to effect these different changes by degrees, and with such precautions as will procure the success of them." Poland may therefore date her restoration from that day; for, with such principles as these, uniformly followed up, she will become powerful from her internal strength, and will be truly independent.

When the National Assembly of France reduced the nobility to an equality with the citizens, the greater number of its members consisted of the *Tiers Etat*; but when Poland raised her citizens to that equality the Diet consisted of nobility only. And yet there was no division within doors, nor commotion without.—Eloquent and persuasive as the King is on all occasions, on this he seemed to outdo himself. The subject touched his heart; he spoke with an uncommon degree of fire and enthusiasm and his hearers caught the flame.

Count Malachowski⁸ and Prince Sapieha,⁹ Marshals of the Diet, were particularly animated and happy in the arrangement

⁷ *The Newport (R. I.) Mercury*, August 6, 1791.

⁸ Stanislaus Malachowski (1736-1809), Marshal for the Crown (i. e. Poland) in the Great Diet, leader of the Patriotic party, because of his honesty called "The Polish Aristides;" "a man whose name was synonymous with pure and lofty patriotism," says Robert Howard Lord (*The Second Partition of Poland*, p. 97).

⁹ Casimir Nestor Sapieha (1750-1797), the eloquent Marshal of the Lithuanian Confederation, later General in Kosciuszko's Insurrection.

and solidity of their arguments. Prince Adam Czartoryski,¹⁰ Wawrzecki,¹¹ and Niemcewicz,¹² Member for Livonia, also distinguished themselves in a remarkable manner. "None of us," said this last gentleman, speaking of the exclusion of all such as are not nobles, from offices of trust and honors, "knows who were the ancestors or what was the religion of WASHINGTON and FRANKLIN; but all of us know what important services these illustrious characters rendered to their country. Let not, therefore, the modesty of citizens prescribe limits of our generosity. Let us not ask, nor look into old papers to ascertain what they have a right to demand; but let us grant them, out of our own free accord, all that the welfare of our own country requires that they should possess."¹³

ENTHUSIASM REIGNS IN POLAND.

Warsaw, April 23.

It is not easy to represent the degree of enthusiasm which reigns here, since a constitutional law has been made of the eighteen articles proposed by M. Suchorzewski, for the purpose of restoring their ancient rights to the towns, and re-establishing the order of citizens in the exercise of all the privileges and prerogatives pertaining to the state. The king, who was the first to second this just and useful proposal by his support, feels the highest satisfaction at the success of it, which was particularly visible when the citizens of Warsaw went in a body to thank his Majesty for his paternal interference upon this occasion, which they did in a most animated manner; and the king with great energy said, "I now feel all the pleasures of royalty." The hall resounded with, "Long live the King." In short, it should seem that this new order of things has annihilated all pride of rank — every one seems eager to despise those unworthy prejudices of Noblesse, which will shortly only be remembered in Poland as traces of former barbarism.

¹⁰ Adam Casimir Czartoryski (1734-1823), leader of the Patriotic party and the then head of the famous "Family" which played an important political part during the last century of Poland's independence; "the richest and most popular, the most charming and cultivated man of his nation" (Lord, *op. cit.*, p. 97).

¹¹ Thomas Wawrzecki (1753-1816), was commander-in-chief of the Insurrection of 1794, after Kosciuszko's defeat at Maciejowice and occupied eminent civil positions both during the Grand Duchy of Warsaw and in the beginnings of the Kingdom of Poland formed by the Congress of Vienna.

¹² Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz (1758-1841), statesman, poet and soldier, served as aide-de-camp to Kosciuszko in the Insurrection and accompanied him on his second voyage to America which he described in his memoirs. — Livonia, now Latvia, a dependency of Poland.

¹³ *The Newport Mercury*, July 30, 1791.

THE FALL OF POLAND IN CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN OPINION

The speech made by the king in the Assembly of the Diet, in which the above business was discussed, was a most excellent one. His Majesty set out with saying how much he had it at heart to see such an order of things established in Poland, as was consistent with this enlightened age, and the welfare of the kingdom; that the project before them was equal to all; his Majesty represented how much a law of equality would regenerate the citizens, and attach them to their country. He proved that the Noblesse would be benefited by it, as well in the increase of the value of their estates, by as much as the towns acquired more wealth and splendor, as by an accumulation of the numbers of defenders of the country and its liberties. This animated discourse of our monarch, which so evidently proved the visible advantages of the proposed plan, had the desired effect, and it was carried unanimously, and with great applause. ¹⁴

THE CHANGED SPIRIT OF THE NATION.

Warsaw, April 30.

The Compte Malachowski, Marshal of the Confederation and of the Diet, went immediately after the adoption of the new constitutional articles, to the *Hotel De Ville*, accompanied by a great number of Nonces, ¹⁵ and other gentlemen, and took, as citizens, a civic oath.

The citizens of Warsaw manifested their joy at this event by unanimous acclamations, and by a concert of music playing at the same time.

The people attempted to take off the horses from the Marshal's chariot, and to draw it themselves, but he would not accept this honour, which he considered as degrading to his fellow citizens.

The spirit of the Nation seems entirely changed. Several representatives have gone into mourning for M. Mirabeau, who is considered, as having nobly defended the rights of Man, and the justice which ought to be reciprocally observed between nations and their sovereigns. ¹⁶

ARISTOCRATS BECOME MERCHANTS.

Warsaw, May 3.

The Union of the Noblesse with the class of citizens meets with daily encouragement. Prince Czartoryski and Count Potocki,

¹⁴ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, July 21, 1791.

¹⁵ Nonces or Nuncios—members of Diet.—On April 29-th, Marshal Malachowski and other leaders of the Patriotic party went to the Warsaw City Hall to initiate themselves as burghers.

¹⁶ *Gazette of the United States*, August 24, 1791.

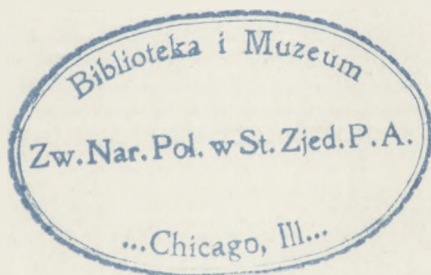
THE FIRST BREAK IN THE YOKE

Marshal of Lithuania, ¹⁷ are become burghers; Count Malachowsky, Marshal of the Diet, has also added himself to the class of citizens, saying at the same time:—"that he should think it an honor to be a magistrate of Warsaw."

One of the magnates has declared his intention of opening a warehouse in his palace, to show that it is by no means degrading for a nobleman to be concerned in trade. ¹⁸

¹⁷ Ignace Potocki (1741-1809), Grand Marshal of Lithuania, patriotic statesman and orator; served as a member of the Educational Commission, the first ministry of education in the history of the world; one of the main authors of the Constitution of the Third of May; directed foreign affairs in the Supreme National Council during Kosciuszko's Insurrection; "a man of ardent and noble soul, disinterested, energetic, indefatigable, admired and almost worshipped by his younger compatriots" (Lord, *op. cit.*, p. 97).

¹⁸ *Gazette of the United States*, July 20, 1791.



II.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE THIRD OF MAY

FIRST HARBINGERS.

Boston, July 6.

Advices have been received by a respectable character in this town, from Amsterdam, as late as the 25-th of May, which state that revolution principles had taken deep root in Poland, which have led to very serious and alarming consequences. Any particulars respecting this interesting event, we are, at present, unable to relate, as unfortunately, no papers accompanied the letters. ¹

Philadelphia, July 23.

European Intelligence has been received to the 26-th of May, by the Hope, Capt. Makins, from Ireland, by which we learn, that a great and important revolution in favour of the Rights of Man, under the auspices of the King, has taken place in Poland — the condition of the peasantry of that country, which was degrading to the lowest degree, is greatly altered for the better: this is considered as a prelude to a more perfect constitution. ²

THE FAMOUS THIRD OF MAY.

Warsaw, May 4.

Yesterday a most important revolution took place here. At three o'clock in the morning, a numerous assembly of Patriots was held in the royal presence; and at the opening of the Sessions of the Diet, destined to treat the affairs of finance, his Majesty himself changed the business of the day, by saying that he had planned a constitution, and requested the states to sign it. The constitution was then read.

His Majesty declared that the constitution had been framed out of the English and American forms of the government.

When the Constitution was read, the tumult in the Diet was very great, some for, and others against it. However, it was at last carried, and the King was requested to swear to it, which he did in the hands of the Bishop of Cracow, and was followed by most of the members. His Majesty then said aloud, "Those who are friends to their country, follow me, and confirm this oath solemnly at the altar." All the Bishops, all the Senators, and most of the Members followed the King, and took this important oath. A hundred cannon announced the swearing to the new constitution, to the public. About thirty members were left in the hall,

¹ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, July 16, 1791.

² *Gazette of the United States*, July 23, 1791.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE THIRD OF MAY

who did not go to the Church — eighteen of them have signed a manifesto. ³

This revolution may have the most serious consequences. ⁴

A REVOLUTION WHICH COST ONLY A HAT.

London, June 4.

It will never be forgot in Poland, that on the memorable 3-rd of May, the patriotic King Stanislaus Augustus discharged his guards. In the procession from the Senate house to the church, and from the latter place to his own palace, he absolutely refused to have a single man of his usual guards with him, but mixed with the Senators and citizens at large, and frequently was engaged in the crowd. — “Well,” said he, at the close of the evening, “thank God, not a single drop of blood has been shed. Perhaps one of the greatest misfortunes that has happened to-day, has lighted upon myself, for I have lost my hat in the crowd.” ⁵

GREAT REJOICING IN WARSAW.

Warsaw, May 7.

General rejoicing on account of our revolution still continues, and there seems to prevail but one sentiment respecting it — those who at first opposed it, having now declared, that they consider themselves bound to adopt the general opinion, and to support the new constitution.

Tomorrow being the King’s birthday, there will be a general illumination, and every testimony of gratitude will be shown to the Monarch, who has been the principal author of the liberty now enjoyed by all ranks of the people. ⁶

THE PRUSSIAN KING CONGRATULATES.

Warsaw, May 14.

Our Minister at Berlin has sent information to the Diet, that on his delivering the letter of notification respecting the late Revolution here to the King of Prussia, his Majesty was pleased to express his admiration of Stanislaus Augustus, in having thereby made the Polish nation happy, and further, that he intended to answer the letter himself. ^{6a}

³ In fact, one Senator and 27 Members of the Diet signed the manifesto protesting against the Constitution (Ladislaus Smolenski, *Dzieje Narodu Polskiego*, Warsaw, 1898, vol. III, p. 154).

⁴ *Dunlap’s American Daily Advertiser*, July 27, 1791.

⁵ *Gazette of the United States*, August 17, 1791.

⁶ *Dunlap’s American Daily Advertiser*, July 26, 1791.

^{6a} *Ib.* The approval of the Constitution of the Third of May by King Frederick William II of Prussia was an act of duplicity. His ministers considered the Constitution “extremely dangerous, and perhaps even destructive to Prussia” and tried to impede its promulgation. Before they could take any action, however, the Constitution became a fact and there remained nothing else for the King, then in alliance of Poland, to do but to feign admiration, especially as he desired to play off the Poles against Russia and Austria (Lord, *The Second Partition*, p. 202-203).

AN OMINOUS AUGURY FROM BERLIN.

Berlin, May 17.

Our politicians do not consider the revolution in Poland as so clearly established, as it is pretended to be. They argue that the revolution was too quick in its operation, and planned with too great haste, to be so suddenly established. It will probably produce great tumults at some future period, and bring forward some very powerful confederation against it. The Russian party at Warsaw was united in opposing its progress. The Prussian interest remained neutral, and took no part in it. ⁷

A SUMMARY OF THE CONSTITUTION
OF THE THIRD OF MAY.

New York, July 30.

In different foreign letters, we have already laid before our readers details of the events which have lately taken place in Poland, and which have entirely changed the Constitution of that Republic. It cannot, however, prove unacceptable to our readers to have the whole of the proceedings laid before them in one connected view.

At three o'clock in the morning of May 3-rd, a number of Patriots, who had pre-concerted the great objects which they ment to accomplish in the sitting of the Diet that day, assembled in the King's Chamber. There, in the presence of the King, they engaged to effectuate the Revolution that day, and they pledged themselves to each other, by a solemn engagement, not to separate until they had accomplished their end.

The assembly was opened at the usual hour. The galleries were crowded with spectators, and the House was surrounded with thousands who could not gain admission. Instead of the Marshals, the King himself opened the session. He said in substance, that "notwithstanding all assurances to the contrary, there was an alarming rumour, confirmed by advices daily received, that the three neighbouring powers would make up and terminate all their jealousies and divisions, at the expence of the possessions of the Republic; that the only method of assuring to Poland the integrity of its possessions, and of preserving it from the ruin which foreign politics were preparing for it, was to establish a Constitution, founded principally on those of England, and the United States of America; but avoiding the faults and errors of both, and adapting it as much as possible to the local and particular circumstances of the country."

In support of the information relative to the foreign powers, the King communicated to the Diet some dispatches received from the Ministers of the Republic at foreign courts, stating how eager they were to oppose all settlement of the Constitution,

⁷ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, July 25, 1791.

and that every thing seemed to announce their hostile designs on Poland. The King desired that the plan which he submitted to them, might be read, and that they should proceed forthwith to enact it into a law, if they approved of it. The plan was accordingly read, and a very long and important debate took place.

All the representatives of the Provinces of Volhynia and Podolia, ⁸ declared themselves against the new form of constitution.

M. Suchorzewski, who so recently distinguished himself in so brilliant a manner as an advocate for the people, and who is justly regarded as the principal author of the movements that have brought about the Revolution, opposed this plan with great zeal. The patriotism by which he was animated, was alarmed by the Crown being made hereditary. — He advanced, and threw himself on his knees at the foot of the throne supplicating and conjuring his Majesty, “to renounce his ideas of the hereditary succession to the Royalty, as it would be the tomb of the Liberty of Poland.” Many representatives, who were on the same side, alledged the instructions of their Provinces prevented them from agreeing to make the Throne hereditary. — They insisted that at least the plan should be taken *ad deliberandum*, as every other new law was taken; but a great majority of voices refused to agree to this. “We must pass the whole this day; we will not depart from this place until the whole is accomplished.”

The opposition replied, “And we will not depart until it is renounced.” The majority requested the King to be pleased to unite them for the acceptance and support of the new constitution, in a solemn oath. The King called to him the Bishop of Cracovia, ⁹ and took the oath from his hands. They cried out: “All those who desire the welfare of their country will join the King, assist, and support him.” They surrounded the Throne on all sides. The King to be seen by the Assembly, could not remain seated; he mounted on the seat and swore aloud. — A great majority of the Diet held up their right hands, followed his example, and swore the same. “Every man that loves his country,” exclaimed his Majesty, “follow me to the Church, and thanking God, let us repeat the oath at the Altar.” All the Bishops, all secular senators, with a great number of the Nuncios or representatives accompanied the King to church, and there again they solemnly engaged before the Supreme Being and their country, to maintain a constitution, which combining liberty with subordination, and subjecting the first citizen as well as the last to the law, secures to all the means of happiness, and gives to each citizen the true enjoyment of his rights. It was by that time

⁸ Southeastern provinces of Poland.

⁹ Felix Paul Turski (1729-1800), a distinguished and patriotic clergyman and orator.

seven o'clock in the evening; *Te Deum* was sung, and the new constitution was announced to the people by the discharge of 200 pieces of cannon. There were but between thirty or forty Nuncios who did not follow the King to the church. The King with his suite, returned to the Assembly house, and adjourned the Diet to the 4-th of May, after charging the Marshals to give the oath to all the Departments. The opposing Nuncios, seeing that all resistance was useless, resolved to protest against the new constitution by the publication of a manifesto, after which they retired without noise to their own houses. There was no attempt made to interrupt them nor was any insult whatsoever offered to their persons. Cries of joy filled the streets, but this joy was the expression of a pure, and calm patriotism. Through the whole day there was not the smallest confusion, nor disorder, nor riot. At eleven o'clock the streets were so perfectly calm, that one would hardly believe that it had been the epoch of a new order of things.

In the sitting of the 5-th of May, the new form of government was again proposed. — The members present signed it unanimously, and they formally passed, sentence by sentence, the twelve ¹⁰ articles of which it is composed, and which are as follows:

1. The Catholic Religion shall be the governing religion of the states, and the King shall profess it. But all other forms of worship shall be admitted, and a general toleration, civil and religious, shall be a fundamental law of the Kingdom.

2. The ancient privileges and rights of the Noblesse are approved and confirmed.

3. At the same time all the rights and privileges of the people asserted, renewed or granted to them during the present Diet, are equally ratified and confirmed.

4. All strangers who arrive and settle in Poland shall enjoy full and entire liberty.

5. The peasantry are taken under the protection of laws and of government. They are relieved from all arbitrary impositions, and do depend, henceforth, in what regards their rights and labours, only on the contracts which they shall make with their seigniors. All foreign labourers are free to enter and settle in Poland, or to depart, fulfilling only the obligations of the contracts they may have made with the proprietors of the soil.

6. The government of Poland shall be composed of three branches, or distinct parts, — the legislative power, the executive power, and the judicial power.

7. The legislative power belongs exclusively to the states assembled in Diet, and composed of two connected chambers, to

¹⁰ The Constitution contained eleven articles, the same in substance as given above, except for the last article pertaining to the army (Walerjan Kalinka, *Konstytucja Trzeciego Maja*, Lwow, 1888, p.p. 97-100).

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE THIRD OF MAY

wit, the senate and the chamber of nuncios.

8. The king shall exercise the executive power with his council. This council shall be composed of the primate and five ministers who shall each have a department. No order of the king can be put in execution unless it is signed by the ministers, whose lives and fortunes shall be responsible to each Diet for the orders they shall sign. As soon as two-thirds of the Diet shall demand the change of ministers, the king shall be bound to dismiss them, and to name others in their place.

9. The election of the king shall never fall hereafter on an individual. A whole family shall be elected when the royal family shall be extinct. Thus after the decease of the reigning king (for whose long life the Estates and the nation make the most fervent prayer) the reigning elector of Saxony, and his male descendants after him shall succeed to the throne of Poland. If he shall have no male issue, Mary Augusta Nepomucene, his only daughter now declared infanta of Poland, shall be queen, and her husband, whom the king and the States assembled shall choose for her, shall wear the crown and form the stock, from which shall spring a new royal dynasty of Poland.

10. In case of the minority of the king, his tutelage with the administration of the government shall be in the hands of the queen's mother, and of the council, who shall be responsible for their conduct to every Diet.

11. The education of the king's children shall be in like manner be confided to the council.

12. The judicial power shall be fixed for each palatinate, territory and district. The judges shall be elected at the Dietines.¹¹

UNANIMITY OF THE NATION

Warsaw, May 11.

The revolution so happily begun, will according to all appearances, be completely consolidated, without violence or tumult.

At Lublin, indeed, a weak ineffectual shew of opposition to it has been discovered; but in Great Poland,¹² all ranks and degrees of men applauded it with transport.¹³

A MOST STRIKING AND INTERESTING EVENT.

London, June 3.

The revolution which has been so suddenly brought to bear in Poland, is a most striking and interesting event; and, if well

¹¹ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, July 26, 1791; *The (N. Y.) Daily Advertiser*, July 30, 1791; *Gazette of the United States*, August 3, 1791. Many contemporary American newspapers printed the Constitution of the Third of May in *extenso*.

¹² Lublin, a city and district between Warsaw and Lwow. — Great Poland, a province in western Poland.

¹³ *Gazette of the United States*, August 10, 1791.

supported and carried to perfection, will give a very different face to that country from what it has worn under the former miserable scheme of an elective monarchy. It is a country wonderfully rich in population and produce; and under good government may rise to great consequence among the powers in that part of Europe. The Crown being given to, and made hereditary in the family of the Elector of Saxony, it seems probable that the United States of Poland and Saxony will be drawn into a political connection with the King of Prussia, and thus a strong counterpoise may be formed against the overbearing weight of the Imperial Crowns of Russia and Austria. Some apprehensions are indeed excited lest the prospects of this rivalry, may induce the Empress of Russia, ready armed as she now is, and perhaps the Emperor of Germany, to create troubles in Poland, where there is still a party disaffected to the plan of hereditary government; and who, at this instance, and under promises of support from such powerful neighbours, will be encouraged to make confederations, and endeavour, by all means in their power, to create confusion and overturn the settlement which has been so recently adopted. It is, however, to be hoped, that the settlement of the Crown, which has passed in the most legal way through the Diet, will be carried into effect; and it is natural to suppose, that the free Constitution granted at the same time to the people, will engage them in the support of it. ¹⁴

POLAND AFTER THE FIRST PARTITION

London, May 19.

The Kingdom of Poland, previous to its dismemberment, contained 14,000,000 inhabitants; at present they are supposed not to exceed 9,000,000; and of this difference the Austrians have acquired two millions and a half of souls by their surreptitious part of the provinces, tho' those now possessed by Russia are the most extensive in territory. ¹⁵

¹⁴ *The (N. Y.) Daily Advertiser*, August 8, 1791. William Pitt, the younger, tried to build up a Federative System to check the conquests of Russia and other rapacious powers, and, indirectly, to protect Poland. But the opposition, led by Fox and Burke, who most loudly professed their Polish sympathies, defeated his plans (W. Kalinka, *Konstytucja Trzeciego Maja*, p.p. 17-36; confer R. H. Lord, *The Second Partition of Poland*, p.p. 153-191).

¹⁵ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, July 27, 1791. Poland before the Partitions numbered 11,500,000 inhabitants (T. Korzon, *Wewnętrzne Dzieje Polski za Stanisława Augusta*, vol. II, p. 63). In 1791 she had 8,790,000 inhabitants (*Ib.*, vol. I, p. 160). The acquisitions of the neighboring powers by the First Partition, in 1772, were:

Russia—about 36,320 English square miles—1,310,000 inhabitants.
Austria—about 32,370 English square miles—2,130,000 inhabitants.
Prussia—about 14,170 English square miles—580,000 inhabitants.
(*Ib.*, vol. I, p. 161).

"Prussia's lot was, from the financial, military and political stand-points, the most valuable" (Lord, *op. cit.*, p. 54).

THE TOAST OF GEN. LEE

Boston, August 8.

The late General Lee, ¹⁶ during the years of his patriotism in the beginning of the late war, gave as his constant toast, "The King of Poland, Parliament of France — and the people of England". The two former have justified, by their conduct in establishing the liberties of their respective countries, the partiality the General manifested for their virtues. It remains now for the people of England to show that they merited a connection with the King of Poland and the Parliament of France, by their love of liberty. They will soon be the laughing stock of the whole world, if they do not throw off their present riders. ¹⁷

A KING OF FREEMEN.

Philadelphia, August 18.

There are few Sovereigns at present who enjoy a greater happiness and security than the King of Poland. As a private character Stanislaus was always esteemed — but his ready acquiescence in the new constitution, has gained him the hearts of all his subjects. He is now the King of Freemen! a title not extorted from him, but to which he has aspired. ¹⁸

STANISLAUS AND GEORGE III.

Philadelphia, August 23.

The King of Poland has lately gratified his people, by a total alteration of the constitution; — George, by altering the constitution of Canada, intends to gratify — himself, his ministers, and perhaps some of the needy German Princes, who want to sell a few thousand of their subjects to be butchered in Canada. ¹⁹

A KING IN WISDOM AND VIRTUE

London, June 24.

In the history of mankind there are but very few instances to be found, where kings, unsolicited and unintimidated, have made a voluntary surrender of their power. There are many great sayings of great acts; but we read of none that deserves to be preferred to the late conduct of the King of Poland. The form of the new constitution of Poland, is not merely sanctioned by the King; but dictated, framed, and fashioned in the exalted superiority of his own mind, affords a new lesson to the world. It shows a King who knows and reverences his own station; not a King of Robes

¹⁶ Gen. Charles Lee (1731-1782), second in command of the Continental Army till his capture by the British at Baskingbridge, N. J., Dec. 17, 1776. He spent some years in Poland before the American Revolution and was made aide-de-camp to the King and Major General of the Polish Army.

¹⁷ *The Newport Mercury*, August 13, 1791.

¹⁸ *The (N. Y.) Daily Advertiser*, August 20, 1791; *Gazette of the United States*, August 24, 1791.

¹⁹ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, August 23, 1791.

and Scepters, not a King of Diadems and Prerogatives, but a King in Mind, in Principle, a King in wisdom and virtue.²⁰

REFLECTIONS ON THE POLISH CONSTITUTION

London, July 1, 1791.

Among the phenomena that have recently occurred in the political hemisphere, may be reckoned the revolution in Poland—a revolution, the plan of which was formed with deliberation, executed with prudence, and, what is singular, brought to a conclusion without bloodshed. By this event, the constitution of that country is entirely changed.

An elective government must always expose a state to discord and confusion; to the destructive effects of party spirit, and to the secret intrigues, as well as open attacks of ambitious neighbours. The history of Poland sufficiently proves the truth of this observation, and the Poles themselves have been long sensible of it. By settling the succession to the throne, they will be freed from those convulsions by which their devoted country has been so often agitated; and be enabled to maintain a proper and useful consequence in the political balance of Europe. By the privileges granted to the order of citizens, a spirit of patriotism and laudable emulation will be excited in that body; for both social and political virtue must flourish in every country where honours, ease, and emolument, are the rewards of integrity, and good conduct. Agriculture will also be promoted; and trade and commerce, to which invidious distinctions in the ranks of society are always prejudicial, will be revived and extended. Poland, by its situation, is well calculated to form a powerful barrier against the ambitious views of Russia; and as it will, in all probability, be now freed from the degrading trammels imposed upon by the influence of that court, the late revolution seems likely to contribute towards an end greatly to be wished for — the preservation of tranquility in Europe. The temptation of a crown, to be acquired either by secret intrigue or open force, will no longer be held forth to the ambitious; and the Poles will have the pleasure of being governed by Princes born and educated in their own country, and who, on that account, must be better acquainted with its constitution and laws, as well as with the genius and temper, and disposition of their subjects, than strangers connected with foreign nations, and destitute of these advantages. Besides, sovereigns can never extend their views to posterity for the benefit of a nation, when they know that their children will have no real interest in them, and that, whatever pains they may take to exalt its glory, or secure its prosperity, no benefit will accrue to their family. The case is different with monarchs who hope to be represented by a son, a brother, or a near relation.

²⁰ *Ib.*, August 23, 1791; *Gazette of the United States*, September 7, 1791.

While they are exerting themselves in promoting the welfare of a kingdom over which they preside, they are, in fact, laying a foundation for the happiness of their successors: and who is there so insensible to the voice of natural affection, that would not direct his attention to an object which, next to the *mens conscia recti*, can blunt the sting of death, give consolation at that awful moment when earthly grandeur must appear insipid to the languid eye of royalty; and when the idle pageantry of courts, with all its attractions, cannot excite even a momentary pleasure? His Polish Majesty, who, in a great measure, was the cause of the late revolution, is enjoying the heart-felt satisfaction of having contributed towards a change that seems to promise the happiest consequences. ²¹

TWO LEADING PRINCIPLES

Two leading principles in the new constitution of Poland are, that a man shall not be imprisoned for debt, unless he has committed a fraud: And the other the full liberty of the press.—Without these essentials it is impossible any constitution can be free. ²²

POLISH DRESS BECOMES FASHIONABLE

New York, Sept. 9.

A new morning Polish Dress is just invented, which excites universal admiration! — It somewhat resembles the shape of the late *Poloneses*, but looses in the vest — the seams throughout are trimmed with silk lace, and the whole habit is ornamented with silk frogs; — a very loose cape falls down the shoulders, lined with silk, but without any collar. The Polish Dress is composed of *rich silk*, light *cassimere*, or Irish *tabinet*. ²³

POLES THANKFUL TO GOD.

London, July 5.

The Revolution of Poland is to be annually celebrated in a church which is to be erected hereafter and consecrated to Divine Providence, on the 3-rd of May.

The King, the nobles, and the Members of the Diet of Poland, ascribe their revolution solely to the interposition of Providence; and the first of their resolves is to build a temple to the Almighty, in which they may annually commemorate this glorious event. ²⁴

“THE OPINIONS OF STANISLAUS, KING OF POLAND.”

We ought to be more offended at excessive praises, than at invectives: Many would be more esteemed, with a less profuseness

²¹ *The (N. Y.) Daily Advertiser*, August 27, 1791.

²² *The Newport Mercury*, September 3, 1791.

²³ *The (N. Y.) Daily Advertiser*, September 9, 1791.

²⁴ *Gazette of the United States*, September 10, 1791.

of their merit: It should be laid out by measure, and only when wanted.

There is a dignity, which however exalted of itself, gives no rank; that resulting from the character of a good man.

Shall we give over being virtuous to avoid the sneers and machinations of envy? Where would the world be, should the sun withdraw his beams, that they might not dazzle weak eyes?

In most kinds of governments, man is made to conceive himself free, and really to be shackled.

Esteem is more pleasing than friendship, and even than affection; it captivates the heart effectually, and never makes the objects ungrateful.

Most parsimonious people are very good natured, continually amassing wealth for those who wish them in the grave.

Some authors labour and polish their compositions to such a degree, that all they publish is mere filings.

There is in the world a tribunal more to be feared, than those of civil authority. This is invisible, has neither officers, forms, nor ensigns; it is likewise universal and every where alike, and every one has a right to vote in it. In this court, the slave fits in judgment on his master, and the subject passes sentence on his sovereign. It is composed of all good persons, and they alone respect it; as, on the other hand, it is only the most hardened profligates, who make light of its decrees.

Natural manners silence the laws; and it is they by which Empires are raised or overthrown.

The greatest pleasure that can be done to a vain man, is not so much to praise him, as quietly to hear him praise himself. ²⁵

LAWS IN FAVOR OF JEWS.

Warsaw, June 12.

The Diet are busy relative to a plan proposed in favour of the Jews who are very numerous in this country, amounting to from 500,000 to 700,000 individuals, ²⁶ and they will probably experience the effect of that wisdom which governs all the deliberations of our Senate. ²⁷

DIET STILL LABORING.

Warsaw, June 22.

The labours of the Diet employed on the Constitution are almost at an end. The principal objects of deliberations which remains, is the establishment of Municipalities and the interior administration of towns. ²⁸

²⁵ *Ib.*, September 14, 1791.

²⁶ Korzon gives the number of Jews in Poland in 1791, at 900,000. (*Wewnętrzne Dzieje Polski*, vol. I, p. 159).

²⁷ *Gazette of the United States*, September 21, 1791.

²⁸ *Ibidem*.

THE MOST WONDERFUL REVOLUTION.

London, July 15.

Poland, patriotically inattentive to the bustle of Europe around her, pursues the completion of the most wonderful revolution ever produced by the concurring assent of an awakened people, with a philosophical unanimity.²⁹

TE DEUM AT ROME.

London, July 22.

Te Deum was lately sung in the Polish church at Rome, by way of thanks for the advantages which the new Constitution of Poland secures to the Catholic religion. The Pope assisted at this ceremony, and shewed great favor to all who contributed to the grand event which it was meant to celebrate.³⁰

“A PEEP INTO THE COURTS OF EUROPE.”

RUSSIA. The Empress dying in fine style, surrounded by general officers on one side, and ministers on the other, quarrelling in such a manner as to stun the old lady, in consequence of Prince Potemkin³¹ having made them all drunk with brandy.

POLAND. The King, at the head of a table of dainties, toasting liberty, and directing, that dish after dish should be sent out to the populace, against the will of many of the old Nobles, who have no notion of giving the vulgar so refined a taste...³²

EDMUND BURKE ON THE CONSTITUTION.

From the *Columbian Centinel*.

Mr. Burke³³ has been charged with entertaining despotic principles. The charge is not however, well founded; as can be demonstrated by the following extract from a pamphlet lately published by him, intitled, “An Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs,” which the Editor received in the last vessel from Europe. The indignation which has marked his public writings and speaking, it seems, was wholly excited by the levelling spirit of the French Democrats; for speaking of another revolution, which was lately passed before the world — and condemning the silence in which it has been passed over in England, he says:—

²⁹ *Ibidem*.

³⁰ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, September 26, 1791; *Gazette of the United States*, September 28, 1791.

³¹ Gregory Potemkin (1739-1791), Russian field marshal, a favorite of Catherine II.

³² *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, October 6, 1791; *Gazette of the United States*, October 8, 1791.

³³ Edmund Burke (1729-1797), British statesman and political writer. He condemned the French Revolution, saying that it was producing only chaos, and highly lauded the Polish Revolution. This did not hinder him from saying after the Second Partition that, in respect to England, “Poland might be, in fact, considered as a country in the moon” (Lord, *The Second Partition*, p. 445).

THE STATE OF POLAND

was undoubtedly such, that there could scarcely exist two opinions, but that a reformation of its constitution, even at some expence of blood, might be seen without much disapprobation. No confusion could be feared in such an enterprize; because the establishment to be reformed was itself a state of confusion. A King without authority; Nobles without union or subordination; a People without arts, industry, commerce, or liberty; no order within; no defence without; no effective public force, but a foreign force, which entered a naked country at will, and disposed of every thing at pleasure. Here was a state of things which seemed to invite and might perhaps justify bold enterprize and desperate experiments. But in what manner was this chaos brought into order? The means were as striking to the imagination, as satisfactory to reason, and soothing to the moral sentiment. In contemplating the change, humanity has every thing to rejoice and to glory in; nothing to be ashamed of, nothing to suffer. So far as it has gone, it probably is the most pure and defecated public good which ever has been conferred on mankind. We have seen anarchy and servitude at once removed; a throne strengthened for the protection of the people, without trenching on their liberties; all foreign cabal banished, by changing the crown from elective to hereditary; and what was a matter of pleasing wonder, we have seen a reigning King, from an heroic love to his country, exerting himself with all the toil, the dexterity, the management, and intrigue, in favor of a family of strangers, with which ambitious men labour for the aggrandizement of their own. Ten millions of men in a way of being freed gradually, and therefore safely to themselves and the state, not from civil or political chains, which, bad as they are, only fetter the mind, but from substantial personal bondage. Inhabitants of cities, before without privileges, placed in the consideration which belongs to that improved and connected situation of social life. One of the most proud, numerous and fierce bodies of nobility and gentry ever known in the world, arranged only in the foremost rank of free and generous citizens. Nor one man incurred loss, or suffered degradation. All, from the King to the day-labourer, were improved in their condition. Every thing was kept in its place and order; but in that place and order every thing was bettered. To add to this happy wonder (this unheard-of conjunction of wisdom and fortune) not one drop of blood was spilled; no treachery; no outrage; no system of slander more cruel than the sword; no studied insults on religion, morals, or manners; no spoil; no confiscation; no citizen beggared; none imprisoned; none exiled; the whole was effected with a policy, a discretion, an unanimity and secrecy, such as have never been before known on any occasion; but such wonderful conduct was reserved for this glorious conspiracy in favor of the true and genuine rights and interests of men. Happy people, if they know

to proceed as they have begun! Happy Prince worthy to begin with splendor, or to close with glory, a race of patriot Kings; and to leave,

A name, which every wind to heav'n would bear,
Which men to tell, and Angels joy to hear. ³⁴

FRENCH AND POLISH CONSTITUTIONS COMPARED.

London, June 9.

The revolution in Poland, so temperate, fair, and wise, scarcely provokes the censure of Mr. Burke. Had the French nobility displayed the temper of the Princes of Poland, all would have been well with them at this day; which shows that human, as well as physical nature *obtemperando vincitur*. In France, the noblesse considered every other class of citizens as of an inferior species; and hence the emancipation of that nation from servitude involved in it the annihilation of that order in the state, which had been the hereditary oppressors of mankind for generations.

In Poland the nobility, by the dereliction of usurping pre-eminence, have ingratiated themselves with the people; and the new constitution of Poland seems to be erected on the most solid foundation. They will now be in the situation of the English nobility, of whom one of the most ingenious, and probably the most learned men in England, says, in his publication, "By the law of the state, nobles are protected as our equals, and by the law of opinion, they would cease to be our superiors, if they would ever presume to violate the established rules of civilized life." ³⁵

ALL IS WELL IN POLAND.

London, September 30.

Poland has yet met with no interruption in its happy Revolution; the new wheels which have been inserted into the machinery of its Constitution have been put in motion, and found to work well and harmoniously with the whole. Neighbouring despotism affects to frown, but its frowns are dispised; though much remains to be done for the Poles. The people at large are certainly much happier circumstanced than they were, and the nobility not less so. Comparative liberty has been given, without licentiousness having been encouraged. ³⁶

³⁴ *Gazette of the United States*, October 29, 1791.

³⁵ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, August 15, 1791; *Gazette of the United States*, August 18, 1791.

³⁶ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, December 8, 1791; *National Gazette*, Philadelphia, December 8, 1791; *Gazette of the United States*, December 10, 1791; *The (N. Y.) Daily Advertiser*, December 12, 1791.

WASHINGTON AND DAVID HUMPHREYS
LAUD THE POLISH CONSTITUTION.

(Letter of Humphreys to Gen. Thaddeus Kosciuszko) ³⁷
Lisbon Oct^r 1, 1791.

My dear Sir

After so long a separation from each other, and so long a time that I had not heard from you, I was extremely glad to learn your welfare and prosperity from the Compt^e Potoski; ³⁸ who is so obliging as to charge himself with the delivery of this letter.

Since I parted with you in France ³⁹ many events in political and private life have intervened. After remaining about two years in Europe, I returned to America, where I had the commission of Colonel given to me, and raised a Regt in the Service of the United States. This Regt was to have been employed on the Western frontiers, but as that Service became unnecessary, it was disbanded. After having been employed in the Legislative Assembly of my own State (Connecticut) for some time: I went to Mount Vernon and lived with my great Patron and Friend, until he took upon himself the Administration of the Government of the United States as the first President under the New Constitution. From that time I remained in his family until I came to Europe; which is now a year since. I had, however, in the interim been sent as one of the Commissioners Plenipotentiary (with Gen. Lincoln and Mr. Cyrus Griffin, who were the two other commissioners) to establish a Peace with the Indian Nations on the frontiers of Georgia; and indeed to confirm the Treaties already made, with all the other Tribes on the South Side of the Ohio—At present I am placed here as Minister Resident for the United States. Thus much for my private History.—

The Affairs of the United States have undergone an almost incredible and inconceivable change since you came from thence.

³⁷ This letter is in the archives of the Polish Academy of Sciences at Cracow, MS 1171 No. 88. As it is unknown in America (except for a small part of it in M. Haiman's *Poland and the American Revolutionary War*, Chicago, 1932, p. 7), it is given here in full. — David Humphreys (1752-1818), Revolutionary soldier, poet and statesman, "belov'd of Washington" with whom he served as aide-de-camp, was at that time American minister to Portugal. Kosciuszko, his old friend, was then in Poland, freshly recalled from his modest estate to the national army with the rank of Major General.

³⁸ John Potocki (1761-1815), an eminent Polish historian and traveler. He intended to write a history of the United States, the first original one by a Polish author, and corresponded with Thomas Jefferson in this matter, but his tragic death frustrated his plans. (M. Haiman, *Poland and the American Revolutionary War*, p. 6).

³⁹ Humphreys and Kosciuszko sailed together to France in July, 1784, Humphreys as secretary of a commission to conclude treaties of commerce and amity with various European states, and Kosciuszko returning home after his long service in the Continental Army. Humphreys described this voyage in a poetic "Epistle to Dr. Dwight, on Board the Courier de L'Europe" (*The Miscellaneous Works of David Humphreys*, New York, 1804).

And you may rely upon it as a sacred truth, that it is scarcely possible for them to be more prosperous, than they are at present. Tranquility prevails—Government possesses the full confidence of the People. The resources are immensely encreased: the exportations of last year having amounted to 25,000,000 of Dollars. Public Credit is restored: insomuch that when a Subscription to a National Bank (under the Charter of the new Government) was opened in Philadelphia about two Months ago, for ten Millions of Dollars; the whole subscription was filled in less than one hour. The Shares were four hundred Dollars each: and there were applicants for upwards of four thousand Shares more than could be allowed by the Institution.—These facts I have just received in a private letter from the President of the United States. He had recently returned from a tour through all the Southern States; and gives me, in the relation of the circumstances of his Journey a very favorable account of the actual state of Affaires in the two Carolinas and Georgia. — A propos — of the unexpected and happy Revolution which has taken place in your Country, he speaks in these identical terms: “Poland, by the public Papers, appears to have made large and unexpected strides towards Liberty: which, if true, reflect great honor on the present King, who seems to have been the principal Promoter of the business. — By the bye — I have never rec^d any letter from Mr. Littlepage, ⁴⁰ or from the King of Poland, which you say Mr. Carmichael ⁴¹ informed you were sent, to me last summer.” — If you are acquainted with Mr. Littlepage, I wish you would mention the circumstance to him, that gen. Washington has never rec^d the letters before alluded to.

For myself, I have been so sincerely and so much delighted with the conduct of the King of Poland, that I could not refrain from testifying my sensations to the World in a little Poem, which I am now writing for publication; the lines are these,

“To thee, thou Sage of higher, nobler sort,
 Than e’er before adorned an earthly Court,
 Parent of Millions! Paragon of Kings!
 A Bard from new-found Worlds new laurels brings,
 To thee, great Stanislaus!—Thy glorious name
 Shall stand unrivalled on the rolls of fame—
 Hail patriot King! And hail the Heav’n-born plan
 Thy voice pronounc’d to fix the rights of man;
 The godlike voice, that op’d the feudal graves,
 Call’d to new life innumerable Slaves,

⁴⁰ Louis Littlepage (1762-1802), native of Virginia, was for a long time confidential secretary to the King Stanislaus Augustus; he was on the secret list of mercenaries of the Russian Ambassador (M. Haiman, *Polacy Wśród Pionierów Ameryki*, Chicago, 1930, p.p. 137-168).

⁴¹ William Carmichael (—1795), American diplomatist, then charge d’affaires of the United States at Madrid.

THE FALL OF POLAND IN CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN OPINION

Nor call'd to life alone... Inspir'd by thee
Thy gen'rous Nobles made those Vassals free—
Hail blest example! happy Poland hail!
No more... to lure thy foes... shall feuds prevail;
No more shall bord'ring Pow'rs, with lawless arms,
Divide thy confines and despoil thy farms;
No more shall Slav'ry sterilize thy soil,
But fruits, that prompt, shall pay the Peasant's toil;
While soothing Faction! rage, fair Concord reigns,
And crowns with bliss the plenty of the Plains;
While, Age succeeding Age, a patriot King!
Both Worlds admire and all the Muses sing."

Now, my dear Kosciuszko, tell me whether the King of Poland will be pleased with such an honest testimonial of applause, from an Individual who cannot be suspected of adulation. If His Majesty should have that fashion of thinking, I will preserve the lines, and insert them in the "Poem on National Industry" when it shall be printed: if they should not be likely to be well received, I will suppress them. If you will be so good, as to write to me under cover to the Polish Minister in London, he can forward the letter to Lisbon, as Packets constantly ply between England and this Country. ⁴²

I hope you received the Engravings of your good friend Gen. Greene, ⁴³ which were put into the train of transmission at Paris, which you directed. His untimely Death was the universal subject of regret in his own Country. It is a fortunate circumstance, that the Print which you caused to be taken of him, is the best likeness now existing of that excellent man. Indeed it is pronounced to be a perfect resemblance by all his friends in America. Mrs. Greene, is, I believe at the Plantation in Georgia; the oldest son in Paris, and the rest of the Children at Bethlehem in Pennsylvania for their Education.

Poor Gen. Parsons, ⁴⁴ who had removed to the Ohio, was unfortunately drowned nearly two years ago.—

Your acquaintances and friends in America all remember you with great affection. And the more so from the honorable agency you had in assisting to establish the Independence of that Country, — a Country, which now, in reality begins to enjoy the fruits of its Revolution.—

⁴² The lines on Stanislaus Augustus appeared in no edition of Humphreys' *Poem on National Industry*. Before the author was able to publish it, Poland was no more.

⁴³ Nathanael Greene (1742-1786), the famous Revolutionary general, a warm friend of Kosciuszko, who served with him during the Southern campaign 1780-1782.

⁴⁴ Samuel Holden Parsons (1737-1789), jurist and soldier; succeeded General Putnam in command of the Connecticut line, in 1779; drowned in the Big Beaver River, Nov. 17, 1789.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE THIRD OF MAY

Be assured you will always possess a distinguished place in the esteem and affection of

My Dear Kosciuszko

Your sincere friend and Humble servant

D. Humphreys.

P. S. When you write to me, have the goodness to inform me of the real State of Poland, and all the Affairs of the North.

Adieu

Yours

David Humphreys.

Gen. Kosciuszko.—

"RETROSPECT OF EVENTS IN 1791."

Boston, January 4, 1792.

The year just expired has been pregnant with great and interesting events

IN POLAND

with propriety we may say, that a Nation of Freemen has, in the preceeding year, been born in a day. Therein we have seen, a Revolution in government favourable to the people, planned, promulgated and put into execution by its King. The principles of the Constitution he thus established, we inserted in a late *Centinel*, — we shall therefore, at present, only reiterate our congratulations on the event, and pay another tribute of applause to Stanislaus Augustus. ⁴⁵

THE KING SWEARS TO DIE FOR THE CONSTITUTION

(Translated from French papers, by Capt. Philip Freneau, Editor of the *National Gazette*, printed at Philadelphia, and Translator of the French Language to the Office of the Secretary of State).

Warsaw, September 25.

On the 15-th instant, the new constitutional Diet opened with all that good order and dignity befitting the representatives of a free nation. The King made a speech at this session; having brought into view the general unanimity of the nation in accepting the Constitution of the 3-d of May, 1791, with the following remarkable words: "We have sworn to maintain this Constitution — we have engaged under the most sacred obligations, rather to die than suffer the least infringement thereof — and in speaking this, I am convinced, I am nothing more than the echo of the publick voice." — This was returned with suitable warmth on the part of the people, and then the Diet proceeded to business. ⁴⁶

⁴⁵ *Columbian Centinel*, January 4, 1792.

⁴⁶ *Ib.*, January 7, 1792.

FATHER OF THE PEOPLE.

Cork, Ireland.

The King of Poland may justly stile himself The Father of his People; the title is not sported with by this illustrious monarch to deceive his children — wise by experience, prudent by example, and enlightened by philosophy, he has taken off the chains of the Poles, and hung them up in the temple of liberty. ⁴⁷

“RETROSPECT.”

Boston, January 14.

The last twelve months have crowded more of the marvelous and astonishing, into the narrow compass of 365 days, than embellishes the historical pages of as many centuries.

The Revolution in Poland, exhibits a new and almost unparalleled scene. Its accomplishment without the effusion of blood or the destruction of property, is matter of pleasing reflection.— Stanislaus is one of those august characters, who knows the everlasting importance of a day; and this seizure of the moment as it flew, was the salvation of himself, and the liberty of his country. ⁴⁸

REJUVENATED POLAND.

Wak'd by the vernal breeze, see Poland, France,
With youth renew'd, and vig'rous health advance.
Another spring has shed a sweet perfume,
What fruits are promis'd by so rich a bloom!
Round the whole earth may liberty be spread,
And vanquish'd slavery hide her hated head. ⁴⁹

“CHARACTER OF STANISLAUS,
THE PRESENT KING OF POLAND.”

On the demise of Augustus II, Stanislaus, son of Count Poniatowski, the friend and companion of Charles XII, ⁵⁰ was supported in his pretensions, by the Empress of Russia and the late King of Prussia; their assistance, joined by a strong party among the nobles, and aided by his great personal accomplishments, raised him to the throne of Poland, A. D. 1764.

Stanislaus was in the 32-d year of his age *) when he was elected King of Poland; and seemed calculated by his virtues and abilities to raise his country from its deplorable state; if the de-

⁴⁷ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, January 24, 1792.

⁴⁸ *Ib.*, February 2, 1792.

⁴⁹ *Gazette of the United States*, February 22, 1792. It is an excerpt from an ode “The Day” on the 60-th anniversary of the birth of George Washington by an anonymous author.

⁵⁰ Charles XII. of Sweden invaded Poland in 1702, drove Augustus II, the Elector of Saxony, from the Polish throne and installed in his stead a bright and patriotic Polish noble, Stanislaus Leszczynski. Stanislaus Poniatowski (1676-1762), father of the King, was one of the faithful supporters of Charles and Leszczynski.

fects of the constitution had not fettered his exertions for the public good. The fairest hopes were entertained of his future reign; but were soon disappointed, by the factions of a turbulent people and the intrigues of the neighbouring potentates. The reign of the most amiable among the Polish sovereigns was doomed to experience the dreadful effects of excessive liberty, which is almost inconsistent with the existence of government.

The King, without influence or authority, was one while hurried down the popular current, and the next moment forced by the mediating powers, to accede to all the conditions which they laid before him; a wretched situation for a prince of his spirit and magnanimity, and below which it is scarcely possible for any sovereign to be reduced. But more grievous scenes waited the unfortunate monarch; he was doomed to behold his country torn to pieces by the most dreadful of all calamities, a religious war; to be himself frequently deprived almost of the common necessities of life; to be indebted for his very subsistence to the voluntary contributions of his friends; to be little better than a state prisoner in his own capital; to be assassinated and almost murdered; to see his fairest provinces wrested from him, and finally to depend for his own security and that of his subjects, upon the protection of those very powers who had dismembered his empire.

The King of Poland is handsome in his person, with an expressive countenance, a dark complexion, roman nose, and penetrating eye. He is uncommonly pleasing in his address and manner, possesses great condescension, tempered with dignity. He has acquired a large share of knowledge by study and by travelling. He is well acquainted with natural philosophy, history and jurisprudence, and has a taste for the fine arts; and though a sovereign, does not think it beneath him to be a most entertaining companion. Even without the lustre of a Crown, he could not fail of being esteemed one of the most agreeable and polite gentlemen in Europe.

COXES' *Travels*, 1784

*) It is worthy of special remark, that the two most accomplished and virtuous Princes now existing, The KING OF POLAND, and the PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES, were born in the same year, that both were raised to their stations by election, and not by hereditary claim; and that both have been active instruments of rescuing their country from confusion, and establishing just and free Constitutions of Government. ⁵¹

"QUESTION — IN WHAT SITUATION ARE THE POWERS OF EUROPE?"

For the *Columbian Centinel*.

GERMANY — menacing France, yet fearful of her patriotic Generals and army — her pamphlets and gazettes.

⁵¹ *The American Apollo*, Boston, vol. I. part II. p. 125 (March 23, 1792)

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PRUSSIA — wishing for a good opportunity to bruize.

RUSSIA — favouring, with Austria, Prussia and the petty principalities of the German Empire, the cause of the French Counter Revolutionists — yet doing but little.

POLAND — happy in a Patriot King — enjoys that tranquillity, happiness and prosperity — the attendants of wise laws and a free constitution.⁵²

“A SCRAP ON KINGS.”

Kings surely “stand on slippery places.”

The prices current of Monarchs, in Europe, have lately suffered a rapid fall. England's light—France's insignificant—the Empire's poisoned—Sweden's assassinated—Portugal's crazy—Russia's superannuated—Denmark's weak—Prussia's mad—but Poland's is happy.⁵³

TOASTS TO POLAND.

Richmond (Va.), February 15.

On Saturday last, the 11-th inst., being the auspicious day which gave birth to our illustrious PRESIDENT, the same was ushered in with the discharge of cannon, at 3 o'clock a number of gentlemen convened at the Eagle Tavern in this city, to commemorate the same, where they partook of a sumptuous dinner; after which the following toasts were drank, between each toast there was a discharge of cannon.

6. The King of Poland.

7. The Diet and People of Poland.⁵⁴

Philadelphia, March 19.

At a meeting of the Sons of St. Patrick on Saturday the 17-th inst., at Mr. Hydes Tavern for the purpose of celebrating the day, an elegant dinner was provided, after which the following toasts were drank, in bumpers —

18. The King of Poland.⁵⁵

“A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE ANCIENT AND MODERN MANNERS.”

This globe, like man, is subject to decay,
Time's beck'ning finger we must all obey:
Too long immur'd in error's gloomy shroud,
See reason scatter every brooding cloud;

⁵² *Columbian Centinel*, May 26, 1792.

⁵³ *Ib.*, May 30, 1792; *The Newport Mercury*, June 4, 1792; *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, June 7, 1792. This scrap represents the following monarchs: George III of England; Louis XVI of France; Leopold II of Austria who died suddenly on March 1, 1792; Gustavus III of Sweden, assassinated on March 16, 1792; the insane Queen Maria I of Portugal; Catherine II of Russia, then 67 years old; the semi-idiotic Christian VII of Denmark; Frederick William II of Prussia; and Stanislaus Augustus.

⁵⁴ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, February 24, 1792.

⁵⁵ *Ib.*, March 19, 1792.

See virtue flourish, see the arts arise,
While smiling FREEDOM leaves her native skies;
A plant she brings in her celestial hand,
Whose branches soon shall shadow every land,
Gallia already rears the tender vine,
Round Poland's brow the blooming wreaths entwine,
May time on swiftest pinions wing the hour,
When Afric's sons shall own her gentle pow'r... ⁵⁶

"THE CONSPIRACY OF KINGS."

In northern climes, where feudal shades of late
Chill'd every heart and palsied every state,
Behold, illumin'd by th' instructive age,
That great phenomenon, a sceptred sage.
There Stanislaus unfurls his prudent plan,
Tears the strong bandage from the eyes of man,
Points the progressive march, and shapes the way,
That leads a realm from darkness into day. ⁵⁷

"SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND NINETY-ONE."

Many a Christian despot stands, contriving
Who next shall bleed—what country next be wasted—
This is the trade by which they get their living:
From Prussian Frederick, this general plan
To Empress Kate—that burns the Rights of Man... ⁵⁸

LETTER OF JOEL BARLOW TO STANISLAUS AUGUSTUS,
KING OF POLAND.

London, 20 Feb'y, 1792.

Sire:

I have been honored with your Majesty's letter of the 20th of May last, in which you are pleased to say that you shall endeavour to cause my Poem on the affairs of America to be translated into the Polish language. ⁵⁹ A new edition of the work will

⁵⁶ *The American Apollo*, August 10, 1792, vol. I, No. 32, part II. This is an excerpt from "A Poem, delivered on the late Commencement Day, at Cambridge, by Joseph Allen, jun., A. B."

⁵⁷ This is an excerpt from Joel Barlow's "The Conspiracy of Kings," *Columbian Centinel*, August 18, 1792.

⁵⁸ *The Poems of Philip Freneau*, ed. by Fred L. Pattee, Princeton, N. J., 1902-1907, vol. III, p. 65.

⁵⁹ This letter, the original of which is in the collection of Rev. Joseph P. Wachowski of Toledo, Ohio, is as follows:

Warsaw, 25 May, 1791.

Sir:

I have received through Mr. Littlepage your polite letter together with the *Vision of Columbus*: and I am not less flattered with the expressions of the letter, as I am delighted both with the subject and the beauty of the poem: For I am sure that nobody can read it with greater satisfaction than I do it in this moment where I find myself taken up with much the same objects in My Country, which Columbus has so well united in his vision. I shall endeavour to have it translated in Polish in order to augment the number of Your Admirers, amongst whom I count myself with great deal of pleasure.

Stanislaus Augustus, King.

soon be published here, which will be accompanied with many explanatory notes, the Poem itself will be considerably shortened and much corrected. If your Majesty should be of opinion that the translation will go on, I would take the liberty of sending you a copy of the new Edition, as being less imperfect and more intelligible than the old.

I cannot avoid taking this opportunity, through the kindness of your Ambassador at this court, of presenting to your Majesty a pamphlet which I have lately published on the present political circumstances of Europe, it is entitled *Advice to the Privileged Orders etc.* I rely upon the known goodness of your Majesty's character to excuse my offering this respected homage to your virtues and your talents. I am sensible that you are an illustrious instance, if not almost the only one in Europe, of a member of a privileged order, who stands in no need of advice; but I reflect at the same time, that such men are the most likely to listen to those whose good intentions induce them to offer it. The present critical situation of the affairs of Europe, not your personal comfort and happiness, induce me at this moment to rejoice that you are a King. In no other character could you have rendered so much service to your nation and to mankind; nor scarcely in any other could you have been exposed to so much inquietude and difficulty as you have struggled with for so many years, and which must inevitably surround you still.

How far I go beyond your Majesty's real sentiments in my idea of the advantages of a pure representative republic and in my detestation of Monarchy, I am unable to say; but certain I am that we agree in one point, in an ardent wish to promote the happiness of the human race. Of consequence we must harmonise together in a cordial abhorrence of every species of tyranny, in the desire that liberty should be as equally enjoyed by all men as the nature and distribution of human faculties will permit, that *man* should be seated on the throne of his own industry, whatever it may cost to those who now fill the thrones of oppression and abuse.

The extraordinary and successful manner in which your Majesty has lately given a constitution to your country has excited no small degree of my admiration; and I cannot forbear offering you my congratulations on a subject so interesting to mankind. Considering the mode in which it was introduced, the distracted situation of the Republic, the internal cabals, corruptions and divisions in the Diet, the pressure of external danger and the intrigues of foreign courts, this transaction discovers a boldness and a prudence, an extent of comprehension and philanthropy, which will place it in the highest rank among the actions of men.

With regard to the merits of the constitution, you are sensible it is to be judged of in a *two-fold view*, — as applying to a great system of feudal aristocracy predominant in Europe,

and as applying to the particular circumstances of the nation for which it is designed. My knowledge of Poland is too superficial to enable me to appreciate the merits of your constitution under the second view, as applying to the internal situation of the Republic. It is always rashness in a stranger to attempt such a task. I presume however that your wisdom has not been wanting in this essential point. But in judging of it under the *first view*, as a system framed for one of the inveterate aristocracies of Europe, I find in it much to admire. You have doubtless acted like Solon, and given your country, if not the best law that you could frame, at least that circumstances would admit. It is well calculated to arrest the progress of tyranny, to enlighten the people by degrees, so as to preclude their insurrections, and to excite industry by protecting it; protected industry is the parent of every virtue, and the sure pledge of internal peace and happiness in a nation. Internal peace and happiness being well secured, external and universal peace would be the necessary consequence. No position, in my opinion, is more true than this, that if the people of Europe were instructed even in a moderate degree and had a proper share in the government, all wars would be at an end.

The tyrannies of Europe, whether civil or ecclesiastical, are all aristocratical and feudal, — founded on a system which was admirable in its first institution, but which by change of circumstances has become detestable. Aristocracy, in the pure original sense of the word, is doubtless natural to man; and all governments must partake of it more or less; but it should be an aristocracy of virtue and talents, not of hereditary pride, folly and vice. To attain as near as possible to this perfection, recurrence should be had as often as convenient to the judgement of that great body of people, whose knowledge will enable them and whose interest will induce them to designate the men who possess the proper qualities to be the organs of the general will.

Every human creature is interested in the government under which he lives; it would be desirable that every human creature should be instructed in his interests. The nearer we can arrive at this perfection the better, though it cannot be completely attained. We should multiply the means of instruction as much as possible; and in cases where persons do not obtain a sufficient degree of instruction to be active citizens, let the deficiency rest where nature has placed it, — in the want of intellects to perceive truths when presented to the mind. Such men, it is true, should have no hand in the government; but they can never be numerous enough in any well regulated Society to disturb its order.

My letter is drawn, I fear, to an indecent length; considering the importance of the objects which occupy your busy moments. Could I suppose my reflections sufficiently weighty to atone for

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this intrusion, I should subscribe myself with confidence, as I now do with sincerity,

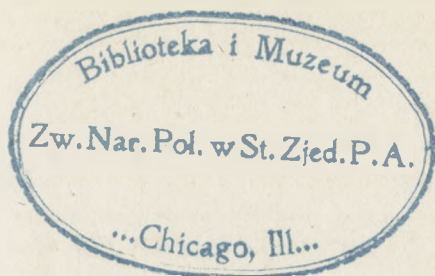
Sire,

your Majesty's warm admirer
and obedt and hume servt,

J. Barlow.

To his Majesty the King of Poland. ⁶⁰

⁶⁰ The original letter is also in the collection of Rev. Joseph P. Wachowski of Toledo, O. Both letters are printed here for the first time.



III.

THE CONFEDERATION OF TARGOWICA

CLOUDS GATHERING OVER POLAND

Poland which but a short time since presented so pacific an appearance, seems at present as if some clouds were gathering in her hemisphere. Two or three of her nobles delighted more with the power of aristocracy, than the franchises lately granted to the people, have seceded and protested against the new Constitution; and if they can meet with support in any neighbouring powers, are doubtless ready to throw every thing into confusion. Of those from whom they might have looked for aid, Prussia and Vienna have already testified their consent in the proposed successor to the monarchy, and the enlargement of the privileges of the people. ¹ Russia, indeed, withholds her assent; and where a great power supposes her influence diminished, it is too much the Machiavelian doctrine of the times, to oppose all innovations in the former theatre of her influence. Thus Poland, with all the good intentions in the world, may find fresh troubles arise from the senseless opposition of a few discontented citizens, to the wise measures of her Diet, and the very liberal designs of her excellent sovereign. ²

GOVERNMENT TAKES PRECAUTIONS.

Extract of a letter from Warsaw, July 16.

There are appearances of disturbances in the Ukraine, in consequence of several manifest discontent there; Government have taken the needful precautions to prevent any open tumults, by ordering additional cannon and ammunition to the force under the command of Prince Joseph Poniatowski. ³

¹ During the short reign of Emperor Leopold II the policy of Austria was friendly to Poland. The Emperor and his Chancellor Kaunitz hoped that strengthened internally by the Constitution, Poland would form a barrier against the encroachments of Austria's mortal enemy, Prussia. Rzewuski, one of the authors of the Confederation of Targowica, tried to induce Austria to support the counter-confederation, but was dismissed with empty hands (Lord, *The Second Partition*, p.p. 203-307).

² *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, March 22, 1792; *Gazette of the United States*, March 24, 1792; *The American Apollo*, April 6, 1792, vol. I, No. 14, part II.

³ Joseph Poniatowski (1763-1813), nephew of the King, directed the campaign against the Russians in 1792, as commander-in-chief of the Polish armies. In Kosciuszko's Insurrection he voluntarily submitted himself to his command. He later distinguished himself as commander of the forces of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and at their head repulsed the invasion of the Austrians in 1809. He was drowned in the River Elster when covering

Several members of the council have been called from the country, to adopt such measures as may be required for the good of the kingdom in the present situation of affairs. The report that danger may be apprehended from the increasing number of the enemies to the new constitution, is without foundation, though their number have been exaggerated by printed lists for that purpose.⁴

A CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE CONSTITUTION

Warsaw, December 7.

Poland is far from being in a situation like that of France, but there are some individuals who endeavour to render it equally unhappy. The pleasing prospect, which the revolution afforded, is not yet realised, because its enemies have succeeded in retarding the complete success of it; and to render it entirely illusive, they employ the usual means, namely that of sowing dissension in the internal parts of the Kingdom, and applying for the intervention of foreign courts. The project of selling the starosties,⁵ is the apple of discord which they have thrown on purpose to divide the minds of the Diet. The second mode, by which they endeavour to create distrust among them, and prevent the new Constitution from consolidating, is far from being an imaginary one. In the session of yesterday, a nuncio informed the assembled States, of a conspiracy entered into against the Constitution, by its principal antagonists, namely, the grand general, count Branicki, and counts Rzewski, and Potocki,⁶ who, he said, were assembled at

the retreat of the French from Leipsic, in 1813. He is one of the most beloved Polish military heroes. In 1792, however, he was still "an inexperienced young man of twenty-nine, who, with all his gallantry and devotion, had not yet matured those talents that were to win him a great reputation as a marshal of Napoleon" (Lord, *The Second Partition*, p. 289).

⁴ *The (N. Y.) Daily Advertiser*, October 7, 1791; *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, October 10, 1791.

⁵ Starostwa, originally were life grants of lands to well-deserving officials and knights. Their distribution was a privilege of the King.

⁶ These three were the leaders of the Confederation organized at Targowica, in the Ukraine, on May 19, 1792, to overthrow the Constitution of the Third of May. "In them the worst vices of Old Poland stand incorporated. Enormously rich, able to count his villages by the score and his 'subjects' by the thousand, accustomed to live in a truly royal magnificence, Stanislaus Felix Potocki (1751-1805), represents the typical provincial kinglet, who could brook no superior, no restriction, no abridgment of golden liberty. Honest and well-meaning, perhaps, and virtuous according to his lights, he was also narrow-minded and obstinate, and consumed by pride and vanity. Capable of seeing but one idea at a time, he was now obsessed by the thought that the glorified Republic of his ancestors was doomed to perish, overthrown by 'despotism,' unless he, the one blameless man, could save it — with the aid of foreign bayonets. Severin Rzewuski, Field-Hetman of the Crown, was the best head in this group of reactionaries. He had always posed as the argus-eyed guardian of liberty, the model of republican virtue, the Cato of Poland; and of a Cato he had at least all the unlovely qualities. Francis Xavier Branicki (—1819), was simply the dashing adventurer, a rioter and a brawler, gifted indeed with many of the arts that command popularity, but guided solely by private interest, regardless of loyalty,

Jassy,⁷ to adopt (under the auspices, and they hoped with the assistance of Russia) a plan to effect a counter-revolution. The matter was immediately taken up by the Diet. The King delivered a discourse full of energy and patriotism; his Majesty produced, and caused to be distributed, an address, by which four hundred gentlemen of Lithuania engaged, under the most sacred promises, to support the new Constitution in all its integrity. He pointed out to them the necessity of employing all the powers with which they were armed for this purpose, as the overthrow of a Constitution, agreeable to the nation (but disapproved of by some noblemen, who favoured foreign interests) would of course be the ruin of the country; and it was, in consequence, unanimously resolved to defend the Constitution against all enterprises which might be formed against it in the heart of the Republic. It was also decreed, that whoever opposed the constitutional laws of the month of May, by manifestoes or protests, deposited in any grod,⁸ or published in the country, should be punished with death. However, if the court of Petersburg appears favourably inclined to the new Constitution, all their intrigues will avail little; for we are generally persuaded, that the chief motive, which prevents the Elector of Saxony from accepting the succession of the throne of Poland, is the incertitude of the intentions of Russia.⁹

"POLITICAL STATE OF EUROPE"

CATHARINE II whose ambition and enterprising spirit seem to be very little repressed by the infirmities of age, has probably some great object still in view. — Whilst almost tottering on the brink of the grave, she looks eagerly forward to wordly aggrandisement; and though her successes in the late war, and the advantages she obtained, might have sufficiently flattered her vanity, she meditates new enterprises which perhaps she will never live to be carried into execution.

Catherine has long shown an aversion to the progress of liberty. The privileges granted to the peasants in Poland by the new constitution of the country, may extend, and incite her own subjects to claim like indulgencies. Example is powerful, and may here operate in a manner far from agreeable to a despotic princess. This she seems to be aware of, and no doubt wishes to

patriotism or duty—a man whose life was a succession of treasons. Doubtless these magnates had no conception of the ruin they were bringing upon their country. Morally they were no worse than those princes and gentlemen of France who at this same time were inviting all Europe to arms against their fatherland. But never did traitors leave behind them so terrible a monument as did the men of Targowica. In Polish history their names are branded with infamy" (R. H. Lord, *The Second Partition*, p.p. 249-250).

⁷ Jassy, capital of old Moldavia, now a province of Rumania.

⁸ Grod, originally a fortified town. Later the term was used mainly to signify the courts of the "Grody".

⁹ *The American Museum*, Philadelphia, April 1792, vol. XI, part I, p. 26.

counteract its effects. That her fears are awakened, may be easily collected from the proclamation which she lately issued. After recounting the glories of her predecessors and her own, she concludes with exhorting her army, and her subjects, to treat as enemies all nations who shall adopt systems of false liberty. This last expression is certainly levelled against the King of Poland, whose benevolent views for the good of the country over which he presides, Catherine appears not much to approve; and as a powerful party is now forming against the new constitution, her design in arming, if she really does arm, may be for the purpose of giving support and assistance to the malecontents, as the exigence of the times may render necessary. This intention appears the more probable, as some of the principal men in the Kingdom of Poland have violently opposed the new regulations, and refused to subscribe to them. Count Rzewusky, hetman or petty general of the Crown, and Count Potocki, grand master of Artillery, who declared that they would not take the oath to the new constitution, have both been dismissed from their employments by a majority of the Diet. These two noblemen were suspected of intriguing secretly with Russia; and a little time will shew whether the surmises thrown out against them have been well or ill-founded...¹⁰

CONSTITUTION OR DEATH!

Paris, March 7.

At a feast given at Warsaw, by M. Soltick,¹¹ one of the members of the Diet, a short time ago, the moment the dishes were removed, the whole company arose, and, drawing their sabres, swore aloud, "The new Constitution, or death." Since which, the example has been followed at several other entertainments.¹²

Paris, March 10.

What the intention of the Empress is may be easily conjectured. A direct attack on the new Constitution of Poland is evidently her object.¹²

"ABRIDGEMENT OF THE STATE OF POLITICS."

The Swedish nation, who maintained the liberties of Germany and Europe, and opened a way to the peace of Westphalia, after a war of 30 years, in 1684, are at this moment in conjunction with

THE RUSSIANS

the most formidable enemies of Liberty in France, Poland and other states. As to the Russian Government, it is in the catalogue of Northern governments somewhat anomalous. Though the

¹⁰ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, May 31, 1792.

¹¹ Stanislaus Soltyk, an eloquent and respectable member of the Patriotic party in the Diet.

¹² *The American Museum*, May, 1792, vol. XI, part I, p. 35.

metropolis, St. Petersburg, be situated in the latitude of Liberty, the genius of the Russian Empire, as well as a great part of the soil and climate, is Asiatic. ¹³

TOASTS TO POLAND.

Boston, June 6.

Agreeably to its charter, on Monday last the ancient and honorable Artillery Company made their annual election of officers. At 10 o'clock the corps paraded at the old South Meeting House, and at 12 o'clock escorted his excellency the Governor, ¹⁴ his honor the Lieutenant Governor, ¹⁵ the hon. Council and a number of military gentlemen, from the council chamber to the old brick Meeting-house, where an excellent sermon was delivered by the Rev. Eckley. Divine service ended, the company, attended by an excellent band of music, escorted to Faneuil Hall a procession where they partook of an elegant entertainment; at the close of which the following toasts were given:

10. The King of Poland. — May every monarch prefer the station of First Citizen to that of reigning solitary despots. ¹⁶

Extract of a letter from Benson (Vt.), May 29.

"Yesterday there was an exceeding pretty military exhibition in this town in consequence of Captain Hoist's company of cavalry being to meet in town that day. The evening was spent in the most pleasant conviviality, and the following patriotic toasts were drank.

8. The patriots of France and Poland! — May they completely establish republican governments and raise everlasting barriers against tyranny. ¹⁷

CATHERINE PROTECTS TRAITORS.

They are much disturbed in Poland by a report that the Empress of Russia, who has long secretly abetted the enemies of the new constitution, has now granted them her entire and open protection. ¹⁸

RUSSIA DISCLOSES HER INTENTIONS.

Hague, April 20.

The intelligence which we have for several weeks received respecting the unfavorable intentions of Russia with respect to

¹³ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, June 1, 1792. King Gustavus III of Sweden, after a war against Catherine II, allied himself with her.

¹⁴ John Hancock (1737-1793), Revolutionary soldier and statesman, signer of the Declaration of Independence. He was Governor of Massachusetts from 1780 to 1785, and from 1787 to 1792.

¹⁵ Samuel Adams (1722-1803), Revolutionary patriot, was Lieutenant-Governor from 1789 to 1794 and Governor of Massachusetts from 1794 to 1797.

¹⁶ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, June 14, 1792.

¹⁷ *Ib.*, July 4, 1792.

¹⁸ *Gazette of the United States*, June 16, 1792.

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the new Polish Constitution is now completely verified. The Empress has expressed herself in so formal a manner respecting the innovation in the government of Poland, that the latter has thought it necessary to form a considerable army, which will be distributed over the frontiers contiguous to Russia. ¹⁹

A NEW SCRAP ON KINGS.

For the *Columbian Centinel*.

Of European Kings—England's defective in garret-furniture—France's a pot-bellied automaton—a *vox et praeterea nihil*—Denmark's an O—Sweden's a boy—Russia's Empress "fairly done over"—Bohemia's and Hungary's led by a nose like another bear—Portugal's Queen crazy as a coot—Prussia's a second Quixotte, engaging with every windmill he meets with.

Purposely I have avoided to mention the King of Poland—as I did not wish to introduce him into a company he despises. ²⁰

TOASTS TO POLAND.

Dumfries (Va.), July 5.

Yesterday being the anniversary of the declaration of Independence by the patriotic Congress of 1776—the citizens of this town... assembled in a social band, and partook of a Dinner, when the following toasts were drank:

10. The King of Poland. ²¹

Carlisle (Pa.), July 11.

The great fall of rain which took place, prevented the celebration of that glorious event, the Independence of our Country, on the 4-th of July, but on the 5-th the great anniversary was observed by a number of the Friends of Liberty in this Borough and neighbourhood. The troop of horse, infantry, and artillery paraded in the spacious square near the Court-House, and being joined by a number of the citizens, and such of their friends from the country as an attention to their harvest would permit, proceeded to the beautiful green at the farm of Mr. Andrew Holmes. —After a plentiful repast, the following toasts were drank under the discharge of the Federal piece of artillery.

4. The King of Poland. ²²

Charleston (S. C.), July 7.

The following toasts were given by the Charleston incorporated battalion of artillery, under a discharge of cannon, on Wednesday last.

11. The King of Poland. ²³

¹⁹ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, June 19, 1792.

²⁰ *Columbian Centinel*, July 14, 1792. This scrap besides the persons mentioned in the scrap from the *Columbian Centinel*, May 30, 1792, represents the following monarchs: Gustavus IV of Sweden who became king while still a minor and Emperor Francis II of Austria.

²¹ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, July 18, 1792.

²² *Ib.*, July 20, 1792.

²³ *Ib.*, July 23, 1792.

THE CONFEDERATION OF TARGOWICA

Philadelphia, July 18.

Saturday last, the 14-th of July, being the anniversary of the French Revolution, the same was noticed in this city by various demonstrations of joy.

The following toasts were drank by the gentlemen assembled at Oeller's Hotel, after partaking of a splendid repast, viz.

10. The Patriotic King, Stanislaus Augustus. ²⁴

Philadelphia, July 17.

The officers of the Fourth Philadelphia Regiment of Militia, Lt. Col. I. Shee, having in commemoration of the establishment of the French Constitution, dined at Mr. George Ogden's, Upper Ferry, on the river Schuylkill. The following toasts were drank:

12. The King and People of Poland. ²⁵

Charleston (S. C.), July 17.

Saturday last, being the anniversary of the French Revolution, the members of the French patriotic society, with several other French gentlemen, descendants of French families, and other friends of liberty and the French constitution agreed to celebrate the return of that auspicious day, by dining together in public. At noon they went to the church of the French Protestants. When the ceremony was over they returned to the Exchange. At three o'clock they sat down to an elegant dinner... The following toasts were given:

12. The Polish nation.

After sunset, a transparent painting by Mr. Odin, was exhibited, which contains the following allegories:

1-st. Which is at the right hand of the picture represents France at the foot of the national altar, led by wisdom.

2-d. Mars on the right hand of France, offering his protection.

3-d. Liberty above the national altar.

4-th. Between liberty and the altar, the five nations who have preserved or acquired their liberty, viz. America, England, Switzerland, Holland, and Poland, represented by their tutelar geniuses, each holding the colours of his relative nation, they appear to congratulate France on her success, and swear, in the name of their respective nations, to live free or die. ²⁶

COMMENCEMENT AT HARVARD.

Boston, July 19.

Yesterday, being the anniversary of Commencement at the University in Cambridge, His Excellency the Governor ²⁷ and Suit, His Honor the Lt. Governor, several members of the Hon. Council and Senate, and a number of other gentlemen of distinction, arrived at Harvard Hall. The business necessary to be trans-

²⁴ *Ib.*, July 16, 1792; *Gazette of the United States*, July 18, 1792.

²⁵ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, July 17, 1792.

²⁶ *Ib.*, July 31, 1792.

²⁷ John Hancock.

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acted previous to the solemnities of the day, being here finished, they went in the usual procession to the Meeting House.

The performances of the young gentlemen were introduced by "A salutatory oration in Latin," by Mr. Abiel Abbot.

8. A French Conference — "Upon the comparative importance of the American, French and Polish revolutions to mankind," by Messrs. Thomas Danforth, John Gorham and Bradstreet Story. ²⁸

RUSSIANS AT THE FRONTIER.

Warsaw, April 21.

Accounts of a very serious nature are said to have arrived this morning from the Russian frontiers. There is no doubt, but the Russian troops mean to force their entry into the territories of the Republic. ²⁹

A QUIET COUNTRY TO BE OVERRUN BY NEIGHBORS.

Warsaw, April 25.

Poland seems on the eve of experiencing the sad effects of court intrigue. Not at all interesting herself in the great concerns of Europe, not intermeddling in any shape in the quarrels of the leading powers, intent upon her own happiness only, she is nevertheless upon the point of being exposed to a succession of unfavorable events, similar to those which menace France. The King himself has informed the Diet, that a severe struggle is to be apprehended, for the maintenance of the constitution. The Russians have not yet indeed actually entered Poland, but measures are taken for this purpose, and three divisions of their grand army are to enter at the same time. The Poles are vehemently disposed to resistance. ³⁰

DIET PASSES MEASURES OF DEFENSE.

London, May 21.

Some days ago we stated as an important fact, that Russia and Prussia meant to attack Poland, and to destroy its new constitution. The mails of yesterday confirm the account, and bring us the following paper, which shows the confidence they have in the king and the unanimity of the diet. On the 16-th of April the diet passed a preparative of public defence. The preamble states, that "Taking God and all the people of the earth to witness, we do not mean to declare war against any power; that we hold in the greatest regard the friendship and good understanding that has subsisted between us and our neighbours, and that we are occupied only in maintaining our liberty and independence— and considering that the negotiations between foreign courts, require from us, for the guarantee of the territories of the Re-

²⁸ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, July 28, 1792.

²⁹ *Ib.*, July 23, 1792.

³⁰ *Ib.*, July 26, 1792.

public, of the nation, and of our happy constitution, that we should prepare for our defence, we decree,

1. That the King shall exert the power invested in him by the laws, with the greatest activity and efficacy, in providing for the defence of the nation.

2. We authorize the King to engage two or three foreign generals, as well as experienced officers of artillery and engineering.

3. We charge the treasury to negotiate a loan, at home or abroad, for thirty millions, on a mortgage of the produce of the sale of starosties.

4. We authorize the King to dispose of all the money arising from this loan, as well as what may be in the treasury, if war should take place, which God forbid, in the necessary defence of the Republic, under the responsibility of the Minister.

5. In two months from this date, the Minister shall give an account of the issues of money. ³¹

SECOND DISMEMBERMENT PREDICTED.

Catherine II meditates an immediate attack upon Poland. A numerous army, we are told, has been already collected for that purpose; and generals have been appointed to command it. The object of this armament is to overturn the new constitution of Poland; and should this in reality be effected, a second dismemberment of that country may follow. The Poles, in the meantime, are making every necessary preparation to oppose any foreign force that may be employed in hostilities against them. ³²

RUSSIAN ULTIMATUM.

London, June 4.

Mr. Bulgakow ³³ delivered on the 18-th of May to the Diet of the Republic of Poland, a declaration against the new Constitution by the Empress of Russia; it is very long, and states the reasons why she is forced to oppose herself to this Constitution by the arms which God and Nature have put into her hand.

Thus war commences also by the Despots of Europe against the Polish people, whose Revolution and Liberty have been accomplished not only without bloodshed, but with a most sacred regard to every private right, and even to every ancient prejudice! ³⁴

THE GRAND BLOW IS STRUCK.

Warsaw, May 20.

The grand blow, which we have so long expected, is struck. Russia, seeing war declared between Austria and France, and finding herself likely to be called upon to fulfill her engagement

³¹ *The American Museum*, July, 1792, vol. XII, App. III, p. 4.

³² *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, August 9, 1792.

³³ Russian Ambassador at Warsaw.

³⁴ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, August 4, 1792.

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with the former of those two powers, has now avowed her intentions; which are to overturn the present constitution of Poland, and give to it a form of government which may best suit herself. An official declaration has been delivered to our government on this subject, dated the 18-th of this month, and filling 12 pages in three Languages, Polish, French, and Russian — it announces therein the entrance of the Russian troops on the territory of Poland, and the formation of a new Confederation. War is therefore declared. The Republic, assured that all Europe is fully convinced that it merited nor provoked such a step, has taken such measures as may supply the deficiency in point of forces; and among other resolutions adopted by the Diet, a decree was issued the 11-th of this month, entitled, "a measure for a just concurrence of citizens for the general defence of the country;" the substance of which is, that whoever in the present war suffers by the inroads of the enemy, shall be indemnified by a fraternal contribution of the whole nation, agreeable to the report of an extraordinary commission, which shall be appointed to examine their claims; but those Poles who prove rebels and traitors to their country, shall forfeit their fortunes, and suffer the death they deserve.³⁵

LOGIC OF A DESPOT.

London, June 7.

Catherine the Great has published a declaration which is a Chef d'oeuvre and Unique in diplomatic annals. From motives of transcendant generosity and disinterestedness, says the magnanimous Princess, I have ordered my troops to march into Poland being graciously inclined to restore to the illustrious nation of the Poles a Constitution which they abhor, and to overthrow another which they have unanimously adopted, and which secures their liberty and independence. — How consequently this great female argues.³⁶

RUSSIANS INVADE POLAND.

Philadelphia, August 4.

On Wednesday evening the British June Packet arrived at New York, and the letters were received, by express, at the Post-Office in this city Thursday afternoon. These letters announce, that Poland was invaded by the Russians, who were determined to oppose the adoption of the new constitution in that country.³⁷

FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE CONSTITUTION.

London, June 8.

The municipality of Warsaw gave a grand dinner in the Palace of Radziwill, on the 3-rd of May, to 500 persons. The King

³⁵ *The Newport Mercury*, August 13, 1792; *Columbian Centinel*, August 15, 1792.

³⁶ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, August 10, 1792.

³⁷ *Ib.*, August 4, 1792.

of Poland, who was among the company when his health was drunk as King, rose and said, "the period is arrived, in which artificial distinctions cease, except as far as they are conferred by the people, and are acknowledged by those who are honoured with them to be so conferred. Vive le Municipalite." Afterwards the King drank "Vive la Nation;" and the Hall resounded with the shout of "Vive le Roi, Vive le Premier Citoyen, Vive l'Ami des Hommes."

In Poland there prevails a spirit of the greatest ardor and unanimity. Every thing is put upon a warlike footing. All the regiments which are not yet employed are preparing to join the great armies, and by a late decree of the Diet all the militia is incorporated with the troops of the line. ³⁸

³⁸ *Ib.*, August 6, 1792; *The Newport Mercury*, August 20, 1792.

IV.

THE POLISH - RUSSIAN WAR OF 1792

PRINCE PONIATOWSKI MARCHES TO THE FRONT.

Warsaw, May 9.

Prince Joseph Poniatowski, his Majesty's nephew, yesterday left off to put himself at the head of the division of the troops under his command in the Ukraine. All the regiments have received orders to march, and the officers to be at their respective posts within four and twenty hours.

The precautions are in consequence of advices received that the Russians are in rapid motion; and that their entry on the territory of the Republic will be made in six columns on the 10-th of the present month. The bravery of our troops, though few, will compensate for our want of numbers. ¹

A NEW PROPHECY OF ANNIHILATION OF POLAND.

London, June 23.

The black cloud of war which hangs so heavily this summer over the continent of Europe, more and more lowers.—Russia and Poland are about to add to its horrors. Without entering into a discussion of the cause which induces this new scene of hostility and probable carnage, it is sufficient to remark what most probably may occur to most of our readers, that the moment is at hand, when Poland may cease to be a distinct kingdom. — In the last war against this devoted country, when the combined powers of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, got each a share of its territories, it seemed but to lead to some future occasion of dispute, to form a pretext for dividing the whole realm. It may be no great presumption, therefore, to hazard a prophecy, that the result of the present war, in which other powers most probably will unite with Russia, will be a participation among them of the remaining dominions of the Polish monarch.

The Diet of Poland have adjourned, after having confided the conduct of the war without reserve to the King, whose virtues and talents certainly render him worthy of the trust. The best accounts are received of the Polish army: they advanced to meet the enemy in the highest spirits and with the utmost regularity, and are every where received by the inhabitants as brothers, and are even by some furnished with provisions and forage without any expence. ²

¹ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, August 4, 1792.

² *Ib.*, September 4, 1792.

THE KING WISHES TO LEAD THE ARMY

Warsaw, June 2.

It is understood here, that his Majesty will set out at the beginning of next month to put himself at the head of the army. ³

In consequence of war being declared, the Russian Ambassador quits Warsaw in a few days.

A body of 60,000 Russians ⁴ have already entered the Polish Ukraine, and hostilities have commenced between the Cossack Russians and the advanced posts of General Wielhorski in that province.

The Polish army effectually opposed an attempt of the Russians to cross the Dniester, the latter were obliged to turn back to their encampment. ⁵

FIRST MENTION OF KOSCIUSZKO.

London, June 19.

The Polish army is encamped in several divisions upon the frontiers, which the King was expected to visit, about the beginning of this month. The head quarters of Prince Poniatowski, his Majesty's nephew, are near Winnica; General Wielhorski is posted with 5,000 men near Tulczyn, and General Kosciuszko protects the road toward Kiovia. ⁶

The Russian army has entered the territory of the Republic in several columns, each of which is accompanied by some of the discontented noblesse. ⁷

PATRIOTISM OF POLISH WOMEN.

Warsaw, June 2.

Our different divisions are marching to Lithuania and to the Ukraine, with the greatest expedition and alacrity. They had not a single deserter. In Lithuania we see the greatest ardor for

³ "Stanislaus Augustus had often sworn that he would never abandon the new constitution while life remained. He had solemnly declared that he would lead his people to battle and, if necessary, die with them. He had promised again and again to go to the field with the army; and indeed he made preparation, as if he meant to go. It is doubtful, however, whether he had any serious intentions of fighting... From the very outset his program was, 'rather with the pen than with the sword.' The thought of settling everything by negotiations was in his mind even before the Russian declaration arrived; and after war had actually begun, he took pains to keep the Russian envoy in Warsaw... in order to leave all channels open" (Lord, *The Second Partition*, p. 291).

⁴ An army of 64,000 Russians under Gen. Kahovski entered the Polish Ukraine and another of 30,000 under Gen. Krechetnikov entered Lithuania. The Polish forces numbered 16,000 under Poniatowski and 15,000 under Prince Louis of Wuertemberg in Lithuania (W. Smolenski, *Dzieje Narodu Polskiego*, Warsaw, 1898, vol. III, p. 166).

⁵ *The American Apollo*, August 31, 1792, vol. I, No. 35, part II.

⁶ This is probably the first mention of Kosciuszko in the American press since his return to Poland in 1784. — The theatre of this war was mainly in the provinces of Podolia and Volhynia, in southeastern Poland.

⁷ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, August 29, 1792.

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defending their liberty and independence. Even their ladies strive to encourage the youth to noble actions; instead of cries and tears, unworthy of free women, they collected among themselves 1,500 ducats at Wilno, for the expences of war.

We hear from the district of Rzezzyca, that the Russians have entered on that defenceless side, and begun to carry all the peasants and their families into slavery, to people their deserts. Such are the proofs of the friendly assurances given in the Empress's declaration.⁸

RUSSIANS ADVANCING.

Warsaw, May 30.

The Russian troops are advanced about a mile upon the Polish territory in the Polish Ukraine and Lithuania. Skirmishes happen daily between the Cossacks and National Cavalry. We shall, by concentrating our forces, endeavour to prevent the Russians from penetrating any farther. The National Cavalry have entirely destroyed a corps of 500 Cossacks.

National patriotism shines with great brilliancy. Noblemen and others daily offer themselves, armed, to serve their country. The Polish Tartars have sworn by their Koran to defend the Constitution and the King; they will form a separate corps of volunteers. — Many patriotick presents are made every day. Sandomir has given 12 pieces of cannon; several private persons have presented five or six pieces of cannon, with horses, drivers, and every thing necessary for action.⁹

THE EMPRESS AND HER SUBJECTS.

London, July 9.

Prince Poniatowski, the Polish Commander in Chief, has written to the Russian General, remonstrating upon some misusage of peasants and prisoners, and threatening reprisals. But what should the Empress care, if her subjects are massacred? She has millions who have never yet admitted the seditious truth, that sovereigns can be unjust.¹⁰

AN UNEQUAL STRUGGLE.

Dublin, June 22.

It must be confessed, that the Poles have a very unequal contest to wage with the Russians. The forces of the latter are veteran troops which have seen much action, and been accustomed to conquer, while the greater part of Poland are new-raised forces, who have seen no service, and may be considered little superior to a militia. In the beginning of this century, indeed, the armies of

⁸ *Ib.*, September 3, 1792; *Gazette of the United States*, September 5, 1792. — Rzezzyca, a town in Volhynia.

⁹ *Columbian Centinel*, September 5, 1792. — Sandomir, a city in Little Poland.

¹⁰ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, September 6, 1792.

Russia were composed almost entirely of irregular or undisciplined men, and though numerous were despised by Poland, Sweden and Denmark; but now the case is diametrically opposite, as the power of Empress is formidable to all powers of the North. ¹¹

A HOPE FOR VICTORY.

Boston, September 22.

The King of Poland has declared the Republick to be in such a state of defence, as the enemy may find it very difficult to disturb. Meanwhile the Poles may mingle, with their patriotic ardour, the comfortable hope, that their hoary persecutor will soon be dragged off that stage of existence, which, for the sins of Europe and Asia she has been permitted to drench with human blood so long. ¹²

ARMY RETREATS TOWARD ZASLAW.

Camp near Zaslav, June 19.

Fighting and marching for these five days past have left us no time to give regular accounts of our motions and situation. ¹³

On the 14-th inst. having perceived a column of Russian troops on the right of our camp at Lubar, and another on the left, crossing the river Slucz, our General, Prince J. Poniatowski, ordered General Kosciusko, with four battalions of infantry, one brigade of national cavalry, and one pulk ¹⁴ of light horse, to march towards Czartorija; whilst General Wielhorski, with the brigade of Mokronowski, went along the river Slucz, to reconnoitre the enemy towards Ostropol. The Prince himself soon followed, with the 5-th regiment of Lubomirski. He found General Wielhorski already engaged with four battalions of chasseurs, two battalions of light horse, and a pulk of cossacks. Seeing our cavalry pressed by superior numbers, the Prince fell on the left flank of the enemy, which put them into confusion, and they retreated towards Miropol, where the vanguard of General Kochowski was encamped, composed of two battalions of grenadiers, two ditto of chasseurs, two pulks of light horse, one pulk of cuirassiers, and one ditto of Cossacks. After having reconnoitered the enemy, the Prince, returning towards Lubar, gave orders to strike the camp, and the whole army began the march at four in the morning, leaving General Wielhorski to bring up the rear. The rear was continually harrassed by 4000 Russians, till coming to Boruszkowce, our march was interrupted by a fatal accident. — The

¹¹ *Ib.*, September 20, 1792.

¹² *Columbian Centinel*, September 22, 1792.

¹³ The small Polish army, only recently organized, lacked training, experience and equipment. "The army lacked almost everything except courage and patriotic enthusiasm. In spite of all deficiencies its spirit was excellent" (Lord, *The Second Partition*, p. 288). Not able to take a stand in the open field against the greatly superior Russian forces, it fell back on the defensive, slowly retreating to cover Warsaw.

¹⁴ Pulk, a regiment.

wooden bridge gave away under the weight of the cavalry. The enemy in the mean time brought up their main force, and their cannon began to play on the mill-dam, which we had to pass. Two battalions, under Colonel Grochowski and Captain Bronikowski, were thus let exposed to a furious attack, after a most gallant resistance, having lost 200 infantry, and about 50 cavalry—the remainder retreated through the water, having first sunk their cannon. We lost in this action 1 Major and 80 Officers killed, and 2 missing.

The main army finding the fortifications at Polonne untenable, on the 17-th instant marched on towards Zielence, where, being reinforced by some troops from Zaslaw, it halted to give battle to the enemy. They soon appeared, consisting of about 8,000 cavalry, 9,000 infantry, and 24 pieces of cannon. The action began with the greatest fury, and continued from 7 o'clock in the morning till five in the afternoon, when the enemy was obliged to retreat,¹⁵ leaving us the field of battle, whereon having rested for two hours, our army marched to Zaslaw, near which it is now encamped.

We cannot yet ascertain our loss — it appears to be about 800 infantry, and 300 horse; and that of the enemy about 4000. The Russian forces, when joined, under General Kochowski, we hear, will be three times more numerous than ours, to which we have only our courage and patriotism to oppose.¹⁶

HEROIC RESISTENCE OF THE POLES.

Warsaw, June 22.

On the 20-th instant, an account was received from the camp of Prince Joseph Poniatowski, that he had retired farther within the country. The official detail of this retreat is not yet published, but the following, I understand, is the substance of it:

The rear guard of the Russian army advanced by forced marches, for a day and a night, with much rapidity, as to turn both our flanks without being perceived. The rest of their troops then moved forward, and we saw ourselves surrounded on all sides.

Our general collecting courage, in proportion to the danger, immediately resolved to open his way over the bodies of the enemy. His orders were instantly issued; our troops moved boldly forward; attacked the Russians on the flank of our camp; and broke and marched through them with our baggage and cannon.

Nothing could resist the Polish impetuosity, and this retreat was made with an order and regularity that would have done honour to the most illustrious general.

¹⁵ The Poles defeated a Russian corps under Gen. Markow at Zielence, mainly through the fine strategy of Kosciuszko.

¹⁶ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, September 6, 1792.

In the mean time, the Russians in front of our camp, informed of what was passing, moved in a body to succour their broken wing; but they came too late.

Prince Joseph Poniatowski covered his rear with two battalions of the flower of his army. Five hundred men almost renewed the spectacle of Thermopilae, and made them pay dearly for the advantage of occupying the ground which we were obliged to abandon, but not till we had bathed it in blood.

Of these five hundred brave men, not one thought of retreating after the army, but each covered with his body the spot on which he had fought.

The presence of mind, the cool valour, and dexterous manoeuvres of our General, are highly praised.¹⁷

RUSSIA SENDS FRESH TROOPS TO POLAND.

London, July 7.

The number of Russians who have entered the Polish territory augments every day, and fresh detachments are continually sent for that service. It is, no doubt, the intention of the Empress to overrun the country by the number of her troops. The Polish army, which at present amounts to 100,000 effective men, keep close together; they have suffered nothing by desertions, the citizens and soldiers all display the same ardour and unanimity. Patriotic gifts pour in from every quarter.¹⁸

“POLAND AND RUSSIA.”

Warsaw, June 23.

Since the late action between the armies of these respective powers, instructions have been sent to Prince Poniatowski, to propose a truce to the Russian General Kachowski, and to make overtures for peace.

The following conditions are mentioned as having been proposed on the part of the Polish Cabinet: — The Poles offer the crown to a nephew of the Empress of Russia, provided he marry a Princess of the Electoral House of Saxony. But should the Elector have a son, he shall ascend the throne of Poland on his marrying the niece of the Empress.¹⁹

ARMISTICE REJECTED.

Extract of a letter from the camp of Prince Poniatowski, dated June 23, near Ostrog, in Volhynia.

¹⁷ *Ib.*, September 7, 1792.

¹⁸ *Ib.*, September 11, 1792.

¹⁹ *Ib.*, September 15, 1792. The King, terrified by the progress of the Russians, ordered Prince Poniatowski to propose an armistice to Kachowski, offering the Polish crown to the Grand Duke Constantine, grandson of the Empress, on condition that she permitted the maintenance of the Constitution of the Third of May (W. Smolenski, *Dzieje Narodu Polskiego*, vol. III, p.169).

"Our army still occupies the advantageous post near Ostrog. It is covered by a wood and two rivers. It has succeeded in retreating by passing through the forest of Ostrog. The Russian army has not advanced beyond Budyczow.²⁰ We only see sometimes some patrols or detachments of Cossacks. The armistice proposed has not succeeded. General Kachowski, to whom the proposal was made, said, that his instructions were to restore the Old Constitution in Poland, by annihilating the new one; we must therefore prepare for more battles. We must secure, by the effusion of our blood that form of government which had been approved by the whole nation, because it renders us independent on neighbouring powers, and only displeases about a dozen nobles, who think it injurious to their private interests. Although the manifesto for a counter-federation has been published, scarcely any citizens have conformed to its injunctions. Most of those who had signed by force, have retracted their signatures, and protested against it. It is hoped that this circumstance will undeceive the Empress of Russia and will induce other powers to support a nation whose only aims are to merit their esteem and friendship, and to preserve its independence."²¹

KOSCIUSZKO DISTINGUISHES HIMSELF AGAIN.

Breslau, July 21.

The report of the defeat of the Polish army, commanded by Prince Poniatowski is not confirmed, and from the accounts which have been received, it seems to be a false one.

On the 7-th inst. there were only some small skirmishes between the Polish and the Russian advanced guards, the effects of which might have been very dangerous to the army of the republick, but for the bravery and presence of mind of General Kosciuszko and the assistance afforded that General by M. Kar-nike,²² a Colonel of a regiment, who, seconded by their respective corps, repulsed the enemy, and killed a great number of them. The design of the enemy was to cut off the advanced guard of the main army, but they failed. This is the true statement of the affair; the rest appears to be fiction.²³

KOSCIUSZKO AT DUBIENKA.

Extract of a letter from Warsaw, July 21.

"An express just arrived from the camp of Prince Poniatowski, brings the news of an engagement on the 18-th instant, between the two armies. The Russian extending their line from opposite Dubienka, as far as Opalin, along the river Bug, made

²⁰ Berdyczow, a city in Volhynia, famous as a trading center.

²¹ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, September 15, 1792.

²² Karwicki.

²³ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, September 24, 1792. — Kosciuszko commanded the rear guard of the Polish army during the retreat from the town of Vlodimir to the river Bug (T. Korzon, *Kościuszko*, p. 234).

a general attack on our army, posted on this side of the river, with the intention of crossing it. The principal column, consisting of near 14,000 men, was generally directed against the division of General Kosciuszko, having 5,000 men under his command, who after a most rigorous resistance, in which the Russians lost near 4,000 men, and our troops some hundreds, was obliged by the superior number of the enemy to retire towards Chelm, being besides informed that another Russian column of 10,000 men, penetrating through Galicia, threatened to cut off his retreat. ²⁴ In consequence of this retreat the Russian army effected their passage over the river. ²⁵

“EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM LONDON, JULY 18.”

Philadelphia, September 17.

“Poland claims our thoughts: Emerging, but lately, from a state of vassalage to that of freedom, she, it seems, has excited the enmity of Russia’s haughty despot; who now wages war against her, to extinguish that ray of freedom, reflected from the altar, which Poland raised in Warsaw. It seems hurtful to her sight; and I hope it will dazzle her optics with its splendor and its consequences till (as somebody says) her eyelids can no longer wag.” ²⁶

RUSSIANS CAPTURE WILNO AND MINSK.

Warsaw, June 20.

Some days ago, the account of the Russians entering Wilno, was made public here.

Two battles have taken place, the one on the 10-th of June; where we lost 70 men, and the second on the 11-th, which did not last long. We were obliged to retreat, which we effected in the best order. Both battles were fought near Mir and Swierzen.

Minsk is in the possession of the Russians. ²⁷

MORE DETAILS FROM THE LITHUANIAN FRONT.

Warsaw, June 23.

We are daily receiving more circumstantial details of the action between our General Judycki, and the Russian commanders, Mellin and Fersen, near Mir. — The battle was warm, and our troops at first expelled the enemy; but they were in the end obliged to give way to the superior numbers of the Russians. ²⁸

²⁴ The battle at Dubienka “made apparent the military talents and bravery of Kosciuszko, turned the eyes of the whole nation toward him and glorified his name” (T. Korzon, *Kosciuszko*, p. 132).

²⁵ *Dunlap’s American Daily Advertiser*, September 19, 1792.

²⁶ *Ib.*, September 17, 1792.

²⁷ *Ib.*, September 6, 1792. Prince Louis of Wuertemberg, nephew of the King of Prussia, was dismissed from the command of the Lithuanian army for treacherous conduct. Generals Judycki and Zabiello were in turn commanders in chief, but both proved themselves incapable.

²⁸ *Ib.*, September 12, 1792.

THE EXAMPLE OF THE AMERICANS
INSPIRES THE POLES.

Extract of a letter from the camp of Gen. Judycki, June 14, after the battle at Mir.

"The love of truth obliges us to acknowledge that this engagement did not terminate to our advantage; the enemy's superiority in number, the false reports made to us of their force, the experience of old soldiers, who have only finished one war to begin another, the severe discipline of the Russians, their devotion to their sovereign, our great forwardness, and the haste with which we have been obliged to collect an army, all prepare us to receive some unfavorable news. But the check we have experienced, far from abating our courage, has only raised it much higher: the example of the Americans, who sustained many defeats before they achieved the glorious conquest of liberty, inspired us with confidence against all the presages of disaster circulated by our enemies, which are regarded rather with indignation than fear by all good citizens."²⁹

RUSSIANS PILLAGE NIESWIEZ.

Warsaw, July 4.

The Russians, upon taking possession of Nieswicz, instead of fulfilling the terms which they themselves held out to the garrison, gave a loose to every species of barbarity, spreading pillage, destruction, and death among the defenceless inhabitants. The Polish commander upon this immediately dispatched an officer to the Russian general, proposing a suspension of hostilities for a limited time, that during the interval a stop might be put to the effusion of the blood of so many citizens. The Russian commander in chief, however, refused a truce, on pretence that he had express orders from his sovereign to efface the very traces of the new Polish constitution, adopted on the 3-rd of May, 1791.³⁰

THE KING PRETENDS TO DEFEND HIMSELF
AT WARSAW

Warsaw, June 30.

From the motions of the Russians, Warsaw appears to be the place to which their chief attention is directed; his Majesty, therefore, in consequence of the danger which threatens his capital, instead of joining as was his intention the army of the Prince, his nephew, in Volhynia, is now anxious only for the safety of that in Lithuania. He has, in consequence ordered his baggage, part of which was on its way to the Ukraine, to be sent back,

²⁹ *Ib.*, September 6, 1792.

³⁰ *The American Museum*, September, 1792, vol. XII, part II, p. 17; *The Lady's Magazine and Repository*, Philadelphia, September, 1792, vol. II, p. 198. Nieswicz was the seat of the Radziwills, a family eminent in Polish history and one of the richest in Europe.

and has given orders for a camp to be formed beyond the Vistula, near Warsaw, to cover that city and be ready in case of necessity, to re-enforce the armies of Generals Zabiello and Judycki. The regiment of Lithuanian horse guards and some other corps, cavalry and infantry, arrived at the spot pitched on yesterday. ³¹

WATCHFUL WAITING OF PRUSSIA.

Newport, September 3.

Advices from Europe by the last arrivals are: That the King of Prussia had withdrawn his troops, intended to act against France, in order to keep a watchful eye over the conduct of the Empress, with regard to Poland. ³²

POLAND ASKS PRUSSIA TO FULFILL THE TERMS OF TREATY.

London, July 10.

To suffer Poland to be overrun and reduced to a state of the most abject dependance on Russia, or a new partition of it by its three powerful neighbors, is contrary to all that has ever yet been contended for by the pen or the sword on the balance of power.

Poland and Prussia.

The following letter is published upon the Continent, as having been written by the King of Poland to the King of Prussia.

Warsaw, May 31, 1792.

Sir, My Brother,

This letter will be delivered to your Majesty by Count Potocki, Grand Marshal of Lithuania.

I write at a period in which every thing imposes upon me the duty of defending the independence and the territory of Poland. Both have been evidently attacked by the pretensions of her majesty, the Empress of Russia, by her declaration of the 1-st of May, and by the hostilities which have followed. If the alliance between your Majesty and myself affords a claim for assistance, it is of essential importance to me to know by what mode your Majesty would fulfill your engagements; and the positive knowledge of your sentiments is as necessary to my conduct as your assistance will be to my success.

It is apparent, that the territory of the Republic, guaranteed by your Majesty, has been violated; and that her independence is attacked in a manner so general and so extensive, that, even by permitting the most subtle interpretations, it is impossible to restrain it from a single article of the new Constitution. Upon an occasion, in which, as an ally, the dignity of (your) Majesty is so intimately connected with the independence and honor of my nation, I may expect that you will inform me of your sentiments. My confidence in your Majesty will have no other limits than

³¹ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, September 15, 1792.

³² *The Newport Mercury*, September 3, 1792.

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those which you may yourself place to it; and the more clearly and readily the assistance is announced, which it may please your Majesty to give to Poland, the more advantageous and valuable it will be.

In the midst of inquietude and troubles, my consolation is, that there never was a better cause.

It is with sentiments of the highest consideration and truest friendship, that I am, your majesty's good brother.

(signed)

Stanislaus ³³

THE TREACHEROUS REPLY OF PRUSSIA

Warsaw, June 27.

The following is the answer of the Prussian minister to the notification of the Marechal de Potocki:

"The Russians have entered Poland as friends and not as enemies. The Republic is not therefore attacked, consequently the *Casus Foederis* cannot be insisted upon, nor can we be called upon for succour.

"Russia disapproves the Constitution of the 3-d of May, as does also the Court of Berlin. Poland must therefore renounce that Constitution: Prussia will then take care, that the Russian guarantee shall no longer be insisted upon".

It is asserted, that a Prussian and Austrian army have actually entered the territories of the Republic; and that the Elector of Saxony has refused the succession of Poland. ³⁴

A MOST CURIOUS SPECIMEN OF THE LOGIC OF COURTS

London, July 26.

The Poles have again applied to the courts of Vienna and Berlin, and requested their mediation, to prevent the ignominious terms, proposed by the Empress from being forced upon them.

The reply of the Prussian Envoy, furnishes a most curious specimen of the logic of Courts. His Royal Master, he says, cannot furnish the stipulated aids to Poland, because the Russians have entered the country as friends, not as enemies, and the existing Treaty between Poland and Prussia is of no avail, because the troops of the Empress are only come in mere tenderness to compel them, by fire and sword, to revert to their ancient Constitution!

"And with determin'd resolution,

"To put her claims in execution,

"Sends fire and sword, and calls it lenity,

"Starves them, and christens it humanity." ³⁵

³³ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, September 7, 1792. The King of Prussia concluded a defensive and offensive alliance with Poland in 1790, "not because of any particular affection for the Poles, but because the King believed that he needed it for his coalition against Austria" (Lord, *The Second Partition*, p. 112-127).

³⁴ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, September 12, 1792.

³⁵ *Columbian Centinel*, September 15, 1792.

POTOCKI'S UNSUCCESSFUL MISSION

Warsaw, June 27.

Count Ignace Potocki, Grand Marshal of Lithuania, who was sent express to Berlin, to claim succours stipulated by the treaty of Alliance, is returned here. He was received with great distinction, but has not succeeded in the object of his mission, as the Court of Prussia, it seems in consequence either of refusal to sacrifice Dantzic and Thorn, or owing to the Revolution of the 3-rd of May, which the King of Prussia says, was effected without his knowledge, and the hereditary succession to the throne, regards that treaty of Alliance is void.

The answer of the Court of Vienna is to the same purport, expressing its inability to step forward as a Mediator, between Russia and Poland and advising the King and the States to call the new Diet for the re-establishment of the old Constitution. ³⁶

PRUSSIANS AT THE FRONTIERS OF POLAND

Memel, July 21.

We are strongly of opinion, that your hopes in favor of the Poles will be shortly blasted, and that their situation will be worse than ever. Eighty thousand Prussians are ordered to their frontiers; such as fled at the approach of the Russians, are commanded to live in garrisoned cities or leave Prussia immediately, and the transport of powder and lead over the frontiers are strongly prohibited. ³⁷

DECLARATION OF AUSTRIA.

The Austrian Charge-des-Affairs at Warsaw, (says a London paper) has declared, "That neither the late Emperor, Leopold, or Francis 1-st, gave the Polish nation any promise of supporting the new Constitution, by their good offices; That neither wished to meddle with the affairs of Poland; That neither his Apostolic Majesty, or his Allies, the Empress of Russia, and the King of Prussia, could approve of the hereditary succession to the Throne of Poland, nor permit that rage for change and confusion, which was at present so prevalent in many parts of Europe, to introduce itself into Poland, to the prejudice of the three neighbouring powers."

After these declarations, it is not surprising if Poland has recourse to conciliatory means, not to abandon the new Constitution, or the Hereditary Succession to the Throne, but to render the latter agreeable to the Empress, by securing it to one of her descendants — if a negociation is entered into, there will be a truce. ³⁸

³⁶ *Ib.*, September 15, 1792; *The Newport Mercury*, September 19, 1792.

³⁷ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, September 19, 1792.

³⁸ *Columbian Centinel*, September 19, 1792.

"HUMANITY" OF FREDERICK THE GREAT.

Boston, September 15.

The ill fated kingdom of Poland seems destined at all times to fare the rapacious cruelty of its neighbours, and to experience a depredation unprovoked by any offence. It has scarcely yet recovered from the very singular species of oppression which it experienced in the year 1770, from Prussia, its present faithless Ally. — Every town and village of Poland was at that time compelled to furnish a certain member of marriageable girls, with household necessities, and to each three hundred ducats of gold as a portion. These wretched brides were sent to stock the Prussian dominions. Obligated to abandon their parents, their country, their friends, and their religion, they were transported to an unknown country, married to men whom they never saw, and doomed to live in mutual hatred with a people, whose language they could not understand.³⁹

THE KING OF POLAND SURRENDERS.

The Empress of Russia, desirous, as she pretended, of stopping the further effusion of blood, sent orders to the generals to propose an armistice, which was accepted. She afterwards wrote a letter with her own hand, to the King of Poland, in which she pointed out the folly of his attempting to defend the new constitution by the force of arms, as she was resolved to double, and even triple, her army, if necessary, in order to overturn it. She, at the same time, informed him, that the Courts of Berlin and Vienna "fully agreed in sentiments with her," and that further obstinacy on his part would induce these powers to unite their forces against him.

This letter made such an impression on the mind of Stanislaus, that he immediately resolved to sign a renunciation of the new Constitution he communicated to the Diet of Warsaw, which will even be dissolved to give place to that of Targowica.

This sudden change in the political hemisphere has been communicated by express to every Court in Europe. The King, it is said, deeply affected in being thus disappointed of carrying his beneficent views into execution, has resolved to retire from the supreme management of affairs, and even from the capital, where, in future, he can experience nothing but mortification. With regard to the Elector of Saxony, this event proved that he acted like a wise and prudent Prince, in not rashly accepting the crown which was offered him.

It is however stated, with much confidence and we believe on good authority, that the new Constitution will not be entirely annulled, but undergo considerable alterations. One article is that the succession to the throne of Poland shall be settled on

³⁹ *The Newport Mercury*, September 17, 1792.

Prince Constantine Paulowitz, second son of the Grand Duke of Russia, and his heirs male.⁴⁰

Prince Constantine Paulowitz, who has been named to the Polish succession, was born on the 8th of May 1779; and his appointment will, no doubt, at any rate prevent the dread of partition. The Empress, after settling this affair, it is not impossible, may think of extending her territories more southward, and even her friends and allies, Austria and Prussia, by their wavering actions, may one day be engaged in a war of her kindling.⁴¹

POLAND TO BE DIVIDED INTO FOUR PARTS

London, July 3.

In spite of the efforts of Poland, its unfortunate fate appears to be decided. This kingdom, which offended no other, which never meddled in foreign affairs, which in peace, and without spilling a drop of blood, or doing injury to its fellow citizens, had created a new Constitution, which merited the admiration of Europe, and by which means disentangled itself from the anarchy which has oppressed it so many ages, will not escape the rigorous destiny from its jealous neighbours, who are planning to divide it amongst them. This great and hitherto flourishing state, report says, is proposed to be divided into four parts, three of which are to be taken by Russia, Austria, and Prussia, and the fourth, or smallest, is to be created into a Duchy; but the present sovereign is to retain the title of King during his life; and at his death, Prince Joseph Poniatowski, his nephew, is to succeed to it as an hereditary Duke.⁴²

⁴⁰ Grand Duke Constantine, grandson of the Russian Empress. His succession was proposed by the Polish King together with the attachment of Poland to Russia by an "eternal alliance" and "improving" the Polish Constitution according to her wishes; the Empress rejected the proposals and demanded unconditional surrender (Lord, *the Second Partition*, p. 293 and foll.).

⁴¹ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, October 8, 1792.

⁴² *Ib.*, September 17, 1792.

V.

THE KING IN TARGOWICA

"MELANCHOLY INTELLIGENCE."

Last Friday arrived at Boston, the Brig Charlotte, Capt. Hammond, in 40 Days from Liverpool. By her are received the disagreeable News from Poland which follows:

London, August 11.

The new Polish Constitution is at last overthrown. — Notwithstanding the bravery, patriotism, and courage of the Poles, they have been obliged to yield to superior force... What a disgrace it is to the policy of Europe, that no one State could be found friendly to a cause so honourable to humanity! ¹

THE NEW CONSTITUTION IS AT AN END.

Warsaw, July 25.

The new constitution, the termination of which we have long apprehended, is at length at an end.

On Sunday night, the Russian minister delivered the final answer of his Imperial Mistress to the King, in which she declares her determination of re-establishing the ancient constitution, and of supporting to the utmost of her power, the confederation of Targowica.

The rapid advance of the Russian troops, and the determined language of her Imperial Majesty, left King Stanislaus no alternative; ² he, therefore, on the following morning, assembled the nobles, communicating to them the Empress's determinations, and at the same time recommended, to prevent the further effusions of blood and dismemberment of the kingdom, to submit to a temporary inconvenience, to revoke the constitution settled on the 3-d of May, 1791, to restore the ancient form of government, and to submit the arbitration of the difference between the people of Poland and the Empress, to the three rebel Counts Potocki, Rzewuski, and Branicki — and proposed, in compliance with a requisition from the Empress, that Prince Poniatowski should be recalled and Count Branicki invested with the command of the army, which the Assembly was by no means unanimous in the adoption of these sentiments.

A strong party of which M. Malachowski, Marshal of the

¹ *The Newport Mercury*, October 1, 1792. — *Independent Chronicle*, Boston, October 4, 1792.

² This and other letters from Warsaw try to justify the position of the King. In fact, he shamefully deserted the nation by deserting the Constitution of the Third of May and subscribing to Catherine's demands.

Diet — Prince Sapieha, Marshal of Lithuania — M. Potocki, jun. — and M. Soltick,³ were at the head, opposed the pacific propositions of his Majesty, and declared, that the King having deserted the Constitution, the Constitution without the King, should repel the ambitions and oppressive views of all its enemies, or sinking, should bury thousands in its ruins.

Eighteen thousand Austrians form a cordon on the frontiers of Gallicia. 30,000 Prussians are stationed on the frontiers of Silesia; who, as the Empress in her letters declared, were ready to enforce her requisitions.

All Lithuania opposes the restoration of the old form of government, and the people throughout the kingdom are so much attached to the new constitution, that should the Empress carry her point, a general insurrection will, undoubtedly take place, and a civil war must be the consequence.

On the 23-d of July, a cessation of hostilities took place between the grand armies; and on the 29-th, the treaty was to be finally ratified.

Thus it is that the courts of Austria, Prussia and Great Britain, who, a short time ago, appeared to be terrified at the idea of Turkish accession to Russia, have tamely permitted a female despot to overturn the freedom of a constitution, founded by the universal spirit of virtue, and approved by the great majority of every nation in Europe.⁴

MANIFESTO OF MALACHOWSKI.

London, August 18.

The brave Marshal Malachoski, duly considering the state of Poland, and viewing her cause as desperate, has published a spirited manifesto, in which he "submits to the divine justice the destinies of his country, and the proceedings of those whose pleasure it has been to do hurt to the Republic."⁵

"MANIFESTO OR DECLARATION OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE COUNT MALACHOWSKI, MARSHAL OF THE DIET."

"...I yield to the dictates of my conscience, and consider it a sacred duty, openly to declare in the face of heaven, of the whole universe, and of all posterity, that I see, and ever shall see, in the confederation of Targowica, formed under the protection of, and supported by a foreign army, *an act of open despotism*, contrary to the wishes of the nation as well as its interests, and infringing the sacred rights of all classes of citizens; an audacious enterprize, which has been preceded by murders and disasters, and which will be infallibly followed by anarchy, servitude, and the total ruin of the republic...

³ Stanislaus Soltan, Court Marshal of Lithuania.

⁴ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, October 3, 1792.

⁵ *Ibidem*.

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"A Nation, that I bear in my bosom! O my dear co-patriots, I partake of your misfortunes, but I cannot soften them. Alas! there only remains for me to offer you tears; my fidelity and my inviolable attachments were known to you. Nothing can diminish or destroy them, but I cannot give you any proof of them, as they have deprived me of the means..."⁶

A TEAR OF SENSIBILITY.

London, August 15.

We have accounts from Warsaw which fully and unfortunately confirm the report of a counter revolution in that devoted, oppressed and miserable country. The whole of the revolution had been so wisely, so patriotically, so nobly conducted, that real patriots and true lovers of mankind, drop the tear of sensibility over the misfortunes of the Poles, and curse the ambition which embitters the cup of joy, ere it be tasted by the brave, sober, moderate people, worthy of liberty and happiness.⁷

THE UNFORTUNATE KING FORCED TO YIELD.

Philadelphia, July 13.

The report which prevailed on Saturday, that the unfortunate STANISLAUS, and his brave countrymen, were forced to yield, to save the kingdom from destruction, to the superior force of the Empress, has been confirmed by the last packets.

Every thing seems to have conspired against this gallant people, to precipitate them into the same situation almost as they were previous to the Revolution.⁸

VISION OF RUSSIAN BEARS AT ENGLISH SHORES.

London, August 14.

Should the Imperial, (or rather Imperious) Czarina triumph in her present unwarrantable attack on the freedom of the people of Poland, it is said to be her intention to detach a large body of her uncivilized Janissaries, to join the German Crusade against France.

The friends of a Parliamentary Reform in this country, it is now apprehended, must put a gag upon their future conduct, lest the hoary despot of the North, after the subjugation of Poland, should transport an army of Russian bears to our shore, for the purpose of worrying the friends of freedom in Britain; her Majesty certainly possessing as much right to prevent any alteration in the English Constitution, as in that of Poland.⁹

⁶ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, October 5, 1792, printed the manifesto in full; only excerpts are reproduced here.

⁷ *Ib.*, October 5, 1792.

⁸ *Ib.*, October 9, 1792.

⁹ *Ibidem.*

A DESTRUCTIVE CONSPIRACY OF DESPOTS

London, August 11.

It is with real concern we relate that which every free citizen must sincerely lament. The Constitution of Poland, which, since its formation, has afforded a theme of praise and admiration to every great political writer, is at length overthrown. — Not so much by the success of the forces of the Empress, as the CONSPIRACY that had been formed to destroy the liberties of that gallant nation.

This is the first, and we apprehend, cannot be the last misfortune that will arise from the Concert of Princes. Poland had not only the combination of three powerful States to encounter, but was destitute of even a single ally, since she had been deserted by the King of Prussia. ¹⁰

POLISH ARMY REFUSES TO CAPITULATE.

London, August 23.

It is mentioned in an article from Warsaw, that the Polish troops have refused to submit to the Russians; and that on hearing this intelligence, the King went to the house of M. Bulhakow, ¹¹ to inculcate him with that the Russians might contrive to avoid them; when M. de Bulhakow is said to have answered in the following terms:—"The soldiers of my Sovereign are not to be diverted from their determined course, and death will be the consequence to everyone who shall dare to oppose them." ¹²

POLISH PATRIOTS GO INTO EXILE.

Vienna, August 4.

The affairs of Poland, and the counter-revolution effected by the arms of Russia, have caused a great sensation amongst the public. Count Malachowski, the Marshal of the Diet, is arrived here, being, he says, unwilling to be a witness of the ruin and slavery of his country. Many other Poles of distinction are also arrived and the emigration among the principal citizens, is very considerable. ¹³

THE KING SHUNS THE PUBLIC.

Warsaw, August 8.

The King does not appear in public since his accession to the confederation of Targowica. His Majesty has signed the dismission of the Polish Generals, Koschiusk and Wielhorsky, Brigadier Mokronowsky ¹⁴ and 16 other officers.

¹⁰ *Ibidem.*

¹¹ Russian ambassador at Warsaw.

¹² *The Newport Mercury*, October 22, 1792.

¹³ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, October 24, 1792.

¹⁴ Gen. Michael Wielhorski and Gen. Stanislaus Mokronowski (1761-1821), later both active in the Kosciuszko Insurrection in which Mokronowski distinguished himself very highly as commander of the city of Warsaw.

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The greatest part of the Polish troops have evacuated this capital, to take up their quarters in Great Poland. The army of Lithuania has taken the same direction, with a determination to maintain the new Constitution.

Ten thousand Russians, under the command of General Cachowski, arrived in this metropolis, and 10,000 more are to follow them. The whole district of Warsaw has acceded to the Confederation of Targowica.

Count Stanislaus Felix Potocki has been acknowledged General Marshal of the Confederation of the Crown.

He now lies dangerously ill of a fever. He has prohibited the publishing of the National Gazette.

A Diet will be convened at Grodno in the course of next month, and a strong body of Russians will be encamped in the vicinity of that city. ¹⁵

POLISH EXILES GATHER IN SAXONY.

Extract of a letter from Warsaw, dated August 8.

"While the districts of Poland are one after another submitting to the doom imposed upon them by the tyranny of the combined courts, the princes Sapieha and Radzivil, the counts Oginsky and Raczinsky, with many other of the nobles of that ill-fated country are arrived at Breslaw, having abandoned their fortunes, and I understand they mean to meet and concert measures at Leipzig. ¹⁶

"Their prospect is hopeless; but in the mean time it is certain, that there are still intrigues going on here. The Prussian and English ministers are deeply involved in a negociation which has for its end an alteration in the ancient form of the constitution, which it is the desire of the empress literally to establish. You shall hear more of this, as soon as I can procure certain details on the subject; but in the mean time, you may be assured of the fact.

"Since the truce, which ought to have suspended all hostilities, there have been 4 skirmishes brought on by the impetuosity of detachments. The first took place at Krzemien in Podlachia. The second took place at Brzesc, and that city suffered considerably. The third was at Brauna, and the fourth in the environs of Sokolowa. ¹⁷ These skirmishes had no other consequence, than that numbers fruitlessly perished on both sides, and that in each of them the animated bravery of the Poles, fighting for liberty, which, for the present at least, afflicting Providence denies them, was manifest by their triumph over superior numbers." ¹⁸

¹⁵ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, October 24, 1792.

¹⁶ These were the exiles who conceived the plan of the Insurrection and summoned Kosciuszko to head it.

¹⁷ The skirmishes took place at Krzemien, Brzesc, Granne and Sokolow.

¹⁸ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, October 24, 1792.

WARSAW PATROLLED BY RUSSIANS.

Warsaw, Aug. 18.

Horse patrols parade the streets constantly to keep good order. ¹⁹

Prince Joseph Poniatowsky has received a letter of thanks from the officers who served under him, expressive of their regard and esteem for him. ²⁰

POLAND VIRTUALLY A RUSSIAN PROVINCE.

Boston, November 7.

A Russian Lieutenant-General ²¹ is, at this moment, at the head of a body of Polish troops, in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania; the Ambassador of that nation regulates every thing in the capital; the King and his Ministers have been obliged to sign all the Declarations presented to them; and Poland is now, to all intents and purposes, a Russian Province. ²²

PRINCE PONIATOWSKI ALSO LEAVES POLAND.

Warsaw, Sept. 1.

Prince Joseph Poniatowski, nephew to the King, who had the command of the Royal army, has, by the advice of his uncle, quitted this capital in company of several other Noblemen. ²³

"REFLECTIONS ON THE FRENCH REVOLUTION."

Notwithstanding the late excesses of the republican party in *France*, the cause of the French is still that of humanity — is still the cause of freedom.

In the recovery of usurped long forgotten rights, *Americans* were foremost. *Europe* was roused by their example; the principles of our glorious revolution were soon understood by her sages; the happy effects of those principles reduced to practice were seen, — Europeans felt their situation, and some nations among them dared to seek relief and to assert their claim to a participation of the blessings of freedom. *Poland*, — people, nobles, king, with one voice, framed a constitution, founded principally on the unalienable rights of the people, bearing, in many parts, a striking resemblance to our forms of government. But the ambitious *Catherine*, jealous of their success, and unwilling to see one link of the despotick chain broken, has opposed power to right, and (sent) her numberless mercenary automaton to (crush) the patriotick band of Polish citizens; *Stanislaus* is forced to yield; despotism conquers; liberty weeps!

¹⁹ For some days after the treason of Stanislaus Augustus "it appeared likely that there would be a general uprising at Warsaw and a repetition of the scenes then familiar at Paris" (Lord, 296).

²⁰ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, November 5, 1792.

²¹ Simon Kossakowski, one of the leaders of the Targowica Confederation.

²² *Columbian Centinel*, November 7, 1792.

²³ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, November 20, 1792.

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A weaker attempt in *Sweden*, on confined and narrow principles, of no importance from the issue, except as it relieved the earth of one tyrant, may be considered as produced by a spark from the torch of American liberty.

The people of *Spain*, without commotion, have derived some advantages from the fears excited in the breasts of despots...

Gallia's sons, after groaning for centuries under the yoke of despotism, burst their shackles...

Europe's despots fearing the further spreading of the sacred flame, clubbed interest and might, forces and treasure to crush the attempt. Should they succeed and what will be the effect? A return of the age of prejudice and superstition in *Europe*; and then *America*, the nest of hornets, who led the band of freedom's sons, what may not be thy doom? Will *Europe* tolerate a hot bed of sacrilegious, and wild fanatic liberty boys? Or rather, united in the cause of Kings, will not the European powers find it their interest, in order to secure a peaceful exercise of their authority, to hunt us down.

To the north we have the dominion of one nation, that may still regret her lost colonies; — to the south a jealous ally. Indians on the west... An extensive and defenceless coast, a vulnerable trade.

It will not then appear visionary, independent of the interest we must take in the French cause as the cause of a great people of freedom and humanity, to view their struggle with some reference to our own situation. ²⁴

"FOREIGN POLITICKS."

Alas! unhappy POLAND, AMERICA profers thee the tribute of unfeigned commiseration. Lately so happy in a liberal Constitution, a patriot King, and a state of tranquil prosperity — the ENVY of *Despots* — the PRIDE OF FREEMEN — with sorrow she sees thee fallen, fallen, fallen from thy blissful condition, and receiving Laws from the imperial and *imperious* CATHERINE! ²⁵

TOASTS TO POLAND.

Anniversary Fete of American Liberty; held at White's Hotel, in Paris.

On the 4-th of July, the anniversary of the Revolution of America, the American gentlemen, resident in Paris, assembled in fraternity at the English Hotel (White's, Passage des Petits Peres) to celebrate the glorious festival. I transmit to your's the toasts which animated our mirth on the occasion.

²⁴ *Columbian Centinel*, November 7, 1792.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, December 1, 1792.

Colonel Blackden ²⁶ was in the chair.

5. The king of Poland.

7. The union of all free kingdoms.

15. May the Empress of Russia find the weapons of the freemen of Poland more powerful than those of her slaves. ²⁷

Richmond (Va.), October 24.

On Saturday last, the corporate body of this city gave an elegant dinner at the Eagle Tavern; at which were his Excellency the Governor, ²⁸ the Members of the Executive, several of the Judges of the Superior Courts, and many other respectable characters—after dinner the following toasts were drank, viz.

7-th. The King of Poland—may his magnanimous policy be emulated by all crowned heads. ²⁹

Baltimore, December 21.

Yesterday a numerous and respectable company of gentlemen, friends to the Rights of Man, assembled agreeable to notification at Mr. Grant's fountain inn, for the purpose of celebrating the late triumph of liberty over despotism, in France, and after partaking of an elegant dinner, the following toasts were given:

6. Stanislaus, the only patriotic king; may the Poles be re-animated and enabled to establish a free constitution. ³⁰

"FESTIVALS ON LATE FRENCH SUCCESSES."

Plymouth (Mass.)

The serene and beautiful morning of the 24-th was ushered in by a discharge of 15 cannon. At ten o'clock the inhabitants repaired to the Meeting House to hear an address by the Rev. Dr. Robbins. The assembly were then dismissed and... the subscribers, with the Artillery Company, and other invited guests, repaired to the Court-House-Chamber, where an elegant and plentiful dinner was provided. The following toasts were given, accompanied by discharges from the Artillery.

7. The re-establishment of Polish Liberty and confusion to Catharine. ³¹

Watertown (Mass.)

On Wednesday last, about one hundred of the Villagers, of Watertown, assembled at 1 o'clock and preceded by the Band of Musick, and Major Kent's Company of Artillery, walked in Pro-

²⁶ Samuel Blackden, of Connecticut, Major aide-de-camp to General Wooster, 1775-1776, Lt. Col. 2-nd Cont. Dragons, resigned August, 1779. (F. B. Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army*, Washington, 1893, p. 88). It was he who attended John Paul Jones in his last days.

²⁷ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, September 29, 1792.

²⁸ Henry Lee (1756-1818), the famous "Light Horse Harry," Governor of Virginia from 1791 to 1794.

²⁹ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, October 31, 1792.

³⁰ *Ib.*, December 29, 1792.

³¹ *Columbian Centinel*, January 30, 1793.

cession to Wellington's, where, after having laid a basis of the solids, amid the effusions of cheerful Bacchus, proceeded to give the following toasts:

8. May the "She-Wolf" of Russia, for overturning the Constitution of the Poles, be recorded in the history for the exacration of posterity, and her subjects dance *Ca Ira* over her tomb. ³²

Medford (Mass.)

The Civic feast was celebrated at Medford, on the 24-th inst., by a large number of the citizens of that town, and the following patriotick toasts given:

9. Brunswick's disgrace, and retreat to the Russian armies in Poland. ³³

Roxbury (Mass.)

On Thursday the 24-th inst., the Civic Festival, in honour of the revolution effected by our brethren of the French Republick, was celebrated in the town. The morning of the day, was ushered in by the discharge of cannon and ringing of bells. At one o'clock, the Children of the several Schools, walked in Procession to the place of Festivity, where they were each presented with a Civic Cake, impressed with the words "Liberty and Equality." At two o'clock the Company, consisting of near three hundred of all classes of citizens, convened at Citizen Burrill's, and partook of an elegant, republican repast; after which the following Toasts were drank, under the discharge of Major Warner's Artillery:

6. Victory to the French Arms.—May the banners of Freedom be displayed in Vienna, Berlin and Warsaw; may they triumph in Ispahan, Petersburg and Constantinople.

7. STANISLAUS, chief Citizen of Poland. — May every nation possess a man whose virtues enthrone him in hearts of every Citizen, and make him the Guardian of her liberties. (Loud applauses).

Volunteer Toasts

May the Amazon KATE, see the Rights of Man prevail through her Empire. ³⁴

Boston (Mass.)

"THE PRESIDENT'S BIRTHDAY"

was yesterday celebrated in this town, with all those emotions of festive gratitude, which arise in the breasts of Freemen.

A very numerous company of citizens, dined at Concert-Hall; and after dinner gave the following toasts:

³² *Ibidem.*

³³ *Ibidem.* Karl Wilhelm Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick, at the head of the allied armies of Prussia and Austria, unsuccessfully attempted to invade France and crush the revolution in the summer of 1792.

³⁴ *Ibidem.* February 6, 1793; Supplement to the *Independent Chronicle*, February 14, 1793.

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12. The Polish Nation.—May the fetters of servitude be broken upon the head of despotism. ³⁵

Lynchburg (Va.), May 4.

Wednesday last being the Anniversary of St. Tammany, it was accordingly celebrated by a number of his Enlightened Sons, at Mr. John Miller's Tavern in this Town... The following were the Patriotic Toasts drank on the occasion, viz.

5. Malachowski, and the Patriots of Poland, may they never lay down their arms till they see the regeneration of their country. ³⁶

³⁵ *Columbian Centinel*, February 23, 1793.

³⁶ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, May 13, 1793.

VI.

THE SECOND PARTITION

"PACIFISM" AND "DISINTERESTEDNESS" OF POLAND'S NEIGHBORS.

The people of *Poland*, whose revolution "meliorated the condition of every man without injury to any," see themselves now reduced to the verge of a new partition of their territory. The Empress has at present the *lion's share*. But *Prussia* has put in a *pacific* claim, by sending in a body of troops, and *Austria*, when a little more at leisure, will undoubtedly exhibit a similar instance of disinterestedness and friendship. ¹

POLITICAL VILLAINY.

When we contemplate principles and the success of the present *partitioning* tyrants, in their accursed efforts against the noble and brave *Poles*, can we resist the truth and axiom of *Mackintosh*,² that "politicks are a system of villainy?" It appears scarcely less villainy, that foreign courts will not interfere in defence of so injured a cause. Surely, the period, some day or other, *will* arrive, when men, all over the globe, shall be enlightened enough to practice the "wild theories," as they are called, of those philosophers, who would have Governments conducted on principles only of moral rectitude. ³

PRUSSIA CONTRADICTS RUMORS OF A NEW DISMEMBERMENT.

London, February 15.

His Prussian Majesty has published a declaration, in which he contradicts in the most express terms, the rumours which have been circulated of his having an intention to make a second dismemberment of Poland. ⁴

PRUSSIANS SEIZE TORUN

London, February 18.

A detachment of the Prussian army is reported to have taken possession of the city of Thorn. ⁵

¹ *Columbian Centinel*, April 24, 1793.

² Sir James Mackintosh (1765-1832), Scottish publicist.

³ *Columbian Centinel*, September 26, 1792.

⁴ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, April 12, 1793.

⁵ *Ib.*, April 24, 1793.

POLES WISH TO RESIST PRUSSIANS.

Hague, February 24.

From Poland we learn that the Polish troops wish to resist the Prussians, but the Russian forces will not permit it. In a week's time matters will be completely decided. ⁶

SKIRMISHES WITH PRUSSIANS

Hamburgh, February 13.

The entrance of the Prussian troops into Poland, did not take place without bloodshed. When Major Platen attempted, on the 26th ult., to take possession of the small town of Sierk, ⁷ the Polish pickets stationed before the place, fired upon his van; and though the Prussians entered the town at the same time with the Poles, in order to prevent the Polish cavalry from making any resistance, yet the latter fired from the houses on the Prussians, by which several of them were wounded; till at last the Poles, whose number did not exceed 70 men, were overpowered, and taken prisoners.

Near Karge, ⁸ matters were conducted in a more serious manner, on the 28-th ult. The Prussian Major, de Milkau, was to take up his night's quarters there, with the battalion of Frankenberg. He summoned the Polish garrison in the most friendly terms, to give up the place. But the latter instead of returning an answer, discharged their muskets upon the Prussians; and while they forced their way into the town, the Poles retreated to the Town-Hall, whence they kept up an incessant fire. Their ammunition being expended, they were all made prisoners. According to the account given by the Prussians, the Poles had five men cut in pieces, and two officers and nine privates wounded. The Prussians had one man killed, and five wounded. ⁹

"DECLARATION OF THE KING OF PRUSSIA, RESPECTING POSSESSION OF THE CITY OF DANTZIG, AND THE TERRITORY BELONGING TO IT."

The same reasons which induced his Majesty, the King of Prussia, to order part of his troops to march into some of the district of great Poland, lay him under the necessity to secure the city of Dantzic and the territory belonging thereto. For besides that this city never has acted for a number of years past, like a good neighbour towards the kingdom of Prussia, it is now become the rendezvous of a wicked and cruel band, who keep transgression upon transgression, and who try by the assistance of their despicable abettors to spread themselves on all sides. One of these villains, after having attempted in vain to spread his poisonous principles among a happy and faithful nation, has

⁶ *Ibidem.*

⁷ Sierpc, a town in the district of Plock.

⁸ Kargowa, a town in Great Poland.

⁹ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, April 24, 1793.

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nevertheless a free and public asylum in the city of Dantzic; and it was only by the most urgent representation that he could be obtained from his protectors. This last instance, together with the numerous abuses of a misconstrued liberty, and the great connection which subsists between the faction in France and Poland, and a certain party, which by means of the impudence of their principles, have gained a certain superiority above the most of the well meaning part of the citizens, and finally the great ease wherewith these conspirators procure all kinds of necessaries, but especially grains, at Dantzic, by the help of their abettors are taken collectively as objects which have drawn the attention of the King towards this city, and have obliged him to keep them within the bounds of justice, and provide thereby for the safety and peace of the adjoining Prussian provinces. For which purpose his Majesty, after a previous agreement with the other powers concerned therein, has directed his Lieutenant General De Raumer to occupy the city and territory of Dantzic with a sufficient number of troops, to maintain good order and public security.

It will now depend on the inhabitants, by their prudent conduct, to merit the good will of the King, by using his troops in a friendly manner, and giving them all the help and assistance they may be in want of; the commanding officer, on his part, will not fail to cause the strictest discipline to be observed, and to grant his protection to all such as may find themselves under necessity to request the same. These are the sentiments of his Prussian majesty, and he therefore trusts, that the magistracy of Dantzic will make no difficulty in conforming to the same, in order to promote in this manner their salutary views — the good effects whereof will tend most of all to their advantage.¹⁰

CAPITULATION OF DANTZIC

Hamburgh, March 18.

The city of Dantzic, after having been blockaded several days by the King of Prussia's troops, has formally submitted to his government, by an act under their seal, with unanimous consent of all the orders. General Raumer, after having taken for security the fort of Weichselmunde, has permitted the inhabitants to send a deputation to their new master, to request the preservation of their rights, privileges and liberties.¹¹

WORDS AND DEEDS OF MONARCHS

London, April 1.

The king of Prussia has taken possession of Dantzic. The partition of Poland is not indeed avowed, but actually carrying into execution by those powers who have so repeatedly, solemnly

¹⁰ *Ib.*, May 21, 1793.

¹¹ *The Newport Mercury*, June 4, 1793.

and recently, disclaimed any such intention. Thus while we are at war, to prevent the aggrandizement of France by violence and rapine, the very powers whose arms we are assisting, with whom it is possible, we may be acting in concert, are openly aggrandizing themselves by the same injustice and rapine, which we are fighting to prevent.¹²

DANTZIGERS FIGHT PRUSSIANS.

Dantzic, April 2.

In consequence of the preliminary capitulation agreed on between our Magistrates and Lieutenant General Von Baumer, the Prussian troops took possession of the gates and advanced works of this fortress on the 27-th of March.

During this surrender, a part of the garrison of Dantzic revolted. Supported by the mob, they took possession of the inner ramparts, and discharged their cannon and small arms on the Prussian troops.

The insurrection was quelled in a few hours, with the loss of 14 men killed on both sides.

The apprehension of the ringleaders, and other salutary regulations, have effected a complete restoration of tranquility.¹³

PRUSSIANS RUINING DANTZIG

Extract of a letter from Dantzick, (in Poland), April 20.

"We are now completely a *Prussian* town; a garrison of 2700 men are quartered upon the inhabitants; a Commissary is arrived to regulate our imports, duties, excise etc. The old municipal government still remains; but that also must soon give place to another arrangement. Some individuals among our chief citizens have left the town, and gone to settle at *Hamburgh* and other places, not chusing to live under a military government. The comfortable side of our prospect is an increase of trade, and of the means of subsistence to the poorer classes of the people, who have for many years past suffered grievously from the consequences of the oppressive conduct of our neighbours,¹⁴ and the gradual decay of our trade. *Dantzick* has lost one fifth of its inhabitants from these causes in the last 10 years. The present acquisition made in *Prussia*,¹⁵ though vastly inferior to what *Russia* gains, are indeed very important. They contain above 1061 square German miles, 262 towns or cities, 8274 villages, and 1,136,889 souls."¹⁶

¹² *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, May 22, 1793.

¹³ *Ib.*, June 12, 1793.

¹⁴ Prussians.

¹⁵ In the Second Partition Prussia took 22,805 English square miles of Polish territory with over 1,000,000 inhabitants, and Russia 89,257 English square miles and over 3,000,000 inhabitants; Poland was left with about 82,230 English square miles and 4,000,000 inhabitants (W. Smolenski, *Dzieje Narodu Polskiego*, vol. III, p. 175; Lord, p. 391).

¹⁶ *Columbian Centinel*, June 19, 1793.

THE LION AND HIS ASSOCIATES

London, April 8.

The conduct of the Empress of Russia, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of Germany, in insisting that their demands on Tepper, the Polish banker, ¹⁷ shall be satisfied, before any other creditors are admitted to a share of his effects, puts us in mind of the lion and his associates when they went on hunting. I will have the first part, said the lion, because I am the strongest; the second, because I am the noblest animal; and he who chooses to dispute with me the third, let him stand forth if he dare.

The King of Prussia is preparing to state his pretensions to part of Poland; but first he has very equitably and very wisely taken possession. ¹⁸

THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE
TO HIS PRUSSIAN MAJESTY.

Pomerania, March 30.

The 5-th of May is the day on which the Inhabitants of the new Provinces conquered by his Prussian Majesty on Poland, are to take the Oath of Allegiance and Fidelity to his Prussian Majesty. The Count of Hertzberg ¹⁹ has orders to go thither, to receive their homage in his Majesty's name. Preparations already making in those Provinces to introduce a quite new order of things.

These new Prussian Conquests are much greater than we first thought, since they include a part of Little Poland. ²⁰ The advanced posts of General Moellendorf ²¹ are already in the suburbs of Warsaw. ²²

"ODE TO LIBERTY."

A friend ^a from hell, of murderous brood,
Stain'd with a hapless husband's blood,
Unites with Danube and the Spree, ^b
Who arm to make the French their prey:
To check their hosts and chill with fear,
Frenchmen, advance to your frontier.
There dig the Eternal Tomb of kings,
Or Poland's fate each monster brings,
Mows millions down, your cause defeats,
And Ismael's horrid scene repeats. ²³

Translator's notes: ^a Catherine the 2-d, who killed her husband. ^b Rivers of Germany designating Austria and Prussia.

¹⁷ Peter Ferguson Tepper, a banker of Scotch origin, whose bankruptcy ruined many Polish families.

¹⁸ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, June 4, 1793.

¹⁹ Ewald Frederick Hertzberg (1725-1795), Prussian statesman, very active in the Partitions of Poland.

²⁰ The southwestern part of Poland.

²¹ Wichard Joachim Henry Moellendorf, Prussian Fieldmarshal.

²² *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, June 6, 1793.

²³ *General Advertiser*, May 27, 1793. The ode was written by a young Frenchman, Pichon, and translated into English by Philip Freneau. It was

"PARTITION OF POLAND BY THE EMPRESS OF RUSSIA
AND THE KING OF PRUSSIA."

London, May 2.

This as we have often observed, was to be expected; and this as we have also observed in our weekly speculations, was the proper season for those rapacious powers to seize their prey. While the Austrian and Imperial forces, joined by a Prussian army, carry on a war against France, a Russian and another Prussian army made sure of farther conquests in Poland. In the former partition of Poland the Emperor had his share. In this second partition it was not to be supposed, either that he was not consulted, or that his interest had been neglected. For the accession of power and dominion that has accrued to the Russians and Prussians in the quarter of Poland, the Austrians are, according to the concert no doubt established among the three powers, to receive an equivalent in the territories to be recovered from France: Alsace and Lorraine, and perhaps the whole or part of the Austrian Netherlands.

It would be idle to waste time in reflections on the memorial in which the Czarina attempts to throw a plausible veil on her invasion of Poland. The levity, the indifference of the age about moral obligation and religious sentiment, might perhaps, excuse her failure to justify her conduct on the ground of morality and religion, but when she talks of reasonableness of making the Poles pay the expences of her fruitless efforts, to make them quiet by other means than those of subjugation, we are apt to be startled at her making so barefaced an attempt to impose on our understanding. She interferes in the internal concerns, and raises and protects a party in Poland; she harasses the Poles by her arms, armies put her to expence, and this expence, she says, should justly fall upon the Poles; that is, not on the cause, but on the subject of the injury. Although she is so much provoked as to lay them under contribution for making good the expences of the war, raised by their refractory spirit of independence, she has yet the goodness to take them under her sway, and annex them to the Russian empire for ever. In like manner,

THE KING OF PRUSSIA,

for like reasons, and because it would be dangerous to permit those levelling doctrines that have taken root in Poland to grow up to any dangerous height, and disturb the neighbourhood — for these reasons the Prussians have seized many new districts in Poland, including the commercial cities of Dantzic and Thorn.

These doings are really alarming to the liberties of Europe. This partitioning policy, in its progress, threatens to bring all

recited by "Citizen" Duponceau at a dinner at Philadelphia, May 18, 1793, in honor of Genet.

the dominions of Europe into fewer and fewer hands, until at last a contest between two rival powers may re-establish universal monarchy in Europe. ²⁴

UNITED STATES AND THE SECOND PARTITION
OF POLAND.

Boston, June 27.

Amidst the commotions with which the heart of Europe has been rent, by the pride, fears and avarice of the Despotic Powers, in their sanguinary league against the FRENCH, the King of Prussia, has cast his eyes upon the territories and cities adjoining the Vistula, which commend the commerce of that celebrated river, and of almost all Poland. What the ambition of the old Frederic had not dared to effect, has been done in but a few months by the Empress of Russia and the present Monarch of Prussia. They had in fact, by a policy as cruel as it is selfish, and perfidious, operated the complete dismemberment of the Polish Democracy. The King of Prussia has secured to himself Dantzic, Thorn and the contiguous Provinces; while the Empress, no doubt, will take no small part of the residue of that devoted Country. This event is extremely interesting, and will in a short time render the Prussians very formidable as a maritime Power. The reasons publicly assigned in the Royal Proclamation of Prussia, for this important measure, are an affront to the human understanding. An AMERICAN cannot have too much reason to be satisfied in his distance from the politics and despotism of Europe — Or else the same views which have occasioned the present outrage upon the Poles and war against FRANCE, would not leave him unmolested. As it is, there is reason for apprehension, if the Powers in league should prevail of which, however, the probability daily lessens.

It can no longer be pretended that the misconduct of the French is the cause of the combination against them. The Poles have been very temperate in their reform: The Clergy, Nobility, King and People, all concurring. It is LIBERTY alone, then, which creates the difficulty, Liberty, which those despots mean to extirpate from the face of the earth. The Poles formed their Constitution upon the boasted model of the British government. But the King of Prussia and the Empress, deride these institutions. Whether the change is of one sort or another, it is just the same to them. A limited Monarchy, or a pure Republic, no doubt are exactly alike to them. They will have no reformation whatever; and if possible, they would blot the name of reformation from the political vocabulary.

The Parliament of Great Britain, was uneasy, some time since, lest the King of Prussia would secure the trade of Poland, by his former attempt upon Dantzic. But while they have been deliberating on France, he has amply paid himself for his trouble,

²⁴ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, June 29, 1793.

by the acquisition of these rich and flourishing places, without the previous formality of a declaration of war.²⁵

HIPOCRISY OF THE TYRANTS.

For the Columbian Centinel.

Mr. Russell,

The fate of Poland is interesting to the world; and the direful effects which arbitrary power has operated therein, will serve as a useful lesson to every free nation. Not content with former encroachments, the She-Wolf of Russia, and the male Marauder of Prussia, have lately violated every principle of justice, good faith and honour, by further unprovoked aggressions, on that feeble Republic. To shew to your readers the specious pretext which these tyrants use, in executing their diabolical intentions, I assure myself of your ready insertion of the following State Paper.

Your's

A BOSTONIAN.

POLAND

Lowicz, March 7.

The Colonel of the Regiment of Sweren,²⁶ commanding here in the absence of the General in Chief, convoked in the town house this morning at ten, the clergy and magistrates, and signified to them, in the name, and by express orders of his Majesty the King of Prussia, that all the inhabitants of the place, reckoning from the present period, were to be under the dominion of the King his master, as well as the inhabitants of the Palatinates of Poznania, Kalisz, Gnesno, Sieradia, with the territory of Wielun, Leczyca, Rawa, Plock, the territory of Dobrzyn, the district of Cujavia, as also the monastery and fortress of Czestochow, and the cities of Dantzic and Thorn. In consequence of this declaration, the said Colonel affixed his seals to the archives of the Municipality, appointed a time against which the accounts of the public treasury are to be prepared, dismissed the Postmaster in order to substitute a Prussian in his stead, and he laid down the plan to be pursued in future in all parts of the civil administration. These changes, as well as the motive which gave rise to them, are fully detailed in the following Proclamation:

REASONS

of the King of Prussia, for taking possession of part of Poland with his military forces

The King of Prussia's letter patent to the respective States and inhabitants of the hitherto Polish Woiwodships of Posen, Gnesen, Kalisz, Sieradia, the city and monastery of Czestochow,

²⁵ *The Newport Mercury*, July 2, 1793; *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, July 6, 1793. Probably a reprint of an editorial in the *Columbian Centinel*.

²⁶ Schwerin.

the Province of Wielun, the Woiwodship of Lentschitz, the Province of Cujavia, the Province of Dobrzyn, the Woiwodships of Rawa and Plock, etc. in the circle of the boundaries, and likewise to those of the cities of Dantzig and Thorn:

We, Frederick William, by the Grace of God, King of Prussia, Margrave of Brandenburg, etc., etc. —

Make known by these presents to the respective States, Bishops, Abbots, Prelates, Woiwodes, Castle Keepers, Starosts, Chamberlains, and County judges; the Knighthood, Vassals, and Nobles, the Magistrates and inhabitants of the cities, the countrymen, and all the remainder of spiritual and secular inhabitants of the Woiwodships of Posen, Gnesen, Kalisz, Sieradia, the city and monastery of Czestochow, the Province of Wielun, the Woiwodship of Lentschitz, the Province of Cujavia, the Province of Dobrzyn, the Woiwodships of Rawa and Plock, etc. in the circle of the boundaries, and likewise to those of the cities of Dantzig and Thorn, hitherto in the possession of the crown of Poland, our gracious will, royal grace, and all sorts of good, and given the following most gracious notice:

It is universally known, that the Polish nation never ceased to afford the neighbouring powers, etc. chiefly to the Prussian States, frequent reasons of just discontentment. Not satisfied (contrary to all rules of good neighbourhood) with hurting the Prussian territory, by frequent invasions, with molesting and ill using the subjects on this side of the frontiers, and with almost continually refusing them justice, and lawful satisfaction: this nation have, besides, always busied themselves with pernicious plans, which must needs attract the attention of the neighbouring powers. These are matters of fact which could not escape the eye of an attentive observer of the late occurrences in Poland; but what chiefly excited the serious considerations of the neighbouring powers, is the spirit of rebellion continually encreasing in Poland, and the visible influence which was obtained by those abominable exertions, by which all civil, political, and religious ties, would have been dissolved, and the inhabitants of Poland exposed to all the tremendous consequences of anarchy, and plunged into miseries the end of which could not be seen.

If in every country the adoption and spreading out of such destructive principles is always attended with the loss of the tranquillity and happiness of its inhabitants, its destructive consequences are chiefly, and the more to be dreaded in a country like Poland, since this nation have always distinguished themselves by disturbances and party spirit, and are powerful enough themselves to become dangerous to their neighbours by these disturbances.

It would certainly militate against the first rules of a sound policy, as well as the duties incumbent on us for the preservation of tranquillity in our state, if, in such a state of things in a neighbouring great kingdom, we remained inactive spectators, and

should wait for the period when the factions feel themselves strong enough to appear in public; by which our own neighbouring provinces would be exposed to several dangers by the consequence of the anarchy on our frontiers.

We have therefore, in conjunction with her Majesty the Empress of Russia, and with the assent of his Majesty the Roman Emperor, acknowledged that the safety of our States did require, to set to the Republic of Poland such boundaries which are more compatible with her interior strength and situation, and to facilitate her the means of procuring, without prejudice of her liberty, a well ordained solid, and active form of government of maintaining herself in the undisturbed enjoyment of the same, and preventing by these means the disturbances which have so often shaken her own tranquillity, and endangered the safety of her neighbours.

In order to attain this end, and to preserve the Republic of Poland from the dreadful consequences which must be the result of her internal division, and to rescue her from the utter ruin, but chiefly to withdraw her inhabitants from the horrors of the destructive doctrine which they are but too prone to follow; there are, according to our thorough persuasion, to which also her Majesty the Empress of all the Russians accedes in the most perfect congruity with our intentions and principles, no other means, except to incorporate her frontier provinces into our States, and for this purpose immediately to take possession of the same, and to prevent in time all misfortunes which might arise, from the continuance of the reciprocal disturbances.

Wherefore we have resolved, with the assent of her Russian Majesty, to take possession of the above mentioned districts of Poland, and also of the cities of Danzig and Thorn, to the end of incorporating them to our state

We herewith publicly announce our firm and unshaken resolution, and expect that the Polish nation will very soon assemble in Diet, and adopt the necessary measures to the end of settling things in an amicable manner, and of obtaining the salutary end of securing to the republic of Poland an undisturbed peace, and preserving her inhabitants from the terrible consequences of anarchy. At the same time we exhort the states and inhabitants of the districts and towns which we have taken possession of, as already mentioned, both in a gracious and serious manner, not to oppose our commanders, and troops, ordered for that purpose, but rather tractably to submit to our government and acknowledge us from this day forward as their lawful king and sovereign, to behave like loyal and obedient subjects, and to renounce all connection with the Crown of Poland.

In order to be more certain of the faithfulness and attachment of our new subjects we have thought proper to require of them the hereditary homage which is usual on similar occasions; and as from the remoteness we cannot accept it ourselves we have

ordered our plenipotentiaries Wichart Joachim Henry Von Mollendorf, general of the Infantry, and Adolph Albrecht Henry Leopold Baron Dankelman, our actual private minister of state and justice, to receive the said hereditary homage in our stead, and in our name. We therefore most graciously order the above states and inhabitants to repair two days before the time of homage fixed upon by our empowered Commissioner, to the place they will point out, and to apply to our said commissioners to cause their arrival to be entered into the protocol to exhibit their powers, and then within the time of homage to take the oath of loyalty and submission to us, and to acknowledge and receive us and our heirs and successors, for their lawful king and sovereign.

Done at Berlin, the 25-th of March, 1793.

FREDERICK WILLIAM ²⁷

A UNION OF FREEMEN TO SAVE POLAND.

Philadelphia, July 8.

On Thursday the St. Tammany Fishing Company met at Fort Procter, on the west bank of Schuylkill, to celebrate the eighteenth Anniversary of American Independence — and after dinner, by desire of the governor of the said company, the Declaration of Independence was read, and the following toasts given:

12. May the example of Russia and Prussia, in the division of Poland, stimulate mankind to guard against despotism. ²⁸

Wilmington, July 6.

The State Society of the Cincinnati met in the Borough, on the 4-th instant. At twelve o'clock, a brilliant assembly convened at the college, and the occasion being solemnized with prayers, by the Rev. Mr. Clarkson, Captain McKennan, agreeably to appointment, pronounced an oration, most acceptable to the citizens. The society and many respectable citizens then proceeded to Mr. Brinton's tavern, and dined together, in a manner expressive of heartfelt joy and satisfaction, at another return of our national birth day. After dinner the following toasts were drank:

9. A union of all free countries, to save Poland from the rapacious hands of all spoilers. ²⁹

"POLITICAL STATE OF EUROPE IMPARTIALLY TAKEN FROM THE MOST AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS"

RUSSIA *

This great empire of slaves—or more properly speaking, its Mistress, the imperious Catharine—is at present doing little more than threatening to become one of the league of crowned heads now warring against France; but she is active in subjugating

²⁷ *Columbian Centinel*, June 26, 1793; *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, July 3, 1793.

²⁸ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, July 8, 1793.

²⁹ *Ib.*, July 9, 1793.

THE SECOND PARTITION

the citizens of 300 miles extent of the late Polish territory to the degraded state of her own vassals. While observing towards the Poles this detestable conduct, she is offering an asylum to the French Noblesse in the hospitable, temperate climes of Siberia; where in company with the Bruins of the forest, they may enjoy their despotic principles and suspend their croix and other trappings of nobility, from the shag of an elegant bearskin. Notwithstanding some humane measures she adopted at the commencement of her reign to atone perhaps for the murder of her husband, her late conduct has been detestably abominable.

All gracious Heav'n, if mortals claim thy care,
And thy wing'd bolts are at the murd'rer hurl'd—
Hear thou humanity's united prayer,

And quick remove this "she-wolf" from our world.

* This empire is a large country, partly in Europe, and partly in Asia; and taken altogether, with its late conquests in Asia, may be likened to a square, whose sides are 2,000 miles each. It can raise at any time 300,000 men; and generally keeps 100,000 in pay. Its navy is considerable; and two of its Commodores are natives of this Commonwealth. ³⁰

POLAND *

Late the happiest kingdom, "the sun shone upon." All her citizens united as one family, with Stanislaus at its head, in the full enjoyment of the best blessings of peace and good government — Now torn asunder by the rapacious claws of the Russian and Prussian eagles — Its citizens necessitated to pay homage to sovereigns imposed upon them — Its King obliged to dance attendance on a Russian Viceroy — Its commerce and arts, in a measure annihilated; and the full cup of sorrow held out to them without one abiding consolation. — And to complete the measure of the iniquity, all the powers in Europe, calmly observing its lamentable situation, and not one hand stretched forth to its relief.

* Late a large kingdom (or rather a Republic) of Europe, but lately cut up, and a very considerably proportion divided between Russia and Prussia. Its force or revenue we cannot therefore, ascertain.

PRUSSIA *

As a unit in the confederacy, we shall just take a view of. Its court being removed to the armies, we know little of the internal state of the kingdom. The most rigorous measures have long been pursued to quench every spark of liberty in the kingdom, and we believe successfully; for the embers appear extinct. The chief part of the standing troops are on the frontiers of

³⁰ John Paul Jones, "Father of American Navy," and Lewis Littlepage of Virginia, for a long time secretary to the Polish King and together with Jones active in the Russian-Turkish war in 1788-89.

THE FALL OF POLAND IN CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN OPINION

France; except a small army in Southern Prussia (as a part of Poland lately stolen by Frederic is called) and large garrisons in the once free cities of Dantzick and Thorn. †

* A large country in Europe, bounded on the N. by the Baltic sea, on the E. by Lithuania and Simogitia,³¹ on the S. by Poland, and on the W. by Brandenburg, Pomerania, and Cassubia, about 500 miles in length, and 100 in breadth, where it is narrowest.

† In this new acquired territory, its new master is raising 8 regiments of infantry, 5 battalions of fusileers, three regiments of dragoons, and one of artillery. This augmentation of military strength to the house of Brandenburg, will amount to 30,000 men.³²

POLAND DESTINED TO DISAPPEAR.

London, May 10.

By the dismemberment of Poland some years since, the tracts of territory then seized on were computed to contain between five and six millions of inhabitants. The country now taken by Russia contains three millions, and that by Prussia, more than 1,300,000. The entire population was estimated formerly by Geographers at eighteen millions; consequently more than half the kingdom has been unjustly seized by its ambitious and rapacious neighbours, and, perhaps, shortly, the people will be no longer a distinct people.³³

STANISLAUS AUGUSTUS TOASTED.

Charleston, July 17.

Monday, being appointed by the French Patriotic Society, to be observed in commemoration of the French revolution, the day was ushered in with the usual ceremony of firing of cannon and ringing of bells. At about 2 o'clock, a procession was formed in Meeting-street. In the city hall, Thomas Lee, esquire, delivered a very elegant oration. In the afternoon the Patriotic Society, with a number of friends to liberty and equality, dined at Harris's tavern.

The following toasts were given by the society and received the applause of the friends to liberty:

11-th. Stanislaus Augustus—may he acquire the freedom of his country.³⁴

AN ANGLO-FRENCH ACCOMMODATION.

Boston, August 3.

³¹ Samogitia (Polish Żmudź), now part of Lithuania.

³² *Columbian Centinel*, July 10, 1793; *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, July 17, 1793. This review also describes other European states which are omitted here.

³³ *Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser*, July 20, 1793.

³⁴ *Ib.*, July 31, 1793.

A vessel has arrived at *Salem*, from *Amsterdam*, which she left the latter end of May, or beginning of June; consequently cannot bring later information than before received: Accounts by her are, that there were prospects of a proposition of accommodation between *Great Britain* and *France*; the origin of which is attributed to the late wicked and detestable partition of Poland, by the Empress of *Russia*, and the King of *Prussia*.³⁵

KAMIENIEC TAKEN.

Amsterdam, May 3.

The important fortress of *Kamienieck*,³⁶ capital of *Podolia* in Poland, which had hitherto withstood the forces sent by the Empress to subdue it, has at length surrendered. Two Generals, several Staff Officers, etc., have taken the oath of obedience, and enlisted in the imperial service.

The reduction of this place is of the utmost importance, as all those who are disaffected to the present order of affairs had taken sanctuary there.

They must now leave the kingdom.³⁷

MANIFESTO OF THE EMPRESS.

June 6.

The Empress of *Russia* has addressed, what is called an Universal, to the subjects of her newly-acquired dominions in Poland; informing them, "that at last, they are going to taste the happiness, which spreads itself equally over all her subjects;" that it is her purpose "to establish for them a wise government;" that she shall exempt them from personal taxes until the 1-st of January, 1794; and that she expects "they will gratefully receive" these marks of her favour, which "ought to consolidate them in the faithfulness they owe her, and in a constant submission to her laws."³⁸

"LIBERTY OF THE PRESS IN POLAND ANNIHILATED."

The respectable Editor of the *Gazette of Varsovia* announced in his paper of the 28-th September, that he is obliged to close his labours. It is not compatible with the pure and wise government established by the Empress of *Russia* in Poland that a free news paper should exist in that devoted country. A resolution has therefore been made to grant an *exclusive right* to one chosen person to print and publish periodical papers in whatever language he shall chuse; and the reasons assigned for this monopoly is, "that the crowd of writings of all kinds, the authors of which seeking to anticipate each other, and even anticipating facts and time itself, continually deceive the public by notices of events

³⁵ *Columbian Centinel*, August 3, 1793.

³⁶ *Kamieniec Podolski*, a fortress famous in the history of Poland.

³⁷ *The Newport (R. I.) News*, August 13, 1793.

³⁸ *The Newport Mercury*, August 13, 1793.

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often false, and sometimes contrary to the maxims of a wise Government." To remedy this defect one unsullied Journal only is to be permitted, under the immediate inspection of her Imperial Majesty's Ministers, and this Journal is no doubt to take the title of *The True Pole*. — From this moment, therefore, we shall hear only of the wisdom of the Government of Poland, and of the happiness of the People! ³⁹

"THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE."

XL.

Grand DAYS of DAYS! First born of NATURE'S prime!

Who bids not to the NOONTIDE MORNING hail?

When FREEDOM, VIRTUE, energies sublime,

Op'd wide the lock'd, incarcerating jail,

Where bound for ages past, with brazen chains,

Man groan'd out hated life, in agonistic pains...

(After mentioning France the author says of Poland):

XLIII.

LITH'ANIA'S ^a eagle plumes his oft clipp'd wings,

And boldy turns the daring eye to heav'n:

Prompt for a flight above the throne of kings,

Down, by a NORTHERN ^b tempest rudely driv'n

He sinks to earth: But shall he rise no more?

Yes! he shall rise, and yet to glory's acme soar.

XLIV.

Not CATH'RINE'S ^c herd of ever trembling slaves;

Not FRED'RIC'S ^d drove of military beasts;

GERMANIA'S swarm; SPAIN'S consecrated ^e glaives;

NOR ITALY'S anointed host of priests;

Shall LIBERTY impede, or check her course,

Which, as the bolted lightning sweeps with sure aim'd force.

XLV.

Yes; the poor wretch who broils beneath the blaze

Of either INDIA'S ^f marrow melting clime,

Shall rouze, to FREEDOM rouze, and close his days,

As once life clos'd in nature's early prime,

When no crown'd despot mad with lust of pow'r,

To royal vultures cried, arise and flesh devour.

XLVI.

Woke by the wrongs of daily injur'd man,

Some bold MONTGOM'RY yet shall dauntless rise,

Where RUSSIAN deserts hive the droning clan,

Fling LIBERTY'S broad blaze o'er BOREAL skies,

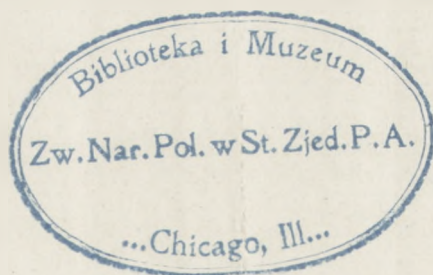
And plant amid SIBERIA'S frozen waste,

³⁹ Dunlap and Claypoole's *American Daily Advertiser*, January 31, 1794.

The living tree of FREEDOM, sweet to human taste. ⁴⁰

Author's notes: a POLAND; b *Vide* the manifesto of the Empress of Russia and the declaration by Frederick; c The Empress of Russia; d King of Prussia; e It is a custom in Catholic Kingdoms to consecrate the instruments of death; f Read the efforts of Tippo Sahib in behalf of his country, and the noble struggle of the Africans in the West Indies.

⁴⁰ These lines are from *The Declaration of Independence*; a poem, by a Citizen of Boston; Boston, 1793 (*The Magazine of History*, extra No. 150, vol. 38, No. 2). The author of the poem was the Rev. George Richards (1769-1837), writer and pastor of a Universalist Church in Portsmouth, N. H. In his "Preface" to *The Declaration* he says that "he has handed to the public every patriotic name from New Hampshire to Georgia, who dared to explain the wrongs of America and pronounce her independent of Great Britain. An attempt of this nature, he flatters himself, is not without ability." After enumerating all the signers of the Declaration of Independence, the author describes in his poem the influence of the act on America and other parts of the world.



VII.

THE LAST DIET OF THE REPUBLIC

POLAND SEEKS MEDIATION OF FRIENDLY COURTS

Extract of a letter from Grodno of the 27-th of June. ¹

"In yesterday's sitting of the Diet, ² orders were unanimously given to the Chancellors to send instructions to the Ministers of the Republic residing at the foreign courts, which remain neutral with regard to Poland, and especially to that at the court of London to solicit their friendly offices with the Empress of Russia and the King of Prussia.

"On the same day it was decreed by a majority of 107 against 24, that the Chancellors do prepare a form of instructions to regulate the conduct and powers of the deputies to be chosen by the Diet, for the purpose of negotiating with M. de Sievers, the Russian Ambassador, conformably however in every respect to the sense of the notes presented by the states, which declare the inability of the Diet to accede to any act of cession of Polish territories, it being contrary to the oath of the confederation of Targowice, under which the present Diet is held, and to which his Majesty has solemnly made his accession, because this confederation being formed under the auspices of the Empress of Russia, warranted most solemnly the integrity of the dominions of the Republic.

"The town is surrounded by four different camps of Russian troops. Some of the nuncios were put under arrest by the Russian Ambassador, who sent also a written order to the Treasurer of Lithuania not to pay any money to the King on account of the Civil List; similar orders were issued to the farmers of the crown lands; ³ notwithstanding this treatment, and threats of a worse still the unfortunate King perseveres, together with the Diet, in refusing to subscribe to the cession of the provinces, so unjustly torn from Poland." ⁴

¹ This letter was written by the Polish King himself to Bukaty, the Polish minister at London, with a request that he should give its contents to the English press without disclosing its author (W. Kalinka, *Ostatnie Lata Panowania Stanisława Augusta*, vol. II, p.p. 263-4).

² The Diet was opened at Grodno on June 17th. Three days later the Russian Ambassador Sievers and the Prussian Minister Buchholtz presented notes asking the Diet to appoint a delegation to treat with them for the ratification of the Partition (W. Smolenski, *Dzieje Narodu Polskiego*, vol. III, p. 178).

³ An error in translation; it should mean: the treasurer of royal domains.

⁴ *The Newport Mercury*, September 24, 1793.

**"VIOLATION AGAINST THE PERSONS OF THE KING
AND ARRESTATION OF NINE REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE PEOPLE OF POLAND."**

London, July 25.

A letter from Grodno, of the 28-th of June, gives us the following interesting account of what had happened in the diet.

Count de Sievers, the Russian minister, insisted that the King and the nation, assembled in a diet, should sign the act of accession to the new partition of Poland, part of which was already in possession of her majesty, the empress of Russia.

Many difficulties arose on that subject, on which Count Sievers attempted to cross the hall, in order to speak to his majesty, a great number of nuncios observed to him, that according to the laws of that kingdom, no foreign Minister is allowed to address the King in the Diet, without special permission. But Count Sievers, disregarding this admonition, found means to penetrate through the nuncios in spite of their opposition, and to whisper a few words to his majesty.

The King answered in a loud voice:

"The Russians, indeed, had the power in their hands to do what they pleased; his majesty was unable to resist their forces; and if Russia should think fit to take away the crown from him, he should undoubtedly be obliged to submit. But nothing on earth shall prove capable of inducing him to sign that act of consent to the new dismemberment of his unhappy country." ⁵

This speech was received by two-thirds of the nuncios with the loudest acclamations, who immediately declared themselves to be of the same resolution.

Count Sievers, after the adjournment of the diet, in order to stifle this fermentation in its birth, tho't fit to order nine nuncios, or representatives, members of the diet, to be arrested in their palaces; the pretence was, that they were the authors of a faction against the interest of the court of Petersburg.

The diet of Poland, according to some private letters received yesterday, have decided by a great majority against the dismemberment of their country.

They have preferred as a necessary but subordinate evil, to surrender it wholly to the dominions of the empress of Russia. With this decision, it is said in these accounts, they have coupled an offer to drive, unaided, the Prussians from their territory.

Should this offer be made and accepted, it will certainly operate an important change in the politics of Europe. ⁶

⁵ The King having received money from the Russian ambassador was determined to sign the partition, though publicly he tried to play the role of a patriot (R. H. Lord, *The Second Partition of Poland*, p. 457).

⁶ *The Kentucky Gazette*, November 2, 1793. — One faction of the Confederates of Targowica planned to establish a union between Poland and Russia, hoping that by flattering the Empress with such a project they could induce her to renounce the thought of Partition (Lord, p. 465).

DIET YIELDS TO RUSSIAN DEMANDS

Warsaw, July 20.

The fate of Poland seems unchangeably fixed. On Monday the 15-th of July, the deputies held their second conference with the Russian Ambassador, and delivered to him a memorial, which they requested him to forward to the Empress. This he absolutely refused to do; and in a note which he sent to the Diet, accompanied by menaces, he insisted on the signature and ratification of the treaty of alliance and commerce between Russia and the Republic, and (that) the deputies should be invested with full powers to do the same.

In the session of the same day (the 15-th), when this note was read, the Diet consented to the prorogation of the session till the 30-th inst., but refused to comply with the wishes of the Russian Ambassador respecting the treaty of alliance.⁷ This treaty, a plan of which the deputies presented on that day to the Diet, consists of ten articles, and contains some advantages at the expence of some sacrifices. The Polish nation may chose the form of government which it conceives best adapted to its interests, except that of the 3-d of May, 1791; but the basis of the advantages to be granted to Poland is the compleat and full ratification of the treaty of Partition between the Courts of Petersburg and Berlin, in its full extent, as was required on the 9-th of April.⁸

In consequence of the refusal of the Diet to accede, the Russian Ambassador on the 16-th sent a note tantamount of a formal declaration of war. He said in this note, that unless the deputies were invested with an authority required on the 20-th, he should lay the estates, possessions, and habitations of the members of the Diet under a military execution; and should the King adhere to the opposite party, the Royal Domains would be treated in the same manner.

The Diet, in consequence of these menaces, by the advice of the King, who saw with grief the danger of a vain resistance, at length yielded, and the resolution was carried by a majority of 69 to 20, but a number of protests were entered on the occasion; Poland must therefore submit to its fate, amidst the absolute silence of all Europe.

The city of Grodno is closely blocked up by foreign troops, and no one can quit the city without a passport from the Russian Ambassador, not even to take a walk. Count de Sievers has off-

⁷ The Empress promised Poland a treaty of alliance and a new commercial treaty in return for the ratification of the Partition (Lord, p. 470).

⁸ On April 9-th, Sievers and Buchholtz transmitted to the Generality of the Confederation, then at Grodno with the King, the manifestoes of the allied courts, announcing the Partition and demanding the convocation of the Diet to settle the affair amicably (Lord, p. 457).

ered the foreign Ministers their passports, but the Diplomatic Corps have refused his offers, as contrary to the liberties and respect due to their character.⁹

PARTITION TREATY WITH RUSSIA SIGNED.

Warsaw, July 27.

In conformity with the imperious injunction of SIEVERS, the Russian Envoy, the treaty between *Russia* and *Poland*, was signed on the 22-d. The articles were denied even the formality of discussion, and the pride of a haughty *Diet* was not even lowered by gentle degrees.

SIEVERS had altered a few terms, to make the ratification of slavery as precise as possible, and thus the sacrifice is consummated; we mean, that part of the Hetacomb claimed by the court of *Russia*.

BUCHHOLTZ, the Prussian Envoy, has now in turn submitted the demands of his Court to the same patient acquiescence.

He called the attention of the Diet by a brief note, dated July 20, and reminds them that they furnish a delegation with the necessary powers, to conclude a treaty with the King, his master, upon the stipulations of the Allied Courts.

Conferences are now holding upon this partition — and if the Russian Minister supports the claim of his brother invader, there can be but little doubt of his success. There can be no hope that *Poland* will be able to throw off these usurpations, but through the fluctuating instability of politics, and the enemies that spring up so suddenly in courts.

The Diet, indeed, have made null their extorted consent to these oppressions, by an appeal, sorrowfully directed to that "*Powerful God, who in strict justice determines upon the actions of individuals of the universe, and who sees the oppression under which Poland is compelled to groan.*"¹⁰

PRUSSIAN TREATY IS FORCED UPON THE DIET.

Warsaw, September 29.

The last letters from Grodno of the 25-th inst. prove, that our conjectures with regard to the final event of negociation with Prussia were not groundless. It ended as it began, or rather surpassed all the violences expressed on the 2-nd of this month.

On the 23-d the Russian Ambassador, early in the morning, opened this negociation, by arresting four members of the Diet, whom he sent off immediately under a guard to the respective places they represent.

Next, he ordered two battalions of grenadiers with three pieces of cannon, to surround and block up all the avenues and gates to the castle.

⁹ *The Newport Mercury*, October 29, 1793.

¹⁰ *Columbian Centinel*, October 30, 1793.

After these preliminaries, the sitting of the Diet began. Its formal opening was strongly opposed, on the ground of a former decree, that all deliberations should cease, whenever any violent act should be employed against a member of the legislative body.

In consequence, before the reading of the ambassador's note was allowed, two deputations were successively sent to him, to demand the liberty of the arrested members. They were answered both verbally and by note, with absolute refusal. The notes were then read. The house conceived itself to be in a passive state, as being under foreign arms and deprived of a free deliberation, would not proceed for many hours on any business, during which time they witnessed a most distressing and humiliating scene: a Russian General, strutting to and fro in the middle of the Senate, in the presence of the King on the throne, persuading and menacing alternately, the members to sign unconditionally the demands of the King of Prussia.

Five hours were spent in this manner, at last, on the motion of Count Ankwitz, ¹¹ Nuncio of Cracow, it was agreed to make a solemn declaration, or protest, against the violent measures employed by the Russian Ambassador, on the 2-d of September, and this day; and that to prove a total inactivity of the Diet, instead of expressing their sentiments in the usual manner either by voting or acclamation, they should keep a mournful silence when the marshal should propose the project in question. This was accordingly adopted.

Thus was obtained the consent to a cession, which is to justify it in the eyes of Europe and posterity. Thus ended the extraordinary negociation, unexampled in the annals of Diplomatic history; and thus, in consequence, was signed the treaty of cession of our provinces to Prussia.

The three notes of the Russian Ambassador presented that day, are curious and singular. The protest, however, of the Diet, ought to be particularly noted by the present generation and all posterity.

DECLARATION OF THE DIET

"Surrounded closely by foreign troops on the 2-nd of this month, threatened with further invasion of the territory of the republic by the Prussian armies, to its uttermost ruin, and oppressed by innumerable violences, the States in the Diet assembled, were forced to give leave to their deputation for signing the imposed treaty, with addition of a few clauses, and such only as the dictating power itself seemed, in pity to approve of. But with grief and surprize, we find by the sad experience of this day, that the court of Berlin is not satisfied therewith. We see

¹¹ Joseph Ankwitz, one of the Russian hirelings. The letter does not represent his deed clearly enough. It was he who proposed that the silence of the deputies should be taken as a sign of unanimous agreement to the treaty of partition with Prussia.

fresh acts of violence foregoing a new project upon us; and in order to support it, the same preponderant power, not contented with investing the place of our deliberations by an armed force, with addressing to us notes full of menaces — seizes from among us, and carries off our members; and, by an unexampled proceeding, keeps us, the king, bent under the weight of age, and under so manifold calamities; and us, the states of the Republic, confined and imprisoned in the Senate.

"Thus situated, we do declare in the most solemn manner, that unable to prevent, even with the risk of our lives, the effects of the oppressive force, we leave to our posterity, happier perhaps than ourselves, those means of saving of our country, whereof we are bereft at present, and that the project sent us by the Russian Ambassador, though contrary to our laws, wishes, and opinions, forced by the above means to accept — we do accept.

"Done at Grodno, the 24-th September, 1793." ¹²

**"A BRIEF REVIEW OF THE LAST PROCEEDINGS
OF THE POLISH DIET."**

The close of the Diet was worthy of an assembly, from which epoch Poland may date her political annihilation, the remembrance of which will remain deeply engraven on the hearts of the friends of humanity and of justice...

Thus closed the functions of the Assembly, which, from the unfortunate circumstances of the times, was forced to seal the dismemberment of a once powerful kingdom. The historian of the passing period will be at loss to make his election in the variety of important events that will press upon his notice, and claim his serious regard; he will at once have to record the most flagitious crimes that ever disgraced humanity, and the highest excellence that ever adorned it. From the atrocities of French Legislators, he will turn with rapture, with renovated enthusiasm, to dwell upon the mild, and at the same time manly virtues of a Stanislaus of Poland. ¹³

**"REASONS ASSIGNED BY THE EMPRESS OF RUSSIA
AND KING OF PRUSSIA, FOR RAPACIOUSLY DIVIDING
THE KINGDOM OF POLAND BETWEEN THEM."**

The division of this unfortunate kingdom being a matter of great political moment to all Europe, and as mankind in general, must be extremely anxious to learn what are the pretensions of the above two potentates for one of the most tyrannical, and infamous assumptions of right, that ever disgraced a sovereign power, we have thought it incumbent on us to give a very short

¹² *The Newport Mercury*, February 17, 1794.

¹³ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser, Extra*, April 2, 1794. The review is over one column long and describes constitutional changes voted by the Diet at the dictate of the Russian Ambassador. Only the beginning and the end of the item are reprinted here.

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abstract of the two Manifestoes, that the world may judge how difficult it is to find good and solid reasons for doing a bad action.

The Manifesto of the Empress of Russia, begins by observing on the great anxiety she has always shewn for the direct and fundamental interest of Poland. But her endeavours to maintain peace, quiet and freedom in that country, have not only proved a fruitless burden, but have been attended with innumerable losses to her.

This has been proved by 30 years experience, and the numerous quarrels and disputes amongst the Poles, have likewise introduced French principles among their countrymen, and these detestable doctrines might in the end destroy their own and their neighbours happiness.

For these reasons (and no others whatever are mentioned), her Imperial Majesty has been graciously pleased as well to indemnify herself for her many losses, as for the future safety of her Empire and the Polish Dominions, and for the cutting off at once, forever, all future disturbances, and frequent changes of government, to take under her sway, and to unite forever to her Empire, the following tracts of land, with all their inhabitants...¹⁴

Her Imperial Majesty is therefore graciously pleased to declare to all her Imperial Majesty's new subjects, and now her beloved countrymen, that her most gracious Majesty is pleased, not only to confirm and ensure to all, the free and public exercise of their religion, and full security of property and possession, but to unite and to affiliate them under her government, for the fame and glory of the whole Russian Empire. Further, that all and every one of them shall enjoy all the rights and privileges of her old subjects, and enter on the full participation of these benefits through the whole extent of the Russian Empire.

Her Imperial Majesty expects from the gratitude of her new subjects, that they being placed, by her bounty, on an equality with Russians, shall in return, transfer the love of their former country on the new one and live in future attached to so great and generous an Empress.

The manifesto then proceeds to state, that those who do not take the oath of allegiance within one month from the date of it, shall have three months allowed them for the sale of immoveables, and their emigration, after which term all their remaining property shall be confiscated to the crown.

PRUSSIAN MANIFESTO

Now let us see what better reasons his Prussian Majesty gives for his violent aggression on Polish territories.¹⁵

¹⁴ Here are given the districts taken by Russia.

¹⁵ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, March 13, 1794. The Prussian manifesto is in substance the same as that given by the *Columbian Centinel* on June 26, 1793.

POLES TOASTED.

Baltimore, February 24.

Toasts drunk at Mr. Wyant's Tavern, the 22-nd instant, by the first Baltimore Light Infantry Company, in honor of the President of the United States' Birth-Day.

11. The patriotic citizens of Poland. ¹⁶

"FUGITIVE STANZAS (POLITICAL)"

How oft is man untimely brave,
How often timorously cool;
How oft a tyrant, or a slave;
How oft a madman, or a fool;
No decent medium keeps him still,
He either must adore or kill.
Yet LOUIS sleeps within his tomb,
Nor art nor arms can call back fate;
Then warriors turn, avert the doom
Of Poland's Monarch, *wise* too late.
Unhappy prince! unhappy land!
Oppress'd by a superior hand!
For Russia's Empress little heeds
The musty rules of wrong or right;
KATE still can manage court intrigues,
Or, if 'tis necessary, *fight*
Like mad Bellona in her car,
Cry—*havoc* to her dogs of war.
O! when will peace from heaven descend,
The Russian god of war controul,
With smiles her olive branch extend,
And spread its shade from pole to pole;
Hush the loud clarion's shrill alarms,
The hiss of feuds—and din of arms! ¹⁷

GERMAN PAPERS PROPOSE TO PARTITION
THE REST OF POLAND.

London, April 10.

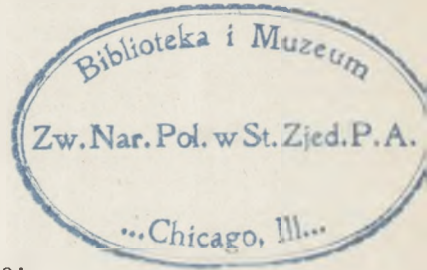
Several of the German papers observe, "that it would be for the general good of Europe, if the remainder of Poland were partitioned among the three great preponderant Powers!"

They even pretend that this measure is actually in contemplation, and that Stanislaus Augustus is to spend the remainder of his days at Rome. We trust that such an atrocious project is nothing more than the speculations of some visionary journalists. ¹⁸

¹⁶ Dunlap and Claypoole's *American Daily Advertiser*, March 3, 1794.

¹⁷ Josiah Lyndon Arnold, Esq., of St. Johnsbury, Vermont, formerly of Providence, and a tutor in Rhode Island College, *Poems*, Providence, 1797, p. 74. The author was a son of a delegate to the Continental Congress from Rhode Island. He died on June 7, 1795, in the 29-th year of his life. His *Poems* were published posthumously.

¹⁸ Dunlap and Claypoole's *American Daily Advertiser*, June 5, 1794.



VIII.

THE KOSCIUSZKO INSURRECTION

a] The Outbreak

RUSSIA ORDERS A REDUCTION OF THE POLISH ARMY.

London, March 20.

The empress of Russia has recommended, that is, ordered, a considerable reduction of the troops of Poland, and offers very advantageous terms to the disbanded officers and soldiers who choose to enter into her service. This is a very compendious way to get rid of an army that might yet give her trouble, and to add the greater part of it to her own forces.

The fate of Poland, even amidst the general distress of Europe, cannot fail of claiming a sigh of pity, or awakening an emotion of indignation in every generous breast. A further partition of that unfortunate country seem meditated by the empress, merely that she may secure the neutrality of Austria during the execution of her ambitious views upon the Porte. ¹

MADALINSKI REFUSES TO DISARM.

Warsaw, March 15.

The Polonian brigade Madalinsky, ² which would not submit to the reduction, has withdrawn into the Prussian territories, in order to enter into the service there. — Whether there are other corps that intend to oppose themselves will soon be known, as this is the day appointed for the general reduction. ³

London, April 5.

Letters from Warsaw state, that the Russian troops there had lately encamped themselves in great numbers about half a league distance from the capital, near the village of Powaski. ³

A NEW PARTITION OF POLAND PLANNED.

London, April 11.

The cabinet of St. Petersburg has demanded of the Emperor a positive declaration of neutrality, if a war should take place between Russia and the Porte, and likewise an auxiliary force of 24,000 men. The Empress, in return, promises that unfortunate Poland shall cede to Austria, the Woywodships of Cracow, Lublin and Chelm! ⁴

¹ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, May 29, 1794.

² Brig. Gen. Anthony Joseph Madalinski (1739-1805), a patriotic officer who by his refusal to disarm started the Kosciuszko Insurrection.

³ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, June 2, 1794.

⁴ *Ib.*, June 10, 1794.

MADALINSKI MAY START A GENERAL RISING.

Warsaw, March 24.

It was thought that the severe measures pursued by Russia had entirely smothered the troubles occasioned by the order to disband the Polish troops; but the magnanimous resistance of the brigade of Madalinski to that tyrannical order has taken so serious a turn that it may now be hoped that a general rising will be the consequence.

The chief Madalinski succeeds in gaining some time by negotiation; which has enabled him to strengthen his party. Encouraged by his example all the Polish regiments now refuse to obey the order for disbanding. Time is precious; it is used to the best advantage. The Kurpiki, inhabitants of the forests of Masovia, have risen. They have arms; they are embodying. Detachments fly in all quarters to seize the Prussian and Russian military chests in the invaded provinces.

The forces of the insurgents become daily more and more formidable. Madalinski, after having attached to his body of troops several regiments of infantry and a corps of artillery has already crossed the Vistula at Visogrod. He has numerous cavalry. It is said that the intention of this army, for that is the name it now deserves, is to march toward Lowitz, ⁵ where they expect to find a reinforcement of friends to liberty. The Russians are in great fear, and are entrenching themselves on all sides. ⁶

FIRST NEWS OF KOSCIUSZKO'S INSURRECTION.

London, April 14-19.

Since the Polish General Kosciusko's entrance into Cracaw, he has taken an inventory of all the gold and silver in the churches and royal castle; his revolutionary tribunal consists of 14 members; ⁷ since then, the constitution of the 3-rd of May, 1791, has been solemnly acknowledged by oath in the church of Marienborn; the procession went there attended by military music.

The Universal published from this quarter enjoins the highest respect for the Austrian territory; and though the Polish reformers have seized some Imperial magazines; they have sent a very civil message to the Austrian commandants, assuring them of an ample indemnification; they are said to be furnished with money from France.

The revolutionary spirit has spread into several other parts of the Republic; where many of the disbanded regiments have risen in arms.

⁵ Wysogrod, a town in the district of Bydgoszcz; Lowicz, a city southwest of Warsaw.

⁶ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, June 11, 1794.

⁷ Probably the revolutionary government which consisted of 20 members.

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Bodies of Russians and Prussians, to the amount of 25,000 men being on their march to Cracau, where the malcontents have not above 6 or 7,000 men, badly provided with artillery, their dispersion was daily expected. Several notes have passed between the Permanent Council ⁸ and the Russian Minister, on the subject of disturbances, and a Court is opened to try offenders as fast as they are apprehended. ⁹

INSURRECTION GAINING STRENGTH.

London, April 14.

Resistance has, at length, commenced to the Empress of Russia and the King of Prussia in Poland. Many large parties of the dismissed Polish troops are in arms against these sovereigns, and some entire regiments, although not dismissed, have gone over to their comrades. General Kosciusko signed at Cracow, on the 24-th ult. a manifesto, in which he states the motives of our insurrection; General Madalinsky, who is at the head of another, has entered the country, lately transferred from Poland to Prussia; and eighty Polish Noblemen have confederated at Siradia ¹⁰ for the support of both. ¹¹

THE POLISH DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

New York, August 18.

We have already published the Declaration of Kosciusko, the leader of the Polish Insurgents, dated March 24, but the following instrument signed at Cracow, the same day, we believe has not yet appeared in America. The editor regrets that his translation will not do justice to the energy and elegance of the original.

The Act of Insurrection of the Citizens, Inhabitants
of the Palatinate of Cracow. ¹²

The wretched state in which Poland is involved is known to the universe; the indignities offered by two neighboring powers, and the crimes of traitors to their country, have sunk this country into this abyss of misery. Catherine II, who in concert with the perjured William has sworn to extirpate even the name of Poland, has accomplished her iniquitous designs: there is no species of falsehood, or perjury, or of treason, which those governments have hesitated to commit, to satisfy their vengeance and their ambition. The Czarina, while she impudently promised to guarantee the entire possessions and the independence of Poland, has afflicted it with every species of injury; and when Poland, weary of bearing the shameful yoke, had recovered the rights of her sovereignty, she employed against her, traitors to

⁸ The Polish Cabinet at Warsaw.

⁹ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, June 11, 1794

¹⁰ Sieradz, a city on the Warta River, seat of the Palatinate of Sieradz.

¹¹ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, June 11, 1794; *The Newport Mercury*, June 17, 1794.

¹² The act probably was written by Kosciuszko himself.

their country. She supported their sacrilegious plots with all her military force, and having artfully diverted, from the defence of his country, the king to whom the diet had confided the National forces, she shamefully betrayed the very traitors themselves. By such arts, having made herself mistress of the state of Poland, she invited Frederick William to take part of the plunder, to recompense him for having broken a most solemn treaty with the Republic, under imaginary pretexts, whose falsity and impiety accord only with tyrants; but in fact to satisfy the boundless ambition of extending his tyranny, by an invasion of the adjacent nations.

These two powers, confederated against Poland, have violently seized the immemorial and incontestable possessions of the Republic; and for this purpose, have obtained, in a diet, convoked with this view, a forced approbation of their usurpations. They have compelled the subjects to take an oath, and to a state of slavery, by imposing on them the most grievous burthen, and acknowledging no law but their arbitrary wills, by a new language and unknown in the law of nations, have audaciously assigned to the existence of the Republic a rank inferior to all other powers, in making it appear every where, that the laws, as well as the limits of sovereigns depend absolutely on their caprices; and that they regard the North of Europe, as a prey doomed to the rapacity of their despotism.

But the remainder of Poland has not been able to purchase any amelioration of its fate, at the price of such cruel misfortunes. The Czarina, in concealing her ultimate designs, which must be prejudicial to the powers of Europe, in the mean time sacrifices Poland to her barbarous and implacable vengeance. She tramples under her feet the most sacred rights of the liberty, the safety, and property of citizens. Opinions and Freedom of thought in Poland find no shelter from her persecuting suspicions, and she attempts even to enchain the very speech of the citizens. None but traitors find any indulgence with her, and these are encouraged that they may commit every species of crimes. The property of the revenues of the public are becoming the prey of her rapacity. The property of our citizens has been seized; because the country was subdued, these plunderers have divided among them the charges of the Republic, that they might seize the spoil; and in usurping impiously the name of National Government, tho' the slaves of a foreign tyranny, they have done whatever their wills dictated.

The Permanent Council, whose establishment was imposed upon us by a foreign power, suppressed legally by the national will, and recently re-established by traitors, has by order of the Russian minister, overleaped the bounds of its power, which it had received with meanness from the same minister, in re-establishing, reforming, suppressing arbitrarily the constitutions which had just been framed and those which had been abolished.

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In a word, the pretended government of the nation, the liberty, the safety and property of the citizens are in the hands of the slaves of a servant of Czarina, whose troops deluge the country, and serve as a rampart to support these detestable men.

Borne down by an immense pressure of evils, vanquished by treachery, rather than by force of foreign enemies, destitute of all protection from the national government; having lost our country, and with her the enjoyment of the most sacred rights of liberty, of personal safety and of property; having been deceived, and becoming the derision of some nations, while we are abandoned by others; we citizens, inhabitants of the Palatinate of Cracow, by sacrificing to our country our lives, the only good which tyranny has not condescended to wrest from us, will avail ourselves of all the extreme and violent measures, that civic despair suggests to us. Having formed a determined resolution to perish and entomb ourselves in the ruins of our country, or to deliver the land of our fathers from a ferocious oppression, and the galling yoke of the ignominious bondage, we declare in the face of Heaven and before all the human race, and especially before all the nations, that know how to value liberty above all the blessings of the universe, that to make use of the incontestable right of defending ourselves against tyranny and armed oppression, we do unite, in the spirit of Patriotism, of civism and of fraternity, all our forces; and persuaded that a fortunate issue of our arduous enterprize depends principally on our strict union, we renounce all the prejudices of opinion, which have divided or may still divide the citizens, inhabitants of the same territory, and children of one common country; and we pledge ourselves to each other to spare no sacrifices whatever, but on the other hand to use all the means which the sacred love of Freedom can inspire in the breast of man; all that despair can suggest for his defence.

The deliverance of Poland from foreign troops, the recovery of the entire possessions of the state, the extirpation of all oppression and usurpation, as well external as internal, the re-establishment of the national liberties and the independence of the Republic are the sacred objects of our insurrection. But to insure success to our undertaking, it is necessary that an active power should direct the national force. Considering attentively the actual situation of our country, and of its inhabitants, it appears necessary to resort to extreme and decisive measures; to wit, those of naming a commander in chief of the armed force of the nation, to establish a temporary Supreme National Council, a Commission of Good Order, a Supreme Criminal Court of Appeals, and a subordinate Criminal Court in our Palatinate. For this purpose, with the consent of the assembly, we ordain as follows:

1. We elect and declare by this act, Thaddee Kosciuszko sole commander in chief of all our armed forces.

THE KOSCIUSZKO INSURRECTION

2. The said commander in chief, shall immediately convene a Supreme National Council. We confide to his civic zeal the choice of the members, who shall compose it; and also to care of organizing the Council. The chief himself shall have a seat in the Council as an active member.

3. The organization of the armed force of the nation shall be entrusted solely to the chief; as also the nomination of military officers of every grade; he shall also employ his force against the enemies of his country, and of this actual insurrection. The Supreme National Council shall, without any delay, fulfill the orders and dispositions of the commander in chief, elected by the free will of the nation.

4. In case the chief Kosciuszko, by reason of sickness or otherwise, shall not discharge the duties of his important office, he shall name his lieutenant after having communicated for this purpose, with the Supreme Council; chief interim, and the Council shall appoint in the place of T. Kosciuszko, another commander in chief. In both cases, the supreme chief of the forces, not being immediately appointed by the nation, but by the Supreme Council, shall be subject to the orders of the said Council.

5. The Supreme Council shall have the care of the public treasury, for maintaining the forces and providing for the expenses of the war; as also for supporting this insurrection. Therefore the Council is authorized to ordain temporary imposts, to dispose of all national property and funds, and to negotiate loans in this or foreign countries. The same Council shall ordain the levy of recruits, shall furnish the national troops with every thing necessary for the war; arms, ammunition and clothing. They shall endeavor to procure a sufficiency of provisions for the nation and the army; maintain order; watch over the safety of the country; and removing all obstacles and disconcerting all plans prejudicial to our great object, they shall take care that public justice be administered with promptitude and energy. They shall endeavor to negotiate with foreign powers for support and assistance. In short they shall endeavor to rectify public opinion, and rouse a national spirit, that Liberty and their country may become the most powerful incentives with all the Poles, to make the greatest sacrifices for the public good. These are the principal duties imposed on the Supreme National Council.

6. We create in our Palatinate a Commission of Good Order, by organizing it for the present in a particular manner. This Commission shall be among us, a single organ, a chief executive magistrate of the armed forces and Supreme Council.^{12a} It shall be bound to execute all their orders and all their regulations, conformable to their powers. The Supreme Council shall prescribe

^{12a} Faulty translation; the sentence should be: This Commission shall be the only executive organ of the commander in chief and of the Supreme Council.

immediately the organization and particular duties of this commission. We on our parts engage strictly to execute their decrees.

7. The Supreme Council shall prescribe the arrangement, the proceedings and the fixed principles of the supreme criminal jurisdiction, which shall sit near the Council.

8. As in the present circumstances, we cannot conveniently choose suitable persons to form the Supreme Criminal Tribunal except those of the Palatinate, therefore we charge the Council to make choice of judges from among the persons, who, by the last free territorial dietines and elections of the cities, were designated for those judicatures.

9. The Tribunal shall have cognizance of all crimes against the nation, and all proceedings contrary to the object of this sacred association, as also of all crimes against the safety of the country. All these crimes shall be punished with death.

10. We commit to the commander in chief of our armies, the power of establishing a Council of War, according to military rules and customs.

11. We reserve to ourselves most solemnly, by the act prescribed, that none of the temporary powers, we have now established, shall hereafter either separately or collectively form any of the acts which shall compose a national constitution. Every act of that nature shall be regarded by us, as a usurpation of national sovereignty, like that against which we are now struggling, at the hazard of our lives.

12. All the temporary powers created by the present act, shall exist in full force, until we have obtained the object of our present association, that is, until Poland shall be delivered from foreign troops, and of all armed forces, opposed to this our association; and until the entire possession of our territorial rights shall be secured. Of this the commander in chief and the Council shall be bound to notify the citizens, under the most rigid responsibility of their persons and property. Then the nation, assembled by its representatives, shall cause to be rendered an account of its labors and of the proceedings of the temporary authorities, and shall publish to the world their gratitude towards the virtuous children of their country, by recompensing their labor and sacrifices in proportion to their real services. Then they will decide on their future prosperity and that of the most distant generations.

13. We require the commander in chief of the forces and Supreme Council, to inform the nation, by frequent proclamations, of the true state of public affairs, without concealing or disguising the most disastrous events. Our despair is at its height; and the love of our country knows no bounds. The most cruel misfortunes, and the most insurmountable difficulties shall neither enfeeble nor discourage our virtue and civic valor.

14. We pledge ourselves to each other and to the whole nation, for our firmness in enterprize, for our fidelity to the princ-

iples, and our obedience to the national authorities, expressed and decreed in this act of association. We conjure the commander of our forces and the Supreme Council, by the love of their country, to employ all the means capable of delivering the nation and saving the Polish territories. By depositing in their hands the power of commanding our persons and our estates, during the combat of Liberty with despotism, of justice with oppression and tyranny, we desire that they may keep constantly in view this great truth, that THE SAFETY OF A NATION IS THE SUPREME LAW.

Done at Cracow, March 24, 1794, in an assembly of Citizens, inhabitants of the Palatinate.

(Here follows some thousands of signatures).

Conformable to the original — GASPAR MZCIZEWSKY,¹³
Commissary of Good Order of the Palatinate.¹⁴

“PROCLAMATION OF THADDEE KOSCIUSKO,
COMMANDER IN CHIEF OF THE ARMIES OF THE
NATION TO THE CITIZENS OF POLAND.”

“Dear Fellow Citizens,

“Having been often called to assist in the salvation of our common country, behold I obey the call—but I cannot be useful to you, or break the chains of slavery, if you do not give me speedy succour!—Support me with your whole force, and fly to the standard of your country! In this common cause, the same zeal ought to animate us all.

“Make voluntary sacrifices of your wealth, which hitherto, instead of being at your own disposal, was at the will of the despot! Furnish men capable of bearing arms. Do not refuse the necessary provisions of bread, biscuit, etc. Send horses, shirts, boots, cloth and canvas for tents. The generous sacrifices made to liberty and your country, will receive the recompence in the gratitude of the nation.

“The last moment is arrived, in which despair, in the midst of shame and reproach, puts arms in your hands. Our hope is in the contempt of death, which can alone enable us to ameliorate our fate, and that of our posterity. Far be from us that terror which the enemies, conspired against us, endeavor to infuse into our minds.

“The first step to throw off the yoke is to dare to believe ourselves free—and the first step to victory is a confidence in our strength!

“Citizens, the Palatinate of Cracow affords you a signal example of patriotism. It offers the flower of its youth, having already granted pecuniary and other assistance—their example is worthy of imitation—do not hesitate to place credit in your

¹³ Kasper Menciszewski.

¹⁴ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, August 22, 1794.

country, which will reward you well—the ordinance issued by the Generals of the Palatinate, and the commander of the troops, to furnish the necessary provisions, will be placed to the account of imposts, and will be paid for in the sequel. It is unnecessary to encourage you before hand, because that would appear to doubt your civism; the continued oppression practiced by the Russian soldiers, ought sufficiently to convince you, that it is better to make voluntary sacrifices to your country, than to make sacrifices by force of any enemy. Whoever in these circumstances dare to be insensible to the urgent necessities of the country, must draw upon himself eternal infamy.

“Dear fellow citizens, I expect every thing from your zeal—your hearts will join that sacred union which is neither the work of foreign intrigue, nor of a desire of domination, but is solely the effect of a love for liberty.

“Who does not declare for us is against us. He who refuses to associate with those who have sworn to shed their last drop of blood for their country, is either an enemy or one who is neuter and in such a cause neutrality is a crime against civism. I have sworn to the nation that the powers entrusted to me shall not be applied to the oppression of the people. At the same time, I declare, that whoever acts against our confederacy, shall suffer the punishment established in the National act, of a traitor and enemy to his country.

“We have already sinned by connivance, which has ruined Poland. Scarce has an offence against the people ever been punished. Let us now adopt a different mode of conduct; and let us recompence virtue and civism by pursuing and punishing traitors. (Signed)

“Thaddee Kosciusko.

“Head quarters at Cracow, March 24, 1794”.¹⁵

BRIGADE OF MANGET REPULSED BY RUSSIANS.

London, April 16-19.

Letters from Warsaw of the 2nd inst. state that the scenes of insurrection in that country bear a very serious appearance, since General Kosciusko has rendered himself master of Cracow. The Revolutionary Tribunal in that city has already condemned to death, and hanged on a gallows erected in a market place, the Castellan Rimisewski, for high treason.¹⁶

The Russian garrison having left Cracow under the command of Lieut.-Col. Leycassin,¹⁷ to join the rest of their coun-

¹⁵ This document was also written by Kosciusko. *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, July 3, 1794.

¹⁶ Korzon says that the revolutionary tribunal at Cracow issued only one death sentence during the Insurrection, namely against a certain Dziewonski. (*Wewnętrzne Dzieje Polski za Stanisława Augusta*, vol. I, p. 476).

¹⁷ Lykoshin was recalled by Igelstrom, the Russian commander-in-chief in Poland, from Cracow to join the pursuit of Madalinski. This facilitated the occupation of Cracow by Kosciusko.

trymen who were marching against the rebels. Lieut. Col. Leycassin was attacked in his retreat by the Polish brigade of Walewski, commanded by Brigadier Manget. The former lost his equipage, but the Russian general Rachmanow having joined him with some squadrons, the brigade of Walewski was repulsed with great loss. ¹⁸

The Polish regiments in Lithuania and Podlachia, whose reduction was resolved upon, are also in open rebellion.

On the 1-st inst. the intelligence was received at Warsaw, that the Prussians had advanced within five leagues of that capital, and would approach still nearer should it be required. The Prussians are also advancing in great force to Cracow. The Russian General Tormanzow is immediately to attack that city, where the number of the armed insurgents amounts to between 6 and 7,000 men of the lowest description. They are also said to have some old pieces of artillery and plenty of French money. ¹⁹

The tribunal of the diet is to be convened to judge the delinquents.

The Prussian minister has already presented several notes respecting the depredations of Madalinski, which have obliged his Majesty to let his troops march into Poland to secure his own frontiers. ²⁰

RUSSIANS AND PRUSSIANS TRY TO SUPPRESS THE INSURRECTION.

The Russian Minister, Baron Igelstrom, has formerly requested an investigation and account of the disturbances in the Nurer, Lomzyner, ²¹ and other districts of Woywodships of Masuren, towards South Prussia; and on being informed that the insurgents were headed by a nobleman, a brigadier of the Polish national troops, who refused to disband according to the late order for reducing the army, the Russian Minister made a further demand in writing, signifying, that as the disturbances were occasioned by an internal commotion, the troops of the Republic should be sent to quell the disorder. Upon this the commissaries of war informed the Council that such a measure would be unsafe, as they had observed that the troops were universally favourable in their inclinations towards Madalinsky and his cause; and on this account, no forces had been sent against him. We have learnt nothing lately of this chief, except that he was in

¹⁸ Manget was defeated by Lykoshin and Tormasow at Opatow, near Pinczow (Korzon, *Ib.*, vol. VI, p. 96).

¹⁹ The strength of the forces active in Poland as given by the contemporary press is usually very unreliable. At Racławice Kosciuszko had about 6,000 men, beside a small garrison at Cracow (Korzon, *Ib.*, vol. VI, p. 93) while at the end of April his army numbered 17,500 men (*Ib.*, vol. VI, p. 99).

²⁰ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, June 12, 1794.

²¹ Nur, a village, and Lomza, a city, northeast of Warsaw.

the districts of Plock and Dobrzyn, from whence he had passed the Vistula into South Prussia, ravaging those of Sochaczew and Gombin, and intending to march to Petrykow.²² This was the more probable, as the post due from that place on Friday had not arrived at Warsaw on Sunday.

March 27.

This capital, at this moment, is in the utmost state of fermentation; and within these few days it has assumed quite a military aspect. In the town, and its vicinities, there are no less than 15,000 Russian mercenaries.²³ The arrival of these troops is in consequence of the resistance of the people to the yoke, imposed on them by the Empress of Russia. The people appear actuated by one glorious sentiment, which breathes a spirit of pure and unadulterated liberty.

The Russian placeman, General Igelstrom, who is the proprietor of five thousand Russian slaves, has delivered an official document to our permanent council. It represents the danger which threatens the king, who the people declare is both destitute of patriotism and fortitude. It also states, that the prevailing conspiracy not only menaces Stanislaus, but Igelstrom himself, and every member of the government. In consequence of this circumstance, the Police is charged to seize every person suspected of being inimical to the existing government, with a promise in the case of resistance of the most active support from a blind, sanguinary, and bigoted military.

Yesterday advice was received, which has considerably cheered the spirits of the Patriots. It states that 1,800 men, commanded by M. Manget, have also revolted, and joined the army commanded by that brave and resolute Patriot, Madalinsky. The latter is now at the head of 4,000 men at Nowe Miasto, and several squadrons belonging to another Patriot have joined those brave fellows.

On the 22-d a decree passed, by which the insurgents are declared rebels, subject to the most arbitrary punishments. Another circumstance which occasions considerable alarm and anxiety here, is the official declaration communicated by the Prussian Ambassador, which states, that a body of Prussian troops were to enter yesterday into the Woywodships of Sandomir and Cracovy.

Numerous red caps have lately been exhibited in the public streets, and in the dietine held at Chelm, a resolution has actually passed to adopt the French dress there. The king is guarded by Russian soldiers, as he is unpopular, and even dispised by the

²² Plock, Dobrzyn, Sochaczew and Gombin, cities west of Warsaw. — Piotrkow, a city midway between Warsaw and Cracow.

²³ Korzon gives the strength of the Russian garrison at Warsaw at 7,948 men, besides 1,650 Prussians under Gen. Wolcky at Powonski, a suburb (*Wewnętrzne Dzieje Polski*, vol. VI, p. 101).

Poles. Igelstrom has requested the commissioners of the war department to send a body of Polish troops to oppose Madalinsky, and his army of Patriots, but they have refused.²⁴

b] Warsaw Liberated – The Battle of Raclawice

“MUCH IMPORTANT INTELLIGENCE,
REVOLUTION IN POLAND.”

Warsaw, *Capital of Poland*, April 22.

The spirit of Revolution reigns every where. Gen. *Kosciusko* has erected the Standard of Liberty and the People. He is at present, with his main army near Promnick,¹ intrenched. On the 4-th inst. he had a battle with the Russians, and was, in a small degree, worsted.² On the 17-th a formal insurrection broke out in this city. The arsenal was stormed, and taken, in which were several hundred pieces of cannon. Several of the public offices have been burnt. The insurgents have driven the Russian troops from our environs. The King, unable to quell the insurrection has sought refuge in a convent. They have established a tribunal, which have condemned several to the halter. Gen. *Kosciusko* has published an animated address to the citizens of *Poland*; and events appear favourable to the Revolution.³

THE GREAT VICTORY OF RACLAWICE.

Cracow, April 6.

On the 30-th ultimo, gen. Kosciusko left this city, taking the route for Warsaw, his army of regulars and artillery have been reinforced by 4,000 peasants, armed with pikes, sythes, etc.

The day before yesterday, which was the 4-th inst. at a village called Raclawice, which is about seven German miles from Cracow, on the road to Warsaw, he met with a body of Russian troops consisting of about six thousand men with a park of heavy artillery, who were marching against Cracow, for the purpose of reducing it. They were headed by the Russian gen. Thormanow and advanced in three columns to the attack of the Poles with great impetuosity.

Some squadrons of the Polish cavalry were defeated at the first onset; but their infantry, led on by Gen. Kosciusko in person, and supported by the whole body of peasants, attacked the Russian centre with such a spirit of desperation that the line was immediately broken, and a dreadful carnage of the Russian troops

²⁴ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, June 14, 1794.

¹ Prondnik, a small river, tributary of the Vistula.

² This is the first news of the famous battle of Raclawice, though its outcome is falsely reported, as the battle brought a signal victory to Kosciusko.

³ *Columbian Centinel*, June 25, 1794; *The Newport Mercury*, July 1, 1794; *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, July 3, 1794.

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ensued, the peasants refusing to give any quarter. The Russian corps de reserve, then attempted to take the Poles in flank; but this plan was rendered abortive by the vigilance and coolness of General Kosciusko, and it was likewise completely defeated, and the whole Russian army dispersed.

Colonel Woronzow ⁴ was taken prisoner. Upwards of a thousand Russians were killed upon the field, while the Poles lost only 60 men killed, and about 80 wounded. The Russians likewise lost eleven pieces of heavy cannon, and all their ammunition. ⁵

INSURGENTS SAID TO HAVE CAPTURED WARSAW.

Philadelphia, July 1.

The following most important intelligence from Poland was sent to us as the paper was going to press.

That the insurgents, advancing with great speed from Cracow had attacked Warsaw, which after a furious and most destructive bombardment, they had taken. That the king of Poland had been obliged to retire, with the Prussian and Russian troops into the citadel, to which the patriots were laying siege when the above intelligence was sent away. ⁶

WARSAW IN THE HANDS OF INSURGENTS

London, May 6.

We learn, from the most undubitable authority, that the government has received intelligence from Warsaw of the most important nature.

Among other particulars it is mentioned, that an Insurrection took place on the 17-th of April, against the Russian party in that town, which was followed by a dreadful massacre.

It further states, that the Russian Commander in Chief, Igelstrom, was taken prisoner by the insurgents, who had forced that part of his army that had escaped the massacre, to take refuge with the King in the citadel, which place they were closely investing at the time the accounts came away.

The Russian Minister is also said to have fallen into the hands of the insurgents; and a large army of Poles, from the interior of the country, as well as that under the command of Kosciusko, are on their march with the utmost expedition, to co-operate with the insurgents of Warsaw.

It has been confidently reported here, that the insurgents under General Kosciusko have made themselves masters of the capital of Poland.

Another account mentions, that the Insurgents proceeding rapidly from Cracow to Warsaw, had attacked the latter place in a furious and irresistible manner, which had yielded to their

⁴ Colonel Muromtzev.

⁵ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, July 1, 1794.

⁶ *Ibidem*.

impetuosity and valour; that the King of Poland and the Russian troops have retired to some distance; but that the Patriots had surrounded them and cut off their retreat. ⁷

REGIMENTS FROM VOLHYNIA JOIN KOSCIUSZKO.

Warsaw, April 16.

General Kosciusko is at present with his army in the neighbourhood of Cracow, near Promnick, where he has raised strong intrenchments. General Ratzniski, with a body of 4,000 men of the disaffected Polish troops from Volhynia, has lately marched to the principality of Chelm, where he was joined by another body of troops under General Czapski; and we understand that they are now both on their march to reinforce the army under Kosciusko. ⁸ There are likewise accounts, that the latter corps has already passed the Vistula at Josephow, about 25 leagues from this capital.

There have also been insurrections in Lithuania. The Foot Guards of that Province have been surrounded by Russian troops, before they were disbanded, and at the same time disarmed.

The Russians are said to have plundered the magnificent Chateau belonging to Prince Czartorinski, ⁹ about 18 leagues distance from hence, in consequence of a report there in circulation, that the son of that Prince has joined the party of the Insurgents at Cracow. ¹⁰

TOASTS TO POLAND

Philadelphia, July 7.

The 18th Anniversary of American Liberty was celebrated by the Democratic Society, with other patriotic citizens, at Dally's hotel last Friday, where, after a handsome repast, the following sentiments were drank amidst the loudest applause.

6. The patriots of Poland; May their oppressors be led in chains by them, and their future government be of their own choice. ¹¹

New York, July 5.

Yesterday a very numerous and respectable Company of the Merchants of this city assembled at the Tontine Coffee House to celebrate the anniversary of our Independence; at four o'clock the company sat down to an elegant dinner. Nicholas Cruger,

⁷ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, June 30, 1794.

⁸ The Polish regiments in Volhynia, including those of Generals Czapski and Raczynski, joined the Insurrection. Their actual strength was 6,408 men. The soldiers elected Lt. Col. Grochowski their commander rejecting four Generals, including Czapski and Raczynski whom they distrusted (*Korzon, Wewnętrzne Dzieje Polski*, vol. VI, p. 109).

⁹ Pulawy, southeast of Warsaw, seat of Prince Adam Casimir Czartoryski, Polish statesman.

¹⁰ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, June 30, 1794.

¹¹ *Ib.*, July 7, 1794.

Esq.,¹² was placed in the chair. After dinner the following toast were drank:

13. Kosciusko—may he become the Washington of Poland.¹³
Philadelphia, July 8.

An entertainment on that day on which the United States of America became free and independent, was celebrated in the most convivial and harmonious manner, by the Pennsylvania Cincinnati Society, at Richardett's Hotel. After an elegant dinner, the following patriotic toasts were drank:

8. Kosciusko and the brave Poles, who have risen to recover the Liberties of their Country—Success to their glorious efforts.¹⁴

Philadelphia, July 8.

On Friday the 4-th instant, the troop of Volunteer Greens dined at Gray's Ferry, at a table very sumptuously provided by Mr. George Weed. After dinner the following toasts were drank:

9. The brave Kosciusko and his band of Patriots—May the Polish cavalry ride rough-shod over the slaves of the Northern She-Bear. Three cheers.¹⁵

Newport, July 8.

On Friday last was celebrated in this town, the Anniversary of American Independence.

At 12 o'clock the Artillery Company formed at the head of the Parade and fired Fifteen Volleys in Honor of the Day, and at 3 o'clock P. M. partook of an elegant Dinner in the State House, at which they were favoured with the Company of Generals Rochambeau and Ricard with their Suits.¹⁶

After Dinner the following Toasts were drank:

7. To the oppressed Poles:—The Spirit, the Union and the Success of Men determined to be free.¹⁷

New York, July 5.

The toasts, drank at the Democratic festival, are as follows:

13. Our true Republican brethren in Poland, England, Ireland and Scotland: May their efforts for liberty be speedily crowned with success. 3 cheers.¹⁸

New York, July 5.

Yesterday, being the 4-th July, Capt. Curtenius's Company of Artillery, assembled at Little's Tavern, to celebrate that glori-

¹² Nicholas Cruger, grandson of John Cruger, colonial mayor of New York, 1739-1744. He was a personal and trusted friend of George Washington and of Alexander Hamilton. (*Lamb's Biographical Dictionary of the U. S.*, vol. II, p. 274).

¹³ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, July 8, 1794.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹⁶ Donatien Marie Joseph de Vimeur Vicomte de Rochambeau, son of the commander in chief of the French forces in America in 1780-1783. He commanded French forces in San Domingo (Haiti).

¹⁷ *The Newport Mercury*, July 8, 1794.

¹⁸ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, July 9, 1794.

ous Era.—After partaking of a truly Republican Repast, the following Toasts were drank:

6. The virtuous Sons of Poland, who have dared to maintain their rights against the Tyrants of their country, tho' deceived by the Punic faith of their guarantees.—May success attend their arduous struggles.¹⁹

Trenton, July 5.

The Cincinnati of the State of New Jersey, having met this year at Trenton, the day was celebrated by them with a procession, a Divine Service by the Rev. James F. Armstrong and a dinner at the Indian Queen in the presence of the Governor of the state,²⁰ his suite, and other officers and citizens of the place. After dinner the following toasts were drank:

11. Kosciusko and the 17-th of April 1794, in Poland.²¹

Philadelphia, July 9.

The 18-th anniversary of American Liberty was celebrated by the volunteer companies of artillery and cavalry, at the seat of Mr. Robert Morris, in Buck's County, commanded by Captains Clunn and Gibbs, attended by a number of respectable citizens from different parts of the country, and after a plentiful repast, the following toasts were drank:

9. The oppressed Poles, may they follow with the enthusiasm of Sans Culottes, the banners of Freedom and Kosciusko, until tyranny is expelled from their country.²²

Philadelphia, July 9.

On Friday, the anniversary of American nativity, the Ciceronian Society, in conjunction with a select number of friends assembled at a small distance from the city, to commemorate that magnanimous event. After hearing a patriotic oration, and partaking of a suitable entertainment, the following toasts were read, drank, and universally re-echoed by the company:

14. The patriotic citizens of Poland; May the success of their armies equal the justice of their cause.²³

Philadelphia, July 10.

Friday last being the anniversary of American Independence, the officers of the 2-nd Regiment of Philadelphia militia commanded by Lieut. Col. John Barker,²⁴ met at the Swan tavern on Schuylkill banks, where they partook of an elegant entertainment, after which the following toasts were drank:

¹⁹ *Ibidem.*

²⁰ Richard Howell.

²¹ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, July 9, 1794.

²² *Ibidem.*

²³ *Ibidem.*

²⁴ Gen. John Barker (1746-1818), a Revolutionary officer, Mayor of Philadelphia in 1808-1809, High Sheriff of the city and county of Philadelphia, father of Major James Nelson Barker, mayor of the city in 1819. (Henry Simon, *The Lives of Eminent Philadelphians*, Phila., 1859, p.p. 25-26).

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3. The revolution in Poland—May all who dare assert their right, be victorious.²⁵

New York, July 8.

Friday last being the 18-th anniversary of the Independence of the United States, after partaking of a Republican repast prepared for the occasion, the following toasts were drank with sincerity, by the fourth company of Artillery, of Col. L. Bauman's regiment:

3. The People of Poland, may they soon regain their rights and privileges in defiance of ambitious despots and their adherents.²⁶

Baltimore, July 7.

The Republican Society, after partaking in the duties and amusements of the forenoon, met at the Assembly room at 1 o'clock, when an oration was delivered by citizen Archibald Buchanan. After this, they dined at Mr. Grant's. The following toasts were drank:

6. The patriots of Poland.²⁷

July 8.

At a respectable meeting of the citizens of Baltimore town, at Mr. Evan's tavern, to celebrate the 4-th day of July, 1776, the following toasts were drank, by the company, unanimously:

5. The King and People of Poland.²⁸

Springfield (Mass.), July 5.

Yesterday being the anniversary of American Independence, the day was ushered in by the ringing of our parish bells, and a salute from a small piece of ordnance. The Tree of Liberty of 89 feet high was decorated with a flag. At eleven o'clock Captain Steel's troop of horse, Capt. Lamb's company of Grenadiers, and Capt. Halsey's company of infantry were paraded. At three o'clock the whole company retired to Major Woolley's, where a handsome dinner was provided in the friendly shade of an orchard opposite his house. The following toasts were drank, accompanied by a discharge from the ordnance.

8. The Counter Revolution in Poland—May the flame of Patriotism spread in that injured country, until they have exterminated the Satellites of despotism.²⁹

Wilmington (Dela.), July 9.

Last Friday, the Society of Cincinnati of this State held their annual meeting. The Society then marched in procession to the old Presbyterian church, after which the Society returned to captain O'Flinn's, and with a number of respectable citizens, partook of an elegant entertainment, when the following patriotic toasts were drank:

²⁵ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, July 10, 1794.

²⁶ *Ib.*, July 11, 1794.

²⁷ *Ibidem.*

²⁸ *Ibidem.*

²⁹ *Ib.*, July 14, 1794.

7. Kosciusko, and the brave revolutionists of Poland—may their taste of liberty inspire them with enthusiasm equal to their bold enterprise.³⁰

Philadelphia, July 15.

On Friday the 4-th of July, the Tammany Fishkill Company met at Fort Proctor, on the west bank of Schuylkill, to commemorate the 18-th anniversary of American Independence—after dinner the following toasts were drank, amidst reiterated bursts of joy:

10. The intrepid Polish General, Kosciusko—may success crown his efforts to restore to the Polanders their natural and insulted rights.³¹

Wilmington (Dela.), July 12.

On Friday the 4-th July, the Independent Volunteer Company of Wilmington, met at their usual parade, from where they marched to a piece of wood, and after performing the different military evolutions, sat down under the shade to a rural repast. The Company returned to town through an incessant shower of rain, and taking their station in the lower market-house, drank the following sentiments:

8. The Polish Patriots.³²

Portsmouth (N. H.), July 8.

Friday last being the nineteenth anniversary of American Independence, a very respectable part of the inhabitants of this town met at the Assembly Room to celebrate the day. After partaking of a sumptuous entertainment provided for the occasion, the following patriotic toasts were drank, viz.

6. The brave General Kosciusko and his patriotic army—may their glorious efforts to restore freedom and happiness to the Polish nation be crowned with abundant success.³³

Concord (Mass.), July 4.

To fan the sacred flame of 1775 in the town of Concord, and to celebrate the important 4-th of July, 1776, a respectable number of her citizens, joined by many kindred souls from neighbouring towns, met at Jones' tavern, where they partook of a neat republican cold collation, and with truly republican hilarity and conviviality, drank the following republican toasts:

8. The Friends of Liberty in Poland, and in every part of the world, may their virtuous efforts be crowned with success.³⁴

Boston, July 10.

Toasts given on Friday last, by the Artillery Company, under the command of Capt. Bradlee:

³⁰ *Ibidem.*

³¹ *Ib.*, July 15, 1794.

³² *Ib.*, July 16, 1794.

³³ *Ib.*, July 18, 1794.

³⁴ *Ib.*, July 21, 1794.

THE FALL OF POLAND IN CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN OPINION

7. General Kosciusko:—The brave Champion of Poland!—May "Liberty or Death," be the standard of his country:—3 times 3 cheers.³⁵

Carlisle (Pa.), July 9.

Friday, the 4-th of July, being the anniversary of American Independence, a select Company of citizens of this borough, met on purpose to celebrate that auspicious day. Citizen Jordan being called to the chair, the following sentiments were given:

9. Success to the heroic patriots of Poland, who have resumed their arms to expel their savage invaders; may they never lay them down until they tumble the ravenous she-bear of the North a headless trunk from her throne of iniquity.³⁶

Halifax (N. C.), July 4.

The morning of this auspicious day was announced here by the firing of cannon. The gentlemen of the town assembled at one o'clock, and sat down at three to an Elegant Dinner. After dinner the following toasts were drank, each accompanied with a discharge of artillery by captain Long's Company.

7. The Patriots of Poland.³⁷

Bergen County, Hackensack (N. J.), July 8.

Last Friday being the commencement of the 19th year of American Independence, the morn was announced by the ringing of the bells and a salute of fifteen rounds by captain Allen's artillery. At the hour of ten, Col. Wade's regiment, joined by Capt. Blanch's company of artillery and Capt. Mecker's squadron, assembled on the parade together with a great number of the officers of the county and its republican citizen; and proceeded to the Church, where an elegant discourse was delivered by the Rev. Solomon Freligh.

The procession returned to the place of parade, where the troops went through a number of evolutions and then joined in a social repast. After dinner the following toasts were drank:

6. The patriotic Polanders — may they go on and prosper.³⁸

Carlisle (Pa.), July 16.

Monday being the 14th of July, the Grenadier Company paraded and accompanied by a number of respectable inhabitants of that borough marched to the farm of Mr. Andrew Holmes, on purpose to commemorate the destruction of the Bastile. The following sentiments were published, each followed by a discharge of cannon.

12. The army of Poland—may propitious Heaven inspire and protect the gallant band and may their ferocious enemies melt within them like wax.³⁹

³⁵ *Ibidem.*

³⁶ *Ibidem.*

³⁷ *Ib.*, July 24, 1794.

³⁸ *Ib.*, July 25, 1794.

³⁹ *Ibidem.*

Springfield (Mass.), July 8.

The Anniversary of Independence was celebrated in West Springfield on Friday last by a large and respectable number of citizens of that and the neighbouring towns. After a parade and sermon by Rev. Dr. Lathrop, they partook of an elegant Colation, after which the following toasts were drank, under a discharge of Artillery.

10. May the oppressed Poles, be successful in their present struggle to emancipate themselves from foreign despotism. ⁴⁰

Hartford (Conn.), July 7.

A large collection of Gentlemen belonging to the city, and some of the neighbouring towns, dined at Mr. Frederick Bull's, with all cheerfulness and temperate conviviality, which the fourth of July ought ever to inspire in the breasts of American citizens. After dinner the following Toasts were drank, accompanied by a discharge of cannon:

10. The Polish General Kosciusko — may he prove the Washington of his country. ⁴¹

Rochester (N. H.), July 5.

Yesterday, being the Anniversary of American Independence, was celebrated by a respectable number of gentlemen in this town. After a procession they went to Major Perkins, where they with the officers of Major Furber's battalion partook of an elegant dinner, at which the following toasts were drank under the discharge of cannon.

13. The Polanders; may they be freed from the Russian and Prussian yoke, and enjoy in peace the Rights of Mankind. ⁴²

Chambersburg (Pa.), July 10.

Friday last being the Fourth of July, the Volunteer Light Infantry Company of this town met for the purpose of celebrating the same. They paraded and performed a number of evolutions and marched to the sign of the Ship, where the remainder of the day was spent. In the course of the evening the following toasts were drank.

9. Success to the Patriots of Poland. ⁴³

Baltimore, July 16.

The following toasts were drank by the Baltimore Washington Rifle Company, at the house of Capt. Reese, on Monday last:

3. Success to the patriotic exertions of the gallant Kosciusko, liberty to Poland, a speedy annihilation of its imperious aristocracy, and confusion to the despots of Russia and Prussia. ⁴⁴

⁴⁰ *Ib.*, July 26, 1794.

⁴¹ *Ibidem.*

⁴² *Ib.*, July 28, 1794.

⁴³ *Ibidem.*

⁴⁴ *Ibidem.*

Baltimore, July 17.

The 14th of July was celebrated at Mr. Gray's by a number of very respectable citizens and foreigners. As some of the toasts are striking for their good sense and novelty, we think they may not be unacceptable to our readers.

3. The patriots of Poland: May their exertions be crowned with success. ⁴⁵

c] Insurrection at Wilno

"THE ILLUSTRIOUS KOSKUISCO."

We have seen a letter from this great patriot, written to a Swedish nobleman in London. ¹ In this general bewails, in terms strongly expressive of indignation and resentment, the sufferings of his country, the pusillanimity of the King, the abject treachery of the nobles, the cruelty of the oppressors.

In this correspondence, he gives no direct intimation of the revolt he was then meditating, nor did his friends suspect it; but it is now manifest that the letter was written while that important event was in contemplation.

The General, who appears to be a man of deep judgment and sound discretion, takes a summary view of the vast natural strength of Poland, though the anarchy of more than an age has rendered it a prey to every surrounding despot. He then compares the internal resources of his country with those of America, at the time that his love of liberty induced him to fight in the service of those states, where he distinguished himself by exploits of the greatest enterprise and valour; and, though he laments the want of maritime strength, he is still of opinion, that Poland, if unanimous, would be able to defend itself against the Russian and Prussian powers, the latter of whom was not known as a kingdom when the brave John Sobieski raised the siege of Vienna, and rescued Europe from Mahometan slavery. ²

"NEW REVOLUTION IN POLAND"

Banks of the Vistula, April 23.

The Revolution in Poland is at the highest pitch. — The patriots have constituted themselves into a revolutionary body. They are masters of Warsaw — and all the Polish artillery contained in the arsenal of that capital.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem.*

¹ Lawrence Engestroem (1751-1827), former Swedish Minister to Poland and Minister to Great Britain at the time of this letter. He later became Chancellor and Prime Minister of Sweden.

² *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, July 5, 1794. This letter of Kosciuszko reprinted from the British press is not mentioned by any of his biographers.

The king is in their hands, as also the Prussian Ambassador, Mr. Von Buchholtz, and Von Asch, the Russian Resident.

Gen. Igelstrom, with the other Russian Generals Apraxin, Pistor and Count Nicholas Zubow, with 1200 Russians, the remains of 5,000 men who garrisoned Warsaw, have joined the Prussians at Zacroczym.³

The patriots are fortyfying Cracow, and levying a great number of new corps.⁴

"REVOLUTION IN POLAND"

The situation in Poland has excited commiseration in every quarter of the civilized world — Surrounded by two potent and ambitious powers, we have seen this devoted Republican kingdom piece mealed to gratify their inordinate lust of dominion — and not one friendly arm has been stretched forth for her relief. Stanislaus, at the age of threescore, has been reduced to the humiliating necessity of abandoning his throne; and when an effort has been made to check the inroads of the Russian and Prussian despots, dare not second the attempt. But if Poland is not to receive benefit from the patriotism of Kosciuszko; it is not to be doubted, that the Republic of France will — for should this pupil of Washington — from whom conductors have proceeded which have elec-terized the world — succeed in any degree in the revolution he contemplates, the Prussian monarch will find sufficient employment for his troops, in defending his newly acquired possessions; and must of course quit the confederation against France.⁵

On every principle, therefore, Kosciuszko has the best wishes for success of every friend to peace and the felicity of the world.⁶

KOSCIUSZKO NOTIFIES THE WORLD OF HIS MOTIVES.

Brandenburgh, May 1.

We have accounts from Poland, that towards the evening of the 18th, everything was quiet at Warsaw. As soon as the Russians were driven out of that city, the gates were shot, pieces of cannon were sent to the Weixel,⁷ and patrols set on foot every where. A sort of government was immediately established. M. Sakrzewsky⁸ was chosen president of the city; and General Mohra-

³ Zakroczym, a town in the district of Warsaw.

⁴ *The Newport Mercury*, July 8, 1794.

⁵ The supposition was true. The Kosciuszko Insurrection detracted not only Prussians but also Austrians from the French theatre of war (T. Korzon, *Kościuszko*, p. 369).

⁶ *Massachusetts Spy*, Worcester, July 10, 1794.

⁷ German name of the Vistula.

⁸ Ignace Zakrzewski (1745-1802), a very prominent and popular member of the Patriotic party, champion of the rights of cities during the Great Diet.

rowsky ⁹ was appointed military commandant. Messengers were sent to General Kosciuszko to tell him, that the confederation of Cracow was accepted. Kosciuszko sent declarations of the motives of his insurrection to Vienna, Constantinople, Sweden, and also to Paris, stating, that he claims the re-establishment of the constitution of 1791 for Poland, and the disappearance of the Russian troops. ¹⁰

It is reported, that 15,000 Poles, whom Russia had taken into their pay, and sent to Volhynia, had marched to join Kosciuszko, upon receiving accounts of what had happened at Warsaw. ¹¹

INSURGENTS RECKON ON FOREIGN ASSISTANCE.

Frontiers of Poland, April 23.

Kosciuszko has entrenched himself near Promnick, in the neighbourhood of Cracow, where he seems inclined to wait to be joined by the different corps of troops, who are on his side (of) the question. General Cazinsky and Capsky have quitted Volhynia, and are marching to his succour with 4000 men. The insurgents affect to reckon on the neutrality of the Court of Vienna, and the assistance of Turkey. The latter seems to be in some measure confirmed, by the warlike preparations making on the part of the Ottoman government, which has induced the Court of Austria to march some troops to the frontiers of Turkey.

The forces of Kosciuszko are estimated at 8000 regulars, to whom are joined 5000 Polish gentlemen. ¹² The united forces of the Russians and Prussians are reckoned at 30,000 men, and reinforcements are marching from Southern Prussia and Silesia. ¹³

PRUSSIA MOBILIZING AN ARMY AGAINST POLAND.

Brandenburgh, May 1.

Every exertion is using to accelerate the march of troops destined for Poland. The King's camp equipage, and those of the Prince Royal and Prince Louis, are getting ready. It is said that his Majesty, instead of going to Posen, will go direct to Breslaw, and after a short stay proceed to Peterikow. ¹⁴

⁹ Gen. Stanislaus Mokronowski.

¹⁰ The Declaration of the Motives of the Insurrection was sent by Kosciuszko also to the United States, probably through the American Minister at Paris (T. Korzon, *Kościuszko*, p. 352). Kosciuszko evidently only intended to make the United States as a country which "knows how to value liberty above all the blessings of universe," a witness of the patriotic intentions of the Poles.

¹¹ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, July 10, 1794; *The Newport Mercury*, July 22, 1794.

¹² At that time Kosciuszko had about 17,500 men, including 5,000 regular troops (T. Korzon, *Wewnętrzne Dzieje Polski*, vol. VI, p. 99).

¹³ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, July 10, 1794. *The Newport Mercury*, July 22, 1794.

¹⁴ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, July 10, 1794.

DETAILS OF THE INSURRECTION AT WARSAW.

Extracts of a letter from Warsaw, April 21.

"To the accounts already given of the tumult at Warsaw, the following particulars are added:

"The rising of the people in this city was accelerated by a note delivered by the Russian Ambassador, General Baron Igelstrom, to the king and permanent council, on the 16th, requiring nothing less than that the arsenal of Warsaw should be delivered up to him, the Polish military disarmed, and that 20 persons mostly of consideration, should be arrested, and if found guilty, punished with death. The king and permanent council remonstrated with M. Igelstrom upon the subject, but to no purpose. All this spread rapidly through the city, and every thing was immediately in motion; and during the night of 16th every thing was preparing for what followed by all the inhabitants and soldiers ¹⁵ in Warsaw. The Russians, of whom there were 6000 in the city, and a number in the neighbourhood, thought they should soon put an end to the disturbance. They attempted early on the morning of the 17th, to get possession of the arsenal, and to disarm the soldiers in it. A deputation flew immediately to the castle and requested the king to revenge such an insult offered to his troops in his capital. His Majesty answered: 'go and defend your honour.' — They immediately took the loaded pieces of cannon which stood before the castle and marched directly to the palace inhabited by the Baron Igelstrom, who was in it. In the mean time the people took possession of the arsenal, armed themselves, drew out the cannon ready to make use of in case of need, and assembled to the number of upwards of 20,000 soldiers, citizens and inhabitants. The contest immediately began, and was very sharp... Among the Russian slain, are some generals, viz. prince Gagarin, Milaszewicz and Igelstrom, brother to the Russian ambassador. Among the prisoners is general Bauer. The Russians were obliged to leave their cannon.

"Baron Igelstrom is still at Zakroczym, where the Prussian general Wolki is posted with a corp of troops." ¹⁶

FALSE REPORTS OF VIOLENCE AT WARSAW.

Warsaw, April 27.

The returns of the loss of the Russians on the 17th and 18th, are 2000 killed and 500 wounded, ¹⁷ and near 2000 made prisoners, besides 36 cannons taken from them. Their General of artillery, Tischel, is among the slain. The Russian Minister to the Duke of Wurtemberg, who was passing through this city, as well as the Baron Von Asch, ¹⁸ and the Secretary of Legation, Divof, are

¹⁵ N. B. Polish soldiers of whom there were about 3,000 in the city.

¹⁶ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, July 10, 1794.

¹⁷ Korzon gives 2,265 Russians killed and 122 injured (*Wewnętrzne Dzieje Polski*, vol. VI., p. 103).

¹⁸ Asch, Russian Consul General at Warsaw.

among the number of prisoners. The Bishop Kossakowski, Count Ankwitz, Baron Soldenhozen and M. Von Boscamp are arrested.¹⁹ All horses are put in a state of requisition; the city has been divided into different sections, nor is any person suffered to stir out of it without a passport, which indeed hitherto has not been granted to any one. On the 26th, one of the prisons being too full, 48 Russians were about to be conducted to another, when the populace over powered the guard, and they were all murdered; — the populace attempted to do the same with some Russian officers who were imprisoned in the arsenal, but were fortunately prevented.

A new council has been formed to carry on the government of the country, consisting of 14 persons, of whom 8 are of the order of nobility, and six burghers.²⁰

The Russian General having with about 1500 men joined the Prussians, they are endeavouring to make their way towards Sieradz, in order to keep a free communication with the Russian troops that are on their march from Livonia.

General Kosciuszko is near Cracow, with about 27,000 men. There are three cannon foundries at Warsaw, where the works are carried on with the greatest activity.

Both at Cracow and Warsaw, and in other places in the power of the insurgents, the inhabitants are armed, and put upon the footing of national guards. The armed men in both cities are computed at 50,000 men.

Although the insurrection has not yet broke out in Lithuania, yet we daily expect to hear that it will, as the revolution will be general.²¹

“ABRIDGEMENT OF THE STATE OF POLITICS FOR LAST WEEK.”

...After the affairs of the French, those of Poland present the most interesting spectacle to the politics and the feelings of Europe. Enveloped as they are in the cloud of distance, we can discover an honest unsophisticated people oppressed by strangers, and a virtuous but unhappy prince struggling in the same toils, lost to his age and useless to his nation. Poland, so long the victim of foreign politics and venal elections, and protected only by the common jealousy of neighbouring states, became the easy prey of treaties and partitions, but at length insted of intriguing and negotiating, we behold the Russian Ambassador give the law at Warsaw, himself a soldier, and an army in his suit. — Prussia,

¹⁹ Joseph Kossakowski (1738-1794), Bishop of Livonia; Joseph Ankiewicz (-1794), Castellan of Soncz; Soldenhof von Soldynghofen, director of a copper mint; Charles Boscamp (-1794), a Frenchman by birth Chamberlain to the King; all, except Soldenhof, were hanged for treason by the mob at Warsaw during the Kosciuszko Insurrection.

²⁰ It was the governing body for the city and Palatinate of Masovia.

²¹ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, July 10, 1794.

which had sometimes been temperate from fear, and just from jealousy, threw off the mask, and avowed that it would divide, not defend the territories of its Ally; an Ally whom it had long deterred and intimidated from deprecating the vengeance of Russia, and securing the friendship of that turbulent court, by concessions equal to its rapacity and ambition. The house of Austria, entangled and embarrassed in a distant and sanguinary war, was content to look on with a sullen neutrality, or to stipulate a reversion and contingency in the price of so much violence and iniquity; Poland remained without a friend, a protector, or an ally; her bitter fortune threw her in the midst of enemies, who are those of one another when they are not her's, and who know no bound of peace, no interruption of hostility, but while they plot her ruin, or consummate the crimes of which she is the victim. Does the court of Vienna regret Silesia, or pant for the reunion of Lorraine and Alsace? the balance is to be preserved in the Germanic body, by indemnifying the king of Prussia with the spoils of Poland. Does Prussia covet the maritime towns of Poland? the empress must have an equivalent in the interior provinces of Poland. And lastly does she (desist) from a design to become a German power, or to occupy the delightful province of European Turkey? — The consent of Prussia is to be bought with a third partition of Poland. Poland pays every crime, and feeds the insatiable maw of avarice, envy, and ambition. — “Indemnify yourself in Poland”, is the spirit of every treaty, and the virtue of every negotiation. ²²

REPORTS OF VIOLENCE DENIED.

Extract of a letter from Warsaw.

The Polish Insurrection is an event which must attract the attention of Europe, it is of consequence therefore, to afford the public every possible light upon the subject. The general fear is, that this insurrection, though undertaken to deliver the country from a foreign yoke, may degenerate into an imitation of those cruelties of which France has become the theatre. Nothing, however, can be more ill grounded than this supposition. All that has been said in the public papers of the executions, and sanguinary sentences that have taken place is entirely false. The National Tribunal established in order to decide upon crimes against the nation, has not yet tried one person. The Cardinal law of Poland, *Neminem captivabimus nisi jure victum*, is respected and strictly adhered to. It is true, that there have been discovered, from the papers of the Russian general and ministers which have fallen into the hands of the patriots, proofs of the most scandalous treason on the part of several individuals; but the proceedings against all the persons taken up in consequence of these discoveries, have been conducted, according to the established practice of the Court

²² *Ibidem*.

at Warsaw, and are then to be decided by the great National Tribunal; a mode directly opposite to that of the French Revolutionary Tribunal. Here the proceedings are not conducted by the Tribunal which condemns, and condemnation cannot be pronounced till after a legal conviction. There the same judges conduct the proceedings, pronounce, condemn, not according to evidence, but in consequence of the persuasion which they have formed of the guilt or innocence of the accused, from a mode of procedure so summary. ²³

THREATS OF AUSTRIA AGAINST THE POLES.

Frontiers of Austria, April 12.

The insurrection in Poland, which our court had not calculated upon, has occasioned here the most lively apprehension. Our armies on the Rhine were to (be) reinforced by the Austrian troops that are in Galicia, and they had already received orders to march for their destination; but this unexpected event in Poland has occasioned a total change in these dispositions and these very troops received orders to form a cordon from Cracow to Brody. It has been at the same time notified to the Gallician nobility, that they would expose themselves to the severest penalties if they were to take any part directly or indirectly in the insurrection which has taken place in that neighbourhood. So the Gallicians are now placed between despotism threatening them with its vengeance if they will be free and liberty in wishing them to shake off the shameful yoke which despotism has lately imposed on them; the part which they are going to take is not dubious: Austria is in want of hands already to maintain her power in the Netherlands; she will likewise want them to consolidate the same among the Polonians; in vain does the court publish that whole Hungaria is ready to support her mad schemes against France. The truth is, that since the military conscription, which Joseph 2nd had established in their kingdom, has been abolished, only 600 men have presented themselves voluntarily to enlist in the new corps intended to fight on the Rhine. ²⁴

POLISH EXILES ARE HASTENING HOME.

London, May 7.

Letters from Vienna of the 18th ult. state, that since the breaking out of the insurrection in Poland, many of the Polish grandees abroad return with great dispatch to their own country—Among others, Prince Poniatowski, nephew to the king of Poland, set out with great speed from Prague to Cracow.

The forces ordered against the patriots in Cracow amount to 60,000 Russians and Prussians, to other particulars it may be added, that a revolutionary spirit having appeared in Lithuania,

²³ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, July 16, 1794.

²⁴ *Kentucky Gazette*, August 2, 1794.

the Lithuanian foot guards at Grodno have been disarmed. A number of respectable persons have been arrested by the Russians.²⁵

REVOLUTION IN POLAND EXCITES INTEREST IN AMERICA.

Newport, August 12.

The Public Mind appears to be greatly and justly solicitous to receive Accounts from Europe. Intelligence to the middle of June would probably be very important.—We might expect the result of the late naval engagement—the fate of the Chesapeake Convoy—the Progress of the New Revolution in Poland...

On all these subjects *Conjecture* would fire but random Shots—Time will soon satisfy Curiosity.²⁶

INSURRECTION AT WILNO.

Warsaw, June 3.

The violence committed by the Russian Commanders has induced the people to resistance; their oppressions have raised general cry of the Citizens of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, in as powerful manner as in Poland.

The Russian Commander in Wilna has just arrested the starost Brostowsky, Mr. Radsissewski, the Prelate Bokus,²⁷ and several others, who were to be all transported to the deserts of Siberia; these arrestations excited the utmost fermentation, particularly among the troops; and the Russian Hetman, Kosakowsky, began to disarm part of the troop, and to put the greater part of the officers whom he suspected in irons.—This was done with the greatest secrecy; but it soon transpired; and Mr. Jasinsky,²⁸ colonel of artillery at Wilna, had just time to counteract these tyrannical measures. It was this great and good man who prepared every thing for the insurrection, and a signal given by a discharge of cannon at one in the morning, brought about this happy change. The inhabitants, all in arms, flocked together from all quarters.

In Great Poland, the insurrections which have already taken place at Lenczyca, Rawa, and Petrikau, will undoubtedly produce a general revolution. The Prussians there are not numerous; the King of Prussia could assemble no more than 15, or 20,000 men, being obliged to keep the people of Silesia in order, who are said to have already manifested a great degree of disaffection.

²⁵ *Ibidem*.

²⁶ *The Newport Mercury*, August 12, 1794.

²⁷ Michael Brzostowski, Starost of Minsk; Radziszewski, former Crown Marshal, and Xavier Bohusz (1746-1823), author, teacher and philanthropist. (Korzon, *Kościuszko*, p. 314).

²⁸ Jacob Jasinski, Lieutenant General in the Kosciuszko Insurrection, killed during the defense of Warsaw.

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The Russians have at this time but about 20,000 men in Poland, including the 800 men which Igelstrom collected together from the wreck of his army.

The following is the state of the Polish forces, published on the 16-th, by order of the Commander General Kosciuszko:

Army of the Commander General.....	24,000 men
That under General Grochonowsky.....	25,000
Corps of Tazynsky.....	8,000
Ditto under Brigadier Monastersky.....	6,000
Army at Warsaw.....	40,000
Corps of Kurpisski, or Chasseurs.....	8,000
Army of Lithuania.....	50,000
Total	161,000 ²⁹

These forces are increasing daily in numbers, in consequence of the speedy and easy organization of the inhabitants of the respective Palatinates, where there are troops of the line.

General Kosciuszko has received an official report from a column of his troops detached from the grand army, consisting of 1,200 men, formerly incorporated in the Russian army in Podolia and Ukraine, who have on the 14-th ult. surprised a body of Russians of 4000 men near Old Constantinow, ³⁰ who were marching to succour Igelstrom; the latter were completely defeated. ³¹

PALATINATE OF CRACOW CLEARED OF RUSSIANS.

Warsaw, May 14.

It is said, that the king had declared to the President Zackrzewsky that he was friendly to the late revolution.—The president told him he must acquaint Kosciuszko with his opinion. It is rumoured that news is received of a corps of 3000 Russians having been completely driven from the whole province of Cracow. It is impossible to conceive how much the peasantry are enraged against the Russians, to whom they give no quarter.

²⁹ The numbers are exaggerated. At the end of May, Kosciuszko had about 30,000 regular forces in all parts of the country (Korzon, *Kosciuszko*, p. 339). At the time of the siege of Warsaw all his forces, regular and irregular, numbered 73,800 men (Korzon, *Wewnętrzne Dzieje Polski*, vol. VI., p. 230). During the whole Insurrection, 94,942 regular and semiregular soldiers, 15,000 city militians and 40,200 peasants, mostly armed with scythes and pikes, all together 150,000 men, served in his army (*Ib.*, vol. VI., p. 370). The above mentioned corps were Gen. Grochowski's, Taszycki's (peasants), Monasterski's, Kurpiki (the inhabitants of the forests of Masovia, famous as sharpshooters), etc.

³⁰ Major Wyszowski of the Dniepr Brigade, without knowledge of his superior officers, started with 1,200 men to Kosciuszko and dispersed a battalion of Russians armed with 6 cannon at Starokonstantynow, on May 1 (Korzon, *Wewnętrzne Dzieje Polski*, vol. VI., p. 113).

³¹ Dunlap and Claypoole's *American Daily Advertiser*, August 18, 1794.

THE KOSCIUSZKO INSURRECTION

Two regiments of infantry, two of cavalry, and 530 men belonging to the artillery, who had entered into the Prussian service, have quitted their station, and joined Kosciusko. Colonel Hauman,³² who marched from Warsaw, has gained some light advantages over the Russian troops, of whom he is in pursuit; but has not been able to force them to an engagement.

Every section of the city of Warsaw is obliged to furnish a regiment of militia of 1000 men. General Kosciusko has joined another considerable corps at Lublin, to watch a Russian army near that place.³³

POLISH ARMY SAID TO NUMBER 67,000 MEN.

London, June 12.

The warlike force of the Polish Confederacy is said to consist of 67,870 men, who are stationed in five divisions.

The corps of Gen. Kosciusko consists of 22,970 men; that of Jassinski, of 6,000 stationed at Grodno; a corps of 12,000 at Wilma, and another at Warsaw consists of 8000. The peasantry are not included in this calculation. The confederates are well provided with every necessary.

The report is perfectly true of the king's having a body guard of 14 citizens set over him, of whom two are to be in constant attendance, and are to accompany him every where. On the 18-th, Count Unruh, the Post Director, Sartorius,³⁴ and some others were arrested.

The provisional council of Poland has ordered that all persons who received any gratification or pension in consequence of taking part with the Russians at Grodno confederacy,³⁵ shall reimburse the same immediately.—Prince Sapieha, has made a present to the Republic of 60,000 Ducats, and forty artillery horses.³⁶ The report of the release of M. Bucholtz is premature.

We learn that 40,000 Russians are marching towards Poland from Ukraine, and 16,000 from Livonia. The Poles have prohibited the exportation of grain and provisions of all sorts.³⁷

Philadelphia, August 8.

The Polish patriots, by the latest accounts, it appears, were carrying on their revolution with great success.³⁷

STANISLAUS AS A SUPPORTER OF THE INSURRECTION

New York, August 25.

(Dispatch courier from New York brought the King's manifesto which is given in full).

By this manifesto it would appear that the king of Poland was an enemy to the Revolt. But this would be a hasty conclusion.

³² Commander of the famous Dzialynski Regiment.

³³ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, August 13, 1794; *The Newport Mercury*, August 19, 1794.

³⁴ Unruh, Director of the Mint; Sartorius, a Prussian spy.

³⁵ During the last Diet.

³⁶ Casimir Nestor Sapieha, General of the Lithuanian Artillery.

³⁷ *The Newport Mercury*, August 19, 1794.

From other facts and subsequent events, it is clear that the king is a real patriot, and ardently longs to get rid of the Russian yoke. But this good man was at first alarmed with apprehensions that the insurrection, like that in France, would put on a ferocious appearance, and aim to level all distinctions and all legal authorities; and thus place life and property at the capricious will and pleasure of popular and irregular societies. This is evident from the foregoing address, and from the king's answer to a deputation from the Council of regency at Warsaw, who were sent to notify him "that the council retained their *respect and attachment for him*, but must yield entire obedience to Gen. Kosciusko, and to request that he would favor their enterprize." The king replied that "he felt grateful for this testimony of their respect and attachment; that no person could have more sincere love for his country than himself; that while he wished their enterprize might issue in producing the happiness of the country, he recommended to them *above everything, to respect religion, property, distinction of ranks and the throne*—that they would prove in one word their *utter detestation of Jacobin maxims*, and that they would replace the decorations of the Polish orders of the white Eagle and St. Stanislaus." This last request was complied with, and as a proof of their respect for religion, the council directed a *te Deum* and other solemnities to be performed on Easterday.

Whatever may have been the king's misgivings at first respecting the Insurrection, it is certain that about or before the first of May, he openly espoused the cause.³⁸

KING OF PRUSSIA AT POZNAN.

London, May 27.

Letters from Posnania and Polish frontiers, down to the 22 ult. state that the king of Prussia reached that city on the 16-th ult. where it is supposed that a Congress will be held between the ministers of the different Courts interested in the fate of Poland.³⁹

EXECUTION OF TRAITORS.

Warsaw, May 12.

On the 8-th instant a circumstance occurred which caused much conversation here. In the afternoon, the king took his ordinary walk and crossed the river Wksel towards Prague.⁴⁰ A report immediately prevailed that the king wished to escape. As soon as his majesty was acquainted with it, he returned to his palace.

A report prevailed at the same time, that the Russians and Prussians were on their march hither. In half an hour the whole town was armed, and cannon drawn out of the arsenal. It was however soon discovered that the rumour had been spread abroad

³⁸ *The (N. Y.) Herald*, August 25, 1794.

³⁹ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, August 14, 1794.

⁴⁰ Praga, a suburb of Warsaw.

by persons who were known to be attached to the Russian interest. Among these Count Ankiewicz, and Gen. Zabiello,⁴¹ who with several others were instantly arrested. The people wished to hang these persons immediately; but on being assured that they should be tried the next day, and punished if found guilty, the mob was appeased.

On the morning of the 9-th, the Provisionary Council assembled at the Senate-house, when the marshal of the crown, Ozarowski;⁴² Count Ankiewicz; Kossakowski, bishop of Lifland, and Count Zabiello, were brought forth and made acquainted with the charge laid against them. In the afternoon, after a trial of four hours, they were all hung on four different gallows. Kossakowski was executed on the gallows erected before a convent; and it is said, he requested to be first permitted to receive the sacrament, but this grace was refused him. The mob, both men and women, testified great joy. Under each gallows were inscribed these words: PUNISHMENT FOR THE TRAITORS TO THEIR COUNTRY. During the execution, the streets were filled with people under arms; there was no disturbance whatever. The bodies hung until 11 o'clock at night, when they were carried out of the town, and buried in the same manner as is usual with other prisoners. It is hoped that the people will be satisfied with these executions.

The Prussian Minister von Buchholtz has been recalled by the King, and has obtained a pass from the Council.

The utmost care and vigilance is still observed in the defence of Warsaw. Our troops form a line almost the whole way to Cracow. Skirmishes frequently take place between our troops and little detachments of Russians. Kosciusko would probably have made this city his head quarters, if prudence would permitted it—for in case of ill success he might be cut off from reaching Cracow. This general has published a Proclamation, that persons of all ranks, from 15 to 50 years of age should arm themselves for the defence of their country. The Nobles and Priests are ordered to supply the peasants with pikes. The Poles found 80 pieces of cannon in the arsenal of Wilno.

The command of the Polish troops in Lithuania is given to the young Prince Sapieha,⁴³ a relation of Count Potocki.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Joseph Zabiello, the last Lithuanian Field Hetman, a member of the Confederation of Targowica.

⁴² Peter Ozarowski, the last Grand Hetman of the Crown, also a member of the Confederation of Targowica.

⁴³ Gen. Michael Wielhorski was made commander in Lithuania by Kosciusko; Francis Sapieha was nominated Lieutenant General by him (Korzon, *Kościuszko*, p. 316).

⁴⁴ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, August 14, 1794.

ANOTHER TRAITOR HANGED AT WILNO.

Poland, May 3.

Among the 30,000 Russians ordered for Poland is the whole garrison of Riga. Lieutenant General Fersen, from Petersburg, is to take the command. The present troubles are a great hindrance to the trade of Dantzic and Elbingen.

Some of the reduced Polish regiments in Wilna joined in the attack upon the Russians on the 18-th.⁴⁵ Marshal Kossakowski's⁴⁶ trial lasted four hours; upon the gallows on which he was executed was inscribed—"According to the will of the nation." The Russian General Arseniew was made prisoner. The Russian General Prince Sicasnoff,⁴⁷ at Grodno, escaped by evacuating the place in time and entrenching himself at Niemen.

It is certain that one of General Denizow's detachments has suffered a defeat, though nothing is known of the affair, but that near 100 carriages of wounded Poles had been brought to Warsaw, and that all the regular troops, amounting to 12,000, were immediately sent off to repair the loss.⁴⁸

General Kosciuszko has written to the commandant of Warsaw, ordering the inflicting of punishment upon such officers as did not exert themselves on the 17-th of April, and reward for such as were active.

Precautions were taken at Dantzic, as if an insurrection was apprehended there.⁴⁹

KOSCIUSZKO REPULSES ATTACKS OF RUSSIANS.

London, May 28.

Kosciuszko is reported to have defeated the Russians on the 4-th instant, at Nowemiasto, with the loss of 1,500 killed, and 2,000 taken prisoners.

The Empress of Russia is marching two armies, one of 30,000, and the other of 15,000 men, into Poland; and the King of Prussia is marching one of 40,000 men.

It is said that an engagement was fought on the 29-th ult. at Nowemiasto. This intelligence was contained in several letters from Warsaw, in which they add, that the Russians, to the number of 17,000 men, had lost 2,000 men, in killed and wounded, and an equal number in prisoners.

⁴⁵ The attack occurred on the night of 22-23 of April.

⁴⁶ Simon Kossakowski (1742-1794), Grand Hetman of Lithuania, brother of Joseph Kossakowski, Bishop of Livonia, hanged at Warsaw, on May 9-th.

⁴⁷ Prince Paul Tsitsianov (1754-1806), Russian soldier.

⁴⁸ Kosciuszko camped at Nowe Miasto-Korczyn from April 29-th to May 3-d, and at Polaniec from May 5-th to 19-th. The report probably pertains to the attacks of Gen. Denisow at the last mentioned camp on May 12-th and 17-th, which Kosciuszko repulsed both (Korzon, *Kościuszko*, p. 336).

⁴⁹ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, August 14, 1794.

The three principal cities of the Polish Duchy of Lithuania, viz.: Wilno, Grodno and Brezen,⁵⁰ all rose against the Russians on one and the same day.⁵¹

THE KING UNDER GUARD.

Warsaw, May 17.

The plan of setting a guard over the King (who is suspected of being desirous of quitting Warsaw secretly) has been put into execution since yesterday. Two Municipal officers accompany him wherever he goes, and eat at his table. For this service, 14 members of the Municipality have been nominated, who relieve each other every 24 hours. In other respects, the king is treated with every outward mark of dignity, and he shews himself to the people every day by riding through the streets of Warsaw.

The Intendant of the Police, Wenceslas Rogozinski, was condemned to die on the 15-th, and was executed on the 16-th, in the same manner as the other victims of the Polish Revolution.⁵²

TE DEUM CHANTED AT CRACOW.

Vienna, May 10.

The Official Gazette of the Court contains the following articles of intelligence:

Accounts from Cracow of the 3-d instant state, that on that day Te Deum had been again chanted there, and that a general illumination had taken place, partly on account of its being the anniversary of May 3-d; and partly to celebrate the news which had arrived there in the preceding night from Lithuania, announcing that an insurrection had broken out on the 19-th of April at Wilno, Grodno and Brezen, in the same manner as at Warsaw; that the Russian General Arseniew, finding himself suddenly attacked at Wilno, was obliged to surrender himself and his garrison prisoners of war; but at Grodno, Prince Sicianoff got the start on the Poles, and found time to evacuate that city.

The report of an action which is said to have happened on the 29-th ult. at Nowemiasto, has not yet been confirmed. The Russian troops have retreated from the Vistula, and were at Stassau⁵³ on the 3-d instant. The army of general Kosciusko follows them slowly, and was encamped on the 3-d instant at Nowemiasto.⁵⁴

DEPREDACTIONS OF RUSSIANS.

Lemberg, June 3.

The Poles have many reasons for complaint against the conduct of the Russians. The latter have set fire to a large tract of country, of three miles extent; namely from Winiary to Nowe-

⁵⁰ Brzesc Litewski (Brest Litovsk), east of Warsaw.

⁵¹ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, August 14, 1794.

⁵² *Ib.*, August 15, 1794.

⁵³ Staszow, a town northeast of Cracow.

⁵⁴ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, August 15, 1794.

miasto,⁵⁵—15,000 measures of wheat, besides other corn, together with 150 boats on the Vistula have fallen a prey to the flames; the value of each boat is estimated to amount at least to 360 ducats; the town of Nowemiasto has also been reduced to ashes by those barbarians. In the whole district there is not a pane of glass entire, and every article of furniture is destroyed. Cossacks, probably from ignorance, have also burnt the Imperial boats on the Vistula.⁵⁶

KOSCIUSZKO TRIES TO SAVE A VICTIM
OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

Poland, June 2.

The leaders of the revolution in 1791, who have been out of the country some time, and called themselves the Society of Liberty and Equality, having retained a famous advocate with the French convention as their charge de affairs, the same person is now appointed envoy to France, with full powers by the new national council, and is charged to exert all his interest to procure a pardon for the Polish princess Lubomirska, who has been sentenced to die, but has been respited on account of her pregnancy. ⁵⁷

With respect to military affairs the whole city has undergone a new division; the guard at the palace is kept by none but the municipal adjutants at present. One of these officers, besides accompanying the King all day, sleeps in the same room at night. The King has neither influence nor agency in the affairs of the nation; and with respect to military movements he is not permitted even to ask questions. It has been signified to him, that on condition of his silence in this particular, he may be assured every mark of respect due to his person shall be observed.

The trials of accused persons continue before the criminal court. M. Kobylanski with his wife, having sided with the Russians, is to be hanged; she is to be imprisoned for life, and whipped every Good Friday.

The whole of Lithuania is in a state of insurrection. The people in Lithuania are exasperated against strangers in general, and have lately apprehended several Russian couriers some of whom they have hanged.

⁵⁵ Winiary and Nowe Miasto, towns northeast of Cracow.

⁵⁶ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, August 16, 1794; *Kentucky Gazette*, September 20, 1794.

⁵⁷ Princess Rosalia Lubomirska became an innocent victim of the French Revolution. She was guillotined on June 30, 1794, despite efforts of Francis Barss, a patriotic Warsaw lawyer and Kosciuszko's envoy to the French government, to save her (W. M. Kozłowski, *Rozalja Lubomirska*, Warsaw, 1900, p. 19).

The importation and reading of any of the new Polish newspapers in any part of the West Prussia is rigorously prohibited by the Prussian government.⁵⁸

LEADERS OF THE PATRIOTIC PARTY
ARE RETURNING TO WARSAW.

Poland, May 26.

The late Grand Marshal Count Potocki, the Under Chancellor Kolontay,⁵⁹ Prince Adam Czartoriski, and several other chiefs arrived at Warsaw, have had a long conference with the Provisionary Council.

A Prussian edict has threatened all the subjects of Prussia, now in Poland, with the punishment of death, unless they immediately return home.

The Adjutants, and Municipal Officers, who attend the King, and who even eat and drink with him, wear blue scarfs, black bonnets, cockades and feathers.

The Russian General Kronzezow,⁶⁰ being joined by several small detachments, is at the head of 10 or 11,000 men, in an advantageous position, by the cloister at Gora, three miles above Sandomir.

General Kosciusko is nearly opposite between Polaniec and Opatow,⁶¹ with a body of between 12 and 15,000 men. The Polish General Grochowski, with 12,000 men from Lublin, is supposed to be at the rear of the Russian General, who is nearly surrounded, and can only escape by Lithuania.

A Provisional National Council is formed for the Duchy of Lithuania, under the conduct of Kosciuscow. The number of persons arrested at Warsaw were 151, and were daily increasing.

The greatest industry is used in every part of Prussia to prevent any intelligence from Poland.

The Woywodship of Rawa, lately seized by Prussia, has declared for the new confederation.

General Kosciusko's intended journey to Warsaw is supposed to have been stopped by his local engagements in the establishing of magazines, etc.⁶²

⁵⁸ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser, Extra*, August 16, 1794.

⁵⁹ Rev. Hugo Kollontay (1750-1812), statesman and author, one of the authors of the Constitution of the Third of May. He represented the left wing in the Kosciuszko Insurrection.

⁶⁰ Hrushchov. According to Korzon, it was Denisow's corps.

⁶¹ Polaniec and Opatow, towns southwest, respectively west of Sandomir.

⁶² *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, August 19, 1794.

d] The Battle of Szczekociny

THE BATTLE OF SZCZEKOCINY

Poland, June 6.

The defeat of the Poles on the 6th, it now appears, was the result of an attack by the Prussians and Russians combined. The action lasted from six in the morning till three in the afternoon. The Poles left 1,250 dead upon the field. The prisoners are about 200, and are mostly wounded. Seventeen pieces of cannon are taken. ¹ The loss of the Prussians is stated in killed, wounded, and missing at about 500, but that of the Russians is not ascertained, though it is generally supposed to be the most considerable of the two.

The Poles, after their defeat, are supposed to have passed the Vistula and intrenched themselves near Malaguisko. ² The King of Prussia has knighted the Russian General Denisow, with the order of the Red Eagle. The Poles obtain money from France, and ammunition from the Porte. ³

AN AUSTRIAN ADMIRES THE COURAGE OF THE POLES.

Glogow (in Galicia), June 10.

An Austrian officer is just returned from the frontiers of Poland where he had been sent to save some of our boats on the Vistula, loaded with corn, which had nearly fallen a prey to the Russian vengeance, mistaking them for the Polish. This officer was almost an eyewitness to the battle which happened on the 6-th instant between the combined Russian and Prussian armies, and the Poles. It seems that the intention of the Polish general was to attack the Russian corps under Denisow, about eleven thousand strong, besides the Cossack, before their junction with the Prussians, but his plan failed, as on the fifth the Prussian had effected their junction with the Russian army, consisting of near twenty thousand men, commanded by the King in person. The Poles had then no alternative, but to change their plan into a defensive one and expecting to be attacked by an army of far

¹ These numbers are given according to Prussian reports immediately after the battle. Kosciuszko reported the loss of 1,000 men in killed and wounded and of 8 cannon (Korzon, *Kosciuszko*, p. 349).

² Malogoszcz, a town southwest of Kielce.

³ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, August 18, 1794; *The Boston Gazette and Weekly Republican Journal*, August 25, 1794. Neither France, nor Turkey gave Kosciuszko any help. The triumvirate of Robespierre who reigned in France in the first half of 1794, considered the Polish Revolution as an action of aristocracy and refused to succor it. The more temperate Third Committee of Public Safety which came into power after the execution of Robespierre, July 27, had not time enough to do anything for the Poles (Korzon, *Kosciuszko*, p. 369). Ere the agents of Kosciuszko were able to start negotiations with Turkey the Revolution was over (*Ib.*, p. 367).

superior force, they prepared to receive him. The position for their army was masterly chosen and all the villages in flank were guarded by small detachments and field pieces. The combined armies began the attack at eight in the morning; the Poles defended themselves with courage without losing an inch of ground, and even the peasants armed with pikes dared to advance within fifteen yards of the Prussian batteries. The battle was obstinate and bloody till about 2 o'clock; when the Prussians, after repeated attacks, succeeded to drive the Polish detachment, with four field pieces, from a village, where they established immediately a battery, which annoyed so much the flanks of the Polish army, that they gave way, and began about three o'clock to retreat, leaving some cannons dismounted. Their retreat was conducted with so much judgment and coolness, that the victorious armies could not take any advantage on their rear, except those who were left wounded on the field of battle. The loss of the Poles may be computed to about 1500 and 12 cannon, besides a few of the flying artillery; some of the guns had Russian arms upon them. The loss of the combined armies must be double; three Prussian officers have been killed, and a great many wounded. The King of Prussia had a narrow escape; two of his Aids de Camp had their horses killed by his side. The Polish general Grochowski, who formerly had been in the guards of his Prussian Majesty, was killed in this action. The Austrian troops are daily increasing in this country, in order to guard our frontiers. ⁴

LUBLIN TAKEN BY INSURGENTS.

Warsaw, May 14.

The Poles have made themselves masters of Lublin, in Mazovia, and put the whole Russian garrison to the sword. ⁵

PRUSSIAN ACKNOWLEDGE MASTERLY CONDUCT OF KOSCIUSZKO.

Berlin, June 9.

A messenger arrived here this day from the Prussian army in Poland. He brings intelligence that on the 6-th inst. his Prussian Majesty attacked the Polish Patriots under Gen. Kosciusko, near Checkozing. After a bloody battle of four hours the Polish General was forced to yield to the superiority of the Prussian force, and to retreat. His retreat, however, was conducted in a masterly manner, and his Prussian majesty did not think proper to follow him. The number of killed and wounded on the part of the Patriots was 1000. They lost also 15 pieces of cannon. Our loss is said to be near 1050. Prince Louis, who with the dragoons of Biberstein first broke the ranks of the enemy, was made a Major General on the field of battle. ⁵

⁴ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, September 4, 1794; *Kentucky Gazette*, October 18, 1794.

⁵ *The Newport Mercury*, August 26, 1794.

SWEDEN AND DENMARK TO HELP KOSCIUSZKO.

New York, August 16.

A letter from an American gentleman at Hamburgh, dated April 26-th, states, that greater exertions will be made in Europe this summer to second the progress of freedom than were ever known. He informs that Kosiusko's party in Poland is rapidly increasing; he gives it as his opinion that Kosiusko is countenanced by Sweden and Denmark; ⁶ and that the Turks will favour his cause by making war on Russia. ⁷

"EXTRACTS OF A LETTER FROM A GENTLEMAN,
BELONGING TO THIS TOWN, NOW RESIDING AT
ROTTERDAM, DATED MAY 30, 1794."

Boston, August 19.

"While the horrors of war are raging with unexampled violence on the frontiers of France, a new scene is opening in the Republic of Poland. You will have heard before this reaches you, of the insurrection which took place on the 17-th of April; the object of which appears to be the re-establishment of the constitution of May, 1791, and the recovery of the territory torn from them by the cruel hand of despotism. The latest accounts from Poland, state the insurgents (as they are yet called) to be very numerous, and it is said by some that the patriotic General in chief, Kosciusko, will soon have under his command 200,000 men. ⁸

"General Kosciusko has served under the banners of liberty in our army. He is said to possess great military talents; and to be as prudent as he is brave. With these qualities, actuated by patriotism, and aided by a brave people, there is great reason to hope he will be successful, and prove the Washington of Poland, and I am sure there is no harm in saying, *God grant it!*" ⁹

"REMARKS ON THE AFFAIRS OF POLAND."

New York, August 25.

The leaders of the Polish Revolution pursue a very just policy, in securing to all ranks of citizens their rights and property. They make no attack on the privileged orders; thus securing the aid and encouragement of the nobility. Indeed the leaders themselves are of the nobility. They have postponed the formation of a constitution, to a time of peace, and till they have rid themselves of the Russian yoke. By these means, they have united all descriptions of people in one will. Nobles and peasants unite in a common

⁶ The Swedish government was the only one, besides France, who entered into some sort of diplomatic relations with Kosciuszko, but extended no material help to him.

⁷ *The Newport Mercury*, August 26, 1794.

⁸ Kosciuszko planned to organize an army of 300,000.

⁹ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, August 26, 1794.

cause. Should they succeed against Russia and Prussia; they will probably next attack the privileged orders. Jacobinism will prevail, and instead of waiting for the annihilation of orders and ranks by the slow operation of laws, the abolishing of perpetuities and the rights of primogeniture, as the Americans have wisely done, they will probably aim to cut up all distinctions, old overgrown estates and all prescriptive claims, at a single blow. Then will commence the reign of faction, of discord, jealousy, angry passions, violence, the guillotine, prescriptions, civil war and bloodshed.

It is asserted in foreign papers that the Poles receive money from France to aid the Revolution. This is not improbable, as by the forced loan and the order for calling in specie as well as plate to be coined, the Convention amassed most of the gold and silver in that vast country, the last year; perhaps to the amount of fifty or sixty millions sterling, and by making assignants answer all the purpose of their internal commerce, they reserved their specie for extra occasions. Thus, with more men in pay than half Europe beside, they have money to assist other nations. ¹⁰

NEW ARRESTS AND CONFISCATIONS BY PRUSSIANS.

Polish Frontiers, June 15.

Among the persons whom the Russians seized in Poland and have sent to Smolensk to be tried by the new tribunal, is the Count Oginski, ¹¹ late ambassador from the court of Warsaw to the Hague, and the young prince Sangusko, who was in the Russian army and endeavoured to persuade the regiment under his command to desert. From Petersburg we hear, that the property of Joseph Poniatowski, nephew of the King of Poland, as well as that of others who have taken part with the Patriots, has been sequestered.

Joseph Poniatowski, who arrived here on the 25-th of May to serve under Kosciuszko has laid by his clothes of distinction and is habited as well as the commander in the common dress of the country.

It is certain that the Russians have successfully penetrated in the province of Lithuania and driven the Poles before them.

The deputation of the citizens of Warsaw to Kosciuszko have been sent back with the answer, but the demand of the citizens did not harmonize with his plan, as he was not willing to introduce the Jacobin principles into the kingdom; tho' the wishes of the citizens would always command great weight with him. ¹² The citizens returned satisfied with the answer. ¹³

¹⁰ *The (N. Y.) Herald*, August 25, 1794.

¹¹ Michael Cleophas Oginski (1765-1833), a patriotic soldier and statesman, famous as composer of Polonaises.

¹² This deputation came with a protest against the membership of the Supreme National Council (W. Smolenski, *Dzieje Narodu Polskiego*, vol. III, p. 189; Korzon, *Kosciuszko*, p. 371).

¹³ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, August 28, 1794.

KOSCIUSZKO NEARING WARSAW

Warsaw, June 23.

Cosciusko is said to be already at Warca, ¹⁴ 14 leagues from here. A great many pontoons are preparing here in order to form a bridge over the river Weichsel, which is to be used in case of necessity.

Our fate is drawing towards its crisis. Meanwhile a new foundry for cannon is establishing here; and particular direction has been published, in what manner the people are to raise in a body, and shall be armed.

A lady of this town had sent a number of fine muslin shirts to Kosciusko, who thanked her in a very obliging letter, and assured her, that he would willingly forego all kinds of ease and luxury, if only his troops were properly supplied with necessities. ¹⁵

POLES TO DEMAND COMPLETE FREEDOM.

London, June 3.

An account from Poland yesterday, states, that the Poles have near 200,000 men in arms, and that 300,000 would be found to act in the same manner, provided they could be also furnished with arms. The Russians have been defeated near Cracow, with the loss of a general officer killed. Such, adds the writer, is the determined hatred of the Poles towards their oppressors, that no terms of pacification will be acceded to short of the complete evacuation of the whole of their territories by the foreign armies.

General Kosciusko is said to have sent two deputies to Paris. to ask support and relief of the French Republic. ¹⁶

INSURGENTS LOSE CRACOW.

Thorn, June 14.

According to some accounts, Cracow has surrendered to the Prussians, and 4000 Polish troops was taken Prisoners. ¹⁷

A PESSIMISTIC LETTER FROM WARSAW.

From a letter from Warsaw, June 14.

The citizens have requested from the National Council, an account of the battle of the 6-th; but did not obtain it. This gives naturally reason to suppose that the same has been against us. The Russians are advancing from all quarters, and the confederate army is retreating. Every one seems to loose courage at these unfortunate incidents; and our most spirited patriots begin to have very serious thoughts. — Just now it is reported that 10,000

¹⁴ Warka, a town on the River Pilica, south of Warsaw.

¹⁵ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, August 28, 1794.

¹⁶ *Ib.*, August 29, 1794.

¹⁷ *Ib.* The capitulation was a fault of Col. Wieniawski, commandant of Cracow. He surrendered with 3,000 men, mostly militia and fresh recruits (Korzon, *Kościuszkowski*, p.p. 335, 376).

Russians under General Derfeldt have passed the river Bug and defeated the Polish army near Dubienka; ¹⁸ it is even said that they are at Lublin, about 36, or 46 miles on the other side of the Weichsel. — They deceive the people by the most ridiculous accounts, and they keep them in spirits by the most barefaced falsehoods, of advantages obtained, of resources, and foreign connections.

According to the different accounts in the papers, but who have in fact, not altogether the air of the greatest impartiality, the Revolution in Poland, does not seem to meet with that success that was expected; it is said the Revolutionists have lost several battles, tho' it is not mentioned when and where. Cracow is said to have surrendered on the 15-th, to the Prussian troops under major general Elsner. ¹⁹

KOSCIUSZKO APPEALS TO POLES IN LOST PROVINCES.

Warsaw, June 21.

Kosciusko, notwithstanding his defeat, speaks in a very high tone. In a circular letter which the supreme council have issued on the 12-th, by his orders, it is said that the Poles will proceed now no longer in the defensive, but mean to act offensively, and Kosciusko promises therein Liberty to all the Prussian and Russian prisoners, — provided the insurgents can penetrate into these provinces, and provided likewise that these foreign provinces are fond of Polonian Liberty. ²⁰ The insurgents cannot maintain their grounds against the Russians, tho' they fight with great obstinacy and rage. General Zajoszeck gave an instance thereof on the 8-th, near Chelm. ²¹

¹⁸ Gen. Joseph Zajonczech (1752-1826), was defeated by the Russian General William Derfelden (1735-1819), at Chelm (near Dubienka), on June 8-th.

¹⁹ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, August 29, 1794.

²⁰ This proclamation, dated at Kielce, June 10-th, was caused by the presence of Prussians at Szczekociny. It is entitled "An Ordinance General to the Whole National Armed Force as to entering the provinces of our enemies." It reads in part: "When it is evident and known that the troops of the King of Prussia are joining the Russians against the Polish Nation, it remains in our bold determination to undertake and give a new turn to the National Armed Force. Therefore I order all commanders of the troops of the line that (if their position allows) they cross Prussian and Russian frontiers and preaching Liberty and Insurrection to the Poles, call the oppressed people there to join us and to arm themselves against the usurpers and their oppression... that they lend their hands everywhere to the people who are willing to return to the sweet liberty of their country or are willing to regain their free country" (Korzon, *Kościuszko*, p. 365). The above two dispatches from Warsaw were evidently written by someone disinclined towards Kosciuszko.

²¹ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, August 29, 1794.

THE POLISH COCKADE.

From Warsaw, June 23.

Kosciusko is at Marca, within a few miles of this city. The cockade, worn by the patriotic Poles, is blue and green. — The Polish ladies have sent to the patriotic camp shirts.²²

RUSSIANS AND PRUSSIANS
FOLLOWING KOSCIUSZKO

June 25.

The Russian and Prussian armies are two miles from that of Kosciusko, an action may therefore be soon expected. Bucholtz has been released, and a guard given him for his protection.²³

A PASSENGER BRINGS SOME NEWS.

New York, August 25.

A gentleman who came as a passenger in the Mohawk, informs us, that Cracow was taken by the Prussians. — Kosciusko has placed himself between Cracow and Warsaw. The Russians had entered by the way of Lithuania and defeated the Poles before Chelm.²⁴

“SURRENDER OF CRACOW.”

Berlin, June 21.

A Royal Chasseur arrived yesterday preceded by six postillions, with the account of the conquest of the town and fortress of Crass.²⁵

“EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM A GENTLEMAN
IN FRANCE, JULY 1.”

Baltimore, August 29.

“The Poles have slain 10,000 Russians in the field, and made 7,000 prisoners at Grodno — the same fate followed them in the Ukraina. A convention is at Warsaw — they copy the French entirely. The Turks take a part with the Poles, and have four great armies in full march to the frontiers of Russia and Austria. Sweden and Denmark are said to declare in favor of Poland next spring.”²⁶

AUSTRIA GIVING A HELPING HAND TO
RUSSIA AND PRUSSIA.

Vienna, June 22.

Our Court has at last taken a decisive resolution with respect to the revolution of Poland. An army of 40,000 men will march in the quality of an auxiliary corps, to join the Prussians and Rus-

²² *The Newport Mercury*, September 2, 1794.

²³ *Ibidem*.

²⁴ *Ibidem*.

²⁵ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, August 30, 1794; *The Newport Mercury*, September 9, 1794.

²⁶ *The Newport Mercury*, September 16, 1794. This is an example of unreliable reports which circulated in Europe.

sians. We expect a manifesto to be published immediately, which will state the reasons which have determined our Court to such a step. ²⁷

KOSCIUSZKO TOASTED.

New York, September 23.

Yesterday being the commencement of the third Gallic year, the Tammany Society resolved to dispense with the usual order of business, and to celebrate the evening in unison with the patriots of France in this city.

In consequence of which, the following toasts were drank:

3. Kosciusko, and the Liberties of Poland—3 cheers. ²⁸

At a meeting of a number of respectable citizens, belonging to the several uniform companies of this city, at citizen Hunter's Hotell, to celebrate the third Anniversary of French freedom, the following toasts were drank:

5. Success to the Patriotic Poles — may the second combination of tyrants against freedom, meet the same fate in Poland, that distinguished the arms of Burgoyne and Cornwallis in America. ²⁹

Richmond, September 19.

Yesterday at eleven o'clock, his Excellency Henry Lee, Esq., ³⁰ commander in chief of the forces ordered out to quell the insurgents in Pennsylvania, set off for the place of general rendezvous, which is to be at Winchester.

On Tuesday the 16-th inst., the militia ordered from the county of Henrico, and the city of Richmond, under Capt. Giles, were assembled at the east end of the capitol, to be marched to the place of general rendezvous. A dinner was bespoke at Mr. Moss' tavern, by the members of the executive council and several other citizens, to which our governor and the officers of the militia were invited. The day was happily spent, and toasts were drank.

The following volunteer toasts were drank.

2. Count Kosciusco, and the Revolution of Poland. ³¹

²⁷ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, September 17, 1794; *The Newport News*, September 23, 1794.

²⁸ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, September 26, 1794.

²⁹ *Ibidem*.

³⁰ Henry Lee, "Light Horse Harry" (1756-1818), then Governor of Virginia.

³¹ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, September 27, 1794

RUSSIANS COMMIT NEW DEPRADATIONS.

London, July 16.

Provincial accounts received at Warsaw mention, that the Russians having harrassed the small town of Wlołzezowa, ³² the property of citizen Malachowski, the inhabitants were obliged to defend themselves, and at last succeeded in driving them out; but a few days after a strong party of Russian Cossacs returned and committed the most horrid cruelties; they surrounded the town and set fire to it, which was wholly consumed by the flames, from which only one house and the Jewish Synagogue escaped. Those barbarians were seen to push, with their pikes, into the flames, the women and children, who endeavoured to escape from them. ³³

RUSSIANS AND PRUSSIANS MARCHING AGAINST WARSAW.

London, July 7.

According to some letters from Warsaw of the 14-th ult., inserted in the Berlin Gazette, the Polish Sans-Culottes are the only gentlefolks in Poland, that are not yet got tired of the revolution. The chiefs of insurgents are making preparations for their escape, the Russians and Prussians are marching at full speed against Warsaw, Kosciuszko is in great want of money. The communication between his army and Warsaw, is entirely cut off, and the power of the revolutionary government is dying away as fast as possible.

The Prussian accounts state the numbers of the Combined Armies of the Russians and Prussians, in the late action with the Poles, at 25,000 men; and admit that the forces of the enemy did not exceed 20,000. ³⁴ They do the greatest justice to the cool valour of their oponents, and the military skill of Kosciuszko. The surrender of Cracow is confirmed. ³⁵

A PROPOSAL FOR A NEW DISMEMBERMENT OF POLAND.

Vienna, July 2.

Her Imperial Majesty, in concert with her ally the King of Prussia, has made to our August Sovereign, proposals, which if acceded to, cannot fail to operate a very interesting change in the aspect of European politics. — The propositions are:

³² Włoszczowa, a town west of Kielce.

³³ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, September 29, 1794.

³⁴ At Szczekociny where the combined Russo-Prussian army numbered 26,500 men, and the Polish army 15,000 of which 6,000 were newly recruited peasants (Korzon, *Kościuszko*, p.p. 342, 346). The first part of this correspondence is again greatly exaggerated against the Poles.

³⁵ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, September 30, 1794.

I. That the Emperor should . . . withdraw all his troops from the Lower Countries, and give up those retractory Provinces, from which he could withdraw neither men, nor money, to the destiny they deserved.

II. That his Armies should be employed in maintaining a strong Cordon on the Rhine, so as to protect Germany, from any invasion of the French.

III. That the Emperor should be indemnified, by the reunion of Bavaria to his dominions, which they undertook to guarantee to him; as also, by a slice of Poland, of which they were now resolved to make a partition...

Many of our politicians think that the Emperor must comply with the proposals. ³⁶

ENEMIES CLOSING IN ON KOSCIUSZKO

Thorn (in Prussia), July 5.

General Kosciuszko has not yet passed the Vistula, but is still on the right shore of that river, and his camp is at Gura, ³⁷ five leagues from Warsaw. The Prince Royal of Prussia has advanced with his corps to Blonie, four leagues from the same residence. The King of Prussia has left K . . . ske, ³⁸ and moved near the frontiers of Southern Prussia, from where he directs the operations of the right wing of the army, which extends from Lowicz ³⁹ to the Prince Royal Corps; so that the Prussian forces form a chain, and in a few days will approach nearer to Warsaw. A corps of 10,000 Russians is also at Biala, eight leagues from that city. ⁴⁰

In this situation of affairs, Kosciuszko, we think, will find it difficult to save himself; but we do not think the capture of Warsaw will be followed by a general submission of the Poles; they are too conscious of the justice of their cause, and are determined to support it to the last extremity.

The Supreme National Council has ordered a general armament of the people, and that magazines shall be formed in all the towns, which have not been occupied by the enemy. In fact, the whole Polish nation seem disposed to sacrifice every thing for their country and their independence. ⁴¹

MOB HANGS EIGHT PERSONS AT WARSAW.

Extract of a letter from Warsaw, June 30.

"The present critical situation of our enraged mob was carried on the 27-th inst. to the most alarming height. In the afternoon of that day our armed inhabitants had been exercising in

³⁶ *Ib.*, September 30, 1794; *The Newport Mercury*, September 30, 1794.

³⁷ Gora, a town south of Warsaw; Blonie, a town west of Warsaw.

³⁸ Konskie, a town north of Kielce.

³⁹ Lowicz, a town west of Warsaw.

⁴⁰ Biala, a town east of Warsaw.

⁴¹ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, September 17, 1794; *The Newport Mercury*, September 30, 1794.

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the entrenchments, and returned at nine o'clock at night into the town. One part of them, drums beating and colours flying, marched to the town house, before which they drew up on the parade. Hereupon one of the ringleaders, of the name of Konopka,⁴² harangued the multitude, and represented to them the unjustifiable conduct of the national council and the criminal tribunal, which were still protracting the trials of those offenders, who notoriously were guilty of high treason against the nation. The expence of keeping them, he added, was very great; and it remained doubtful whether they would ever be punished at all, unless the people, making use of their undoubted right, punished themselves the traitors etc. This speech produced the desired effect, and the populace cried out, that they should not separate before they had erected a gallows and hanged the traitors. The gallows was immediately erected. The criminal tribunal had discharged some hundreds of persons that had been arrested; but against those who remained in prison, no sentence had been pronounced.

"The President Zakrzewsky exerted his utmost efforts to persuade the mob at least to delay the execution, till the judgment was passed, and ordered the gallows to be taken down; but the enraged multitude soon erected them again, and sacrificed to their fury the following eight persons: De Boscamp, Privy Counsellor; De Grabowsky; Majewsky, Attorney General of the Crown; Kogusky and Pierha; Wulfere, a Counsellor and Member of the ci-devant Provisionary High Council; Prince Anthony Czetwertinsky; and Prince Massalsky, the only male heir of that ancient and illustrious family, and uncle of the Princess de Ligne, at Vienna.⁴³ The exertions of the President Zakrzewsky prevailed at last on the mob to respite the other prisoners whose number

⁴² Konopka, a radical agitator.

⁴³ On that day the mob hanged Boscamp, Grabowski, Majewski, Roguski, Pionka, Wulfers, Prince Anthony S. Czetwertynski and Prince Ignace J. Massalski. Majewski and Wulfers were innocent victims of the mob. Prince Anthony Stanislaus Czetwertynski and Prince Ignace Jacob Massalski (1729-1794), Bishop of Wilno, were members of the Confederation of Targowica. All others were spies in pay of Poland's enemies. Kosciuszko strongly reproached the people of Warsaw for this arbitrary act of taking justice into their hands. In his proclamation from camp at Golkow, June 29-th, he said: "When all my labors and efforts are directed towards repelling the enemy, news reached me that an enemy more dreadful than foreign soldiers threatens us and tears asunder our interior. What happened at Warsaw yesterday filled my heart with bitterness and sorrow. The will to punish the guilty was good, but why were they punished without a verdict of a tribunal? Why was the majesty and sanctity of the law trampled upon?... You should remember that the one who is not willing to obey the law is not worthy to be free... The one who aspires to govern by improper means is a rebel, a destroyer of public peace and as such should be punished." Kosciuszko really meant what he said, for seven ringleaders of the lynching were hanged at Warsaw, on July 24-th (Korzon, *Kosciuszko*, p.p. 380-381).

amounts to 100, and the populace dispersed without doing any more mischief." ⁴⁴

WARSAW SWEARS TO BE TRUE TO THE COUNTRY.

Poland, June 24.

The citizens of Warsaw have sworn to be true to their country and obedient to General Kosciusko, whose declaration of war against Russia and Prussia is printed in this city. ⁴⁵ Six thousand volunteers have been sent to join General Kosciusko, who is at Warca, 7 miles distant.

As a token of the union between the Polish and Lithuanian nations cockades of blue and green ribbons are now worn.

The Russians and Prussians are encamped together near Kielce, within two miles of General Kosciusko, whom they talk of attacking very shortly. The Superior of the College of Franciscans at Warsaw, has permitted several of the Noviciates to enter into the army. Upwards of 700 sick and wounded Poles and Russians have been brought to Warsaw, and lodged in the Palace of M. Branicky, now converted into a Lazaretto.

Many of the Poles date their letters on the first year of the Resurrection of Freedom. ⁴⁶

AN EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM LISBON.

Philadelphia, October 8.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman of veracity, dated Lisbon, August 14.

The Poles are reduced to a situation, in which courage, and the sources derived from despair must save them, if they are to be saved. ⁴⁷

INSURRECTION IN COURLAND.

Warsaw, July 13.

On the 4-th inst. a Courier arrived here, preceded by 4 postillions blowing their horns, stating, that our troops in Lithuania had not only taken the commercial city of Liebau, in Courland, but the whole of the Dutchy of Courland and Semigalia, which have acknowledged the protection of Kosciusko. Major-General Von Mirbach has been appointed Major-General there. It appears from this, that only a few Russian troops can have reached our frontiers from Livonia, as the Poles could not otherwise have undertaken the expedition against Courland. ⁴⁸

⁴⁴ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, September 23, 1794; *The Newport Mercury*, September 30, 1794.

⁴⁵ This was the "Ordinance General" dated at Kielce, June 10, 1794.

⁴⁶ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, October 7, 1794.

⁴⁷ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, October 9, 1794; *Kentucky Gazette*, November 22, 1794. The author of the letter was probably David Humphreys, then American Minister at Lisbon. His words seem to pertain to some earlier events of the Insurrection.

⁴⁸ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, October 8, 1794; *The Newport Mercury*, October 14, 1794.

FALSE STATEMENT ABOUT MOB RULE AT WARSAW.

London, July 29.

A most tragical scene was performed at Warsaw, on the 4-th inst. It is said that upwards of 200 Polish prisoners, in the gaols, were that day tried and executed. ⁴⁹

e] The Siege of Warsaw

KOSCIUSZKO ENTERS WARSAW.

Warsaw, July 13.

Kosciusko has entered this city to restrain the orders of the populace, with a considerable body of his troops. So licentious and extravagant has been the popular conduct, that if it be not soon and suppressed, it must shake the Revolution to its foundations. The nation in general is determined at all hazards, to support the new system.

The first measure of the general, was to arrest 1200 persons who were completely idle, and therefore to be dreaded, — they are now about to proceed against such among them as were authors or abettors of the dreadful calamities of June 28, wherein Prince Massalski and Prince Czetwertynski with six others, fell victim to their fury.

A terrible example will be made of the convicted — the remainder will be employed upon the popular works, or sent to the hospitals, until they are capable of occupation.

The residue of Kosciusko's army is in the environs of the capital, commanded by General Mokronowski. The commander in chief, before he entered Warsaw, defeated a corps of Russians, under the command of General Derfeldt. ¹ It was in consequence of this success entirely that Kosciusko was able to enter the capital. ²

PRUSSIANS BESIEGING WARSAW.

London, August 15.

The news from Poland is not very interesting. The city of Warsaw is closely besieged by the Prussians on one side. The latter seem, in this situation, to be resting on their arms, waiting for their heavy artillery. The Polish army, under Kosciusko, which occupies an advantageous situation near Warsaw, is fifty

⁴⁹ *Ibidem.*

¹ Kosciuszko defeated Prussian and Russian troops at Raszyn and Golkow, south of Warsaw, on July 9-th. According to Korzon, Derfelden's corps was then in Lithuania (*Kościuszko*, p. 384).

² *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, October 16, 1794.

thousand men strong.³ The advanced posts of each army have daily skirmishes.⁴

PRUSSIANS RECEIVE NEW ARTILLERY

Prussian Headquarters, Opalin, in Poland, July 25.

Our heavy artillery is now arrived. Tomorrow evening we march to Wola,⁵ and early after tomorrow we approach the Capital completely, either to attack the enemy, if they keep the open field, or to advance against Warsaw, if Kosciuszko throws himself into the entrenchments.⁶

POLES DO NOT BELIEVE IN JACOBINISM

Warsaw, July 25.

If you were acquainted with all the occurrences which take place here, you would see the true character of the Revolution, and be no longer a dupe to error and calumny. As to those who conceive that they forward the interest of their respective courts by an obstinate perseverance in the dissemination of dangerous principles, they deserve no notice. It is in vain to detect their fallacies, and expose their errors. They have always some insidious comparison at hand, by which they seek to confound every struggle for liberty with Jacobinism. They seem eager to forget the events of 1791, when the throne of Poland was invested with a character to which it never had any pretension before. At this period, the rights of citizenship were ascertained and fixed, and the whole state received a degree of consistency and vigour which drew down upon it the admiration of the greatest part of Europe. There yet existed some courts who determined to see, in this glorious arrangement the traits of Jacobinism, and Poland was soon overrun with Russian troops. Massacre and anarchy followed. To one short year of peace and prosperity, unceasing calamity has succeeded. Scarcely had the anti-Jacobin powers effected this change, before their true and ultimate design appeared. Poland was dismembered, and the depredation was sanctioned by the mock Diet at Grodno. Since then, the remaining part of this unhappy country has been governed by the troops of the Empress and the king of Prussia. The throne became more servile and degraded than ever, and the nation sunk at once into contempt and misery. These melancholy events are not attributable to Jacobinism, but to Machiavelism, a system no less cunning and mischievous.

³ Polish historians estimate Kosciuszko's forces at Warsaw at 16,000 regular soldiers, 10,000 armed peasants and 10,000 armed citizens, and 200 cannon. The combined Russian and Prussian forces numbered 41,000 well equipped and well seasoned soldiers with 253 pieces of artillery (A. Chołojewski, *Tadeusz Kościuszko*, Lwow, 1902, p. 103).

⁴ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, October 9, 1794.

⁵ Wola, a village north of Warsaw, memorable in history of Poland as the place of election of Kings.

⁶ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, October 10, 1794.

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Let us, however, recollect and nourish the thought, that when a people rises to maintain their sacred and acknowledged rights, the cause will find friends in spite of all the art and insinuation of successful plunderers. To misrepresent fact, and asperse intention, is a mean and paltry artifice which our enemies should have been ashamed of. In defiance, however, of the intrigues, the voice of truth will make its way, and justify our cause. It is impossible to hide from the world, that under the present revolution, the rights and prerogatives (of the king) are preserved entire. Being declared inseparable from the grand council, it will be obvious, that he must partake in every measure which it adopts, and that no public business can be transacted to which he is not officially a party. All this is proved by the notes remitted on this subject to the foreign ministers. The king's arms are seen on all our money, and the public funds are supplied by patriotic gifts, and plate from the churches furnished by the knowledge and direction of ecclesiastical authority. We have no clubs in Poland; Neither the clergy or nobles are attacked. They both participate in the national sentiment, which is solely engrossed in suggesting the means of self-defence, and the maintenance of order. Yet the Russians and Prussians who disclaim Jacobinism, burn and sack the castles of the nobles, and raise up tenants against their lords, by promising them the abolition of statute labor and manorial rights. It is thus, that all of them, while they reproach us with the charge of Jacobinism, are in the constant practice of its most odious principles. ⁷

PRUSSIA WELL SUPPLIED WITH MONEY

London, August 16.

The King of Prussia lays hold of an immense sum, which he employs in the reduction of Poland. ⁸

A REPORT OF A SHIP CAPTAIN

Philadelphia, Oct. 17.

Capt. Lake, who sailed from St. Petersburg the 6th Aug. informs that... the Poles have had some successes over the Russian troops. They surprised the town of Libbo, ⁹ a Russian seaport, and threatened Memel. ¹⁰

THE CAMPAIGN PROLONGS ITSELF

Berlin, August 12.

We have no further accounts relative to the attack upon Warsaw, the results of which interests us the more, as the King and two eldest princes are all partakers in the dangers of that business. The prince royal had a very narrow escape lately.

⁷ *Ib.*, October 14, 1794.

⁸ *The Newport Mercury*, October 28, 1794.

⁹ Libau; as part of Courland it was connected with Poland in vassalage for a long time.

¹⁰ *The Newport Mercury*, October 28, 1794.

The campaign in Poland promises to be of a longer duration than was at first expected. General Kosciuszko maintains his position under the walls of Warsaw, and it is so well fortified, that it will require great efforts, perhaps the sacrifice of that capital, to oblige him to quit. ¹¹

August 14.

The siege of Warsaw, which begun on the 24th of last month, is carrying on on both sides, with the greatest alacrity. The shells of the besiegers have already damaged several places in Warsaw, but the besieged also defend themselves very obstinately. Their artillery must be well served, as they have burnt with it one half of Wola, and kept brisk fire on the Prussian camp. ¹²

FALSE REPORT OF SURRENDER OF WARSAW

London, August 26.

Some accounts from the Rhine mention, that Warsaw has surrendered to his Prussian majesty by capitulation. — Other and more probable accounts from Galicia state, that the Prussians were repulsed on the 31-st ult. in an attack made on Kosciuszko's entrenched camp.

We shall be sincerely happy to communicate to the public the pleasing intelligence of the complete discomfiture of the attempts of the Russians and Prussians against the liberties of Poland. ¹³

RUSSIANS CAPTURE AND PLUNDER WILNO

Royal Prussian Headquarters, near Wola, August 12.

General Subow ¹⁴ commands the corps of 20,000 men which belong to the Russian grand army commanded by prince Repnin, which has taken Vilna. ¹⁵ According to the official news, the Russians have most dreadfully avenged themselves in that city. Their rage was still more heightened by the resistance they met with. They not only refused quarters to the Polish soldiers, but even put to the sword all the inhabitants, without respect to sex or age; a bloody offering to the manes of their brethren killed at Warsaw in the counter-revolution of April 17-th.

From the smoking ruins of Vilna, Gen. Subow marches against Grodno; another corps of 10,000 Russians hastens by forced marches against Warsaw. ¹⁶

COURLAND MAKES A COMMON CAUSE WITH POLAND

Vienna, August 18.

It is said that several Swedish vessels are arrived in different ports of Courland, laden with a great quantity of provisions

¹¹ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, October 28, 1794.

¹² *Ibidem*.

¹³ *Ibidem*.

¹⁴ Valerian Zubow (1771-1804)), brother of the better known Plato Zubow, the favorite of Catherine II.

¹⁵ On August 11-th, 1794.

¹⁶ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, November 3, 1794.

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and ammunition for the Polish patriots. The people of Courland have determined to make a common cause with the Republic of Poland. The circle of Liebau alone furnishes 5,000 men, besides the advantages which the ports of Courland afford to the Poles.¹⁷

WARSAW AN ARMED CAMP.

Warsaw, August 11.

The city of Warsaw itself is not bombarded yet; the Poles have four strong camps before Warsaw, commanded by Kosciusko and three other generals, who have Kosciusko for their Chief. The Poles have several other camps which keep up an incessant fire upon the Prussians.

The city of Prague, on the other side of the Vistula, is fortified in the same manner as Warsaw. All is quiet in Warsaw, the King is in favour with the Patriots, and has presented the National Council with his last jewels, chiefly for the purpose of casting cannon. The King has demanded a passport of the National Council, in order to repair to the camp of Kosciusko, which was refused him at the present juncture.

In Volhynia, near Kuzeminia,¹⁸ an action has taken place between our troops, and the Russians, in which the latter lost their military chest with 80,000 Polish florins.¹⁹

A TOAST TO POLAND AT MADEIRA.

Norfolk, October 28.

By the brig Polly, Captain Gould Linnell, from Madeira, we are informed, that on the 17-th September, in commemoration of our present happy Constitution, Mr. Pintard, the American Consul at that island,²⁰ gave a Dinner to all the Masters of American vessels then in port, thirteen in number. The following are the toasts that were drank.

7. Success to the Poles in their glorious struggle.²¹

INCENDIARIES ACTIVE AT WARSAW.

London, September 2.

By a letter from Warsaw, we learn, that the fire which took place there some weeks ago, was neither accidental, nor occasioned by the Prussian batteries. A few persons, in the pay of the enemies of Poland, undertook to set fire to the city in several places at

¹⁷ *Ibidem*.

¹⁸ Krzemieniec, a town northeast of Lwow.

¹⁹ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, November 5, 1794; *The Newport Mercury*, November 11, 1794.

²⁰ John Pintard (1759-1844), Revolutionary soldier, philanthropist and merchant, founder of the Tammany Society and of the New York Historical Society, one of the most eminent citizens of New York in the post-Revolutionary times.

²¹ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, November 7, 1794.

once. The plot was discovered before it had been wholly carried into execution, and two of the ruffians have been since hanged.

By the same authority we learn, that an universal and ardent enthusiasm prevails among the people of Lithuania. None but women and children are seen working in the fields. Priests, Nobles and Peasants are continually exercising. Musquets and cannon are much wanted, but they have plenty of pikes. ²²

THE PRUSSIAN KING HOPES TO ENTER WARSAW IN A FEW DAYS.

Extract of a letter dated Berlin, September 6.

At the important crisis impending on the Polish affairs, when people flatter themselves to hear every moment of the capture of Warsaw, it is nearly as interesting to obtain certain information of what has not been done in that respect. A messenger arrived yesterday from that quarter announces only a sally of the Poles luckily repulsed; but the city itself is still so effectually defended by General Kosciuszko's camp, as to prevent the Prussian army from battering the place without molestation, the only means to oblige the city to surrender, it was however still expected at the head quarters of the Prussian King, that a favourable turn of circumstances might enable them to enter that Capital in the course of four or five days.

In my last I informed you, that the Prussians took possession of 6 batteries; on the 28-th they took 3 others, extending to the right wing of Kosciuszko's camp. ²³ The Poles, in order to retake those batteries, attempted a most spirited sally, but were repulsed with the loss of 1109 men. The battle however was obstinate and bloody, and our troops paid very dear for their advantage obtained over the enemy. ²⁴

KING OF PRUSSIA NEEDS MORE ARTILLERY.

Berlin, August 16.

Various are reasons alleged that *Warsaw* is not yet in the hands of our troops. Some say that Kosciuszko has threatened the life of the King of *Poland*, if they attempt taking the capital; whilst others assure us, that the Empress of *Russia*, has insisted, that in the attack upon *Warsaw*, everything shall be avoided that may endanger the safety of the Polish Monarch; besides which there has long been a talk of private negotiations, which have stopped the operations against *Warsaw*: However, that they are slackened, (if not entirely stopped) is most certain; and it is now said, that the Prussians are in want of heavy artillery, that

²² *Ib.*, November 10, 1794.

²³ Prussians occupied Wawrzyszew and Gory Szwedzkie defended by Prince Joseph Poniatowski, on August 26. Their attack on Marymont defended by Gen. Henry Dombrowski, was repulsed on August 28-th.

²⁴ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, November 12, 1794.

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which they have before the city bearing no proportion to the Polish artillery in *Warsaw*, which is very excellently served; for which reason the King of *Prussia* has ordered a fresh supply of artillery from *Breslaw*, which is already on its way, and expected to arrive at the army before *Warsaw* by the 20-th. ²⁵

DISSENSIONS AMONG THE ALLIES.

London, August 28.

The brave Poles are likely to reap important advantages from a jealousy which obviously subsists between their combined oppressors respecting the disposal of the conquests which they have already made or may in future make. The King of *Prussia* insists on having *Warsaw*, when he has conquered it; for which reason, the Empress has refused him the least aid in that enterprize. ²⁶

SHORTAGE OF FOOD IN THE PRUSSIAN CAMP.

London, September 2, 1794.

Such has been the want of necessities in the Prussian camp before *Warsaw*, that even garden food has been brought from the most distant provinces in *Silesia*. The latest letters from *Warsaw* mention that the king of *Prussia*'s head quarters had been removed to a greater distance from the Polish entrenchments. A greater quantity of heavy artillery was expected from *Breslau*, and other places.—Many private letters complain of a great mortality in the Prussian army in consequence of the flux. ²⁷

CONTRADICTIONARY ACCOUNTS FROM WARSAW.

Berlin, September 1-st.

The accounts from the Prussian and Polish armies, before *Warsaw*, are various and contradictory. On the one side it is said that the Poles are reduced to extremity, and must soon surrender; on the other, that no impression has yet been made upon them, and that the Prussians, from sickness and the difficulties of obtaining supplies, must soon be compelled to abandon attack: It is pretty certain that the KING OF PRUSSIA has found the capture of *Warsaw* a difficulter enterprize than he expected, and that the EMPRESS OF RUSSIA has afforded him the same kind of assistance that he afforded the Allies against the French. ²⁸

POLES INVADE POLISH PROVINCES OF PRUSSIA.

London, September 12.

Letters from *Thorn* of the 30-th ult. state, that the *Poles* have invaded *South Prussia* in considerable force, and retaken the towns of *Gnesen*, *Bizesc*, *Nieszawa*, *Wloclawek*, *Sieradia*, and *Lis-*

²⁵ *Ib.*, November 10, 1794; *Columbian Centinel*, November 12, 1794.

²⁶ *Columbian Centinel*, November 12, 1794.

²⁷ *The Newport Mercury*, November 11, 1794.

²⁸ *Ib.*, November 18, 1794.

sa. ²⁹ The Prussians who guarded those places were either obliged to surrender themselves prisoners to the *Poles*, or to flee to *Thorn*, for which place the most serious apprehensions are entertained. The *Poles* have seized an immense deal of plunder and the public chest. ³⁰

TROUBLES OF HIS PRUSSIAN MAJESTY

Glasgow, September 10.

...His Imperial Majesty seems to have found some difficulty in persuading the States of the Empire to furnish contingents (against France); the King of *Prussia*, in particular, has *refused* to furnish any, alledging that he has already exhausted his resources, and that *Poland* requires his whole attention. This last apology, appears, indeed well founded, for great part of *Polish Prussia* has declared in favour of the patriots; and it is even said that his Prussian Majesty has been completely defeated before Warsaw. ³¹

IMPORTANCE OF THE INSURRECTION

New York, November 14.

The Insurrection in South Prussia is an event of a great magnitude. As a diversion in favor of the Poles, it is at this critical moment highly important; but as a proof of a spirit of revolt in the heart of Europe against the present Gothic establishments, it is to be considered as highly interesting to all Europe. ³²

THE HERALD REJOICES AT THE SUCCESSES OF THE POLES.

New York, December 11.

The insurrection in Prussia, is becoming more general, and we rejoice to see the affairs of Poland wear a more promising appearance. ³³

INSURGENTS STOP PRUSSIAN ARTILLERY.

Amsterdam, September 6.

Several letters received here yesterday brought accounts that a very general insurrection had taken place in West Prussia, formerly Posnania, and part of Poland; that the insurgents had stopped the heavy artillery going to the King of Prussia's army before Warsaw, and that his Prussian majesty had been obliged to raise the siege of that capital. ³⁴

²⁹ An army of 2,200 men under Gen. Henry Dombrowski was sent by Kosciuszko into Polish provinces of Prussia as a diversion against the Prussians besieging Warsaw.

³⁰ *Columbian Centinel*, November 12, 1794; *The Newport Mercury*, November 18, 1794.

³¹ *Columbian Centinel*, November 12, 1794.

³² *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, November 18, 1794.

³³ *The (N. Y.) Herald*, December 13, 1794.

³⁴ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, November 17, 1794.

PRUSSIA THREATENS INSURGENTS WITH DEATH.

London, September 20.

By the last accounts from Poland, it appears that the insurrection in South Prussia continues to be more serious. The insurgents in many places are provided with artillery; they seal their acts with a seal similar to that of Kosciuszko; and their principal rendezvous are the districts of Rawa, Cujavia, and Lentschiza.

All the insurgents in South Prussia found in arms are to lose their lives, and their property is to be confiscated. ³⁵

SIEGE OF WARSAW IS RAISED.

September 24.

The intelligence of the raising of the siege of Warsaw is fully confirmed, and the King of Prussia marched from before that city on the 8-th inst. ³⁶ to Raszin, where the army is to take an advantageous position, with a view of quelling the insurrection in South Prussia, and to save Silesia from its influence. The insurgents render themselves formidable in the extreme, and the moment they are beaten in one place by the Prussian troops, and the latter turn their back, they rise again and commit fresh and more horrible excesses. ³⁷

HIS MAJESTY EXPLAINS HIS RETREAT.

Prussian Headquarters before Warsaw, Sept. 6.

The Prussian Army stationed before Warsaw, by its indefatigable labours, and especially by the success of the 26-th and 28-th of last month, days which were crowned with victory, had driven the Enemy into the last redoubts before this city, and was quite near accomplishing its design, by capturing Warsaw, the seat of the Polish revolutionary spirit. Just then a violent insurrection broke out all of a sudden in South Prussia, which had been excited from Warsaw, by all kind of secret suggestions and examples of mistaken and inconsistent notions of liberty. This insurrection broke out with such unexpected violence, that the greatest part of the petty Nobility, led on by some principal Nobles, rose in all parts at once, and forced their subjects to rise in the same manner, who, freed from their former oppressive yoke, deemed themselves happy, under the sceptre of their gracious and wise Monarch. They collected all kinds of arms, and were even provided with artillery. They threatened those who would not join with them with the gallows, which they erected every where; plundered several towns, and the royal Treasures contained in them; hung the royal officers; surprised and murdered several small military detachments; even set fire to a magazine of gunpowder, and to some villages on the frontier of Silesia;

³⁵ *Ib.*, November 15, 1794.

³⁶ According to Korzon, on September 6-th (*Kościuszko*, p. 412).

³⁷ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, November 15, 1794.

seized a convoy of oats which was destined for the army; committed robberies upon all the highways, so that all communication, nay, even the course of the posts were interrupted; and though they met with a vigorous resistance in different places, they succeeded however in making themselves masters of a convoy of 11 transports, laden with ammunition, coming up the Vistula from Graudentz. ³⁸

In this concurrence of circumstances, while all South Prussia and the frontier of Silesia are exposed to the danger of an entire devastation, and while the fire against the enemy's works could not be continued with the usual briskness, owing to the loss of the above ammunition, which cannot be immediately replaced, on account of the remoteness of the magazines, His Majesty has resolved to suspend for the present the siege of Warsaw, and to go with the army on the 6-th inst., as far as Raszin, to enable him by an advantageous position, which will be chosen, to take all those efficacious measures which are requisite, to quell entirely, and all at once, the insurrection in the interior of South Prussia; and to punish in the severest manner, the ring-leaders and authors of it. ³⁹

NEW "EXCESSES" OF THE INSURGENTS

Posnania, September 10.

(From the *Gazette of South Prussia*).

The insurgents continue to move in small bodies, from one manor to another, force or persuade the proprietors to join them, and to furnish part of their subjects as recruits, plunder the Royal Treasures, take the Officers prisoners, seize post-horses, and render the roads so unsafe, that the communication is stopped with almost every considerable city of this Province. The insurgents had no sooner learned that the Prussians again evacuated Gnesen on the 5-th instant, than they came out of their hiding places, returned to that city, and encamped afterwards at Czerniewo, ⁴⁰ two leagues from Gnesen. All the Members of the Commission appointed by the insurgents, have the title of Your Excellency, Burghers and Peasants not excepted. As a proof of the interest which the clergy, especially the Convents, manifest for insurrection, the Convent of Wongrowicz ⁴¹ alone sent 100 armed peasants to the insurgents at Gnesen.

Our Official Gazette contains a circumstantial account of all the excesses which the insurgents committed at Gnesen, when the insurrection first broke out. Amongst others, the Prussian Eagles were trampled under foot, and one Eagle was even hung. The Royal Officers received the orders of the insurgents with

³⁸ Grudziondz (Graudentz), a city south of Dantzig.

³⁹ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, November 21, 1794.

⁴⁰ Czerniejewo, a town east of Poznan.

⁴¹ Wongrowiec, a town northeast of Poznan.

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pistols, clapped to their breasts. They used the acts and records of justice to make cartridges, and the German inhabitants were obliged to cast balls. The chimney sweeper at Gnesen was made drummer; and the musicians of the place were made to play for the bands of insurgents. Every armed peasant received orders to cut off with their scythes the heads of those Prussian Officers who should look out of the windows of the places, where they are confined.

On the 8-th instant, in the morning, the Polish prisoners of war at this place were sent under a strong escort of cavalry to Custrin. ⁴²

WHAT DIABOLICAL FELLOWS THESE POLES MUST BE!

London, Sept. 27.

Among the numerous excesses, said in the Prussian Gazettes to have been committed by the Polish insurgents, the principal ones enumerated are, that they trampled upon the Prussian Eagles, and even hung up one upon a gibbet, erected for the purpose!! What a diabolical, inhuman, infernal etc., etc., etc., fellows these Poles must be! ⁴³

POLISH ENVOY AT THE FRENCH CONVENTION

Paris, August 4.

The refugees of Poland felicitate the Convention on the late triumphs of liberty. ⁴⁴

The President answers: Machiavelism produces alternately alliances, and divisions among tyrants; fraternity unites all free nations together, and their union is everlasting, like virtue, which constitutes its basis.

Freemen of Poland! it will be sufficient to tell you, that you will ever find as many brothers in France as there are friends of liberty.

Tell your fellow citizens, that the French nation observe with the most lively interest their struggles for liberty — that it applauds their generous audacity — that it receives every intelligence of their successes, with an agreeable sensation; but tell them at the same time that feeble measures are often productive of irreparable disasters in great revolutions; tell them, that even a king in fetters always threatens liberty; that tygers and leopards are not to be tamed, and that, whoever spares them is an enemy to mankind. Tell them before all, that nothing, but a re-

⁴² *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, November 21, 1794. Custrin, a Prussian fortress.

⁴³ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, November 28, 1794.

⁴⁴ Francis Barss, the envoy of Kosciuszko, was a guest of the Convention on August 14-th. Collot d'Herbois was then its president (Al. Kraushar, *Barss*, Warsaw, 1904, p. 216).

presentation can conduct them safe into port, and that if they do not make haste to form one, they will only change their master, instead of conquering liberty.

Honourable mention of this address, ordered to be inserted in the bulletin, as also the President's answer to it. ⁴⁵

UNJUST CONDUCT OF PRUSSIA AND RUSSIA

London, Sept. 19.

The captain of a ship from Gottenbrough, states, that the Poles have completely routed the Prussian invaders, and obliged their grand army to raise the siege of Warsaw. Every friend to justice and humanity will join us in the hearty wish, that this intelligence may receive a full and speedy confirmation. If Prussia and Russia, while the one was fighting, and the other praying, against the propagation of principles subversive to all order in society, had not followed a conduct towards Poland subversive of all justice, there might have remained the possible persuasion, that their conduct was dictated by the purest motives, but when they themselves do the very things they condemn in others, they show plainly that by good order they mean a blind, implicit submission to arbitrary mandates, whether right or wrong. ⁴⁶

RAISING OF THE SIEGE OF WARSAW GIVES PLEASURE TO FREEMEN

London, Sept. 26.

The Poles had established a system of a rational freedom, which Mr. Burke approved and praised in words, which he alone can so happily combine; the raising, therefore, of the siege of Warsaw must give pleasure to every man who enjoys the blessing of such a government as that of Britain. Who would not wish to others, without loss to themselves, the same degree of happiness which they enjoy?

Tacitus, with his usual pregnant brevity, observes that if a certain Emperor had not been placed upon a throne, all men would have thought he was worthy of one. The present King of Poland is as accomplished a gentleman, according to universal suffrage, as any that Europe can boast; but he was not formed to...

"Ride in the whirlwind, and direct the storm." Kosciusko, possessing gentlemanly manners in an equal degree, perhaps, with his sovereign, has those powers of mind which are indispensably requisite in the proper government of millions. His name will probably (be) as much revered in Poland, as that of William Tell in Switzerland. ⁴⁷

⁴⁵ *The Newport Mercury*, November 18, 1794.

⁴⁶ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, November 19, 1794.

⁴⁷ *Ib.*, November 22, 1794.

A TOAST TO KOSCIUSZKO

New York, Nov. 26.

Yesterday being the Anniversary of the Evacuation of this City by the British troops, the same was celebrated with the usual demonstrations of joy.

After the parade (of military) the officers partook of an elegant entertainment at Hunter's Hotel, when the following Toasts were drank:

8. Kosciusko and the Polish Nation. ⁴⁸

A COUNTRY INDULGED BY GOD AND INSULTED BY MAN

In contemplating the situation of Poland, a country so indulged by God, and so insulted by man, the politician will yield to the impulse of indignation and the philanthropist will drop the tear of regret. Fraudulent elections, and violent depositions of the Monarchs, iniquitous interpositions by foreign powers, civil wars, depopulations, pestilential disorders, famine, and finally, a barbarous dismemberment by Russia, Prussia, and Austria, seem, during the present century, to have filled the chalice of her calamities. Though possessing a large and compact domain, with a proportionate population, with such advantages of situation, as to be able to repress the ambition of Russia, and to protect the declining greatness of Turkey; to awe Prussia, and to contend with the empire of Germany, Poland has, nevertheless, since the reign of John Sobieski, been the victim of all these powers, except Turkey. The admission of strangers to the throne; the power and venality of the nobles who elect the sovereign; the imperfect nature of the aristocracy; the total want of union between the several parts of the Government; and the endeavours of each to make itself independent of the rest; finally, the degradation of the peasants, who feel no interest in the Monarchy of whose power they are independent; these are the causes which fettering the energies and exertions of Poland, have prevented her from resisting with success, that impudent and ruffian combination of despots, who to the utter disgrace of the rest of Europe, have been suffered to repeat the shocking scenes of the fourth and fifth centuries, to vie with the Huns in cruelty, and to dispute the preeminence of guilt with Attila himself. ⁴⁹

SKIRMISHES WITH AUSTRIANS.

Vienna, Sept. 11.

Skirmishes have taken place between our troops and the Poles, in consequence of the invasion of an Austrian corps under General Meirsheim into Poland. The Poles have fought every

⁴⁸ *Ib.*, November 28, 1794.

⁴⁹ *Postscript to Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, November 29, 1794.

where with great courage and enthusiasm — they say that they are ready to die, or they have the satisfaction of destroying the enemies which endeavour to deprive them of their liberty.⁵⁰

f] The Insurrection in Prussian Poland

POLES MASSACRE PRUSSIANS

Berlin, Sept. 23.

According to the most recent advices from South Prussia, the insurrection is still predominant. The insurgents are said to massacre all the small detachments of Prussians they fall upon unawares, and to hang the officers. This misfortunately lately occurred to a counsellor of war and a young receiver of the excise. Proposals for peace are generally talked of; and it is added, that an officer of distinction will shortly be sent to Warsaw for the purpose of negotiating.¹

CONDITION OF THE POLES ALTERED VASTLY FOR THE BETTER

Vienna, Sept. 23.

The last official advices from Poland, received some days ago, state, that their condition is altered vastly for the better. In the different actions lately near the capital, the Poles always attacked, and were uniformly victorious. On the nights of the 28-th and 29-th, 200 men from the camp of General Zajaczek, surprised two Prussian batteries, cut the men to pieces, and carried off their artillery.

The details of the particular actions which preceded the retreat of the King of Prussia, would be uninteresting; but all the accounts concur in declaring, that the Prussians have entirely evacuated the territories of the Republic.

The Austrians having continued to advance, though in an apparent friendly manner, were met by some Polish battalions, which defeated them, and took seventy of them prisoners, with their arms and baggage.

The Polish troops took possession of the Palatinates of Sandomir and Cracow; and Kosciusko hangs upon the rear of the Prussian army. Discontents are manifesting themselves so strongly in Silesia, as to cause apprehensions for the safety of that province; and in Lithuania, the Poles have already possessed themselves of the cities of Minsk and Nieswicz.²

⁵⁰ *Ibidem.*

¹ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, December 3, 1794.

² *Ib.*, December 4, 1794.

PRUSSIANS ADVANCE AGAINST INSURGENTS

Thorn, September 20.

When the Prussians left Poland, Kosciuszko attempted in vain to disturb their retreat. Our army marched into South Prussia in three columns. Colonel Szekuli lately made several prisoners, and sent them to Innowroclaw; ³ among the rest a colonel was sentenced to death, as well as several ladies; the king, however, respited their sentences, and ordered the prisoners removed to Thorn. Several other prisoners have also been sent in from Wloclawec, ⁴ among whom is a bishop, upwards of 70 years of age, with many other ecclesiastics and seculars; but, notwithstanding generals Bruneck and Schoenfeld have advanced against the insurgents, the public tranquility is by no means restored, as the parties of malcontents are in force in many places in greater or lesser numbers, where they commit all kinds of depredations. ⁵

PATRIOTS OF POLAND RECEIVE ACCESSIONS.

London, October 9.

The Patriots of Poland, our readers will be happy to hear, receive daily accessions of strength. The principles of the Revolution have been introduced with success into Upper Silesia, Livonia, and even into the Province of Galicia ⁶

October 11.

The accounts from Poland become daily more alarming to the Plunderers of that fair country. The insurrection not, only gains ground in the provinces lately dismembered, but has found its way into Galicia, Livonia and Lithuania. The inhabitants of those countries want nothing but the slightest prospect of success to attempt shaking off the yoke of Austria, Russia and Prussia, and declaring openly for the principles of the Poles. ⁷

TE DEUM CELEBRATED AT WARSAW

Warsaw, Sept. 6.

A Te-Deum was celebrated on the 4-th, under a general discharge of all our artillery, in honor of the insurrection which has taken place in the Woywodships of Kalisch, Gnesen and Sieradz, and in the districts of Gostyn and Wielun, which together compose the Province of Great Poland, and which had been dismembered from us in the late partition by the King of Prussia. We are informed, that the people of all those places have subscribed to our Confederation.

A number of people are daily employed in repairing and strengthening the damaged entrenchments before our town. Every thing left by the enemy is conveyed within the town. Our

³ Innowroclaw, a town southwest of Torun.

⁴ Wloclawek, a town southeast of Torun.

⁵ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, December 4, 1794.

⁶ *Ib.*, December 9, 1794.

⁷ *Ibidem*.

government is very active in laying up immense quantities of provisions for further use of this capital and of the army. ⁸

A NEW RUSSIAN ARMY ENTERS POLAND

Polish Frontiers, Sept. 23.

The Russian General Suwarow, ⁹ with his army, is said to be on his march for Warsaw, from Volhynia. From 20 to 30,000 Prussians are likewise said to be on their march, which are for the present to be posted in Silesia. The King of Prussia has also demanded a corps of 20,000 men, which the court of Vienna is to furnish him with, according to treaties, since he has been attacked by Poles. ¹⁰

RUSSIAN COURT WORRYING.

Petersburgh, Sept. 5.

Colonel Wolkonsky is just arrived with the news of the taking of Wilna; but this is the almost only good news from Poland; and though the Court is silent on the subject, it is well known to the public that the Polish Revolution has not only frustrated all efforts to subjugate that country, but that its effects are even extended into Courland and the frontier of Livonia. The Poles are masters of Liebau. A part of the noblesse of Courland have retired to Riga; the other has united with the people, who in general have embraced the cause of Liberty with ardour, with the single exception of the city of Windau, which has refused to take the oath to the Republic and the Constitution of May 1791. Every where else the oath has been taken with eagerness. General Derfelden, whose orders had been to join the armies before Warsaw, with a considerable body of troops, is now on his march towards Courland.

One of the consequences of this state of things, may probably be a great scarcity of provisions in those provinces of Russia next to Poland and Lithuania. White Russia especially, from whence great part of the provisions for the subsistence of the Imperial troops in Poland was drawn, and where wheat was scarce last year, can hardly escape this misfortune, provisions being already at treble the ordinary price. ¹¹

AUSTRIA DISCOVERS REVOLUTIONARY SYMPATHIES IN GALICIA

Vienna, September 17.

The news from Poland is by no means favourable to the Powers allied for the subjugation of that country. The insurrection is not only general in the Provinces which it was intended

⁸ *Ib.*, December 10, 1794.

⁹ Alexander Suvarow (1729-1800), Russian Field Marshal, equally famous for his military talents, as well as his cruelty.

¹⁰ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, December 10, 1794.

¹¹ *Ibidem*.

to dismember, but even in those parts of their own countries which lie contiguous. The insurgents have attacked with success a Prussian corps near Fraustadt,¹² and forced to retreat to Glogaw, in Silesia. They have rendered themselves masters of Kalisch and Posnania, and have intercepted a large convoy of provisions and ammunition which was on road from Breslau to the Prussian army. The Insurgents have also penetrated into Upper Silesia, whence they carried off a great quantity of cattle and forage, and have found so many partisans among the inhabitants, that the Court of Berlin is afraid that Silesia will follow the example which the Insurgents have set them. A similar spirit has been evinced in Livonia, where not only the flat country, but the principal towns have evinced a disposition to revolt.

Our Court, which entered into the views of the King of Prussia, has now an opportunity of discovering the imprudence of such conduct. It is asserted that the Polish Patriots are either on the point of declaring war against the Emperor, or that they have already declared it by their actions.

It is said that the Austrian troops in Poland have experienced a check, and that in Galicia symptoms have been evinced, which do not partake of that attachment which that province has hitherto professed to the power of Austria.¹³

PRUSSIANS FLEE LIKE "MAD DOGS."

September 26.

Letters and particularly the official accounts from Warsaw, of the 9-th inst., give us the most ample details of the circumstances attending the retreat of the Prussians on the night between the 5-th and 6-th.

Various causes contributed to this retreat. The insurgents in Great Poland not only cut off the supplies of provisions and ammunition from the army of his Prussian Majesty, but also cut off the communication between the other parts of his dominions and his camp, in the environs of which the Poles had demolished all the streets, and attempted to entrap the Prussians in the number of Grand abbatis, which the rubbish enabled them to form.

In the pursuit, the Prussians were miserably slaughtered; the streets through which they passed, were covered with the carcasses of men and horses.

The enraged Prussians fled like mad dogs, destroying in their way, all the houses of the peasants; so that the places through which they passed, are as dreary as a desert.¹⁴

¹² Fraustadt, Polish Wschowa, in the southwestern part of Great Poland.

¹³ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, December 9, 1794; *The Newport Mercury*, December 23, 1794.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

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has animated the Poles to such a degree of enthusiasm, and his army has been so amply supplied with every article, necessary for the continuance of hostile operations, that the united armies of Russia and Prussia would be unable to overthrow these brave men; who are determined either to die, or rescue their country from foreign bondage. ¹⁵

AUSTRIA WONDERS AT THE ATTITUDE OF RUSSIA.

Vienna, September 24.

One great political question remains yet to be resolved, why the Russians have shown so little zeal in the affairs of Poland?

The corps of our Gallician troops only pushed forward as far as Pulawy, in Poland, and then returned. It is now said they will not go any further till there has been some other arrangements settled between the Courts of Petersburg and Berlin upon the subject. ¹⁶

DETAILS OF THE HEROIC DEFENSE OF WARSAW.

London, October 14.

By authentic accounts from Warsaw, dated on the 12-th of September, it appears that the sudden retreat of the King of Prussia was owing in a great measure to the repulse he met with on the 28-th of August, in attempting to get possession of the wood and batteries of Powaski. The attack was made by the Prussians in great force against the division of Prince Joseph Poniatowski, commanded that day by General Dabrowski, and after an action of 14 hours, in which the inhabitants of Warsaw shared the danger and glory with the regulars, the enemy were repulsed, with the loss of several batteries, and a great number of men. The retreat of the Prussian army was so precipitate, that they had not time to carry off their equipages, or to bury their dead. They left at Raszin, three miles distance from Warsaw, all their sick and wounded. By the same account the Prussians seem to direct their march in three columns towards Petricau, Czystochow ¹⁷ and Zakroczym, being followed by Polish detachments, sent by Kosciusko to harrass their retreat, which will prove the more difficult, as the insurgents in South Prussia have intrenched themselves in the woods, and obstructed all passages. In the Palatinate of Kalisz they have defeated a Prussian corps, and retaken two pieces of cannon.

Letters from Berlin of the 30-th ult. state, that the King has prohibited the exportation of gun-powder to South Prussia, in

¹⁵ *Federal Orrery* (Boston), December 18, 1794.

¹⁶ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, December 25, 1794.

¹⁷ Czenstochowa, a town northwest of Cracow, famous for its cloister and church of St. Mary which withstood the siege of Swedes in 1655.

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consequence of the Polish Jews buying it up, and selling it to the insurgents. ¹⁸

"ABRIDGEMENT OF THE STATE OF POLITICS."

By all accounts the affairs of the Poles prosper greatly under that patriot hero Kosciusko, in whose success no friend of humanity but must rejoice. It is even said, and believed, that the Prussians have evacuated Poland. ¹⁹

POLES APPROACHING TORUN.

London, October 15.

The Poles, altho' defeated by the Russians in Lithuania, continue to be successful against the Prussian troops. They are approaching Thorn, and are expected to get possession both of that place and Dantzick. Kosciusko is gone with the flower of his army to repair the losses in Lithuania. ²⁰

INSURGENTS CUT OFF MAIL FROM EAST EUROPE.

Hamburg, October 6.

The post from the Prussian States, arrived this day brought no letters from Russia, no letters from Koenigsberg, and not a single packet from Dantzick.

(This circumstance is almost equivalent to an account of a complete victory gained by the Poles over their enemies. The insurgents of South Prussia had already occupied part of West Prussia before the 30-th September. It is therefore highly probable that a corps of the Poles has since overrun the rest of Prussia on the left of Vistula, a defenceless country, and pushed forward to the Baltic Sea; in this case, the communication of Dantzick with the German possession of Prussia, is entirely cut off by land, and Koenigsberg, all East Prussia, the ordinary road of communication between Berlin and Russia, is consequently in the same situation). ²¹

CHANGEABLE FORTUNES OF WAR.

Hamburg, October 10.

We have received intelligence that the Poles have attacked the Prussian corps of Colonel Szakuli and Heinrichs in South Prussia and dispersed them. The small number that remained were obliged to seek their safety in flight. It is said that Colonel Szakuli and Heinrichs are among the dead. This action, in which the Poles displayed the greatest bravery, took place near Bromberg. ²²

¹⁸ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, December 25, 1794.

¹⁹ *Ib.*, December 26, 1794.

²⁰ *Ib.*, January 2, 1795.

²¹ *Ibidem.*

²² Szekuli, a cruel Prussian officer, was defeated and severely wounded in a skirmish with Dombrowski's corps at Bydgoszcz, on October 2.

THE KOSCIUSZKO INSURRECTION

To counterbalance this news so disagreeable to Prussia, a report has been circulated of some successes obtained by General de Suwarow, who, it is said, has entered Poland with 20,000 men, and in an attack on the Patriots on the 17-th and 18-th ult. defeated them near Brzesc. ²³ The Poles were only 9,000 in number, nevertheless they maintained the conflict with great courage, and did not retreat till the works of their entrenchments were destroyed. They then retired across the Bug. This report, however, is not much credited. ²⁴

POLES HONORED AT CORK.

Dublin, October 25.

In Cork, much to the honour of the Patriots there, they have celebrated, with every honest manifestation of joy, the successes of Kosciusko against the enemies of his country. ²⁵

PALATINATE OF RAWA CLEARED OF PRUSSIANS.

Vienna, October 3.

Letters from Warsaw of the 19-th July, contain more favourable news for Poland. The Prussians in the Palatinate of Rowa have been routed, and so animated is that little district in the common cause, that it has sent to Warsaw a donation of 27,000 florins.

There remain still some Prussian troops in Great Poland, but the activity and vigour of the insurgents must soon oblige them to evacuate it. ²⁶

POLES CASTING BELLS INTO CANNON.

Vienna, September 29.

Our accounts from Warsaw inform us, that the Russian engineer, who dressed in the uniform of the insurgents ventured to enter the camp of Kosciusko in order to take an exact survey of the entrenchments raised by the Poles, has been sentenced to death, and was hung.

The greatest activity reigns in the cannon founderies; all the bells are taken down in order to be refounded, and as the Poles say, made to sound the last hour of their enemies.

All the plate in the churches is sent to the mint. ²⁷

PRUSSIA IN A MOST CRITICAL SITUATION.

Berlin, October 11.

The situation of our Court is at present most critical. The cabinet never dreamed that the fatal dismemberment of Poland, in which Russia engaged to concur, while the other powers of

²³ Suwarow with an army of 18,000 men defeated 6,000 Poles under Sierakowski, on October 17-th and 18-th.

²⁴ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, January 7, 1795.

²⁵ *Ibidem*.

²⁶ *Ib.*, January 8, 1795.

²⁷ *Ibidem*.

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Europe were embarrassed by the war against the French, would lead to such a crisis, as that we should have reason to fear the loss of our own possessions—not only of those which the late King acquired by the last dismemberment, but even of the Provinces subject to the House of Brandenburg for more than a century. The progress of the Polish Insurgents in West Prussia is such that, after the capture of Bromberg, by General Madalinski, ²⁸ not only Dantzic, Thorn, Culm, ²⁹ and Graudentz, seem on the point of being restored to the Republic of Poland, but there is even room to apprehend that the Poles will penetrate into Pomerania as far as Stettin.

On the 8-th instant, the Supreme Department of War received orders to put the Gardes-du-Corps, and the regiment of infantry Gendarmes, in garrison at Potsdam, the regiment of Pirch of Stettin, the cuirassiers of Narwitz, and a train of heavy artillery, in motion for West Prussia. The corps will probably be followed by the regiment of Braun and several others, to stop the progress of the Poles, if that be yet possible. ³⁰

PRUSSIAN RULE TOTALLY DESTROYED IN GREAT POLAND.

Berlin, October 14.

We are assured that 20,000 Prussians will be ordered from the Rhine, to be employed against Poland.

The course of the posts is much interrupted between us and South Prussia, where the number of Insurgents is said to be near 40,000. Whether this is true or not, it is certain that the spirit of insurrection is so universally spread through that province, that it is totally disorganized, which makes it the more difficult to reduce it to order again, particularly as we have been obliged to send small detachments to disperse the little corps of insurgents in different parts; but this does not produce much good effect, and we have not yet been able to settle a general effective plan of operations. ³¹

POLES MARCHING ON DANTZIG.

Hamburgh, October 14.

The accounts from Bromberg are fully confirmed. — The Polish army is marching, 40,000 strong, against Dantzic, and have beat the Prussian General Schoenfeld, who opposed their progress. ³²

²⁸ Bydgoszcz (Bromberg) was captured by Gen. Dombrowski.

²⁹ Chelmno (Culm), a city on the Vistula, north of Torun.

³⁰ *The Newport Mercury*, January 20, 1795.

³¹ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, January 13, 1795; *The Newport Mercury*, January 20, 1795.

³² *Ibidem*.

FRESH LAURELS OBTAINED BY KOSCIUSZKO.

London, October 25.

Consoling, indeed, to the friends of liberty is the progress making by the arms of the Poles against those who would destroy their happiness and snatch from them their country. Their enemies are dismayed, and every account from thence adds fresh laurels to those already so bravely obtained by General Kosciusko, and inspire with additional courage the friends of freedom. We are happy to hear that a festival, in this town, has been set apart for the celebration of their victories. ³³

"POLAND."

See, dim beneath the arctic pole,
Rude Russians hosts of ruffians roll,
A sea-like wave—in barbarous pride
The Poles to conquer and divide!
See FREDERICK aid the base design,
And march his legions from the Rhine!
See KOSCIUSKO rouse the Poles,
While indignation fires their souls,
That tyrants leagued should still essay
To bend their necks to foreign sway!
O son of our great Son of Fame,
May deeds like his exalt thy name!
May fated Poland yet be free
And find a WASHINGTON in thee! ³⁴

"THE AFFAIRS OF POLAND"

as portrayed in the papers, brought by the ship *Young Eagle* arrived at Philadelphia, wear a brightening aspect. This vessel brings Dublin prints to the 27-th of October; which contains a series of splendid successes, achieved by the glorious disciple of the American Fabius. In South Prussia the enemies of liberty had been severely defeated; and the valor and counsel of Kosciusko were everywhere triumphant. ³⁵

"REVIEW OF SOME EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1794."

Poland began to assert her rights and successfully opposed the encroachments of the neighbouring powers that had before despoiled her of great part of her territory. — The forces of

³³ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, January 14, 1795.

³⁴ *New Year's Verses for the Connecticut Courant*, January 1, 1795. The author of this verse was Dr. Lemuel Hopkins (1750-1801), physician and Revolutionary soldier. For a long time he resided at Hartford where he died. As a poet, he was associated with Humphreys, Trumbull and Barlow, in a variety of political publications, and chiefly in the series of papers entitled *The Anarchiad*.

³⁵ *Federal Orrery*, January 15, 1795.

Russia, Austria, and Prussia were baffled and vanquished, in several of their attempts, by the patriotick army under the command of Kosciusko. — The King of Prussia, after summoning the King of Poland by the name of brother, to deliver up Warsaw, was obliged to raise the siege, and retreat with the greatest precipitation and heavy loss.

A formidable insurrection has also taken place in the dominion of Prussia itself, and threatens to shake that tyranical government to its base. ³⁶

g] The Battle of Maciejowice

KOSCIUSZKO DEFEATED.

Amsterdam, October 24.

Letters received this day by several respectable houses, bring the most melancholy intelligence that the Russian army has attacked and totally defeated the Polish army under general Kosciusko: that the General, with several other general officers, and all his Etat Majors, were taken prisoners, and that the Russians immediately after this victory marched towards Warsaw. The messenger, who brought this intelligence to Berlin, was immediately dispatched to Potsdam. We wait the confirmation of this account by the next letters from Hamburg. ¹

INSURGENTS STILL DETERMINED TO FIGHT.

Frontiers of Poland, Elbing, October 22.

All our letters from the interior of Poland speak of the great consternation which the unfortunate defeat of Kosciusko has occasioned in Warsaw. The High Council have published an address to the people, wherein they communicate the melancholy affair, and repeat the assurance that the heads of the revolution are determined to live and to die at their posts. They have given the command in chief of the army to Lieut. General Wawrzecki, whose answer is expected with great impatience. Gen. Krajonzer, meanwhile, acts in his place. The Russians are advancing rapidly towards the Capital. ²

KOSCIUSZKO SHOWED MUCH GREATNESS OF MIND.

Posen, October 25.

Of the battle between Kosciusko and the Russians, on the 10-th inst., we have yet only the following particulars:—

The battle lasted from 7 o'clock in the morning till 12 at noon. Kosciusko shewed much greatness of mind: He was con-

³⁶ *Kentucky Gazette*, February 21, 1795.

¹ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, January 9, 1795.

² *Ibidem*. Krajonzer should mean Zajonczenk.

stantly in the midst of the fire: three horses were killed under him: With the first he fell into a morass. The loss of the Russians is estimated at 1000 men. ³

ACCOUNTS FROM POLAND BECOMING GLOOMY

Hamburgh, November 1.

Different accounts relate that the Russians have had several severe engagements with the *Poles*, in which the latter seem to have been generally much worsted; and as great numbers of the vanquished would not ask pardon of their conquerors, they were butchered on the spot. On the 10-th of October, Kosciusko, with his whole army was totally defeated by the Russian General Von Fersen; himself, and three other generals, were taken prisoners; in consequence of which several Russian divisions were marching against *Warsaw*, where great disaffection prevailed, and many insisted on imploring forgiveness from their enemies. ⁴ In short, the different accounts from *Poland* are of so gloomy a nature, that it is expected the Polish revolution will be soon settled, to the satisfaction of the generous *Catherine* and *Frederick William*. ⁵

A GOOD WISH FOR POLAND.

Philadelphia, January 10.

On the 29-th ult., between fifty and a hundred of the officers of the Philadelphia County Militia assembled at Guise's tavern, on the Frankfort road, to hear the report of a committee appointed at a former meeting and to adopt some mode to effect an alteration on the present defective militia law. A dinner was provided for the occasion, and after dinner the following toasts were drank:

7. The People of Poland; may the standard of Liberty which they have unfurled, wave in triumph over the hosts of tyrants, and may those blessings be entailed upon them which alone can make a nation enlightened and happy. ⁶

BRITISH DEEPLY IMPRESSED BY NEWS FROM POLAND.

London, October 30.

The afflicting rumour which was received on Tuesday of the defeat of the *Poles*, and the capture of the gallant Kosciusko has had a deeper impression on the public mind, than we thought it possible for any calamity arising from the tyranny of courts to make on our hearts. Every company, every circle drop the tear

³ *Ibidem*.

⁴ On the contrary, the majority of the inhabitants of Warsaw, though stunned by Kosciusko's defeat, were determined to continue the war.

⁵ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, January 9, 1795; *Columbian Centinel*, January 21, 1795.

⁶ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, January 10, 1795.

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of pity, on their fate, and even the advocates for similar outrages in other countries, apologize for their support of our scheme of subjugation, by their condolence on the success of the unprincipled attack on Poland.

It is most devoutly to be hoped that the rumour is untrue. It comes from the most questionable quarter. There are letters in town of a later date than the 17-th, from Berlin, whence the report is said to come, and they do not mention it. To account for this the undaunted advocates for the report now tell us that the battle was fought on the 19-th instant, and they are not dismayed by the improbability of transmitting this account from the interior of Poland so rapidly. In short every thing is against the report, but the prejudices of the men who are bent on the reduction of their species.

But, supposing the worst to have happened, there is no reason why the friends of humanity and justice should be dismayed; for, when a whole people rise in defence of their liberties, the issue of the contest depends not on the fortune of a single army, or a single leader. ⁷

PATRIOTISM OF GEN. DOMBROWSKI.

Frontiers of Poland, October 18.

It is said, that Kosciusko, previous to his march from Warsaw, nominated and recommended Major-General Dombrowsky, ⁸ formerly a captain in the Saxon life-guards, as his successor, should he be killed or made prisoner. Kosciusko lately made him an offer, for his brilliant services, of a national domain, which he modestly refused, alledging, that as the nation stood in greater need than he of its resources, he could not consent to accept of it. He however, presented him a gold ring, with the inscription of "Defender of his country." ⁹

"INFIDELS, NOT WITHOUT FAITH."

Rousseau, in his advice to the Poles, respecting their constitution, recommends, to that persecuted people, the policy of making an alliance with the Turks. "The Turks," says the great Philosopher, "are faithful to their engagements,—a *Christian* power adheres to a treaty no longer than it suits its interest or conveniences." ¹⁰

⁷ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, January 12, 1795.

⁸ Gen. Henry Dombrowski (1755-1818), distinguished himself highly as commander of the Polish Legions in the Napoleonic Wars.

⁹ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, January 12, 1795.

¹⁰ *The Boston Gazette and Weekly Republican Journal*, January 12, 1795.

REPORT OF KOSCIUSZKO'S DEFEAT
STILL GAINS LITTLE CREDIT.

London, October 30.

The report of the defeat of Kosciusko's army, we are happy to find, gains little credit. ¹¹

PROGRESS OF DOMBROWSKI'S COLUMN.

London, October 31.

The news from South Prussia is confirmed to its utmost extent. The Poles, after having made themselves masters of Bromberg, proceeded towards Dantzic, with a force of 40,000 ¹² men, and defeated the Prussian army, under General Schoenfeld, which attempted to impede their march. ¹³

AMERICA STILL IN BEST HOPES FOR KOSCIUSZKO.

New York, January 10.

The account of a *Polish* defeat would seem melancholy, but we rejoice to find, that it is *discredited* in London, by all but ministerials, and there are hopes of its being premature. ¹⁴

TOASTS TO POLAND.

Philadelphia, January 15.

Last Saturday the Officers of Col. Gurney's regiment with Gen. Proctor, ¹⁵ and a number of other Officers of the Militia, who served in the late expedition, dined together at Mr. Dally's Hotel. The day was spent in the greatest harmony and satisfaction, and after the cloth was removed, the following toasts were drank:

11. General Kosciusko and his brave Countrymen:—May their late misfortunes be soon repaired by a complete overthrow of all their enemies. (Three cheers). ¹⁶

Philadelphia, January 17.

On Thursday last the Gentlemen of the first troop of Philadelphia Light Horse dined at the City Tavern. The afternoon was spent with their usual harmony and conviviality, and the following toasts were drank, a flourish of the trumpet accompanying each.

8. General Kosciusko, and his victorious army.—May victory soon crown what they have long struggled for. ¹⁷

¹¹ *The Newport Mercury*, January 13, 1795.

¹² Dombrowski had 3,000 regulars and 1,000 armed citizens at that time (Korzon, *Wewnętrzne Dzieje Polski*, vol. VI, p. 299).

¹³ *The Newport Mercury*, January 13, 1795.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹⁵ Thomas Proctor (1739-1806), a distinguished Revolutionary officer.

¹⁶ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, January 15, 1795.

¹⁷ *Ib.*, January 17, 1795.

A HOPE OF FRENCH HELP FOR POLAND

Baltimore, January 16.

The ship Equality, Captain Sprigg, arrived yesterday from Rotterdam. By her arrival we have received papers down to the day on which she sailed. From these it appears that the mention of another campaign is extremely sickening to those very powers who have taken up arms, never to lay them down until they had exterminated liberty—that peace has almost universally become the order of the day. But France, it is to be hoped, is not so negligent of the struggles of Liberty and of Poland, as to grant any terms of peace, (if she has not yet done it) to the despot of Prussia, who wishes to be disengaged from his defeats by the French, only that he may acquire over the Poles. ^{17a}

MOST FATAL CONSEQUENCES EXPECTED FOR POLAND.

Berlin, October 28.

From appearances, the events of the 10-th of this month will be followed by the most fatal consequences to the cause of Polish liberty; their last hope to put a stop to the farther progress of the Russians to Warsaw, seems to have vanished away.

The body of troops commanded by Dombrowski and Madalinsky was surrounded and entirely cut off. ¹⁸

Prince Joseph Poniatowski, who had fallen back with the main body of the Polish army, saw the necessity to secure their retreat, and on that account he attacked, on the 19-th of this month, the Prussian general de Kirchowstrom, on the river Bzura; but, although the attack was made in every quarter, with the greatest bravery, the enemy opposed them with equal valor, and the Poles were repulsed. ¹⁹ We have taken many prisoners, among them is the adjutant of prince Poniatowski. ²⁰

BERLIN CONFIRMS REPORT OF KOSCIUSZKO'S DEFEAT

Berlin, October 23.

The account of the defeat of Kosciusko is now confirmed. We have learnt the following particulars of it. Having received the news of a defeat which a corps of the Polish army had met with at Brzesc in Lithuania, and that General Suwarrow was on

^{17a} *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, January 21, 1795.

¹⁸ Dombrowski, though surrounded by Prussians saved his army in a masterly retreat with no losses at all, contrary to the expectations of the King of Prussia (Korzon, *Wewnętrzne Dzieje Polski*, vol. VI, p. 300).

¹⁹ Poniatowski attacked the Prussians at Kamionka and Witkowice and forced them to retreat, on October 19, but subsequently had to retreat himself behind Bzura because of Prussian reinforcements (*Ib.*, vol. VI, p. 299).

²⁰ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, January 21, 1795.

his march to attack Warsaw, General Kosciuszko resolved to march with 20,000 men, and give battle to the Russian General before he should approach the city.

He was however informed that Gen. Fersen meant to attempt forming a junction with General Suwarrow, to prevent which Kosciuszko, leaving the main body of his army under the command of Prince Poniatowski,²¹ advanced with 6000 men to intercept Gen. Fersen. This last General resolved to attack Kosciuszko on the 10-th, when a most dreadful engagement ensued. Twice the Russians attacked with vigour, and twice they were repulsed.

The victory would have remained with the Poles, had they contented themselves with having beaten back the enemy, but resolving to pursue this advantage, they abandoned the favourable position which they had taken upon the heights, and advanced in their turn to attack the Russians.²² The Russian troops formed themselves anew, succeeded in throwing the Polish line into confusion, which was already a little in disorder from their movement in advancing to the attack. The rout was soon complete. The Polish infantry defended themselves with a valour approaching to fury. The cavalry suffered less, and retreated in good order.

General Kosciuszko himself who performed prodigies of valour, received 2 wounds in the neck with a sabre, fell from his horse, and was taken prisoner. Prince Poniatowski, hearing of this defeat, fell back with the main body of the Polish army to Warsaw. The taking of that city will not be an enterprize so easy as was expected.

Poniatowski's army is still 16,000 men strong, and he is supported by the whole inhabitants of Warsaw. Generals Madalinski, Dombroski, etc. are at the head of strong detachments in different parts of Poland. The country is covered with armed citizens who are enthusiasts in the cause. The reduction of Poland must therefore be a work of labour. So much is our court convinced of this, that orders have been given for the return of 20,000 men from the army of the Rhine. These troops will march immediately into Poland.²³

²¹ Gen. Zajonczenk acted as commander of the main Polish army in Kosciuszko's absence.

²² This is untrue. Kosciuszko undoubtedly would have been victor in this battle had Gen. Adam Poninski who commanded a corps of 3,500 men, attacked the rear of Fersen, as Kosciuszko ordered him. Instead Poninski stood idle during the battle. Though there are no positive proofs, history marked him as a traitor (Korzon, *Kościuszko*, p.p. 442-448; *Wewnętrzne Dzieje Polski*, vol. VI, p. 320 *et sequ.*).

²³ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, January 22, 1795.

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DETAILS OF KOSCIUSZKO'S CAPTURE

Posen, Oct. 15.

Kosciusko in the action of the 10th inst. was disguised in a peasant's dress, in which he was taken prisoner; a Cossack, who did not know him, wounded him from behind with a pike; his comrades seeing him fall, made a loud cry, and called him by his name. Kosciusko got up again, and made a few steps forward, when an officer striking him on the head with a sabre, brought him to the ground. ²⁴

PREMATURE REPORTS OF CAPTURE OF WARSAW AND KOSCIUSZKO'S DEATH.

London, November 10.

With sentiments of deep regret we communicate to the public the following intelligence which has been received by a Merchant at Amsterdam. That the Russians have again been successful against the Polish Patriots; that they have defeated Prince Poniatowski, and taken Warsaw by storm. Happy shall we be, to contradict this most afflicting intelligence.

Letters from Hamburgh mention that the gallant Kosciusko survived his wounds but a short time; that after his death his head was severed from his body, placed on a pike, and carried through the ranks of the Russian army. ²⁵

FREEDOM TO ALL WHO DARE TO BE FREE

Newark, Jan. 14.

On Friday last an entertainment was given by the citizens of this town, to the volunteers on the late expedition against the western insurgents. The following toasts were given.

13. Freedom and good government to France and Poland and to every other nation who DARE TO BE FREE. ²⁶

PROCLAMATION OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL.

Frontiers of Poland, October 22.

Our letters from the interior of Poland, still continue to mention the uncommon consternation occasioned by the defeat of Kosciusko. The superior Council at Warsaw, have published an address to the people, wherein the sad reverse of fortune is mentioned, but at the same time assure them, that the heads of the revolution are determined to conquer, or to die at their posts. ²⁸ They have offered the chief command of the army, to

²⁴ *Ibidem.*

²⁵ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, January 23, 1795; *The Newport Mercury*, February 3, 1795.

²⁶ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, January 27, 1795.

²⁸ In this proclamation the Supreme Council reminded the Poles: "What nation came to freedom by an easy way?... The Americans wavered between successes and misfortunes before they arrived at this prosperity which is now the envy of the whole world" (Korzon, *Wewnętrzne Dzieje Polski*, vol. VI, p. 298).

lieutenant-general Wawrezowsky, ²⁹ whose answer is expected with impatience; meanwhile general Krajonzek ³⁰ fills this place.

The Russians advance rapidly towards the capital.—Mokronowski being cut off by them, is now marching with his corps to Narow; Prince Poniatowsky is encamped with his army on this side of Warsaw, near Modlin; ³¹ Dombroski and Madalenski are surrounded on all sides. ³²

“FOREIGN SUMMARY.”

Boston, Jan. 31.

Since our last, the ship *Nancy*, Capt. Taylor, has arrived here, from Lymington, England. Papers by her are to the 16-th November; but they contain nothing of primary importance, except that

THE DEFEAT OF THE POLES

appears to be confirmed. Twelve thousand Russians attacked, or surprised, KOSCIUSKO near the castle of MATSEHOIGWITSETS, on the 10-th *October*; and after a vigorous and brave resistance on the part of the Poles, who twice repulsed their assailants, defeated the gallant pupil of WASHINGTON. The loss of the *Poles* was 6000 killed, and 130 officers and 2000 privates made prisoners; among the latter is KOSCIUSKO, who was severely wounded. The Russians lost 1000 men. This account is followed by another, of the defeat of the Poles near BRZESC, on the 18-th *September*. ³³ The Russians were the assailants, who were ten times repulsed by the Poles, but who finally obtained the victory. The battle lasted eight hours.—The Poles lost a great number of men, two mortars, and 24 pieces of cannon. The consequence of these defeats are, that the Poles have evacuated *South Prussia*, and are drawing up round *Warsaw*. The source of the above particulars is Russian; we may therefore hope, that we see in them the worst side of the picture, and that the reverse will be more pleasing. ³⁴

SUPREME COUNCIL RESTORES THE SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE.

Thorn, November 1.

The Supreme Council of *Warsaw*, has so far succeeded in restoring the spirits of the people respecting the loss which they had sustained in the revered KOSCIUSKO, that they have resumed the motto of Victory or Death. On the other hand, the Russians advance but slowly towards *Warsaw*, and have not all their necessary artillery.

²⁹ Gen. Thomas Wawrzecki.

³⁰ Gen. Zajonczek.

³¹ Gen. Mokronowski was then retreating across the river Narew toward Warsaw; Prince Poniatowski was with the Dombrowski corps.

³² *The Newport Mercury*, January 27, 1795.

³³ Sierakowski's corps was defeated at Brzesc (Korzon, *Wewnętrzne Dzieje Polski*, vol. VI. p. 249).

³⁴ *Columbian Centinel*, January 31, 1795.

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It is averred, that KOSCIUSKO received two severe wounds; at the instant that a Cossack was about to give him the last fatal blow, the Russian Gen. CHRUSZCZOW, whose wife had been so generously released by Kosciusko, called out to refrain; and then running up to KOSCIUSKO, threw his arms around him. But the latter exclaimed: "Why do you envy my death! Let him strike!" ³⁵

INSURGENTS STILL ACTIVE IN GREAT POLAND.

Thorn, November 4.

The insurgents continue their ravages in South Prussia. They are very numerous in Great Poland, near Gnesna and Kalisch. The Poles have evacuated Bromberg, and having retired to Warsaw carrying with them the vast magazines of uniforms, ammunition and provisions which they found there. The preservation of Warsaw is the object of all their endeavours. ³⁶

BRITISH SUBSIDIES USED TO CONQUER POLAND.

London, November 15.

The many hundred casks of dollars, sent by Britain to that precious gentleman, the king of Prussia, as part of his subsidy, are now, probably, employed in paying those mercenaries employed against the brave and unfortunate Poles. ³⁷

WARSAW SURRENDERS.

Berlin, November 18.

Yesterday M. Von Hesse, Adjutant to the Russian General Suwarrow, passed this place on his journey to Potsdam, with the news of Warsaw having capitulated to the Russians on the 9-th instant. The most favourable terms have been granted to the city; the inhabitants being secured on the honour of her Imperial Majesty, their lives and property, and forgiveness of all that is past.

As by the capture of Praga, to defend which the insurgents had united their utmost efforts, the prime of the Polish troops were destroyed, no hopes remained of defending Warsaw with success. On the 7-th inst. ³⁸ Count Ignatius Potocki paid a visit to the Russian General at his head-quarters, with offers of peace. These were rejected, Count Suwarrow observing, that the war was not against Poland, but against rebels. Potocki took with him a letter from the King, which was returned opened. On the 8-th, all the Russian and Prussian prisoners in Warsaw, were set at liberty. On the 9-th, the Sovereign Council was annulled, and the General Commandant, Wanievski, surrendered his power into

³⁵ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, February 2, 1795, *Columbian Centinel*, February 7, 1795. According to Korzon, these details of Kosciuszko's capture are false (*Kościuszko*, p. 452).

³⁶ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser, Extra*, February 7, 1795.

³⁷ *Ibidem*.

³⁸ According to Korzon, on the 4-th of November (*Kościuszko*, p. 452).

the hands of the King. ³⁹ It was intimated to the Burghers, to exert themselves to save their property; on which a deputation of the Magistrates waited on General Suwarrow, to surrender up the town, begging as a condition, that their lives and property might be respected. This was granted; and the General had the generosity to promise an oblivion to all former injuries.—On the same day, the Russians took possession of the city, and General Potemkin was sent to the King of Poland, to guard the safety of his person.

On the 10-th, General Suwarrow himself entered the town; and on the keys being presented to him, at the gates, he threw them in the air, and exclaimed:—"God be praised, that they have not cost us so dear, as those did belonging to Praga."—He was drawn in triumph into Warsaw, and soon waited on the King. Nine thousand Polish troops laid down their arms, whom General Suwarrow released, on their parole of honour.—Some thousand troops refused to surrender themselves; but Suwarrow said, he would not punish the city, for their disobedience.—He said they should not escape him. General Fersen is sent in search of them. They cannot hold out long, as they are in want of provisions. ⁴⁰

REST OF THE POLISH ARMY DISPERSED.

London, December 9.

Letters from Breslau, dated the 27-th ult. say, that the Polish insurrection seems to be destroyed. The troops, which, on the surrender of Warsaw, refused to lay down their arms, took the road to Cracow, with a view, as is supposed, to find a way through Higher Silesia into Gallicia, and, if possible, to penetrate to France.

Such a design, if seriously adopted, must be regarded as the suggestion of despair. In fact, it could not be accomplished. Being pressed on the rear by the Russian troops under General Denisow. and on their flank by the Prussians, they were compelled to lay down their arms on the 18-th near Radoczyn, ⁴¹ and to surrender their commander in chief, Wawisowski, four other generals, all their officers, and 19 pieces of cannon.

General Madalinski found means to escape with two others towards Gallicia. The chancellor Kolontay has also saved himself with the chest and public effects which he took from Warsaw, to which city the President Zakrzewski has returned. ⁴²

³⁹ Wawrzecki marched out of the city with the rest of the Polish army (*ib.*).

⁴⁰ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, Postscript, February 2, 1795; *The Newport Mercury*, February 10, 1795.

⁴¹ According to Korzon, the rest of the Polish army under Gen. Wawrzecki surrendered at Radoszyce, near Kielce, on November 17-th (*Kościuszko*, p. 452).

⁴² *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, February 5, 1795.

"FROM THE MORNING CHRONICLE"

To the right Hon. Wm. Pitt

Sir

The great and shining talents of the late King of Prussia, ⁴³ threw a brilliancy over actions that only merit execration. The Tyrant was forgot in the Hero. An unqualified gang of Princes have now the effrontery to imitate his dangerous example.

But the undisguised atrocity of their deeds has at last destroyed the sacred prejudices that protected them; even superstition has given them up. — Thus their vices are beneficial to mankind without their once suspecting it, otherwise they would be tempted to practice virtue from a motive of malignity. Such is the fatal perversion of a royal understanding in the slush of ethics. Petty robbers are wise enough to observe fidelity in their compacts, with each other, as the keystone of their confederacy; but our illustrious allies detest virtue so cordially, that they reject its occasional use even for the perpetuation of a crime—Poland may be saved by their treachery to each other...

—PHOCION ⁴⁴

h] The End of the Insurrection

KOSCIUSZKO UNDER A HEAVY GUARD.

From the banks of Vistula, November 1.

The escort which conducted Kosciusko and his fellow prisoners to Petersburg consisted of not less than 3000 men. ¹

THE SLAUGHTER OF PRAGA.

From Amsterdam, December 16.

The insurrection in Poland is completely subdued; on the 4-th November, the suburb of *Prague* was taken by storm; nearly twenty thousand of inhabitants of every age and condition, and of either sex, were involved in one undistinguished slaughter, by the command of the Russian general SUWAROW, the same man under whose orders a similar butchery was executed at Ishmael. The Poles are disarmed. *Warsaw* is in full possession of the Russian Army, and the remainder of the Republic will perhaps before long be *professedly* held as a Russian conquest.—The 4-th of November is an inauspicious day in the annals of justice. ²

⁴³ Frederick the Great.

⁴⁴ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, February 9, 1795.

¹ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, February 13, 1795.

² *Columbian Centinel*, February 11, 1795.

TOASTS TO POLAND.

Philadelphia, February 9.

Friday last being the anniversary of the alliance of France and America, the Officers of the Second Regiment, commanded by Lieut.-Col. Barker, ³ paraded at Mr. Myer's hotel, where they partook of an elegant dinner; after which the following toasts were drank:

14. The patriots of Poland—May they soon find a Washington to lead them on to victory and independence. ⁴

Lancaster (Pa.), February 9.

On Saturday last, the gentlemen who composed the Lancaster Troop of Horse, assembled at Mr. Sloughs, in complete uniform, to celebrate the happy issue of the late expedition against the western insurgents. A splendid dinner was provided for the occasion; after which the following toasts were drank:

8. The oppressed patriots of Poland—may they rise above the calamities which at present surround them; and finally restore Liberty to their country. ⁵

Norfolk (Va.), February 7.

Yesterday being the Anniversary of the Alliance between America and France, a large and respectable number of the Citizens sat down to a genteel dinner provided by Mr. E. Almond, at the Norfolk County Court-House. After dinner the following toasts were drank. The artillery, and the French vessels in the harbour paid the due compliment to each toasts, and by a mutual reciprocity shew they felt the force of every sentiment:

10. The Patriots of Poland: may the success of their armies be equal to the justice of their cause. ⁶

Philadelphia, February 21.

Wednesday, the 11-th inst., McPherson's Blues dined together at Richardet's, and the following toasts were drank with the greatest harmony.

13. The memory of Kosciusko—May his spirit inspire his oppressed countrymen; and may they wrest the sceptre from the hands of their tyrants. ⁷

³ Gen. John Barker (1746-1818), Revolutionary officer and mayor of Philadelphia in 1808-1809.

⁴ *Independent Chronicle*, January 22, 1795; *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, February 9, 1795.

⁵ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, February 16, 1795.

⁶ *Ib.*, February 20, 1795.

⁷ *Ib.*, February 21, 1795.

FROM A THANKSGIVING SERMON
BY JEDEDIAH MORSE, D. D. ⁸

("Holland lies at the mercy of a victorious army"):

Would you behold a country in still deeper distress?—turn your eyes to POLAND. For more than twenty years past, this ill-fated nation has been the sport of her unprincipled neighbours, the Empress of Russia, the Emperor of Germany, and the King of Prussia. In 1772, these formidable powers entered into a most wicked alliance to divide and dismember the kingdom of Poland. This they easily effected, in direct violation of the most solemn treaties, and in a manner tyrannical and cruel beyond all former precedent. The time will not admit of entering into any details on this most affecting subject. I cannot help observing, however, that the other European powers, beheld these iniquitous transactions, by which a great kingdom, of FOURTEEN MILLIONS of souls, was violently and surreptitiously deprived of a great part of its territory, and a *third* part of its inhabitants, with an inhuman indifference and unconcern.

The baneful effects of these proceedings were severely felt, till the memorable and happy Revolution in 1791. By this revolution, effected without bloodshed or even tumult among the people, and in its principles highly favourable to their rights and liberties, POLAND had a fair prospect of enjoying some repose after her calamities, and of becoming powerful, prosperous and independent. But, alas! short were her triumphs, and delusive her prospects. Her ambitious, rapacious, and but *too* powerful neighbours, envious at her tranquillity, and jealous of her increasing strength, under a free and equal government, and of the spread of the principles of freedom, have, in the same inhuman manner as before, (in 1772) combined against her, and have replunged her still deeper in the abyss of misery. Noble, vigorous, and worthy of their good cause, have been the struggles of this great nation, under the auspices of the best of kings, and the immediate command of a brave and admired General, against the most brutal tyranny: But the arm of despotism, after a dubious contest, has proved too mighty for them, and reduced them, we have too much reason to fear, to unconditional submission. What carnage, what horrors have marked the routes of the victorious *liberticides*, the slaves of the tyranness of Russia? The miseries of the Polish nation, judging from the latest accounts from that quarter, are, at this time, great and deplorable beyond description. Unfortunate, afflicted *brethren* in the bonds of freedom, we weep with you!—Thy wounds, Kosciusko, are thy glory—Thy blood will

⁸ *The Present Situation of other Nations of the World, contrasted with our own.* A sermon; delivered at Charlestown, in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, February 19, 1795; being the day recommended by George Washington, President of the United States of America, for publick thanksgiving and prayer. By Jedidiah Morse, D. D., Minister of the Congregation in Charlestown, Boston, 1795 (Evans, No. 29113).

accelerate the growth of "the tree of LIBERTY"—Thy fate interests the feelings of *the friends of liberty* through Europe and America—Thy rich *reward* is their esteem and admiration. May it comfort thee in thy prison!—

We rejoice that a righteous God reigns, who will one day avenge the cause of the innocent and oppressed, and will so overrule the dark dispensations of his Providence, as to bring great glory to his own name, and happiness to the whole family of mankind.

FROM A DISCOURSE BY THE REV. DAVID OSGOOD. ⁹

If... we compare our situation with that of most other nations, we may learn how much the distinction is in our favour, and the obligations we are under to an indulgent providence. Surely *He hath not dealt so with any nation*. How many millions of our fellow-men sigh for the blessings which we enjoy, without the most distant hope of ever obtaining them? One or two of the European nations, roused by our example, have, indeed, formed the design of obtaining them, and are now ardently striving after them. But what immense difficulties have they to surmount? What formidable dangers are they obliged to encounter? Internally agitated and rent with civil discord, and externally beset around by the combined armies of tyrants.

The present concert of princes against those nations, who are attempting to meliorate their condition, by changing their modes of government, is a new proof of the evils resulting from the exorbitant authority which they already exercise. In the language of a late writer, "they have agreed mutually to lend one another the powers respectively entrusted to them for national objects, in order that each may thence be enabled to enforce his respective pleasure upon his respective people. In other words, they engage to bring the military forces, and the revenues of all nations, to act, when requisite, upon the people of any single nation; although that people has already enough to struggle with at home, whenever its own publick force is applied to support tyranny. As a counter-concert among the people of different nations is impossible, it is henceforth then intended, that princes shall legislate at their own discretion; and that no nation shall ever be able to right its own wrongs; the example of Poland even proving, that when a *prince* is disposed to concur with his own people in improving the constitution of the nation, permission is to be denied even for a measure of mutual happiness. Each nation is, therefore, to be considered as designed to be governed by an

⁹ *A Discourse, delivered February 19, 1795, the Day set apart by the President for a General Thanksgiving through the United States.* By David Osgood, A. M., Pastor of the Church in Medford. Published at the request of the hearers. Boston, 1795 (Evans, No. 29246). David Osgood (1747-1822), was a preacher for nearly 50 years in Medford, Mass.; he was a zealous Federalist (Appleton's *Cyclopaedia of Am. Biography*, vol. IV, p. 599).

enemy *within*, and an enemy *without*; and every order in society, whether civil or religious, it to vanish before an union of military despotism." As the truth of this representation cannot be controverted, in what a light does it paint the conduct of the combined princes? Could they have adopted a measure more suitable to convince mankind of the necessity of wresting from their hands powers of which they make so pernicious an use? What havock and desolation have they made in the earth? What a widely-extended ruin have they spread? What vast armies of men have been successively sacrificed? *Their blood crieth from the ground*: It crieth to Heaven for vengeance upon those who, through fear of progress of liberty, have precipitated so many nations into hostility.

"PARTICULARS OF THE STORMING OF PRAGA,
AND OF THE SURRENDER OF WARSAW."

London, December 23.

The circumstances attending the storming of *Praga*, and those which preceded the surrender of *Warsaw*, have as yet been imperfectly related; we have now received the particulars, which make humanity shudder.

The suburb of *Praga*, separated from *Warsaw* by the Vistula, was defended by more than a hundred cannon disposed upon 33 batteries.—It was under the fire of this terrible artillery that Gen. SUWARROW made his troops mount to the assault, in the same manner as he had done at the taking of *Ismail*. It will be recollected that it was Gen. SUWARROW, who commanded at the taking of this Turkish fortress, where the Russians entered only by climbing over the dead bodies of their comrades as well as their enemies. The General gave the same orders in the assault of the suburbs of *Praga*; he enjoined his soldiers to give quarter to no one. The engagement lasted two hours, and this memorable day, the 4-th of November, will be numbered among those in which human blood was shed in most abundance, even in these unhappy times in which we live. The number of unfortunate Poles, who perished by the sword, the fire, and the water, (the bridge over the Vistula having been broken during the action), are estimated at 20,000. In the suburb of *Praga*, 12,000 inhabitants of both sexes, and all ages, were the victims of the first fury of the Russians, who massacred all whom they met, without distinction of age, sex or quality.—After this dreadful execution, no more hopes remained of saving *Warsaw*. The principal chief of the insurrection, Count POTOCKI himself, advised to treat with the Russian General, and for that purpose, repaired to the head-quarters of the Russians, with propositions of peace, in the name of the Republic. But Count SUWARROW refused to hear him, observing haughtily, that the Empress, his Sovereign, was by no means at war with the Republic; that the only object of

his coming before *Warsaw*, was to reduce to obedience those Polish subjects, who, by taking up arms, had disturbed the repose of the State. He at the same time insinuated, that he should treat with none of the chiefs of the insurrection, but only with persons who, invested with legitimate authority, should come to speak in the name, and on the part of his Polish Majesty.

Count POTOCKI being sent back with this answer, it was resolved to send deputies from the Magistracy of *Warsaw* to the Russian Commander. During all this time the fire of the city did not cease playing upon the Russians in the suburb of *Praga*, who answered it but feebly.—The Deputies BUZAKOWSKI, STRAZAKOWSKI, and MAKAROWICZ, having repaired to the headquarters, and the night of the 4th being spent under the acutest anxiety, they returned about noon on the 5-th. They had been constrained to surrender the city at discretion into the hands of Count SUWARROW, under the single condition, that the inhabitants should be secure in their lives and property. The General having consented to this, added, "That, besides safety to their persons, and the preservation of their property, there was a third article, which without doubt, the Magistrates had forgotten to ask, and which he granted, PARDON FOR THE PAST."

The Deputies being returned into the city, a Proclamation was published to this effect:

"The Magistracy of the free city of *Warsaw*.

"The Deputies of the city of *Warsaw*, sent to Gen. Suwarow, commanding the Russian troops under the city, having reported to the Magistracy that they were received amicably by his Excellency, the said General, who had declared his disposition for a capitulation; and also that they had obtained some preliminary articles, signed by him, by which he had promised the citizens, safety to their persons and property, and oblivion for all past wrongs — The Magistracy notifies the same to the citizens, wishing them to keep themselves quiet till the entire conclusion of the capitulation, and that they will cease their fire, his Excellency having ordered his men not to fire on their part."

In consequence of this submission of the city, the Magistracy also informed the inhabitants of the *desire* of General Suwarow, that all persons, inhabitants, should surrender all their arms, of every kind, before the signing of the capitulation, under promise of all arms of value, and fowling-pieces, being returned to the proprietors, after the re-establishment of tranquility. All the inhabitants obeyed this order; but the soldiery then in the city refused. Their Chief, Wawrzewski, and many members of the Supreme Council, refused to take part in the capitulation. This difficulty gave occasion for more parleys, which lasted all the

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6-th. The King demanded a week to labour at a pacification; but Count Suwarrow would grant no more than two or three days, during which time they laboured to repair the bridge over the Vistula. In fine, it was agreed, that those of the military who refused to lay down their arms, should have liberty to go out of *Warsaw*. But the Russian General added this declaration, that "all who chose this alternative might be sure of not escaping any where else; and that when overtaken, no quarter would be granted."

After the agreement was signed, the members of the Supreme Council, and Generalissimo Wawrzewski, waited upon the King, in the morning of the 7-th of November, and remitted into his hands the authority they exercised at *Warsaw*. — The same day the Magistrates informed the inhabitants, that the capitulation having been signed, the Russian troops were about to enter the city; that the Russian General having promised observance of the most exact discipline, the Burgesses were enjoined to preserve order and tranquillity, on their part; and the more securely to preserve tranquillity, they ordered all houses to be shut, etc.

The entry of the Russians followed on the 9th of November. in the manner we have before related.¹⁰

FREEMEN WILL NEVER ERASE THE SIGH FOR POLAND'S DELIVERANCE

New York, Feb. 20.

The minds of Americans, while they are tranquilized with respect to the fate of their own country in this stormy season of contending elements, are however, extremely agitated with respect to the operations and fate of European nations.

We see the domineering spirit of haughty courts, planning the conquest of Poland, as well as France, and dividing the spoil among rapacious princes. One half their scheme succeeds, and Poland, a level country on the north, without fortresses to check the approach of the ferocious hords of Russia, and internally impotent, by the poverty of her people; the effects of feudal vasalage; Poland is carved out among her neighboring tyrants; while the southern powers, occupied in the nefarious and fruitless crusade against French principles, tamely see the imperious Catherine grasping all Europe.

Amid the darkness of this prospect, Kosciusko arises and with the energy of a hero and an insulted Freeman, who feels his country's wrongs, rallies his fellow citizens round the standard of national rights and discards the galling yoke of Imperial slavery. How glorious the enterprize! With what emotions of joy did we hear the intellingence of *Poland in arms!* Kosciusko was

¹⁰ *Columbian Centinel*, February 25, 1795; *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, March 6, 1795.

THE KOSCIUSZKO INSURRECTION

hailed as the deliverer of his country and numbered with the Washingtons of the age! What pleasure was inspired in our bosoms, when he was successful; and how did we rejoice when, insurrection starting up in every quarter of Prussia, called Frederick's troops from the Rhine, shaking his throne and threatening a total dissolution of the confederacy of Princes.

How short the delusion! No sooner did the irresistible veterans of the savage North appear in Poland, than Kosciusko is defeated, his troops dispersed and the hero himself a prisoner in chains. The Polish armies successively swept away. Warsaw falls into the hands of its barbarian conquerors, and 40,000 inhabitants of the city and suburbs delivered over to indiscriminate massacre. Opposition is subdued: Poland is a conquered country; Catharine's project is effected—and rising freedom in South Prussia bends beneath the blast of power.

Unfortunate Poland! Freemen will never erase the sigh for thy deliverance! Would to God the avenging arm of Almighty justice might speedily punish the imperial Robbers who have trampled on the rights of nature and nations...

Brave but unfortunate Poles! Your distance places you beyond the reach of our assistance! But our ports are open to all the world; and our soil will furnish abundant supplies. Our ardent wishes will ever attend your struggles for your national rights—banish ambition from your councils; and the hearts of Americans, with one consent, will exult in the triumphs which must ultimately crown your exertions! ¹¹

MORE TOASTS TO POLAND.

New York, February 23-d.

Yesterday being the birthday of the President of the United States the Society of Tammany went into a Committee of amusement to partake of an entertainment proposed for the occasion. Toasts.

12 May the success of the French arms yet establish the independence of Poland.

15 Kosciusko and the patriots of Poland. ¹²

Philadelphia, February 27.

On Monday last, the 23-d inst. (that being the day regarded as the birth day of our American Fabius, the President of the United States), a very splendid entertainment was given at Mr. Hill's Tavern, in Second near Race street, by a number of officers, belonging to the first brigade of Pennsylvania Militia, who served on the late expedition to the West.

¹¹ Reprint in the *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, February 26, 1795; probably from Noah Webster's *Minerva*.

¹² *The (N. Y.) Herald*, February 25, 1795.

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The gentlemen who gave the entertainment felt themselves particularly honored by the presence of his Excellency Governor Mifflin, Mr. Muhlenberg, Speaker of the House of Representatives, Gen. Stewart, Gen. Irwine, Gen. Harmar, Gen. Chambers, Gen. Ross, etc.¹³ After the cloth was removed, the following patriotic and sentimental toasts were given from the chair, and received by the whole company with the most cordial satisfaction and the highest applause.

9. The gallant Kosciusko—May he speedily recover from his wounds of glory; may he safely escape from his captivity, and may he yet live and act the Washington of his country. (3 cheers).¹⁴

New York, February 25.

Monday being the birth day of the President of the United States, the Society of Tammany of this city, in memory of the day which gave birth to that first of citizens, and best of men, went into a committee of amusement to partake of an entertainment, proposed for the occasion. During the repast, the following toasts were drank, which were ordered to be published.

15. Kosciusko and the patriots of Poland.¹⁵

Newark, February 25.

Last Monday being the anniversary of the birth day of GEORGE WASHINGTON, a very large and respectable number of the citizens collected at the Parkhurst's tavern to dine—after dinner the following toast were drank, accompanied by the discharge of cannon.

12. The Republic of Poland—May she survive the disasters of the last campaign and finally secure her independence and liberties.¹⁶

New Brunswick, February 3.

On Monday the 26-th, seventy-five officers of the New Jersey Cavalry, met in this city and dined together at the White-Hall tavern, his Excellency the Governor¹⁷ and suit honored them

¹³ Thomas Mifflin (1744-1800), Revolutionary soldier and politician, first Governor of the State of Pennsylvania, 1790-1799.—Frederick A. C. Muhlenberg (1750-1801), an eminent German-American, then Speaker of the House of Representatives.—Walter Stewart (1756-1796), aide-de-camp to Gen. Gates during the Revolution.—James Irvine (1735-1819), Revolutionary soldier and politician, at that time State Senator; or William Irvine (1741-1804), also a Revolutionary soldier, then Member of Congress. — Josiah Harmar (1753-1813), commander-in-chief of the United States Army in 1789-1792.

¹⁴ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, February 27, 1795.

¹⁵ *Ib.*, March 2, 1795.

¹⁶ *Ib.*, March 4, 1795.

¹⁷ Richard Howell, Governor of New Jersey in 1793-1801. One of those present at the dinner was General Anthony W. White, Revolutionary soldier and personal friend of Kosciuszko.

with their company at dinner, after which fifteen toasts were drank.

7. The oppressed Poles, may the gloom which at present clouds their political hemisphere, be dispelled, and the bright sunshine of equal liberty eradiate their land.

8. The brave and virtuous Kosciusko. ¹⁸

Baltimore, February 26.

The following toasts were drank, the 22-d inst., by the light Infantry company of Baltimore Rangers.

12. The brave defenders of Liberty in Poland—and may they never want a Kosciusko to defend their rights. 9 cheers. ¹⁹

Philadelphia, March 4.

The troop of Volunteer Greens, in compliment to the birth day of the President of the United States, met on Saturday last at the house of their Quartermaster, George Weed, and sat down to a table very sumptuously provided. After dinner the following toasts were drank.

14-th. The ill fated and injured Poles—may a more fortunate Kosciusko rise to avenge their wrongs and punish their despotic oppressors. ²⁰

Savannah, February 25.

The birthday of General Washington, falling this year on Sunday, the Revolution Society, which was fixed on that day for one of its meetings, dined on Monday, at William's Coffee-house. The society was joined by a number of the Cincinnati. After dinner the following toasts were drank.

12. Success to the Republic of Poland; may she free herself from foreign influence.

13. The immortal memory of our brave fellow-soldier, General Kosciusko. ²¹

Pittsburgh, March 7.

The 22-d ult. being the President's birth day, the same was celebrated at the garrison on the Monongahela, with every demonstration of joy. After a parade, the officers, with a number of patriotic citizens, repaired to Head-Quarters, where they dined, and drank the following toasts, accompanied by music and a discharge of cannon.

8. Kosciusko and the Polish Patriots—May they be successful in driving from their country the partitioning powers and restoring the blessings of liberty and peace to their distracted country. ²²

¹⁸ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, March 4, 1795.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*.

²⁰ *Ibidem*.

²¹ *Ib.*, March 10, 1795.

²² *Ib.*, March 17, 1795.

IX.

THE THIRD PARTITION

“KOSCIUSKO AND THE POLES.”

Boston, February 23.

Very little is known in America of the views and principles of these unhappy people. The present nominal King of that unfortunate nation, formed a kind of resolution, with the assistance of certain of his noblemen, to make the Crown hereditary, instead of its being elective, as it formerly had been. The succession, before this project, had been fixed in the field, sword in hand, by the nobility of the Kingdom. The people were nothing, as they were at the time of the Barons of England, who had almost the whole power of the British nation in their hands. The constitution he adopted was an imitation of the British: Nothing could be more popular than this event in England; it was a high compliment to their Government—the Polish constitution was celebrated in all their clubs and public dinners. The Apostate BURKE declared it the noblest monument of human wisdom.—Subscriptions were opened among the merchants to assist them with money, in support of it—every tongue was loud in its praise—every pulpit thundered its anathemas against the enemies of this most excellent mode of political architecture;—It was contrasted with that of France—the constitution of which country, on the other hand, was represented as absurd and impracticable.—But alas! the Empress of Russia did not approve of this reformation; she ordered her troops into Poland—she broke down this newly created fabric, and the British Government were forced to submit to hear the very things said by the Empress, in justification of her conduct in Poland, which they had used in vindication of their war against the French. She said the Poles were Jacobins, Democrats, Republicans, incendiaries; and Mr. Pitt was constrained to pocket the affront.

KOSCIUSKO, after this, attempted to rouse the courage of his countrymen; they addressed the French convention; the Convention wished them well, but declined interfering while they had a King at their head. The French would not assent, and the British dared not, and the Russians a second time overrun that unhappy country, with their irresistible power. What is to be the fate of Poland, no one can ascertain.—She will probably be a dependent arbitrary Government, under the Russian empire. Thus the poor Poles are obliged to receive the law, notwithstanding their Government had all the boasted “checks” and “balances” of the British Constitution, (fine words) while the French Revolu-

tionists give the law to their enemies, and support the cause of Liberty every where. ¹

KOSCIUSZKO DRAGGED TO ST. PETERSBURG.

Newport, March 3.

The brave but unfortunate KOUSIUSKO, and his Fellow Prisoners, have been dragged to Petersburg, where it is greatly to be feared, that this heroic Champion in the Cause of Liberty, will be condemned by the Female Tyrant of the North, to the ignominious and excruciating Punishment of the Knout.

The Empress of Russia, in her Anathemas against the unfortunate Poles, calls them *Incendiaries, Jacobins, Democrats* and *Republican Robbers*. This is the Language of Tyrants, while they plunder Mankind of their very Birthright! ²

"TO THE PRINTER OF THE NEWPORT MERCURY."

Sir

Your information, respecting the impending fate of the brave but unfortunate Polish *General Kousiusko*, and his patriot companions, in your last paper, induces me to send you a description of the horrid punishment which it is too much to be feared will be inflicted on these unfortunate martyrs in the cause of liberty; and which you have properly called the KNOUT.—This engine of despotism is, in Russia, what the Rack was in France, and it is thus applied:

"The malefactor's hands are tied behind his back, and the cord being fixed to a pulley, lifts him from the ground, with a violence which dislocates the shoulders.—The executioner then whips him with a hard thong, cut from a wild asses skin.

"This punishment has been so often fatal, that a Surgeon attends, in order to ascertain how many strokes the patient can bear. It is not always the number of the strokes, but the method of applying them, that occasions the death of the criminal; for the executioner can kill him in 3 or 4 blows, by striking upon the ribs; tho' persons are sometimes recovered, in a few weeks, who have received two or three hundred strokes, moderately inflicted."

From a *Constant Reader of The Newport Mercury*. ³
March 7-th, 1795.

MISERY AT WARSAW.

London, December 31.

Letters from Warsaw, of the 1-st inst. represent that city to be in a most deplorable state. All the inhabitants are reduced to beggary. Nothing but Assignats were afloat, and the ready specie had all been poured into the public chest. For fifteen leagues

¹ *The Independent Chronicle*, February 23, 1795; *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, March 4, 1795.

² *The Newport Mercury*, March 3, 1795.

³ *Ib.*, March 10, 1795.

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around Warsaw, no peasant, no cattle, and no poultry are to be seen.

The 14,000 Poles, who surrendered to the Russians, are distributed in the different Regiments in the interior parts of the Russian Empire. ⁴

KOSCIUSZKO RECOVERING FROM HIS WOUNDS.

Holland, December 3.

A letter has been received by the Supreme Council at Warsaw, from General Kosciusko, who states that he is allowed proper medical assistance, and that his wounds are healing.

General Kosciusko is recovering of his wounds; when he is completely recovered, it is said, that he is to undergo a trial. ⁵

WARSAW QUIET AGAIN.

Warsaw (Capital of Poland), December 20.

Every thing is now quiet here. New ordinances in the name of magistrates, who act under the direction of the Russian Commandants, appear every day. A requisition has been published, addressed to the ladies, recommending to them to furnish scarfs and bandages for the use of the wounded in *Praga*. Provisions begin to be somewhat more plentiful, but the want of money is extreme.

The King is now permitted to have the presidency of the Council; before, he only received an account of the business transacted there. It is said he has sent a Courier to *Petersburgh*, with the request that he may be allowed to keep his regiment of guards.

General KOSCIUSKO, according to letters from Moscow, was carried through that city in the night, to avoid the curiosity of the multitude. It is said he is arrived and confined at *Petersburgh*. ⁶

POLISH PATRIOTS ARRESTED.

London, January 24.

The intentions of the Empress with respect to Poland are not yet finally explained. She has ordered the unfortunate King from Warsaw to Grodno, on pretext that he will there be more immediately under her protection. Kosciusko is imprisoned in the fortress of Petersburg. The Russians in Poland suffer greatly from want of forage and provisions, which will probably oblige them to quit Warsaw and go into cantonments on the other side of Vistula. A great number of persons, supposed to have been the principal authors of the Constitution of 1791, or of the late insurrection, have been taken into custody, and sent prisoners to Russia. ⁷

⁴ *Ib.*, March 17, 1795.

⁵ *Kentucky Gazette*, March 28, 1795.

⁶ *Columbian Centinel*, April 1, 1795.

⁷ *The Newport Mercury*, April 14, 1795.

FRENCH SAID TO BE WILLING
TO DRIVE COSSACKS OUT OF POLAND.

London, January 31.

If some late letters are to be credited, we may 'ere long see the French driving Catharine's fierce Cossacks before them, from the banks of the Vistula to the Don; and Monarchs made to tremble on their throne, who think themselves at present, scarce inferior to the Almighty.

The sufferings of poor Poland, and its benevolent Monarch, call aloud for expiation; and there may yet be "some chosen thunders in the stores of Heaven" ready to blast that greatness, which in a great degree owes its immeasurable size, to that ill-fated Country's ruin. ⁸

TOASTS TO POLAND.

New York, March 16.

On Thursday evening, the 12-th inst., the officers of the first regiment of militia in this city, gave an entertainment at the Tontine Coffee House, to Colonel Rutgers, ⁹ the Commandant and the Adjutant General. The following toasts were given, accompanied with music.

8. Kosciusko, and the oppressed Poles. Though invaded by tyrants, may their country be free, and triumph over the infernal league of despots. 3 cheers—music—Carmagnole. ¹⁰

New York, April 8.

On Monday evening last, the Society of Tammany assembled and commemorated the late auspicious VICTORIES of the French and Batavian Patriots, and the following toasts were drank amid reiterated applauses.

6. The Freemen of Poland, whose hearts undismayed still watch. ¹¹

Philadelphia, April 21.

Friday last was set apart by a number of American, French and Dutch citizens, to celebrate the glorious successes of France and the emancipation of Holland.

The company consisting of nearly 400 citizens, sit down to a sumptuous repast at Oeller's Hotel, where after dinner the following toasts were drank, each followed by a discharge from the artillery, and a patriotic air from the band.

7. The people of Poland; may the Russian She-Bear be made to dance to the tune of Ca Ira ¹² by them; and the iron rod of slavery corrode the consciences of their oppressors.—One gun. ¹³

⁸ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, April 20, 1795.

⁹ Henry Rutgers (1746-1830), Revolutionary soldier and philanthropist.

¹⁰ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, March 19, 1795.
Carmagnole, a French Revolutionary song.

¹¹ *Ib.*, April 10, 1795.

¹² Ca Ira, a French Revolutionary song.

¹³ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, April 21, 1795.

Baltimore, April 16.

Yesterday the Republican Society of Baltimore had a convivial meeting at Mr. Grant's, where they celebrated the late successes of our allies, the brave French. The company was composed of about 100 of the principal characters of Baltimore. The following toasts were drank, accompanied with the loudest applauses.

7. The Empress of Russia—Execration to the abominable tyrant—May the blood of Poland crying from the dust, bring down Heaven's vengeance on her. ¹⁴

Reading (Pa.), April 10.

Yesterday a Civic Feast was observed in this place, to celebrate the glorious success of the French arms, in the cause of freedom. The day was ushered in, by the ringing of the bells, and a salute of 15 discharges from a field piece. At noon, a large number of respectable citizens assembled at citizen RAYNER'S, and partook of an elegant entertainment. The following toasts were drank, with the discharge of cannon and platoons, and loud huzza's:

POLAND—May a mighty Republic arise from thy ruins as the Phoenix from its own ashes. ¹⁵

New York.

(At the dinner of the Fifth Regiment the following toasts were drank):

11. The patriotic armies of Poland—may the discords of rival monarchies soon enable them to re-establish the ground work of free emancipation. 3 cheers. ¹⁶

"SONNETS ON EMINENT CHARACTERS"

O! what a loud and fearful shriek was there,
As tho' a thousand souls one death-groan pour'd!
Great Kosciusko, 'neath an Hireling's sword,
His country view'd—Hark! thro' the list'ning air

When pauses the tired Cossack's barb'rous yell
Of triumph, on the chill and midnight gale
Rises with frantic burst or sadder swell,
The dirge of murder'd Hope; while Freedom pale

Bends in such anguish o'er her destin'd bier,
As if from oldest time some spirit meek
Had gather'd in a mystic urn each tear
That ever furrow'd a sad Patriot's cheek:

And she had drench'd the sorrows of the bowl,
E'en till she reel'd, intoxicate of soul! ¹⁷

¹⁴ *Ib.*, April 22, 1795.

¹⁵ *Ib.*, April 27, 1795.

¹⁶ *The (N. Y.) Argus*, May 19, 1795.

¹⁷ *The (N. Y.) Herald*, April 22, 1795.

THE KING LEAVES WARSAW.

Warsaw, November 21.

The King of Poland left Warsaw on the 7-th of Jan., the people appeared much affected, and his Majesty himself greatly indisposed. On the 10-th the Royal foot-guards and the horse body guards were disbanded.

In some parts of Poland the scarcity of corn is so great, that the peasants make bread out of acorns.

When the King left Warsaw, he is said to have declared as he was no longer permitted to be Sovereign of what once was Poland, he would not consent to be King of a wretched remnant of his country; but rather wished to retire to Rome, which had been the retreat of so many other unfortunate and exiled Princes.¹⁸

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE DIVIDING POWERS.

London, January 31.

A difference is said to exist between Prussia and the Empress, relative to the newly projected division of Poland. Austria, it is added, feels herself disappointed by the reluctance of the Prussians to evacuate that part of Poland which she expected.¹⁹

GREAT HUNGER IN POLAND.

London, February 25.

The King of Poland, we understand, retires altogether from public life; and we are moreover assured, that a final division has been made of his whole remaining territory between Russia, Austria and Prussia.

The accounts from Poland are most shocking. Such have been the devastations of the Russian and Prussian armies, that the miserable remnants of the peasantry, after endeavoring to protract life by mixing bark with their scanty pittance of meal, are dying in their cottages by road sides, and in the fields for want of food.²⁰

KOLLONTAY IMPRISONED BY AUSTRIANS.

Warsaw, February 4.

Kolontay, one of the chiefs of the Insurgents, has been sent to the fortress of Olmutz. A very heavy impost has been laid upon Warsaw by the Russians.

At Warsaw the apprehension of persons concerned in the late disturbances is still continued.

Kosciusko is made a State prisoner in the fortress at Petersburg.

¹⁸ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, April 25, 1795.

¹⁹ *Ib.*, *Extra*, April 25, 1795.

²⁰ *Ib.*, April 28, 1795.

All the excellent manuscripts of the Library of the Republic are packed up, together with the library itself and the Records of the Republic, are removing from this town. ²¹

“THE LATEST EUROPEAN ADVICES
OF POOR POLAND, AND ITS LATE KING.”

London, February 26.

Accounts from *Poland*, by way of *Vienna*, affirm that the consequence of a late extraordinary exchange of couriers between *Austria* and *Russia* has been a final division of that unhappy country, so far as to exterminate even its name from the list of independent States upon the continent; a convention having been formally exchanged among the co-dividing powers; according to which it is agreed upon, that *Austria* shall possess the Palatinates of *Sandomir*, *Lublin*, *Chelm*, and *Cracovia*, with the city of that name. In consequence of the new arrangements, the Austrians in *Gallicia*, to the number of 60,000, under Gen. HARNONCOURT, were ordered to march to take possession of the new territory; and a Col. FLEISCHNER of the corps of Engineers, was to go from *Vienna*, to form the necessary lines of demarcation.—In the above mentioned Palatinates, the Austrian commandants have already began to receive the customary taxes, etc. for the Emperor's use, and to charge the inhabitants for the maintenance of the troops. He had also laid on an extraordinary impost for six months to come, commencing in Jan. 1795 — it was likewise expected, that an oath of allegiance to the Emperor would shortly be administered.—The Prussian commander in chief has fixed his residence at *Bialstock*, ²² where he receives the duties, etc. formerly paid to the Republic.

Masovia, and all the Palatinates remaining on the confines of South and West *Prussia*, fall to that power; while *Russia* takes possession of the grand Dutchy of *Lithuania*, *Courland* and *Samogitia*. The Russian troops were in motion for that purpose when the last intelligence came away.

The Empress of *Russia*, wrote a letter to the *King of Poland*, on the 2-d of Dec. stating that the fate of *Poland* was the consequence of the principles destructive of all order which had been spread, in imitation of the *French*. She advises him to take to *Grodno*.

From *Posnania*, Jan 21, we learn, that, “The King of *Poland* arrived at *Grodno*, on the 12-th, escorted by 120 Russian Cossacks and Dragoons, commanded by Gen. TORMANZOW.” ²³

²¹ *Ib.*, April 30, 1795. All Polish public treasures of art and libraries were seized and transported to Russia in 1795.

²² Bialystok, a city northeast of Warsaw.

²³ *Columbian Centinel*, May 2, 1795.

POLAND EXISTS NO MORE.

London, March 7.

Poland, as every man must have been prepared to expect, no longer exists as a separate state, and the Empress of Russia has declared her intention of taking that unhappy country under her immediate protection! What pretences she uses to varnish over the deep damnation of the deed is not difficult to guess. Courts are never at a loss for specious arguments when they wish to conceal their oppression from the people.

Accordingly her Imperial Majesty, the Empress of all the Russians, after notifying to the Ambassadors of foreign courts at Warsaw, that as Poland is no longer a separate state, their public functions are at an end, informs them, in hypocritical language, that principles destructive of religion, justice, humanity, and civilized society, had been introduced into Poland, and had produced an alarming influence on the minds of the people; that these principles were directly hostile to the fundamental laws of the Kingdom; that they could not fail to plunge the inhabitants into misery and ruin; and that, therefore, influenced solely by her well known love of clemency, she had taken the nation under her immediate protection. To complete the hypocrisy of this declaration, she concludes it by acknowledging and returning thanks for the special favour which she has received from the Divine Providence. ²⁴

FATE OF POLISH PRISONERS DECIDED.

London, March 18.

Private letters from Warsaw mention, that the fate of the unfortunate Polish State Prisoners there, has at last been decided. Count Potocki, Messrs. Mostowski and Niemcewicz are to be transported to Siberia for life. The latter was Secretary of Kosciusko. But Kosciusko himself will be imprisoned for life in a fortress with permission to receive visits. Zakrzewski and Prince Sanguszko are under arrest, upon their estates, with orders not to quit them for life. ²⁵

STANISLAUS AUGUSTUS RESIGNS HIS CROWN.

STANISLAUS, the mild, but infirm, ex-king of Poland, unequal to the weight of cares which enveloped him, has formally resigned his crown which to him has been a crown of thorns; and the meretricious KATHERINE has invited him to her dominions, doubtless with the same friendly cordiality, that a wolf invites a lamb to her den. ²⁶

²⁴ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, May 16, 1795.

²⁵ *The Newport Mercury*, May 19, 1795.

²⁶ *Columbian Centinel*, May 20, 1795.

"THE EMPRESS OF RUSSIA."

New York, May 16.

Letters dated Hamburg Feb. 15-th, say, that an extraordinary courier arrived with news of the Empress of Russia's sickness. She is said to be dangerously ill of a dropsy in the breast. Her death would at this moment prove a grand and decisive event; it could not but have a great influence on the destiny of devoted *Poland* and on the fate of confederated despots; for PETER PAWOLICZ, her son, who is generally considered a simpleton among the Russian people, and as a wretched soldier in the army, is a declared enemy to the present administration and would probably begin his reign with dismissing all those enlightened and active ministers, who form now the right hand, the soul of CATHARINE; new favourites would start up, to new model the present government, and the wife of the grand duke, the princess of Wurtemberg, who is in some respects of the same temper, but not so interprising and cruel as the profligate *Semiramis* of the *North*, would soon appear the sovereign arbitress of Russia. ²⁷

"THE PIETY OF THE EMPRESS OF RUSSIA."

The Leyden Gazette of the 26-th of December, contains two articles of news from different parts of Europe, which it is important to place next to each other.

The first is from Warsaw, and relates to the taking of Praga, a suburb of that metropolis, in these words:

"The attack began at five o'clock in the morning; at nine the enemy was in possession of the place. Five thousand Poles were slain in the assault; the remaining 5,000 (for there were only 10,000 soldiers in the town, and the Russians were 30,000 strong), were taken prisoners or dispersed. After the battle was over, the Russians proceeded to disarm the citizens and to plunder their houses. When this was over, and everything appeared to be quiet, ten hours after all resistance had ceased, about nine o'clock at night, they set fire to the town, and began to butcher the inhabitants.

"The sick and the wounded perished in the flames; the rest, old men, women and children, fell by the sword. Nine thousand persons, of every age, and of either sex, are computed to have fallen in the massacre, and the whole of the suburb except a few scattered houses, was rendered to ashes."

The other article is from Petersburg, and is as follows: "2-nd December. The day before yesterday Major General d'Istieff arrived here with the news of the reduction of Warsaw by the Troops of the Empress. Yesterday was set apart as a day of solemn thanksgiving to God, and *Te Deum* was sung for this important event."

²⁷ *Ib.*, May 23, 1795.

What is the impiety which, according to some, prevails in France, to this act of ostentatious and solemn blasphemy! If it were possible to suppose that those who acted a part in it really believed they were performing an act of religion, how much dreadful would such religion be than most determined Atheism!

Melancholy and disconsolate indeed is the idea, that this world is the sport of a blind chance, and that death will consign the best and the worst of mankind forever to one common oblivion; but how much more terrible would it be to suppose the Universe under the government of, and mankind accountable for their actions to, such a God, as is worshipped at Petersburg,—to a being who is supposed to assist the arms, and enjoy the triumph of powerful oppression over persecuted virtue and innocence, and to delight in seeing his altars stream with the blood of women and children, and in hearing his praises chanted by the voices of murderers, and in the midst of the shrieks and groans of their victims. ²⁸

“EPIGRAM ON IMPERIAL PROTECTION”

(The Declaration of the Empress of Russia given in full, ending with the note “N. B.”: *Te Deum* chanted etc. Clergy sat down to a banquet with the Empress and when health of her Genls and Field Marshals was drank a salute of 51 guns was fired).

To the foregoing solemn mockery of justice and religion we beg leave to subjoin the following

EPIGRAM

Imperial Protection

When Russia's fell Empress was graciously pleas'd
That the Poles of all Government cares shou'd be eas'd;
Believing no troubles are felt by the dead,
As a mark of her favor, she knock'd on the head
Ten thousand poor Poles, who could make no resistance;
Then devoutly thank'd God for his special assistance. ²⁹

“EXTRACT FROM THE FORM OF PRAYER”,

Composed by the Patriarch of the Russian Church, under Imperial authority, to be publicly used in all the Churches in the dominions of the Empress of all the Russias.

ALMIGHTY GOD, we are assembled by the command of the most high, most mighty, most serene, most glorious, most virtuous, most sublime, most sacred, most human and faithful Catherine, our sovereign and mistress, and Empress of all the Russias, to offer up unto thee, through the mediation of the most holy St. Nicholas our Tutelar Saint and Patron, our thanks and our prayer for the glorious victories obtained by the armies of the Empress, over the rebels in Poland.

²⁸ *The Newport Mercury*, May 26, 1795.

²⁹ *The (N. Y.) Herald*, April 11, 1795.

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Te Deum laudamus, Amen.

We bless that thou hast enabled our valiant soldiers, to take Praga and Warsaw.

We bless thee that their natural ferocity was not damped on that glorious occasion, by any feelings of humanity towards the objects of our Sovereign's imperial indignation.

We bless thee thou hast delivered them into our hands.

Give war in our time, O Lord for thou fightest with us against all rebels. Give us not peace, O Lord until we shall have recovered Poland, until we shall have conquered Prussia and Turkey, and shall have turned the mosques of Constantinople into barracks and stables, and shall have converted the Seraglio into a palace for our Imperial Sovereign. Forgive not, O Lord any of our enemies, let them perish by sword, by famine, and by pestilence, by internal commotions, and all the miseries and horrors of civil wars.

We beseech thee, O Lord, of thine infinite mercy, to continue the present wars in Germany, till the Germanic powers shall be so far debilitated, exhausted and drained of men and treasure, that they shall be utterly unable to resist our forces, or refuse the demands of our sovereign, the mild and gentle Empress of all the Russias.

We beseech thee to preserve William Pitt, who has repented of the trouble he gave us, or attempted to give in the matter of Oczakow.

Shower down thy blessings upon our beloved General Suwarow, for what he had done at Ismael, Praga and Warsaw; as he has distributed justice with mercy, render unto him, O Lord according to his works!!!

We beseech thee to preserve and bless our Sovereign, the pious and merciful Catharine, Empress of all the Russias; may years be added unto her precious, imperial and valuable life, to the end that we her servants and devoted slaves, may under her auspicious reign, enlarge our dominions, enrich ourselves with spoils, and extend her empire over all Asia.

O Lord, we have nothing to pray about the French, having received no order from our Imperial Court, therefore, O Lord, we leave them to thy blessed will, to do unto them, as seemeth good unto thee; but if Sovereign the Empress, has any design either against them or for them, we as in duty bound, pray that thou mayest grant unto her, all the desires of her heart.

ANTHEM.

1.

Russian soldiers, fierce and brave,
Send your en'mies to the grave;
Fire and thunder stabs and cuts;
Plunge your bayonets into their guts.

THE THIRD PARTITION

2.

Don't attend to female cries;
Banish pity from your eyes;
Smite the ancient hoary head;
Number infants with the dead.

3.

Let your hearts be hard as steel,
Nor pity nor compassion feel;
Remember, Russian, the're your foes,
Mercy the cause of crown overthrows.

4.

Let the fields with gore be stained;
Let men's hearts of blood be drained;
Let bones whiten on the field,
'Till all to mighty Cath'rine yield.

5.

Hail' dread Catharine great and good,
Give thy slaves their daily food;
Lead us out to war at pleasure;
Fill the coffers with our treasure.

Concluded with a trumpet sounding a charge. ³⁰

ALL POLAND OCCUPIED BY FOREIGN TROOPS

Vienna, March 20.

The King of Poland still remains at Grodno, living under the protection, and at the expence of the Empress. His letters have the melancholy tone of a captive, and not the dignity of a monarch. There does not remain an inch of ground in Poland that is not occupied by the troops of the partitioning powers; but it is not yet decided how the arrangements are to be settled. ³¹

NO STRANGERS ADMITTED TO KOSCIUSZKO

Thorn, April 11.

We learn from Mittau, that Kosciusko, together with Potocki, is put in the strongest confinement and that no stranger, not even his barber, is admitted to him. ³²

THE EMPRESS ESTABLISHES THE GREEK CHURCH IN POLAND.

From the Frontiers of Poland, March 24.

We learn from *Dubno* in Volhinia, that as the Austrians leave this Country, the Russian troops take their place. That as the Austrians leave *Sandomir*, the Prussians come in. That the Empress of Russia has established the Greek religion in Lithuania, Volhinia and Podolia, and that she endeavours to increase her authority by the establishment of the same religion throughout her Dominions. ³³

³⁰ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, June 29, 1795.

³¹ *Ib.*, June 2, 1795.

³² *Ib.*, June 13, 1795.

³³ *Columbian Centinel*, July 1, 1795.

TOASTS TO POLAND

Philadelphia, Pa.

Saturday last being the Anniversary of American Independence, the Memory of that Glorious Epoch was observed in town with patriotic and festive Joys.

The Cincinnati repaired to Capt. Benjamin's Almy's where they were honored in the Company of his Excellency Thomas Mifflin, Governor of Pennsylvania, and Vice President-General of the Cincinnati and other visiting Brethren, in the participation of an elegant Entertainment and most cordially united in the following patriotic TOASTS:

9. General Kosciusko; may the Influence of his virtuous Exertions furnish the Poles with as brave and less unfortunate Commander. ³⁴

New Brunswick (N. J.), July 6.

A large and respectable body of the patriotic citizens of this place, on Saturday last, repaired to Cold Spring, about two miles distant from town, in order to celebrate the day that proclaimed us FREE and INDEPENDENT... The company partook of a sumptuous dinner, prepared for them, under a commodious bower. After the calls of nature were hushed, the following TOASTS, seasoned with a number of elegant and patriotic songs, were drank:

13. Freedom to our brethren in Algiers, and the two captives LaFayette and Kosciusko — Three times three Cheers. ³⁵

Philadelphia, July 9.

The following Toasts were drank by the gentlemen of the First Philadelphia Troop of Horse on Saturday last, the 4-th of July, at Richardet's tavern:

7. Poland, and freedom to the brave. ³⁶

Philadelphia, Pa.

CINCINNATI

At the anniversary meeting of this State Society on the 4-th instant, the following officers were chosen for the ensuing year.

His Excellency Thomas Mifflin, Esq., President.

The Hon. Thomas McKean, Esq., Vice President. ³⁷

Robert Porter, Esq., Secretary

Capt. Robert Patton, Treasurer. ³⁸

³⁴ *The Newport Mercury*, July 7, 1795.

³⁵ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, July 9, 1795.

³⁶ *Ibidem*.

³⁷ Thomas McKean (1734-1817), signer of the Declaration of Independence, President of the State of Delaware 1777-1779, Chief Justice and Governor of Pennsylvania.

³⁸ Robert Patton (-1814), Captain in the 10-th and 6-th Pennsylvania Regiment during the Revolution. (Lamb's *Biograph. Dict.*, VI, 168; Heitman's *Register of Officers*, 320), or Robert Patton, Captain of the 11-th Pennsylvania (Heitman, 320).

THE THIRD PARTITION

Delegates to the general meeting: Col. Timothy Pickering,³⁹ Gen. Stephen Moylan,⁴⁰ the Hon. Thomas Mc Kean, Major William Jackson,⁴¹ and Hon. Richard Peters.⁴²

After the business was finished, the society adjourned to O'Eller's hotel and celebrated the day in the most harmonious and convivial manner. The following toasts were drank:

A Volunteer by Major W. Jackson:

The Polish Nation; a speedy restoration of their rights, and a grateful remembrance of the services of their gallant chief, the patriotic Kosciusko. 3 cheers⁴³

Springfield, (Pa.)

Saturday last, being the fourth of July a number of the inhabitants of Springfield and its vicinity assembled at the house of Isaac Roll, in order to celebrate the nineteenth anniversary of American Independence. The following toasts were drank, accompanied by a discharge of cannon.

6. The oppressed Poles:—May a flame soon arise in that dismembered empire, which will consume the royal swindler of Prussia, and the Amazonian butcher of Russia.⁴⁴

Queen Ann's County, Maryland, July 5, 1795.

Yesterday being the nineteenth anniversary of the Independence of our Country, a number of patriotic gentlemen met at Mr. Wynn's tavern, in Carterville, where they partook of an elegant dinner, after which the following toasts were drank:

6. The People of Poland: May they ere long resume their arms, and never lay them down till they humble their oppressors.

7. The brave and patriotic KOSCIUSKO: May he soon burst forth from his dungeon, dissipate the dark clouds which surround his unhappy country, and at the head of a gallant army establish her Freedom and Independence.⁴⁵

Philadelphia, July 10.

On Saturday, 4th July, the Juvenile Republican Society met, to commemorate American Independence. The following are the toasts after dinner.

9. Poland — may she shortly enjoy the blessing of Peace, Liberty and Independence as the reward of her arduous tho' unfortunate struggles.⁴⁶

³⁹ Timothy Pickering (1745-1829), American soldier and statesman, Secretary of State in the cabinet of George Washington.

⁴⁰ Stephen Moylan (1734-1817), an eminent Irish-American, Revolutionary soldier.

⁴¹ William Jackson (1759-1828), Major of a South Carolina Regiment in the Revolution, Secretary to the Federal Convention of 1787.

⁴² Richard Peters (1744-1828), Revolutionary patriot, then United States District Judge.

⁴³ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, July 9, 1795.

⁴⁴ *Ib.*, July 10, 1795.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem.*

⁴⁶ *Ibidem.*

THE FALL OF POLAND IN CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN OPINION

Wilmington, July 8.

Last Saturday being the Anniversary of American Independence, the Volunteer Companies of this Borough assembled and marched out to a rural situation, on the banks of the Brandywine, where a Republican repast was prepared for them. After dinner the following toasts were drank, accompanied by a discharge of a small piece of artillery, managed by a few patriotic Youths of the borough.

4. The memory of Kosciusko; may the Phoenix of Liberty arise from his ashes. ⁴⁷

Dover (Del.)

On the 4-th of July a large party of gentlemen dined together, to celebrate the return of the anniversary of our glorious independence. General Bedford, President, and Colonel Kean, Vice President. ⁴⁸ The following toasts were drank with universal satisfaction and applause.

6. Kosciusko, the revolutionary leader of Poland, and his depressed co-patriots; may his country yet be rescued from the grasp of tyrants. ⁴⁹

Boston, July 11.

On the FOURTH OF JULY, the Third Company of the Regiment of Artillery dined with a number of respectable citizens at the Friary Room, in William street; when the following TOASTS were drank:

10. Poland—May her Citizens, unfortunate and unhappy, be loved for the virtue, revered for the greatness of their attempts. ⁵⁰

Boston (Mass.).

(Dinner of military organizations in Boston, July 4, among toasts):

13. Kosciusko and Fayette: may the former be liberated from his dungeon to emancipate his country, and the latter to secure the revolution he commenced. 6 cheers. ⁵¹

Halifax, N. C., July 6.

On Saturday last, being the anniversary of American Independence, the same was celebrated by the citizens of this place, with every mark of joy and festivity. At 3 o'clock, the gentlemen partook of an elegant dinner, after which the following toasts were drank, each accompanied by a discharge of artillery.

7. Kosciusko and the unfortunate Poles. ⁵²

⁴⁷ *Ib.*, July 11, 1795.

⁴⁸ Gunning Bedford (1730-1797), Muster-Master-General in the Continental Army, delegate to the Continental Congress, Governor of Delaware. Thomas Keane, Revolutionary soldier (Heitman, 247).

⁴⁹ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, July 11, 1795.

⁵⁰ *Ib.*, July 14, 1795.

⁵¹ *The (N. Y.) Argus*, July 16, 1795.

⁵² *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, July 20, 1795.

THE THIRD PARTITION

Stockbridge, Mass., July 7.

On Friday last a very considerable number of Gentlemen from various parts of the country, assembled in this town, to commemorate the era of American independence. About noon, the company moved in procession from Mr. Seymour's to the Meeting House, where an elegant and animated Oration was delivered by Barnabas Bidwell, Esq. The company then returned to Mr. Seymour's, and at three o'clock sat down under a bower on an adjoining green, and partook of a rich repast — after which the following toasts were drank:

7. May the sympathy of Americans in the sufferings of La Fayette and Kosciusko, be converted into gratulations with those patriots on their restoration to freedom and happiness. ⁵³

Charleston (S. C.), July 7.

Saturday being the fourth of July was greatly celebrated throughout this city the Republican Artillery particularly distinguished themselves on the occasion. At three o'clock they convened at their usual place of parade and marched from thence to Vaux Hall where they sat down to an excellent dinner. The following Patriotic toasts were drank:

8. Poland, may she rise like Phoenix from her ashes. ⁵⁴

Manchester (Vt.), August 17, 1795.

Captain Bradley's Company of Cavalry and two companies of light infantry commanded by Capt. Towsby and Lieut. Graves, together with the militia of Manchester, Sunderland, and Dorset, belonging to Col. Robert's regiment, the whole commanded by Major Martindale, met at Manchester in order to celebrate the 16-th day of August, 1777, the day which gave the first important check to British invaders of the rights of America.

The following toasts were given out upon the occasion:

10. Desolate Poland, may she like the Phoenix, rise from her ashes. ⁵⁵

Dover (Delaware), September 2.

On this day, a number of inhabitants of Kent county, met at this place, at the home of Captain Furbee, and gave a dinner to John VINNING, Esq., ⁵⁶ one of our Senators from this state, in the Senate of the United States in approbation of his public conduct.

After dinner the following toasts were drank:

13. The oppressed and injured Poles:—May the day speedily arrive, when conducted by a more fortunate commander, than the

⁵³ *Ib.*, July 23, 1795.

⁵⁴ *Ib.*, July 27, 1795.

⁵⁵ *Ib.*, September 11, 1795.

⁵⁶ John Vining (1758-1802), Member of Congress and U. S. Senator from Delaware for many terms.

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brave and patriotic Kosciusko, they shall establish a government suited to their wishes. ⁵⁷

FROM THE ORATION OF THE REV. GEORGE RICHARDS.

The revolution in Poland, conducted by the gallant Kosciusko, the pupil of the immortal Washington, was a consequence flowing from the struggles of America and the abolition of African slavery... To the first of these noble efforts in behalf of man, the proud Autocratix of accused despotism... has imperiously set an everlasting seal. ⁵⁸

"EPITAPH ON FREDERICK THE SECOND,
LATE KING OF PRUSSIA."

Here rests a King—his mortal journey done—
Through life a tyrant to his fellow man:
Who bloody wreathes in bloody battles won,
Nature's worst savage since the world began... ⁵⁹

⁵⁷ *The Mercury*, Boston, September 18, 1795.

⁵⁸ *An Oration on the Independence of the United States of Federate America; pronounced at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, July 14, 1795.* By George Richards, Portsmouth, 1795 (Evans, 29411). Richards was the author of the poem *The Declaration of Independence*, already cited in this book. He was pastor of a Universalist church at Portsmouth.

⁵⁹ *Poems*, by Philip Freneau, of New Jersey, Monmouth, 1795, p. 362

X.

KOSCIUSZKO IN PRISON

"ABRIDGEMENT OF THE STATE OF POLITICS FOR THIS WEEK."

London, September 9.

Scarcely ever has the state of politics been more anxious or uncertain than at the present moment.

If we turn our eyes to Poland, we shall behold the King of Prussia on the point of war with his Fellow Robber, and obliged to concede a great part of the spoils he had taken; and the Empress already meditating the restoration of a Polish government, as the only means of defrauding the House of Austria and the Court of Berlin of their full share of the partition. ¹

SAILMAKERS' TOAST TO POLAND.

New York.

(Annual meeting of society of master sailmakers; at supper following meeting toasts):

12 The Poles — May their dormant seeds of liberty again spring up and produce a great harvest of victory and independence—9 cheers. ²

REPORT OF KOSCIUSZKO'S DEATH IN PRISON.

London, September 12.

General Kosciusko has died in prison. It is said that even the Empress of Russia could not, without shedding some tears hear of the death of this man, whose courage rendered him worthy of a better fate. ³

REPORT OF A WAR BETWEEN DIVIDING POWERS.

September 15.

A Paris paper of the 3-d Sept. (la journal de Paris) has the following article:

"The Empress of Russia has declared war against the King of Prussia. Amongst the motives assigned by the Empress, in her declaration of war, the following are most remarkable:

"That his Prussian Majesty has refused to evacuate the districts of Cracovia and Sendomir.

"That his Prussian Majesty has made a peace with the the French." ⁴

¹ *Dunlap and Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, Nov. 10, 1795

² *The (N. Y.) Argus*, November 12, 1795.

³ *The Newport Mercury*, November 17, 1795.

⁴ *Ibidem*; *The Pittsburgh Gazette*, November 21, 1795; *The Western Telegraph and Washington (Pa.) Advertiser*, November 24, 1795.

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ROBBERS ARE APT TO QUARREL.

London, September 9.

If it be true that the Empress has declared war against the King of Prussia, it only proves that robbers are very apt to quarrel about the bounty; and that Society will gain something, which ever party fall in the contest. ⁵

EMPRESS HAS NOT DECLARED WAR AGAINST PRUSSIA.

Boston, November 18.

Capt. Dunn arrived here yesterday from Hamburgh in 43 days, informs:

That the Empress of Russia has not declared war against Prussia as reported. ⁶

POLAND TO REMAIN A BONE OF CONTENTION.

Lexington, December 5.

Unfortunate Poland will remain a bone of contention between Russia, Austria and Prussia.

That all the Princes of Europe wish to extirpate republicanism from their neighbourhood, may be considered as certain, but it is equally certain that opinions are not to be conquered by armies. ⁷

HARMONY RESTORED AMONG THE POWERS.

London, September 26.

There remains no doubt of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, having agreed on a definitive treaty for the boundaries of their *honourable* acquisition in Poland. ⁸

LAFAYETTE AND KOSCIUSZKO TOASTED.

Wilmington, February 25.

Monday last being the anniversary of the President of the United States birth-day, it was commemorated at Mr. Harris's tavern in this borough, where a large number of gentlemen of the town and county assembled for the purpose. After partaking of an elegant dinner, the following toasts were drank:

7. La Fayette and Kusiuko, those unfortunate victims of despotism—may they soon be restored to that liberty they so well deserve. ⁹

"LAMENTATION OF KOSCIUSZKO"

Overwhelm'd with the flood of Despair,
In darkness I sicken and pine:—
No pure breath of the life giving air,

⁵ *The Newport Mercury*, November 24, 1795.

⁶ *Ibidem*.

⁷ *Kentucky Gazette*, December 5, 1795.

⁸ *Stewart's Kentucky Herald*, Lexington, December 29, 1795.

⁹ *Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, March 1, 1796.

Nor beam of the morning are mine!
 A death boding silence around
 Succeeds to the clangor of WAR,
 Save when the hoarse portals resound,
 And these vaults echo back to the jar!
 Despair, my sad Country; despair:—
 Thy tears may eternally flow:
 No Friend in thy sorrows to share—
 No companion to pity thy woe!
 Alas! what a desolate scene,
 Where Peace drove her ploughshare of yore;
 There the Daemons of Havoc have been,
 And stain'd the red landscape with gore!
 Deep gash'd by the barbarous Steel,
 The sad Friends of my warfare! mourn:—
 No more the proud ardour they feel;
 No more for the combat they burn!
 The Traveller views them, aghast!
 As the Moon' cross the Solitude gleams;
 And born on the wings of the blast,
 The wild Vulture incessantly screams!
 Far—far from the peaceable shore,
 We are tost on mortality's tides;
 But high o'er the turbulent roar
 An ETERNAL DISPOSER presides,
 All with him unto order incline;
 He can bid the drear Wilderness bloom,
 And make e'en the Tyrant combine—
 To embellish fair LIBERTY'S Dome! ¹⁰

“PARTICULARS OF THE ABDICATION OF THE
 THRONE OF POLAND BY STANISLAUS.”

London, March 12.

On the day of St. Catherine, Repnin went to the King and presented to him several papers which had been sent to him from Petersburg, as the Act of his Abdication, a relinquishment of his pretensions to the throne, etc. which Stanislaus signed without resistance, in the morning, and which Repnin immediately published through the city—After this the King of Poland published, at dinner, his attachment to his former Mistress, Grabowska, declared that he had espoused her seven years ago; and legitimated all the children which he had by her, and settled on them the wrecks of his fortune. Then, his eyes streaming with tears, he took leave, with a constancy truly royal, of the faithful servants of his former state, which produced a truly affecting scene. This was ended by a ball, at which Repnin, increasing his pride, him-

¹⁰ *Columbian Centinel*, March 30, 1796.

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self presented to the company, the King dethroned by a stroke of a pen. Such was the end of the Reign of Stanislaus, than whom a man of brighter virtues and a more enlightened mind never filled a throne. ¹¹

PRUSSIANS PLACE LITTLE CONFIDENCE IN THE POLES' GRATITUDE.

Hamburg, January 26.

It seems, gen. Favrar, the Prussian commandant at Warsaw, places little confidence in the gratitude which may naturally be expected from the Poles, for being permitted to share the happiness of his Prussian majesty's subjects. He lately enjoined, under the severest pains, that every citizen who had arms of any kind in his possession would deposit them immediately in the arsenal. ¹²

REPORT OF KOSCIUSZKO'S TRANSFER.

Hamburgh, March 15.

Letters from Petersburg contain intelligence, that general Kosciusko has been lately removed from Petersburg to a fortress thirty miles distant from Muscow. ¹³

KOSCIUSZKO'S LIFE IN PRISON.

Warsaw, (late Capital of Poland), March 9.

Kosciosko, and his few friends still remain prisoners, at Petersburg. Their firmness and consistency, gain them the esteem even of their enemies. They are well treated; and that, too, by the *immediate orders* of the Imperial *Catharine*—but she will never work on the affections of *Kosciosko*. He lives in a palace, has a table every day of 16 covers, and is attended by a Physician of the Court daily, who has orders to inquire respecting his health in the name of the Empress; but he has not liberty to write. He does not read, speaks little, and will set still for hours leaning his head on his hand. In his misfortunes one companion remains with him; and that is a negro which came with him from the United States of *America*, and has been his inseparable companion. ¹⁴

A FRUITLESS DIVERSION OF POLISH EMIGRANTS.

Warsaw, April 2.

Letters from the Province of *Podolia* assert, that about 1500 *Polish* emigrants are assembled in *Moldavia*; among them are the celebrated brigadiers *Kolyisko*, *Denisko*, *Liberadzky* ¹⁵ and sev-

¹¹ *Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, April 22, 1796.

¹² *Kentucky Gazette*, April 30, 1796.

¹³ *The Pittsburgh Gazette*, May 28, 1796.

¹⁴ *Columbian Centinel*, June 1, 1796.

¹⁵ Benedict Kolyszko (1751-1833), a valiant officer in the Kosciuszko Insurrection, unsuccessfully tried, with Generals Denisko and Liberadzki, to organize a new insurrection with the support of Turkey, in 1796.

eral other leaders, who have distinguished themselves in the late revolution. — Lately they made an excursion into *Podolia*, dispersed a patrol of *Russian* cossacks, and after having pushed as far as *Swaniez*,¹⁶ they posted up manifestos wherein they formally protest against the partition of *Poland*, and declare that with the help of God, they expect to restore their country to its former independence, and re-establish the Constitution of the 3-d May, as the only one adopted to *Poland*, and universally cherished by the people. After having done this, they retreated again to their former stations.¹⁷

TOASTS TO KOSCIUSZKO.

Boston, July 6.

On Monday last, the twentieth anniversary of the day on which the Patriots of our country, after a Solemn appeal to *Heaven*, declared the United States free, sovereign and independent, was celebrated in this town, in a manner as honorable to citizens, as evincive of the highest degree of felicity.

Festive entertainments were provided in every part of the town and vicinity.

The Toasts drank by the Society of the *Cincinnati* at Concert-Hall were as follows:

12. The brave *Kosciusko*—an electrick spark of *French* fire to the people of *Poland*.¹⁸

Philadelphia, July 6.

On Monday last, the 4-th of July, the Society of the *Cincinnati* dined at Oeller's Hotel, and after dinner the following toasts were given:

12. Our gallant comrades La Fayette and *Kosciusko*.¹⁹

Lexington (Ky.), July 9.

Yesterday, being the anniversary of the declaration of American independence, was celebrated here with all the enthusiasm which an event so important to our country would naturally inspire. Early in the morning the different volunteers corps assembled; and after some manoeuvres which reflected the highest honor on the officers and soldiers, they retired in a body, accompanied by a great number of the most respectable citizens, to the Sycamore Grove, where an excellent dinner had been prepared for the occasion. Toasts:

5. *Kosciusko* and the patriots of *Poland*.²⁰

¹⁶ Zwaniec, a town in *Podolia*.

¹⁷ *Columbian Centinel*, June 18, 1796; *Kentucky Gazette*, July 2, 1796.

¹⁸ *Columbian Centinel*, July 6, 1796; *Minerva*, New York, July 11, 1796.

¹⁹ *Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, July 6, 1796; *Minerva*, July 7, 1796. Among those present at this dinner were Thomas Mifflin, Thomas McKean and Stephen Moylan.

²⁰ *Kentucky Gazette*, July 9, 1796.

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New York, July 6.

(Officers of the brigade assembled at an entertainment prepared at Mr. Hunter's Hotel, on July 4. Brigadier General Hughes presided):

Toasts drank:

10. The brave though unfortunate Kosciusko. ²¹

Boston, July 11.

(Toasts at the dinner of the officers of the Ancient Artillery Company, July 6):

13-th. *Kosciusko*.—In his confinement may he receive a consolation which the one who keeps him there can never feel. ²²

EXCERPT FROM AN ORATION OF SOLOMON SIBLEY.

Fayette and Kosciusko.—If they are not now, may they soon be liberated from their prisons; and here, in our happy land, enjoy that Liberty and Independence, for which they so nobly fought and bled. ²³

FROM A DISCOURSE BY J. CUSHING.

(Delivered at Ashburnham, Mass., on July 4-th, 1796. After saying that "Americans were first to attain *real* independence" he continued):

The example has since been followed by the French first then the Poles... But the constitution of Poland has been destroyed by that female tyrant the Empress of Russia. May God speedily restore it again. ²⁴

FROM AN ORATION OF SAMUEL THACHER AT CONCORD, MASS.

The dismemberment of Poland, the infamous treaty of Pilnitz, with the subsequent accession of the other powers to the combination in the outrageous attempt to subjugate an independ-

²¹ *Minerva*, July 6, 1796.

²² *Columbian Centinel*, July 11, 1796.

²³ *Columbian Centinel*, July 16, 1796; *An oration, delivered at Mendon, July 4, 1796, at the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of American Independence*. By Solomon Sibley, A. B., Student at Law, Boston 1796 (Evans, 31192). Solomon Sibley (1769-1846), lawyer, emigrated early to the western frontier and settled at Detroit where he became mayor under the first city charter and occupied other high official positions.

²⁴ *A Discourse, delivered at Ashburnham, July 4-th, 1796, at the request of the Militia Officers in said town; who with the infantry under their command, and a troop of cavalry, were assembled under arms, to celebrate the anniversary of the independence of the United States of America*. By John Cushing, A. M. Minister of the Gospel in Ashburnham. Published at the desire of said officers and others, to whom it is humbly inscribed. Leominster, 1796 (Evans, 30306). The Cushings were one of the oldest and most eminent families of Massachusetts, especially famous for the number of judges they have furnished (Justin Winsor, *The Memorial History of Boston*, vol. II, p. 553).

ent nation, have fully displayed the fury, the madness of despots. ²⁵

FROM AN ORATION BY WILLIAM LOUGHTON SMITH
IN CHARLESTON, S. C.

On this proud day when we exult in our own fair prospects shall we not drop a tear over the sorrows of unfortunate Poland? In boasting of the virtues of a Washington, shall we forget those of a Kosciusko? No—It would dishonor a day, consecrated to the bold struggles of freemen, and to the bright virtues of their chiefs.

At a time, when the domineering spirit of haughty courts planned the infamous conquest of Poland, to divide its spoil among rapacious princes, when the internal impotency of feudal vassalage seemed to facilitate the approach of the barbarous hordes, and to surrender her to their insatiable fangs; at that unpropitious moment amidst the darkness of this prospect, Kosciusko arose with the energy of a hero and an insulted freeman, strong in the principles he had imbibed in our regions. He felt his country's wrongs, he rallied his fellow-citizens around the standard of national rights, he shook off the galling yoke of imperial slavery. How glorious the enterprize! With what joy did we hear the sound of "Poland in arms?" Kosciusko, the disciple of Washington, was hailed as the deliverer of his country, and enrolled with the worthies of antiquity. With what anxious expectation did we await the decision of this great event? At one moment the clouds of tyranny were dispersed, and the sun of approaching victory darted a few scattered rays over the Polish hemisphere. Alas! how short the delusion! The sky was soon again o'ercast, the bright Aurora of hope was darkened, the clouds thickened, and the threatened tempest burst with redoubled fury on that devoted country. The irresistible veterans of the north rushed in like a flood, the Polish ranks were swept away, and Kosciusko vanquished, a prisoner, and in chains! The tyrants triumph and rising freedom bends beneath the blast of power!

Unhappy, but magnanimous Kosciusko! Freemen will never cease to sigh for your deliverance from an ignominious bondage; and when the mortal shaft shall cut the thread of life, the tears of Americans shall embalm your memory, and the sun of glory shine upon your tomb.

²⁵ *An Oration, pronounced July 4, 1798, at the request of the inhabitants of the town of Concord, in commemoration of the twentieth anniversary of American Independence.* By Samuel Thacher, Boston, 1796 (Evans, 31285). The Thachers were one of the most prominent families of Massachusetts. One Samuel Thacher was Captain of a company of militia at Cambridge in 1775 (Justin Winsor, *The Memorial History of Boston*, Boston, 1881, vol. II, p. 371).

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Brave but unfortunate Poles! On this day, so auspicious to our liberty, united America raises her fervent prayers to heaven to confound the designs of your oppressors, and restore you emancipated to your native rights. ²⁶

A MONKEY AND TWO CATS.

London, July 15.

The empress of Russia's declaration to the king of Prussia and the emperor, that to prevent their *scandalous* disputes about the settlement of the frontiers of West Galicia and South Prussia, she will be forced to march an army to take possession of the disputed places, merely to *keep the peace*, reminds us of the fable where a monkey arbitrates between two cats, who had stolen a quantity of cheese, and after greatly diminishing the lump, by eating alternately from either scale in order to distribute impartial justice, at length retains the remainder for the trouble of settling the difference. ²⁷

PRUSSIA AND AUSTRIA AT THE POINT OF WAR.

Richmond (Va.), November 14.

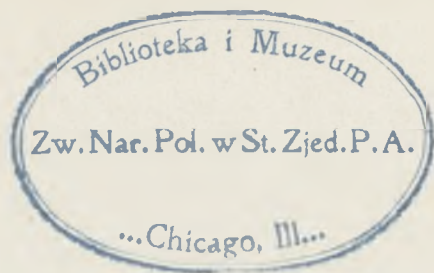
The intelligence of war between Prussia and Austria is not yet confirmed; but the character and views of the Prussian monarch render it *probable*. After having united with Russia and Austria to dismember Poland, it is perfectly in character to unite with France in dismembering the German Empire. Not a monarchy in Europe, but has at some time or other, been guilty of this species of *treachery* and *swindling*.

Happy is it for the world that the great republic of America, removed from the jarring interests of Europe, exhibits a specimen of the genuine excellence and superiority of her government over all other forms yet invented. ²⁸

²⁶ *An Oration, delivered in St. Philip's Church, before the inhabitants of Charleston, South Carolina, on the Fourth of July, 1796, in commemoration of American Independence. By appointment of the American Revolution Society, and published at the request of that society, and also of the South Carolina State Society of Cincinnati.* By William Smith, a member of the Revolution Society, and representative in the Congress of the United States. Charleston, 1796 (Evans, 31210). William Loughton Smith (1758-1812), American diplomat, represented South Carolina in the first Congress, was minister to Portugal in 1797-1800, and to Spain in 1800-1801.

²⁷ *The Mercury*, September 30, 1796.

²⁸ *Kentucky Gazette*, December 17, 1796.



XI.

KOSCIUSZKO LIBERATED

THE DEATH OF CATHERINE II

New York, Feb. 23.

Under a Hamburg head of the 3-d of December is the following:- "By an express arrived this morning from Riga, we have received the account, that her Imperial Majesty, Catherine II, died on the 17-th of November; and that his Highness Grand Duke Paul Petrovich has been proclaimed Emperor. ¹

"LATE EMPRESS OF RUSSIA."

The death of the empress of Russia is of more importance to the fate of Europe, and to the interest of humanity, than twenty victories either Austrian or French; for by her decease the main spring of the despotic union is broken, and it is highly probable that the fatal confederacy will now dissolve in its own weakness. She was restrained by no considerations which were human, and she deluged all around her in blood. She is perhaps the last of that order of despots who uniformly acted on the maxims that men were made for the use of sovereigns..... ²

"ON THE DEATH OF CATHERINE II"

....This female wolf, whom wolves did nurse,
So long of polar worlds to curse
This Catherine, skill'd in royal arts,
To the dark world at last departs.
She would have rent her Tartar bands
To waste and ravage gallic lands,
She would have sent her legions o'er,
Columbia! to invade your shore!—³

KOSCIUSZKO LIBERATED

Berlin, Dec. 20.

A striking act of justice has been done by the new Emperor of Russia, which is that he not only granted liberty to the celebrated Gen. Kosciusko, his Secretary, M. Niemcewicz, and Count Potocki, but the first has received as a compensation, an estate with 1500 peasants, M. Niemcewicz an estate with 1000 peasants, and Count Potocki has been restored to all his property. ⁴

¹ *Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, February, 25, 1797.

² *The (Phila.) Daily Advertiser*, March 29, 1797.

³ *The Poems of Philip Freneau*, ed. by Fred L. Pattee, vol. III, p. 136.

⁴ *Independent Chronicle and Universal Advertiser*, April 3, 1797.

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PETER PORCUPINE IS DISSATISFIED

(This is an excerpt from the article "Eulogium on the Emperor of Russia by the Sans-Culottes," in which Peter Porcupine attacks the press for lauding Paul I for the liberation of Kosciuszko and for his liberal ideas):

Bache ⁵ says:- "It is allowed that the present Emperor of Russia is of a *mild and amiable disposition*; he will now have an opportunity of displaying it, by releasing the brave Kosciuszko from his prison." ^x

* Which he very unadvisedly did. ⁶

KOSCIUSZKO PERMITTED TO GO TO AMERICA

Mittau, December 16.

The liberation of the Polish prisoners is not confined to those who were taken at the time of the last disturbances, but extends to all the Poles who have been sent into Siberia during the last thirty years. The Poles and Lithuanians who had fled their country have likewise permission to return. The number of Poles who have thus recovered their liberty, estates, and possessions, amounts to 14, 052.

Kosciuszko has been very graciously received, and been granted permission to go to America, with a present of 12,000 rubles to defray his expences, besides a pension of 6,000 rubles. ⁷ It is well known that Kosciuszko and Pulaski both served under Washington in the American War. ⁸

POLISH LEGIONS IN ITALY

Milan, December 16.

A corps of Polanders is raising here—a company has already started for the siege of Mantua; ⁹ general Dombrowski, who has been here some time past, takes the command of them. ¹⁰

"PAUL I AND KOSCIUSKO"

As soon as this General had obtained his liberty, the *Emperor* himself introduced him to the *Empress*, and his family, who conversed with him for upwards of an hour. *Kosciuszko's* health seems to have suffered much. When he waited upon the Emperor, his servants were obliged to carry him on their arms from his carriage, and to support him up stairs. When he reached the Imperial apartment, the Emperor took him by the hand, and con-

⁵ Benjamin Franklin Bache, grandson of Benjamin Franklin, publisher of the *Aurora*.

⁶ *Porcupine's Gazette*, March 22, 1797.

⁷ Kosciuszko accepted this gift of the Tsar in order not to offend him and jeopardize the freedom of other Poles, but he returned it to him in 1798, and when the Tsar refused to accept it, he left the whole sum untouched at a London bank, never using a single penny of it during his life (Korzon, *Kościuszko*, p. 504 *et sequ.*).

⁸ *Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, March 24, 1797.

⁹ Mantua, a city in northern Italy.

¹⁰ *The (Phila.) Daily Advertiser*, March 31, 1797. This is the first mention in the American press of the Polish Legions in the Napoleonic Wars, organized by Dombrowski in the hope of reconquering Poland.

ducted him to the Empress. Before he goes to *America* he will use the baths of Italy, to which place Count *Ignach Potocki* will shortly follow him.¹¹

FRENEAU'S POEM ON KOSCIUSZKO

(*Mr. Philip Freneau*, Editor of the ex-National Gazette, has recommenced conductor of a newspaper, called the "Time Piece" at New York. We were ever admirers of the talents and fancy of this gentleman, although we detested the politicks of his Gazette; and still hope to enrich the Centinel with native gems from his rich cabinet. We copy the following as a sample of the point and acumen of his epigrams).

ON A BRITISH PRESENT *

Lately sent to the Emperor of Germany, value 6500 dol.
A brilliant star and *Epaulet*
 The cruel goaler of Fayette
 May *transiently* adorn;
 Whilst *Paul* immortal honor gains
 In breaking Kosciusko's chains—
 And laughs such toys to scorn.

R. A. D.

* We think there is a mistake here—the brilliant star and epaulets lately made in England, was a present from the late Empress of Russia, to the Archduke Charles.¹²

HOW KOSCIUSZKO REGAINED HIS FREEDOM

Petersburgh, December 21.

The taking of Prague is considered by the emperor as a massacre unworthy of a civilized nation, and he has caused all the marks of honour which his mother delivered to the authors of it, to be surrendered. He was desirous that he should himself announce to Kosciusko, the news of his deliverance. It ought to be observed, that Kosciusko, and all the other Polish prisoners at Petersburgh, have been always closely confined. They were ignorant of the death of the empress until their prisons were open.

"Brave and virtuous general," said Paul I to Kosciusko, "I come to break your chains, it is the emperor himself who informs you that you are free."—Kosciusko was silent. The emperor moved by his misfortunes, took him by the hand, made him sit down by him, and entered into a conversation for near an hour, on the affairs of Poland. The emperor asked Kosciusko if he

¹¹ *The (Phila.) Daily Advertiser*, April 1. 1797; *Columbian Centinel*, April 3, 1797.

¹² *Columbian Centinel*, April 3, 1797. No edition of Freneau's works contains this epigram.

could assure him that Marshal Ignatius Potocki would not be one of his enemies? "The injustice he has suffered," said Kosciusko, "may have irritated him; it is necessary I should speak to him before I can answer you." Next day Kosciusko assured the emperor that Potocki would never be his enemy, and the emperor went also to his prison, and told him that he was free.¹³

"CHARACTERISTIC SKETCH—GENERAL KOSCIUSKO"

From a French Paper.

Kosciusko speaks but little, like all men who feel and think much. His gentle, calm, and intuitive look depicts a mind constantly occupied with great ideas, and sometimes repugnant with great designs. His conversation bespeaks one who has penetrated into the spirit and the events of those revolutions, of which he either has read the history, or personally witnessed the occurrences.

Kosciusko greatly contributed to the revolution in America; he was present at the French revolution, and gloriously began that of Poland. His political principles cannot be extravagant, since they are the fruits of long and profound meditation. They are those which are professed in France; that is to say, those of the constitution of 1795, principles of which he did not wish, at first, to be applied in their full latitude, to Poland. His maxim was to begin first by making men of slaves, and to form afterwards citizens of men.

Such principles are not a wild torrent of systems of innovation, but they constitute a system of reform, planned with wisdom, and measured with prudent gradation; and if Kosciusko be a leveller (which by the bye every revolutionists ought to be), he is a leveller who levels with the rule and the compass; he wishes to level, as it were, in order to raise all to the same height, but not to trample every thing under foot; he wishes to level rights, but not fortunes; he knows that a fortune obtained by lawful means is the just right of its possessor, and that the rest have no claim to it; he wishes to level men, but he deems it impossible to level knowledge and talents.

Kosciusko, in short, is one of those great souls, those sage minds, whom the abject part of mankind consider as a fool, and fools as a weak and timid man.

The friend whom Kosciusko had sent to the committee of public welfare, was also of a sublime mind, which he restrained by a great deal of circumspection; he was well acquainted with men and their principles; he also knew that the principles of the welfare of society, are the quintessence of what is pure in reason and morality, and that men are still infected with all the seeds of the corruption of slavery and despotism.

¹³ *The (Phila.) Daily Advertiser*, April 5, 1797.

He came to demand succours of the committee of public welfare, and to know if France could defend her liberty, and assist that of Poland; and he required a few assurances of friendship and fraternity, if France had it not in her power to bestow more; but all assistance was denied; not even were these words granted, which might have afforded some kind of consolation. At the first interview Billaud Varrennes ¹⁴ heard that envoy with his eyes shut, sometimes supporting his body on the back of a chair, or reclining himself on its arms. The only words which Billaud uttered at that conference, were "the committee knows no other diplomacy than that of the gun."

The delegate and friend of Kosciusko penetrated twice or thrice more into the committee of public welfare. "Before any conference takes place," said they to him, "and even to decide whether any ought to take place at all, give us your word, and produce proofs, that Kosciusko wishes the slaves to enjoy the same liberty, and the same civil and political rights as the grantees." To have told an untruth, would have been but a slender sacrifice for a diplomatist to make; and his mission and his talents would have proved successful; but no, the friend of Kosciusko was determined to speak the truth, and wished to explain every thing. His explanations were scornfully rejected as evasive shufflings, and Poland was abandoned to her weakness and to Russia.

There are now many persons, both in Poland, and in France, who can attest the truth of these facts, which tend to demonstrate that Kosciusko, while he fought like a hero, was thinking like a sage; that, braving all dangers at once, he only hoped to remove gradually one obstacle after another; that he knew that all men are not at all times fit for liberty; to be brief, that he knew that which is so difficult to measure out, and circumscribe wisdom.

Retinuitque quod est difficillimum, ex sapientia modum

Tacitus. ¹⁵

KOSCIUSZKO EXPECTED AT STOCKHOLM

New York, April 8.

Accounts from Stockholm, of the 6-th Jan. mention, that Kosciusko is expected there, on his way to America. ¹⁶

¹⁴ Jacques Nicolas Billaud-Varennes (1756-1819), French revolutionist, member of the Committee of Public Safety; he was one of those who caused the execution of the royal family.

¹⁵ *The (Phila.) Daily Advertiser*, April 12, 1797.

¹⁶ *Independent Chronicle and Universal Advertiser*, April 17, 1797.

**"REMARKS ON THE PRESENT SITUATION
OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS."**

Letter IV.

The balance of power, so much talked of, is generally a compact between the oppressors of mankind, settling among themselves, the quantity of mischief which each may commit, without being disturbed by the rest: and I appeal to history for the truth of what I now say. We have had a sample, in our own days, of this attention to the balance of power — **IN THE PARTITION OF POLAND** — by which a noble nation was despoiled of liberty, at the very moment when they were most sensible of its value; a deed, as base and as cruel, as any of the records ancient or modern, of tyrannical hostilities against the human race, can supply...

FABIUS. ¹⁷

**THE WAR WHICH BROUGHT POLAND'S
ANNIHILATION STILL RAGING**

Richmond (Virg.), April 14.

At a Meeting of the Freeholders of Caroline County, at the Court-House, on the 11-th of April, 1797, assembled for the purpose of choosing Delegates to the General Assembly of the State, the following letter to Anthony New, Esq., their Representative in the Congress of the United States, was publicly read, considered, and unanimously approved of; and directed to be presented to him.

SIR,

We need not assure you of our confidence in your wisdom and integrity, because we have recently exhibited a stronger proof of it, by our suffrages for your re-election... But whilst our reliance on your attachment to the public good, leaves you to the free exercise of your judgment; — the sudden and unusual convention of Congress, begets an anxiety, lest it be a portent of war; of war with France—our magnanimous sister Republic—our first ally... Let every expedient to avoid war be resorted to... Recollect, that the European combination of Kings and Princes, was levelled at an elective Republic — That the war which meditated its extinction still rages...

Signed by order of the meeting

EDM. PENDLETON ,
Senior Citizen president ¹⁸

A CHEAP DEFENSE OF THE DEAD EMPRESS.

The offer of twenty-five ducats for a Poem celebrating the virtues of the late Empress CATHARINE of Russia, reminds one of what EDMUND BURKE says of Nobility — the cheap de-

¹⁷ Reprint from *The New World* in *The (Phila.) Daily Advertiser*, April 25, 1797.

¹⁸ *Independent Chronicle and Universal Advertiser*, May 1, 1797.

fence of nations — An Eulogium at that price might be called; “The cheap defence of *Royalty*” or “The cheap defence of *Mas-sacre*” — or “The cheap defence of *Regicide*” — or of “*Assasina-tion*” — for to make her Eulogy, all these crimes lie in the way. ¹⁹

“PRIZE EULOGUM ON CATHERINE II,
LATE MERETRIX OF ALL THE RUSSIANS”

Shall Cath’rine die, and not a Bard be found—
No Poet Laureate to record her praise;
No *modern* Druid’s Song her fame resound,
To celebrate her name in future days!
Then who shall hope, to gain the Laureate’ Bays?

Burke too is dumb, but grief makes some men mute,
(Queen of his heart, his fav’rite Empress dead).
It must be so, or else, beyond dispute,
Alas! — *the Age of Chivalry is fled!*

And shall the mighty Ruler of the North,
Whose will was Law, whose haughty mandate Death,
Unnotic’d mingle with her Mother Earth,
As tho’ she had resign’d a *common* Breath?

Forbid it, Bards who wait on Pow’r or Place!
’Tis yours to colour Vice with Virtue’s hue,
To give each soul Deformity a grace,
Make Truth seem false, and Falsehood seem as true!
DRUID ²⁰

ZORINSKI STAGED AT BOSTON

HAY MARKET THEATRE

Never Performed Here

Simpson’s Night

On Friday Evening, May 12, ’97

will be presented the new and much admired play of

ZORINSKI

Or, Freedom to the Slaves

(For this Night only)

This celebrated and highly esteemed Play, interspersed with new and elegant Songs, is the production of Thomas Morton, Esq., Author of *Columbus*, *the Children in the Wood*, *the Way to get Married* etc. Therefore more to add to its merits is needless, further than that it was brought at the Theatre Royal in the Hay Market, London, and performed upwards of 100 successive nights to crowded audiences with distinguished and unequivocal approbation.

¹⁹ *Ib.*, May 1, 1797.

²⁰ *Independent Chronicle and Universal Advertiser*, May 5, 1797.

The Music by the celebrated Dr. Arnold.

Zorinski, a Polander of the Equestrian Order, Mr. Barrett; Cassimer, King of Poland; Mr. Taylor; Witski, the Miller, Mr. Simpson; O'Carrat, an Irishman, Mr. Fawcett; Radzano, a Polish lord, Mr. S. Powell; Amalekite, a Jew, Mr. Hughes; Rodomsko, Mr. Dickinson; Naclo, Mr. Clough; Zarno, Mr. Williamson.

Winnefred, Millers' Wife, Mrs. Barrett; Rachael, Miller's daughter, Miss E. Westry; Rosolia Rodamska, Mrs. S. Powell. ²¹

PICTURES OF KOSCIUSZKO FOR SALE

Philadelphia.

At No. 4, Chestnut street, may be had, just published, the proof impressions of capital portraits of generals BUONAPARTE and KOSCIUSKO — price 25 cents each. ²²

"REMARKS ON THE PRESENT SITUATION OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS."

Letter XIV

Let us ...observe how regularly the plan for extinguishing the light of liberty has been prosecuted.

The United Provinces, have by the arms of *Great Britain* and *Prussia* been for some years declining into an arbitrary government.

Republican Poland was stripped of one-third of her provinces, by a conspiracy between *Russia*, *Austria* and *Prussia*.

No sooner did *France* discover an *inclination* to be free, than all the great potentates roused up with unusual zeal at the lively call of *their* "religion and morality".

With great cordiality it was RESOLVED, that *France*, then in perfect peace with all of them, and *her king reigning in full possession of his power*, should be severely lopped all round. The mutilated form was then to be left to their "dear brother and cousin."

Their devout and pacific ardour embraced with congenial feelings "the empress of all the *Russias*." "Her majesty" — says convention — "shall take upon herself *the invasion of Poland etc.*"

The duty thus devolved upon her; this faithful friend to "humanity, and to the tranquility and welfare of *Europe*", bloodily and piously performed; and in 1794 the catastrophe of *Polish* liberty closed, in a partition of the whole republic between *Russia*, *Austria* and *Prussia*.

The further execution of the plan as it respected *France* was in the mean time going on; to end, as it was fondly hoped, as that of *Poland* had just done, in *dismemberment* and *slavery*.

²¹ *Independent Chronicle and Universal Advertiser*, May 8, 1797; *Massachusetts Mercury*, May 9 and 12, 1797; *Columbian Centinel*, May 10, 1797.

²² *The (Phila.) Daily Advertiser*, May 15, 1797.

KOSCIUSZKO LIBERATED

Had this part of the plan succeeded, we should have been left alone. Then, all the resentments and execrations of the triumphant tyrants would have been directed against us, as the *original authors* of all the calamities of *Europe*. What the consequence would have been, he that runs may read.

THANKS TO A GRACIOUS PROVIDENCE! that on the plains of *Belgium* and the mountains of *Italy* it has been decided, that — *France* and *America* shall be free.

FABIUS. ²³

A NEW LINE OF DEMARCATION

Extract of a letter from Warsaw, March 15.

"The line of demarcation of the shares, which Austria and Prussia acquired of Poland by the last dismemberment of that kingdom, is at length drawn. It commences near Gorzow in the Palatinate of Cracow on the frontiers of Upper Silesia, and of ancient Galicia, and extends to the small town of Niemirow, on the right bank of the river Bug." ²⁴

KOSCIUSZKO IN SWEDEN.

Extract of a letter from Gottenburg, April 5.

"General Kosciusko has been near a month here; the emperor of Russia on his advancement to the throne, gave liberty to all the Poles, to the number of nineteen thousand. Their general has received orders to leave Europe; he is preparing to go to London, from whence he embarks for the United States. Washington has reclaimed him as his particular friend and former aid-de-camp. The Polish general has seventeen wounds in his body, which are cicatrised, but not perfectly healed. His left leg and thigh are deadened by the compression of the air of a bullet which grazed his hip. He lays at length on a couch and cannot move, but with assistance and great pain. The principal inhabitants of the city go to see him, and keep him company, as he cannot stir from his house. The ladies of the place take instruments of music with them, and strive by chorus of melody to assuage his misfortunes. The Americans, I am sure, will love him, like us, to adoration. He is a man of great information, amiable to the extreme, and has travelled much. He has resided two years in France, and speaks of it with transport. Two Polish gentlemen will accompany him, who are of very engaging manners. One is a near relation of his, a poet, a man of talents, modesty, and polite affability; the other is a friend of Kosciusko, who submitted to a voluntary

²³ Reprint from *The New World* in *The Daily Advertiser*, May 22, 1797.

²⁴ *The (Phila.) Daily Advertiser*, June 23, 1797.

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imprisonment, through attachment to his general, and to keep him company in his misfortunes. ²⁵

"FEAST OF REASON."

New York, July 14.

Yesterday an elegant Entertainment was given to JAMES MONROE, late Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States near the Republic of France, on his return to his Country, after a tedious and unthankful Embassy, in which his abilities and influence were exerted to preserve a friendly and good understanding between the two Republics. This festival was attended by a numerous and respectable company of genuine Republicans, Gen. HORATIO GATES ²⁶ in the Chair.

After dinner the following TOASTS were drank, interspersed with various patriotic and other songs:

14. A speedy arrival of KOSCIUSKO; — May the air of Freedom cure the wounds he has received in her defence. — 3 cheers. ²⁷

KOSCIUSZKO AT LONDON.

London, May 29.

The gallant but unfortunate general Kosciuszko, is arrived in the river Thames, on board a Swedish vessel, attended by many Polish officers, who are going with him to America. He is severely wounded in the head, has three bayonet wounds in his back, and part of his thigh carried away by a cannon shot; and, with the excruciating torments those wounds occasion, as he cannot move himself, he amuses his hours with drawing landscapes. These wounds he received while fighting the battles of his much injured country. He speaks with the most lively gratitude of the present emperor of Russia, and complains that his wounds were long neglected after he was made prisoner. In the battle that determined the fate of Poland, he placed the nobles on the two wings, and took himself the command of the centre, which consisted of new levies and serfs. The nobles first gave way; the centre maintained its ground under the auspicious valour of the general. This great man determined not to survive his country, and put his last pistol to his own head! It missed fire, and he was immediately made prisoner. ²⁸

²⁵ *Carey's Daily Advertiser*, Philadelphia, July 8, 1797; one of the gentlemen mentioned above was Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz who, however, was no relation of Kosciuszko. The other was a Polish nobleman, Libiszewski, who died in Cuba soon after his arrival in America.

²⁶ Gen. Horatio Gates, the victor of Saratoga.

²⁷ *The Argus*, July 14, 1797; *Independent Chronicle and Universal Advertiser*, July 17, 1797.

²⁸ *Carey's Daily Advertiser*, August 1, 1797. The report of the attempted suicide of Kosciuszko is not true.

KOSCIUSZKO CHANGES VESSELS.

Philadelphia, August 8.

General KOSCIUSKO was to have embarked on board the Light Horse, captain Huff, which was to sail from Bristol about the 18-th of June, for this port, but he afterwards, with two Polish noblemen, and their servants engaged a passage on board the Adriana, captain Lee, for Philadelphia, which was also to sail from Bristol on the 18-th or 20-th. ²⁹

ENGLISH "MINISTERIALS" UNFRIENDLY TO KOSCIUSZKO.

Philadelphia, August 9.

KOSCIUSKO lodges at madame Salloniére's hotel in London.

The English ministerial papers say: it is hoped that ministers will not suffer Kosciusko to remain in this country longer than is absolutely necessary for procuring a passage. This inhuman wish of the pretended friends of humanity, did not escape the censure of the German editors. ³⁰

PLANS FOR RESTORATION OF POLAND REPORTED.

Frankfort, May 30.

A report is still prevailing, that the republic of Poland is at least in part to regain her political existence, as her restoration seems to be a favourite project with the present emperor of Russia. The ci-devant king is still with him, and the above project is said to be the principal object of prince Repnin's mission to the Prussian court. ³¹

BRITISH WHIGS HONOR KOSCIUSZKO.

At a numerous meeting of the whig club of England, held at the Crown and Anchor tavern, in the Strand, on Tuesday the 6-th day of June, 1797.

The Earl of Thanet in the Chair.

On the motion of general Tarleton, ³² seconded by Mr. Fox, it was resolved unanimously, "That the Polish general, Thaddeus Kosciusko, be requested by this club to accept of a sword, as a public testimony of their sense of his exalted virtues, and of his gallant, generous, and exemplary efforts to defend and save his country."

Mr. Fox moved, and it was resolved unanimously, "That a committee be appointed to provide a sword accordingly, and that general Tarleton do present it to general Kosciusko, in the name of the whig club of England." ³³

²⁹ *Ib.*, August 8, 1797.

³⁰ *Ib.*, August 9, 1797.

³¹ *Ib.*, August 11, 1797.

³² Sir Banastre Tarleton (1754-1833), British soldier, famous for his ruthlessness in the American Revolutionary War. He was a Member of Parliament in 1790-1812.

³³ *Carey's Daily Advertiser*, August 12, 1797; *Kentucky Gazette*, September 2, 1797.

"PORCUPINE TO GENERAL TARLETON."

Sir

I have lately seen an account of the proceedings of a certain society called the "*Whig Club of England*," which, I am told, is made up of the refuse, the very offal of both Houses of Parliament, with the addition of disappointed candidates for places, pensions and sinecures.

From such a club, or rather mob as this, everything inconsistent and mean was to be expected; but I think it would hardly be possible to find one of the members whose conduct so completely fulfills such expectation as that of yours. You have constantly been an *advocate for the continuation of that traffic called the slave-trade*, while you are at the head of a *liberty club*; and you present the Polander with a sword, as a token of your approbation of his labours in the cause of what you call *liberty*, when it is well known that you owe your present rank and pay to your having fought against him, having sought his destruction, when he was engaged in that very cause! There is, however, something wanting to render this farce complete: your club should assemble on the banks of the river Gambia, or on a board a negro vessel, and you should present the sword on some plain of America.

Tarleton presenting a token of respect to *Kosciusko*! Ye gods! what cannot the spirit of *whiggism* perform? What can it not rend assunder, and what can it not unite? As the poet says of gold: "*it solders close impossibilities, and makes them kiss.*"

It may not be amiss to tell you, that, a few weeks ago, all the democratic papers in this country, when they thought necessary to revive a part of the history of last war, called you "*the savage and bloody Tarleton*"; but that, by this *liberty-sword* affair, you have wiped all off; all the blood clean off; and have regained the love and admiration of a set of as great scoundrels as ever did honour to a rope or a gibbet.

P. PORCUPINE. ³⁴

CAREY ANSWERS PORCUPINE.

Peter Porcupine asserts—that general Tarleton's presenting a sword to *Kosciusko*, has gained him the love and admiration of a set of great scoundrels in this country; meaning the republicans:—We will add, that if that or any other act of Tarleton's life has procured him the love of Americans, they must be as great scoundrels as Peter Porcupine himself, his patrons, and paymasters. ³⁵

³⁴ *Porcupine's Gazette*, August 16, 1797.

³⁵ *Carey's Daily Advertiser*, August 17, 1797. Mathew Carey (1760-1839), an eminent Irish-American economist, editor and printer. He was one of those Americans who endeavored to succor the remnants of the Polish army who reached these shores after the Insurrection of 1830-31.

POLES FOR THE OPPRESSORS OF POLES.

New York, August 14.

(On the 10-th of August a society called Friends of Universal Liberty had a banquet at which the following toasts were drank):

Volunteers: Poles for the heads of those who took away the liberty of the Poles. ³⁶

KOSCIUSZKO AT BRISTOL.

Bristol, June 9.

Since Tuesday last this city has ben honored with the presence of that virtuous and intrepid patriot general Kosciuszko; on his arrival at the White Lion, the sheriffs waited on him, and the following day he was received at the house of Mr. Vanderhorst, the American Consul, where he has been constantly accessible; and we are happy to say, our fellow citizens have not neglected to pay him their heartfelt respects.—He speaks our language with facility, his figure is interesting, his manner mild and attractive; we are sorry to say, his health seems considerably impaired by the wounds he received in his last stand in support of the constitution which his countrymen had established, against a powerful and usurping foe.—A deputation of citizens who voted him Plate of One Hundred Guineas value, waited on him with it on Saturday; he was much affected by this tribute of grateful and affectionate esteem; it was accompanied with the following address:

“General,

“We rejoice in an opportunity, which few only of our countrymen have enjoyed, of testifying those sentiments of high veneration which are naturally excited in the minds of Freemen by the contemplation of your splendid virtues.

“With equal admiration and solicitude, did we watch the unparalleled efforts of your exalted genius, your intrepid valour, and unshaken constancy in defence of the freedom and independence of your country against a horde of haughty, rapacious and sanguinary tyrants.

“Most sincerely do we sympathize in your personal sufferings;—may the anguish of each wound be assuaged, and its cure accelerated, by the recollection of its glorious cause.

“Accept, most illustrious Patriot! some small token of our affectionate esteem, and of our attachment to the sacred cause of Liberty, of which you have ever proved yourself the undaunted Champion; be assured that they are accompanied with our fervent wishes, that in the bosom of a country, whose subjugation you

³⁶ *The Argus*, August 14, 1797.

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virtuously resisted, and whose glorious independence your heroism contributed to establish, you may experience its warmest gratitude, and for many years enjoy the sweets of peace and friendship, heightened by the review of a life consecrated to the liberties and happiness of mankind."

General Kosciuszko, with his suite, went down the river in a boat from the Quay, yesterday at noon; and the wind being favourable, we presume he sailed in the evening. ³⁷

³⁷ *Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, August 22, 1797.

XII.

KOSCIUSZKO IN AMERICA

KOSCIUSZKO SIGHTED AT SEA.

Boston, August 18.

The ship *Eagle*, Capt. Sweet, who arrived at Marblehead, on Monday from Savannah, on the 9-th inst. in lat. 42.5, long. 68, spoke a ship from Bristol, Engl., for N. York, on board which was the justly celebrated Polish Patriot General KOSCIUSKO, and several other Passengers of distinction. ¹

KOSCIUSZKO AT PHILADELPHIA.

Philadelphia, August 19.

In the ship *Adriana*, Capt. Lee, arrived here last evening from Bristol, came passenger that illustrious Defender of the Rights of Mankind, the brave but unfortunate KOSCIUSKO, the Polish General, accompanied by two Polish gentlemen. On the arrival of the vessel at the Fort, the commander of the garrison being informed that the Veteran General was on board, welcomed him by a Federal salute; and when the vessel came to anchor in our harbor, the sailing-master of the frigate had its barge manned with eight masters of vessels, and waited upon the Gen. to take him on shore. On his landing, he was received with three cheers, and, as a further mark of popular respect for this great character, the citizens insisted upon drawing him to his lodgings. — The General appears to be in good spirits, but has suffered very materially from his wounds and inhuman imprisonment. We trust, however, he will long live to enjoy on these peaceful shores, that liberty and happiness which he assisted in fighting for, but which he sought in vain to obtain for his native country.

We understand, the general is personally known to most of the leading characters in our revolution.

He speaks in the handsomest terms of the treatment which he received from Captain Lee, during the voyage. Mr. Joshua Sutcliffe, of this city, also came as a passenger, in this vessel. ²

¹ *Massachusetts Mercury*, August 18, 1797.

² *Carey's Daily Advertiser*, August 19, 1797; *Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, August 19, 1797; *Independent Chronicle and Universal Advertiser*, August 24, 1797; *Massachusetts Mercury*, August 25, 1797; *Kentucky Gazette*, September 11, 1797.

PORCUPINE'S ACCOUNT OF KOSCIUSZKO'S ARRIVAL.

The Polish General *Kosciusko* was yesterday dragged from the water-side to his lodging by men. How far this redounds to his honour, will be guessed, when it is known, that LLOYD, who stood in the pillory in London, and who inhabited Newgate for years, was the leader of the team. ³

NOAH WEBSTER'S REMARKS.

New York, August 23.

We rejoice at the arrival of the brave *Kosciusko* on our shores but regret that our citizens can descend to the debasing custom of drawing any man through the streets. Men who can decline a common mark of genteel civility to the President can become beasts to a patriot. But the bait will not ensnare the HERO of Poland. He will never be a sport of party. ⁴

New York, August 26.

The citizens of Boston have manifested a most cordial respect for the President—a thing for which our “patriots” would certainly abuse them had they not paid honors bordering on adoration, to *Kosciusko* in Philadelphia at the same time. But in the matter of doing honors no people go before our Boston brethren. ⁵

“LINES ON THE ARRIVAL OF GENERAL KOSCIUSKO AT PHILADELPHIA.”

WELCOME great *Kosciusko*, to our shores—
Welcome, then advocate of freedom, here;
Banish thy griefs—exult 'midst plenty's stores—
And friends who know thy worth revere.
Your grand attempts to free your native land,
The wounds and suff'rings which have rack'd
your frame,
Since bleeding Poland, stretching forth her hand,
Call'd *Kosciusko* to the field of fame—
These recommends you to each noble mind,
These tell the world your soul detested fear,
These show your country knew its brightest kind
And these call forth from ev'ry eye a tear.
Fayette, whose many suff'rings rival thine,
Fayette, Columbia's *Kosciusko's* friend;
Fayette may soon be here—he fights to join
His dearest friends, where Peace and Freedom blend.

³ *Porcupine's Gazette*, August 19, 1797. The compiler was unable to find a biographical record of this Lloyd; if it was true that he was incarcerated in England he probably was a political prisoner.

⁴ *Herald*, August 23, 1797. The remark on the lack of civility toward President Washington pertains to the behavior of the Democrats, who abused him often in a most violent manner.

⁵ *Ib.*, August 26, 1797.

Then you with him can pass a happier day,
Can tell your friend the many woes you've known,
While lordly Cath'rine held tyrannic sway,
Nor Paul's benevolence forget to own.
Fayette can entertain you in return,
With a rehearsal of his grievous woes,
Since from his friends estate, and country torn,
Since the yet raging storm in Europe rose.
Oh worthy visitant! may such delights
As rise when friends long separated join,
As cheering liberty in mortals light—
May such, with many blissful years be thine. ⁶

REPORT OF THE RESTORATION OF POLAND.

London, June 14.

More credit is every day given to the news lately circulated of a plan being in agitation to re-establish the republic of Poland, with the joint consent of the emperors of Germany, and Russia; and for restoring the excellent, tho' unfortunate, Stanislaus to his throne. ⁷

THE REPORT IS CONTRADICTED.

Banks of the Vistula, July 5.

It is confirmed, that the affairs of *Poland* are irrevocably settled by the three dividing Powers. There does not remain the least shadow of probability that that Country will ever be restored to its former political existence as a Separate Kingdom. ⁸

KOSCIUSZKO TO RECEIVE MONEY FOR HIS SERVICES.

Philadelphia.

General Kosciuszko, we hear, has left the city on a visit to his friend General Gates, in the State of New York. Before he left the town, we understand a gentleman in office presented him with a land warrant, to which he was entitled by his services, and intimated there was a sum of money due to him, for his services in the cause of this country. We understand that the General signified, that whilst fortune smiled upon him at home, he had no intention of receiving any pecuniary reward from the United States, but that, in his present circumstances, he should not decline the acceptance of what appeared to be his due. We believe that with principal and interest, his pay will not amount to less than 18 or 20,000 dollars, as the general entered into the army as colonel of engineers, in October 1776, and remained till the end of the war. The land warrant, we are told, the General presented to a Welch farmer, of the name of Thomas, who was a passenger in the same ship, and of whom he had received a high opinion. ⁹

⁶ *Kentucky Gazette*, December 6, 1797.

⁷ *Massachusetts Mercury*, September 1, 1797.

⁸ *Ib.*, September 12, 1797.

⁹ *Kentucky Gazette*, September 27, 1797.

PORCUPINE THINKS IT UNWORTHY OF A HERO
TO RECEIVE MONEY.

(After reprinting the above item Porcupine says):

Remark.—I would lay fifty pounds that this high opinion man is a Jacobin. As to the General, whatever might be his views in crossing the Atlantic, it is certain that it has turned out no unprofitable voyage; no bad *spec*, in liberty and equality. I do not like these *after-claps*. If a man fights for the sheer love of liberty, let him have the honour of it; but let him not enjoy this honour with the wages of a *mercenary* in his pocket. What does this man want with 20,000 dollars? These fellows are all *Cincinnatuses*, if you believe their canting professions; but, when you come to the trial, you soon find that a coach and pair suits them better than a *plough*. The *tract of land*, you see, which would have furnished our liberty hero with a charming opportunity of becoming a *Cincinnatus*, he gave away as unworthy of his attention.¹⁰

KOSCIUSZKO AT NEW YORK.

Gen. KOSCIUSKO is at New York.¹¹

A POLISH RAID FROM TURKEY DISPERSED.

London, August 11.

The Polish emigrants assembled in Moldavia, and who had made several incursions into the Bucovine,¹² have been completely defeated by the imperial troops, who have made great slaughter. Among the prisoners there were found to be a French man, entirely disfigured with wounds. The Polish cavalry were the first to take flight, and leave infantry.

According to the report of the prisoners, the rebels were not above 1500 in number, 700 of them cavalry under one Denisko. The common executioner had proceeded to Czernowitz to perform his function upon those insurgents.¹³

THE FATE OF POLAND IS DECIDEDLY SETTLED

Thorn (South Prussia), July 8.

It is confirmed that the affair concerning Poland is now settled between the three partitioning powers; there is consequently not the least prospect that this state (Poland) should be re-established. For all the Russian Ministers at Foreign courts, have received orders from the cabinet of Petersburg to make the necessary notifications to the different powers, which give sufficient evidence that the fate of Poland is decidedly settled.

¹⁰ *Porcupine Gazette*, September 6, 1797.

¹¹ *Massachusetts Mercury*, September 22, 1797.

¹² Moldavia belonged to Turkey at that time and Bucovine to Austria; both provinces form now part of Rumania. The remnants of Kosciuszko's army made several such unsuccessful raids from Turkey into neighboring territories of Russia and Austria.

¹³ *Kentucky Gazette*, September 28, 1797.

The 1st notification contains six notes. The 1st is a Declaration, dated St. Petersburg, June 3, 1795, and signed by the Russian Vice Chancellor Osterman, the Counts Besborodko and Marcoff, which contains the agreement between her Majesty the Empress of Russia, the Roman Emperor and the King of Prussia, to divide Poland amongst themselves. In this note the boundaries of the respective portions of the Empress of Russia, and the Emperor of Germany are fixed, and the guarantee of the King of Prussia, is required, on condition of which the remaining portion is allotted and guaranteed to the Russian Monarch. The 2-nd note, signed by the above Members of the Russian cabinet, and by Count Tauenzien on the part of Prussia, containing a Declaration, dated at Petersburg, October 29, 1795, which establishes the boundaries of the Prussian portion of Poland, and the guarantee of the respective acquisitions of both powers. The 17-th article of this note says, "If, through hatred excited by the present treaty of partition and its results, one of the three contracting powers should be attacked by another state, then shall the two others join the first, and support him with all their forces, and all their resources, until the cessation of such an attack." The 3-d note signed at Petersburg the 26-th January, 1797, by Count Osterman, Count Besborodko and Prince Kurakin, on one side, and by Count Tauenzien on the other, recites the measures taken for discharging the National Debt of the ex-kingdom of Poland, and those of the ex-King Stanislaus Augustus. By the 6-th article the contracting powers grant an annual pension of 200,000 ducats to the latter; by the 7-th article the free and entire enjoyment of all his private property and estates, is secured to him. The 9-th contains the act of resignation of the ex-King Stanislaus, dated Grodno, November 25, 1795, and signed by the King and his cabinet secretary, Prince Kosielsk-Puzyna.¹⁴ The 5-th note contains the corresponding Declaration of the three concerned courts, wherein they make known to the different powers of Europe, the division of the kingdom of Poland, and its incorporation with their respective monarchies, and the new titles they have respectively assumed in consequence of their new acquisition, etc. The 6-th note fixes the boundaries of the Palatinate of Cracow, as agreed on by the courts of Vienna, and Berlin, and sanctioned by the late Empress.¹⁵

A WELCOME TO KOSCIUSZKO.

Savannah, Sept. 12.

Last Saturday being the muster of the Light Infantry Company, for the 2-d Battalion, in the county of Chatham, of the State of Georgia, for the purpose of electing officers, Balthaser Shaffer,

¹⁴ Kosielsk-Puzyna.

¹⁵ *The* (Washington, Ky.) *Mirror*, September 30, 1797.

THE FALL OF POLAND IN CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN OPINION

and William Lewden, Esqs., presiding, it is enough to say, that unity and harmony subsisted through the day, and after an agreeable dinner, the following toasts were drank:

13. A hearty welcome to General Kosciusko, to the United States of America.¹⁶

KOSCIUSZKO AT ELIZABETH, N. J.

Elizabeth-Town, October 9.

On Friday last arrived in this town, that warm friend of liberty and mankind, Gen. Kosciusko. He makes a stay of some time in this place.¹⁷

"HYLOGLYPHIC OF POLAND"

Prefixed to a geographical description of the *ci-devant Poland*, lately published at *Berlin*, there is a print representing that country by a tree stripped of its branches, and these, with the crown, sceptre, and sword, scattered at its feet. Upon two spraws remaining upon its right and left, the Russian and Prussian Eagles are perched; above them the Imperial; and over all, upon the bare top, the White Eagle of *Poland*, transfixed by an arrow, and reclining its head.¹⁸

"THE ENTERTAINMENT GIVEN BY THE CITIZENS OF NEW YORK TO JOHN ADAMS"

New York, Oct. 19.

Agreeably to arrangements an entertainment was yesterday given to the *President*, at the New City Assembly Room, *Broad-Way*.

Upwards of three hundred citizens were feated at this entertainment, prepared by Mr. Delacroix; which for elegance and taste has never been equalled in this city.

The chair was filled by Richard Varick, Esq., Mayor of the city.¹⁹ He was supported by Major Gen. Morris,²⁰ Mr. Lawrence, Senator from New York,²¹ Mr. Dayton, Speaker of the House of Representatives,²² Major General Gates, Brigadier General Hughes, and other distinguished characters.

After dinner the following toasts were drank.

¹⁶ *Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, October 3, 1797.

¹⁷ *Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, October 7, 1797; *Kentucky Gazette*, November 11, 1797.

¹⁸ *Massachusetts Mercury*, October 10, 1797.

¹⁹ Richard Varick (1753-1831), Revolutionary soldier, Attorney General of the State of New York in 1789-1791; Mayor of the city in 1791-1801.

²⁰ Jacob Morris (1755-1844), Revolutionary soldier, distinguished himself at the defense of Fort Moultrie.

²¹ John Lawrence (1750-1810), Revolutionary soldier and statesman. In 1777, he became Judge-Advocate General of the Continental Army and in this capacity presided over the trial of Major John Andre. He represented New York in the Senate of the United States in 1796-1799.

²² Jonathan Dayton (1760-1824), American statesman, Speaker of the House of Representatives for two terms between 1793-1797; was elected to the Senate of the United States in 1799.

8. Kosciusko—May private Friendship and public Honor soothe the wounds he has received in the cause of Freedom.²³

“KOSCIUSKO”

Among the principles which cherish virtuous pride among nations, no one is more worthy of general commendation, than that which prompts us to relieve the unfortunate. This trait should adorn the character of every man; much more it should adorn the character of Americans.

In the list of those whom misfortune, talents, and virtue, have consecrated to immortality, the great and good Kosciusko shines with peculiar distinction. If to wish a nation happy be considered as an evidence of an upright and expanded heart, what tribute of esteem, what measure of affection, shall not virtue and intelligence bestow on him, who first planned a revolution, and then animated patriotism to the most vigorous efforts, by exertions which never relaxed, by services which grew with danger.

The revolution of Poland, some little time since, seemed to be effected. Then the voice of virtue was alone heard; success had intitled it to universal applause, and they, who wavered while its issue was uncertain, united to swell the notes of admiration which floated through the universe. 'Twas a splendid era in human happiness, and the eloquence of history was prepared to erect an immortal monument to the statesman and the hero who gave it birth. In this monument, the largest and most elevated niche was reserved for Kosciusko.

But the scene changed.—The eye of despotism cast is malignant glance on Poland, happy in its freedom, and still happier in anticipated blessings; for he, whose valor had been the shield of his country's rights, now drew on the resources of a mind, liberal, accomplished, and enlarged, in order to profit from the experience of other nations. A system of general education was begun under the auspices of KOSCIUSKO, whose heart always delighted more in civil than military fame. This formed but a part of a splendid system of legislation, which required many years to revolve. Few of these years had passed before the spirit of reform was supplanted by the spirit of despotism, and virtue and bravery were surrounded by chains and buried in dungeons. Among its victims was KOSCIUSKO, and his faithful friend NIM SAV-AITY,²⁴ who has had the happiness to rejoice with him in prosperity, and to sympathize with him in misfortune.

He, who would know KOSCIUSKO, must view him in the character of a man, a hero, a statesman, and a philosopher.

As a man, he is benevolent and cheerful, alive to every social virtue. As a hero, he is brave without rashness, and only ready

²³ *Massachusetts Mercury*, October 27, 1797.

²⁴ Niemcewicz.

to draw his sword in defense of human happiness. As a statesman, he is the friend of national reform. As a philosopher, his views are enlarged, enlightened, and philanthropic.

In all these relations, in which he stands towards his fellow men, he is lively, sometimes enthusiastic in his sentiments. Having contemplated in a thousand instances the triumphs of enlightened virtue; he considers man as artificer of his own happiness, and deems it his own fault that he is not happy.—Yet KOSCIUSKO, with all his benevolence, and his extensive acquisitions of knowledge, (for he is equally great in his acquaintance with men and books of all nations) is not, perhaps, himself perfectly happy. Though amidst the gaiety of social intercourse, his brow is unclouded with care, and his conversation is sprightly and interesting, yet his feelings delight in soliciting indulgence, or in yielding themselves to the sympathy of friendship. His thoughts all centre in his country's unhappy fate. He had at one time realized the hope of seeing her happiness. The hope has vanished, and with it departed some of his happiest hours. He knows, he feels that his intention was good, was god-like. He has lost a fortune, which would alone have given him rank in society, and have surrounded him with every possible pleasure. This, however, he scarcely regrets. All his misfortune is, that he has lost his country.

Citizens of America, you have before you the portrait of a man worthy of your love and entitled to your applause. Next to the love and applause of his own country, he will value your love and applause. Watch, then, over his future happiness, and let him always find himself in the bosom of peace and friendship.²⁵

“ADDRESS TO KOSCIUSKO, LATE COMMANDER IN CHIEF
OF THE ARMIES OF POLAND AND DEFENDER
OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN.”

Hail, noble patriot, brave illustrious chief,
By tyrants exil'd from the native land;
The generous bosom swells with tender grief;
To see fell despots o'er thy right command.

When thou beheld'st thy injur'd country groan
Beneath the rod of stern oppressive pow'r;
When from the monarch's sanguinary throne,
The gathering cloud began to burst and low'r;

Then virtue mov'd thee to espouse her cause,
Thy counsel and thy martial aid to lend;

²⁵ *Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, October 3, 1797; *The Independent Chronicle and Universal Advertiser*, October 5, 1797; *The (Washington, Ky.) Mirror*, November 25, 1797.

To break the rod of arbitrary laws,
Her sons to rescue and her rights defend.

Awhile enwrap in glory's fulgent blaze,
Thou led'st her band against the insulting foe:
In fields of blood thou found'st immortal praise,
While laurel wreathes entwin'd thy sacred brow.

But that blest day, ere time, by fate decreed,
Had not arriv'd, when from thy tyrant's chain,
The Polish empire rising shall be freed,
And liberty erect her hallow'd sane.

Yet heaven assents thou safely should enjoy,
That happiness for which thou fought in vain—
The spouting seeds of slav'ry to destroy—
The peaceful blessings for the Poles to gain.

Columbia's ports their bosoms wide expand,
Inviting thee to seats of joy and rest;
The sons of freedom hail thee to their land,
And blooming virgins sing thee ever blest.

Tho' fortune frown'd, she smiles on thee once more.
And brings thee to this seat of balmy peace;
Welcome! thrice welcome to this happy shore,
Here let thy gloomy cares and sorrow cease.

The first of heroes, mighty WASHINGTON,
Invites thee to the scenes of Vernon's mount;
Go, noble chief, be his adopted son,
And lose thy toils in pleasure's chrystal fount.

When seraphs bear thy spirit to the skies,
Poetic numbers shall record thy fame;
Around thy tomb, eternal trophies rise,
And stamm'ring infants learn to lisp thy name.

DELLA EURANADDA. ²⁶

KOSCIUSZKO STILL VERY SICK.

New York, November 25.

General Kosciusko remains at the House of Gen. White in New Brunswick; he is disabled by his wounds and fatigues as to be incapable of moving without assistance. ²⁷

²⁶ *The Independent Chronicle and Universal Advertiser*, November 16, 1797.

²⁷ *Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser*, November 28, 1797.

THE FALL OF POLAND IN CONTEMPORARY AMERICAN OPINION

THE DEATH OF THE LAST POLISH KING.

Died at Petersburg (Russia), on the 12-th Feb. last Stanislaus, the late King of Poland. ²⁸

KOSCIUSZKO IN FRANCE.

Paris, July 6.

A letter from Bayonne says that general Kosciusko arrived there from America on 10-th Messidor (June 28). He is said to have been received with the greatest honors. ²⁹

Paris, 3 Thermidor, July 21.

The gallant KOSCIUSKO assisted on the 14-th, at the sitting of the council of Five Hundred. When the PRESIDENT, speaking of the misfortune of *Poland*, said they would not last forever, as the illustrious defender of *Sarmatian* liberty had returned to Europe, KOSCIUSKO seemed deeply affected, and his eyes were full of tears. ³⁰

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO THADDEUS KOSCIUSKO.

Philadelphia, Feb. 21, 1799.

...May heaven have in store for your country a restoration of these blessings, ³¹ and you be destined as the instrument it will use for that purpose. But if this be forbidden by fate, I hope we shall be able to preserve here an asylum where your love of liberty and disinterested patriotism will be forever protected and honored, and where you will find, in the hearts of the American people, a good portion of that esteem and affection which glow in the bosom of the friend who writes this... ³²

POLAND IS NO MORE AND SOON TO BE FORGOTTEN.

Poland is no more.—Its *Stanislaus* is dead—its nobles scattered abroad; — and that it ever existed, will speedily only be remembered by the Historian, the Geographer, or the News-monger. ³³

²⁸ *Columbian Centinel*, May 12, 1798.

²⁹ *Kentucky Gazette*, October 3, 1798.

³⁰ *Columbian Centinel*, September 29, 1798.

³¹ I. e. freedom and order.

³² Andrew A. Lipscomb, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. X. p. 116.

³³ *Columbian Centinel*, November 23, 1799.

THE END



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