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## THE POLISH REVOLUTION.

### England's Note to the Czar of Russia.

EARL RUSSELL TO LORD NAPIER.

FOREIGN OFFICE, April 10, 1863.

My Lord: Her Majesty's Government think it incumbent upon them to state once more to the Government of his Majesty, the Emperor of Russia, the deep interest which, in common with the rest of Europe, they take in the welfare of the Kingdom of Poland.

The general sympathy which is felt for the Polish nation might of itself justify her Majesty's Government in making, in favor of the Polish race, an appeal to the generous and benevolent feelings of his Imperial majesty, who of late, by various and important measures of improvement and reform, manifested an enlightened desire to promote the welfare of all classes of his subjects. But with regard to the Kingdom of Poland, her Majesty's Government feel that the Government of Great Britain has a peculiar right to make his opinions known to that of his Imperial Majesty, because Great Britain having in common with Austria, France, Prussia, Portugal, Spain and Sweden, been a party to the treaty of Vienna of June, 1815, her Majesty's Government are entitled to interpose with regard to any matter which may appear to constitute a departure from the provisions and stipulations of that treaty.

By the first article of the treaty the Grand Duchy of Warsaw was erected into a kingdom of Poland, to be inseparably attached to the empire of Russia under certain conditions specified in that article; and her Majesty's Government are concerned to have to say that, although the union of the kingdom to the empire has been maintained, the conditions on which that union was distinctly made to depend have not been fulfilled by the Russian Government.

The Emperor Alexander, in execution of the engagements contracted by the treaty of Vienna, established in the kingdom of Poland a national representation, and national institutions corresponding with the stipulations of the treaty. It is not necessary for her Majesty's Government now to observe upon the manner in which those arrangements were practically administered from that time down to the revolt in 1830. But upon the suppression of that revolt by the success of the Imperial arms those arrangements were swept away and a totally different order of things was by the Imperial authority established.

Prince Gortchakoff argues, as his predecessors in office have on former occasions argued, that the suppression of that revolt canceled all the engagements of Russia in the treaty of Vienna with regard to the Kingdom of Poland, and left the Emperor of Russia at full liberty to deal with the Kingdom of Poland as with a conquered country, and to dispose of its people and its institutions at his will. But her Majesty's Government cannot acquiesce in a doctrine which they deem so contrary to good faith, so destructive of the obligation of

... treaties, and so far as to all the interbarities which bind together the community of European States and Powers.

If, indeed, the Emperor of Russia had held Poland as part of the original dominions of his Crown, or if he had acquired it by the unassisted success of his arms, he could have concluded that might was equivalent to right, and, without listening to the dictates of generosity and justice, he might have punished a temporary revolt of a portion of his Polish subjects by depriving the whole of them and their descendants forever of those privileges and institutions which his predecessor had deemed essential to the welfare and prosperity of the Polish Kingdom.

But the position of the Russian sovereign with regard to the kingdom of Poland was entirely different. He held that kingdom by the solemn stipulation of a treaty made by him with Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Portugal, Spain and Sweden; and the revolt of the Poles could not release him from the engagements so contracted, nor obliterate the signatures by which his Plenipotentiaries had concluded and he himself had ratified those engagements.

The question, then, having arisen whether the engagements taken by Russia by the treaty of Vienna have been and are now faithfully carried into execution, her Majesty's Government, with deep regret, feel bound to say that this question must be answered in the negative.

With regard to the present revolt, her Majesty's Government forbear to dwell upon that long course of action, civil, political and military, carried on by the Russian Government within the kingdom of Poland, of which the Poles so loudly complain, and to which they refer as the causes which occasioned, and in their opinion, justified their insurrection. Her Majesty's Government would rather advert to the much wished for termination of these lamentable troubles.

What may be the final issue of this contest it is not, indeed, for her Majesty's Government to foretell; but whether the result shall be the more extended spread of the insurrection, and its assumption of dimensions not at present contemplated, or whether, as is more likely, that result shall be the ultimate success of the Imperial arms, it is clear and certain that neither result can be arrived at without a calamitous effusion of blood, a great sacrifice of human life, and an extensive devastation of property; and it is evident that even if Poland shall be reduced to subjection, the remembrance of the events of the struggle will long continue to make it the bitter enemy of Russia, and a source of weakness and of danger, instead of being an element of security and of strength.

Her Majesty's Government therefore most earnestly entreat the Government of Russia to give their most serious attention to all the foregoing considerations; and her Majesty's Government would beg, moreover, to submit to the Imperial Government that, besides the obligations of treaties, Russia, as a member of the community of European States, has duties of comity toward other nations to fulfill. The condition of things which has now for a long course of time existed in Poland is a source of danger, not to Russia alone, but also to the general peace of Europe.

The disturbances which are perpetually breaking out among the Polish subjects of his Imperial Majesty necessarily produce a serious agitation of opinion in other countries of Europe, tending to excite much anxiety in the minds of their Governments, and which might, under possible circumstances, produce complications of the most serious nature.

Her Majesty's Government, therefore, fervently hopes that the Russian Government will so arrange these

matters that peace may be restored to the Polish people and may be established upon lasting foundations.

Your Lordship will read this dispatch to Prince Gortchakoff, and you will give him a copy of it.

I am, etc ,

RUSSELL.

EARL RUSSELL AND BARON BRUNOW.

A second English dispatch of the same date contains the following important conversation between Earl Russell and Baron Brunow :

Baron Brunow asked me some questions as to the nature of the representations about to be made at St. Petersburg, and when I told him that the dispatch of her Majesty's Government was chiefly founded on the non observance of the stipulations of the treaty of Vienna, he expressed some satisfaction that we still founded our demands on the basis of the treaty. But there was one question he felt he was entitled to ask, and that was whether the communication her Majesty's Government were about to make at St. Petersburg was of a pacific nature.

I replied that it was, but that as I did not wish to mislead him, I must say something more. Her Majesty's Government had no intentions that were otherwise than pacific, still less any concert with other Powers for any but pacific purposes.

But the state of things must change. The present overture of her Majesty's Government might be rejected, as the representation of the 2d of March had been rejected by the Imperial Government. The insurrections in Poland might continue and assume larger proportions; the atrocities on both sides might be aggravated and extended to a wider range of country. If in such a state of affairs the Emperor of Russia were to take no steps of a conciliatory nature, dangers and complications might arise not at present in contemplation.

Baron Brunow said he could not call our former dispatch an overture. The intentions of the Emperor toward Poland were most kind and benevolent. But there were projects afloat for altering the map of Europe. In these projects compensations to Russia were included. Russia entered into none of these projects; she wanted no compensation; she held by the present territorial arrangements of Europe, and he (Baron Brunow) trusted Great Britain would do so likewise.

I said it was the wish of her Majesty's Government to do so. But Russia herself had in some cases been active in proposing and carrying into effect territorial changes; I trusted, however, that in the present case the Emperor of Russia, by granting an amnesty to those who would lay down their arms, and the benefits of free institutions to Poland, would put an end to the insurrection.

#### REPLY OF THE CZAR TO THE GREAT POWERS.

The Paris *Press* of May 1st gives the first interesting gleanings of the probable Russian answer :

On the 19th of April the Imperial Council met, under the Presidency of the Czar. All present seemed to agree that although the steps taken by the Powers might not seem to exercise pressure, inasmuch as the demands were not specified, still they were so far worse, as they served as an encouragement to the revolution. Considering the matter from this point, the communication aggravates the position without showing the way of solving the difficulty without self-abasement. Instead of endeavoring to stop the effusion of blood aimed at by the amnesty, the notes are a manifestation in the opposite direction—a calling to the Poles to continue the struggle against Russia instead of influencing the insurgents to lay down their arms.

to an interference in their favor. In the latter case Russia might have gone onward with the concessions; now such a thing is impossible without a total abdication. The last words are said to come from Prince Gortchakoff. Besides, continues the correspondent, from a practical point of view, that which the Powers demand is not so easily accomplished, inasmuch as between that which the insurgents demand and the Government can concede there is an impassable abyss. An independent army and the reincorporation of the quondam Polish provinces the Government would never consent to, and with less the Poles would not be satisfied. What could then be the aim of the notes? What practical clue can they offer to the solution? The correspondent, though admitting that these might not be the last words, guarantees the fact that this was the unanimous opinion of the Council up to the last date.

**THE CONTRABAND QUESTION.**—The solution of the National contraband puzzle seems to have fairly commenced. Eight thousand acres of valuable land in Virginia, opposite Washington have been seized, and appropriated to cultivation at the hands of the otherwise unemployed freedmen. Three hundred men, women and children have already found homes there. A little patch of ground will be set apart exclusively for each family, and stands will be provided in the market for them to sell their produce. Beyond this encouragement to self-support, the profits will accrue to the Government.

**THE NEW AMERICAN ARCTIC EXPEDITION.**—Captain Henry Robinson, a millionaire of Newburg (N. Y.), has just contributed largely toward the new expedition of Hall, the Arctic explorer, who leaves the States on a three years voyage to King William's Land and Boothia, Felix peninsula. The contribution consists of the fine, staunch yacht Victoria.

**FLUCTUATIONS IN STOCKS.**—The news of the opening of the Mississippi caused a decline of about two and a half per cent. on railway stocks, and three per cent. on gold, while Missouri State sixes rose three per cent. in Wall street, on the 25th of May.

**A BRUTE IN NEW YORK**—In New York, May 9th, the wife of James Berry was kicked to death by her husband. He was a painter by trade.

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