

# Democrat and Sentinel.

THE BLESSINGS OF GOVERNMENT, LIKE THE DEWS OF HEAVEN, SHOULD BE DISTRIBUTED ALIKE, UPON THE HIGH AND THE LOW, THE RICH AND THE POOR.

NEW SERIES.

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## Great Insurrection in Poland.

### PARTICULARS OF THE REVOLT—CAUSES OF THE OUTBREAK &c., &c.

#### THE POLISH INSURRECTION.

Railway and telegraphic communication with Warsaw had been again interrupted on the 29th at Petrikan. Communication was soon resumed, however, and according to Warsaw dispatches of the 29th via St. Petersburg, the city was perfectly quiet, and the insurrection had been effected in the provinces without hindrance. A detachment of Cossacks had made a successful sortie from Modlin, killing and capturing 36 insurgents and taking 42 prisoners.

WARSAW, Jan. 28.

Insurgents have received considerable reinforcements from the better classes of the city, including many from Warsaw. Insurgents captured some troops at Poleskow, including two Russian officers, who were immediately shot.

St. Petersburg, Jan. 30.

The *Journal de St. Petersburg* of this morning publishes a detailed account of events which have taken place in Poland.

While lamenting the large participation of the clergy in the revolt, the writer regrets the absence of the majority of the students.

Some hundred and fifty insurgents, who had crossed from Poland into the district of Bielsk. General Surovich has concentrated a detachment at Bielsk. The railway station at Bielsk, the first in the kingdom, has been seized by troops. Flying columns have been sent to protect the railway at Kovno and Wierzbnow (?), and to dislodge the insurgents from the environs of Brest Braby. Colonel Suckow attacked Bielsk yesterday in the woods of Belsk, Kostelnik, Stroumianska, and Szary. The rebels were put to flight, taking 38 prisoners—one a priest, the principal instigator of the movement in this district.

#### CAUSES OF THE INSURRECTION.

From the Warsaw Correspondence of the London Daily News, Jan. 20.]

The telegrams will have already informed you of the enforced conscription, under which a fresh instance of the relentless system of tyranny pursued by the Czar in this unhappy country. Recruiting has taken place in either Poland since 1856; but in the year of last year a decree was promulgated, regulating the manner of the conscription for 1863, so much at variance with the previous modes that it was styled an exceptional measure. It so proved to be, for instead of the conscripts being drafted from all parts of the population, they are exclusively limited to the students, the trades, and the manufacturing classes—in fact, to the intelligent part of the community. The landed proprietors and the peasants were exempted from conscription on the ground that new relations introduced between them by the government were not yet settled, and would be impaired by their absence, thus given to this new conscription a certain liberal character. But, such really were the cause of this exemption, why was it not extended to the provinces of the Russian empire, where those relations are much more difficult and complicated? And it would have been better at once to have decided the amount of the contingent to be furnished by the kingdom of Poland, which authorities were careful to avoid. It became evident that this new measure had for its object to excite jealousy between the different classes of the population, if not to set the one against another—a policy so familiar to the autocratic government—and to throw the weight of conscription upon those who had proved themselves obnoxious to the authorities during the last few years. The case of 1859, signed by the reigning Emperor, which decided that recruiting throughout the whole empire should be by lot, and made it peculiarly applicable to Poland, was, in the present instance, entirely disregarded, and an arbitrary designation of persons substituted. This conduct naturally excited the indignation, and even caused great dissatisfaction among the members of the State appointed by the government. The district councils, who were appointed to send delegates to the authorities, and to help them in carrying out the conscription, refused their co-operation; the municipal bodies protested against it; and Constantine to apprise him of the dangers likely to arise from so unjust a

measure; and numberless petitions were daily addressed to his highness imploring his attention to it. All was in vain—Get rid of these troublesome and unruly men I will, was his answer, and in it he remained inflexible. For a time it was thought that this law would be modified, from the silence purposely observed respecting it. But what was the surprise of the people on learning that a secret circular had been dispatched to the governor of the provinces containing, among others, the following instruction: "The main object," said the circular, "of this conscription is to rid the country of all the individuals apt to disturb public tranquillity." Lists were ordered to be prepared of the names of all persons suspected, without any regard to their bodily health or family circumstances, with a view of ridding; not the country, but the Russian government, of those who were most conspicuous in the late events; or, in other words, to decimate the young generation, and to deprive the national cause of its most active defenders. Nothing could have been more calculated to provoke a feeling of revenge than such dastardly conduct of the government, accompanied as it was by acts of the vilest atrocity. It was to M. Sigismund Wielopolski, as president of the municipal council (son of the Marquis Wielopolski), that the execution of this measure in Warsaw was confided. Fearing a popular outbreak the government increased the garrison of Warsaw to fifty thousand men, and the wives and families of the Russian officers had quietly the day before the recruiting been removed to the citadel. All was suspense and expectation; the doomed day was unknown, though the incessant movement of troops indicated its approach. At 11 o'clock p. m. of the 14th instant all the streets were occupied by the regiments of the guard, the cavalry having taken possession of the principal squares and making the patrols during the night. At midnight the police, accompanied by soldiers, all carrying lanterns, intoxicated with an extra allowance of spirits, suddenly rushed into the houses previously noted as being the residences of the rebels, and carrying off with them the victims designed on the fatal list. Wherever the person so designated to have been absent or made his escape, his father or brother was taken as a hostage. The Jews shared the fate of the Christians, and, as they were mostly married men, their lot is more pitiful. They were all conducted to the Town-hall, amid the shrieks, weeping and lamentations of their wives, children, and parents, from whence, in batches of twenty to twenty-five, they were transferred handcuffed to the citadel, to be sent to Siberia or the Caucasus. There was but little resistance offered, and this was soon put down, the greater part of them having submitted for the sake of their country to the ignominious lot. This was recommended them by a farewell appeal addressed to those "affected by the proscription." "The country," continued the appeal, "demands from you this sacrifice—the country who loses in you its most cherished children. The greatest proof of the devotion you can give is not to compromise its future by a premature effort. It is painful, we know, to drag far from your fatherland, a life of which every day is a terrible sacrifice; but you, who love so much your country, will find it easy. You will serve your country by infusing sentiments of freedom and humanity into the hearts of the Russian soldiers." The number lodged in the citadel is said to be 2,000, and the loss of so many hands to the trades and manufactures here is most inconveniently felt. All business is at a standstill, and the gloom, the execrations of the people, the sight of the old men, females, and children crying and despairing, presents at once a touching and a most lugubrious spectacle.

In the midst of this scene the Grand Duke Constantine rolled in his carriage through the streets of the city, bestowing his smiles upon these unfortunate beings, as if to intimate that his "will had been done," no matter at what cost of human suffering. What shocks us most in this barbarous conduct of the government is the official announcement in the *Gazette* that the men taken displayed the greatest willingness to fill the Russian ranks, and that some even volunteered into the service without being liable to it. This is a piece of barefaced hypocrisy which nothing can justify. Yesterday and to-day the proscription was renewed in the broad daylight by the policemen and soldiers, who arrested every young man in the streets, and who are again all-powerful in the city. Several

aged men, fathers of families, have been mistaken for the young and had to pay heavy bribes in order to obtain their liberty.

## Particulars of the Revolt.

[From the Warsaw correspondence of the Berlin National Zeitung, Jan. 25.]

I can only confirm my account of yesterday, that the country is in complete revolt. According to the arrangements of the revolutionary party, the outbreak was not to take place until May, but the government themselves have hastened the catastrophe by the unhappy recruiting movement. From all parts of the country come bad reports, one following the other. In Kielce and in Siedliczka provisional governments are established. Fighting has taken place at many points with varied results. All the telegraph lines are broken, and on the Warsaw and St. Petersburg and the Warsaw and Vienna railways the rails are torn up and carried off. On the Warsaw and St. Petersburg line the insurgents have burnt a bridge. All the lines have become insecure, and it will cost the government much trouble to become master of the movement. The insurgents seem to be about to carry on a guerrilla warfare. Already a great part of the Warsaw garrison have left the city. Here all is still quiet, but who can say for how long? The express post from Siedliczka arrived here yesterday, and brought the entrails of Gen. Tscherkassoff, who was killed by the rebels on the road hither from Siedliczka. The conductor reported that some miles from Siedliczka, not far from Biala, a column of about 1,000 men, armed with pikes and revolvers, showed themselves and called on him to stop. As he obeyed the summons, they demanded his list of passengers. When they saw the name of Gen. Tscherkassoff, they cried out "This is the man we want." They then opened the door and announced to the General, who was sitting within the carriage, that he was sentenced to die by the national committee, and immediately one of them fired his revolver at the General. The ball crashed through his head. They then dragged the body from the coach, cut out the stomach, tore out the entrails, threw them into the coach, and said to the conductor: "Take these to Prince Constantine, but we will keep the body to show our chief that we have faith fully carried out their orders." I can only add that General Tscherkassoff was nominated by the Prince to serve on the court-martial on the men accused of the murder at Chelm, and that he signed the sentence of death upon them. Such events occur daily. On the other hand, the general intendant of the army, General Sinielnickoff, who had 100,000 roubles with him, was met by the rebels, who fell upon him and sadly ill-used him. They disarmed the General, requested him to deliver the money, and gave him a receipt signed by the National Committee. So far the rebels; but more important is it for the extension of the revolt that all the landlords have declared to their peasants that they desire no rent from them, and that all the ground they hold is given to them for the future. The country people now begin to waver, and at many places they already make common cause with the rebels. Altogether it is estimated that 200,000 rebels are in the country. There has been fighting in the streets at Plock, and over night the Poles had taken possession of the town. In the morning, however, the surprised troops took courage and seized a number of the revolvers. Their leader, an advocate named Zegzda, shot himself. At Czenstochau the rebels met an escort of Cossacks, who had ten prisoners, disarmed them and released the prisoners. The Cossacks stripped them and let them go.

[From the London Times, Jan. 30.]

Everything that reaches us from Poland shows that the importance of the insurrection has not been exaggerated. That it may be put down by overwhelming military force we do not pretend to deny. But it will be not the less the furious rising of a people maddened by oppression against a government which, besides being that of the stranger, has carried into our reflective and humane age the policy by which fifty years ago it was thought legitimate to overawe and exhaust discontented provinces. The facts, as given by telegraph, shows that this is no mere local disturbance, the offspring of some imagined grievance, or, as the Emperor would have it, the effect of revolutionary preaching among the more heated of the people. Simultaneously, from one end of the country to the other, there has been a rising against Russian authority, and the fighting has been such as to prove that the insurgents, though they may despair of victory, are determined on revenge. The dispatches, which it must be remembered

are from Russian sources, show that the imperial troops have met with a fierce resistance wherever they have endeavored to disperse the rebels. Warsaw is, indeed kept quiet, but this city is the headquarters of a force probably as large as that which is dispersed through all England and Wales. But away from the capital it does not appear that tranquillity has anywhere been restored. At Plock and Siedliczka, towns far distant from each other, there have been collisions between the army and the insurgents, and in other places the Russians are said to have been compelled to retreat. Allowing, however, that in a short time these desperate bands will be driven from the neighborhood of the towns and from the open country, and compelled to carry on an irregular warfare from the shelter of the forests, it may be asked, what will the Russian government have gained? When the telegraph announces that the rebellion has been "suppressed," that "order" reigns in this or that city, and that the misguided leaders of the revolt have perished by the rope or bullet, or are dragging themselves chained two and two through the wastes of Russia to the unknown land from which they are never to return, how far will the position of the Czar be better than it was on the eve of the insurrection? There will be only a few thousand Poles the less, and in exchange for this advantage there will be another dreadful memory between the conquerors and the conquered. If anything has been heretofore done in the way of conciliation, if any portion of the people have been induced to acquiesce in Russian rule as something inevitable, or even to look upon the citizenship of a great Empire as some equivalent for the loss of nationality, a new revolt, suppressed with more bloodshed, and punished with greater severity than usual, must for years alienate them from the sovereign who only appears to them as a foreign enslaver.

## Speech of Mr. Pershing.

Delivered in the House of Representatives, January 30th 1863, in favor of the passage of Resolutions against Arbitrary Arrests, which were published some time ago.

MR. PERSHING. I must express my surprise at the manner in which this resolution is met by some gentlemen on this floor. It is true that the question does, as suggested by the gentleman from Lancaster, assume to some extent a party aspect. It is true that, out of the transactions which have come to our knowledge political capital may be made. I hope, sir, that political capital will be made out of them. But, if this should be the case, upon whom rests the responsibility? Whose fault is it that this question assumes a partisan aspect? Sir, it is the fault of the National Administration, by reason of the course which it has pursued. There is no man who can regret more than I do that the Administration has seen proper, in repeated instances, to indulge in these arbitrary arrests; because, sir, the practice is fraught with very great danger—it is not warranted by the Constitution or laws—it is calculated to bring the General Government into collision with the States. This is shown by the very fact that public feeling has become so much aroused on this subject that these arrests are now made in the hours of the night. Why? Either because the Government understands that in acts of this character it is doing that which is wrong—a mortally wrong and legally wrong; or else it fears to meet the people in their indignation when it thus arrests men without authority. Unless one or the other of these reasons influences the Administration in this matter, why select the night for this purpose? Now, sir, we have made it the boast of our government that it, more than any other government that ever existed, protects the individual rights of the citizen; and it does that in the manner indicated by the learned gentleman from Lancaster, by a separation of the legislative, the executive and the judicial departments, each being independent of the other, each exercising its own functions in its appropriate sphere. But it must be understood (and this is laid down as a principle by all our public writers, that of these three departments the judicial is the feeblest. This results from a variety of reasons, the most important of which is the fact that there is no political power attached to that department.

Now, sir, had the agents of the government pursued the course indicated by the gentleman from Lancaster, and taken Mr. Boileau before the courts—if some person had gone before the proper authority and made affidavit that Mr. Boileau had been guilty of some wrong, had perpetrated some wrong against the State or the Gen-

eral Government—had he been permitted, as provided by our Constitution, to meet his accusers face to face, with the opportunity of repelling their charges—had he been allowed to summon witnesses in his favor—if those constitutional safeguards which we all regard as sacred, had been respected—we would have had no right to complain. If Mr. Boileau be guilty of treason, or any other offence under the laws, try him as a traitor, and execute him as a traitor.

But, sir, how are these matters to get before the courts? Why was not the matter taken before the judicial tribunals that have cognizance of it? Why, sir, we all know that in cases of these arbitrary arrests heretofore, every effort on the part of the courts to obtain cognizance and control of the case has failed. Does not the gentleman know that in the case of one person imprisoned in Fort Warren, and of another confined in Fort Lafayette, the writ of *habeas corpus* was disregarded by the military authority, and the judiciary, being the feeblest department of the government, and having no power to enforce its authority, was compelled to yield to the superior strength of the military power.

Sir, I would ask what is government that tolerates these things worth to me—what is the government worth to me, if I can be accused by somebody in secret—some malicious fellow, who from some motive of personal animosity or revenge, may make accusations against me—accusations which may be true or false, possibly false—if I can thus be accused in secret, and be arrested in the night, and imprisoned in a fortress somewhere, without being allowed a hearing, civil or military, or an opportunity to produce those witnesses by whom I might be able to establish my innocence. For, sir, it is a fact that not one man of all those who have been imprisoned under this system of arbitrary arrests, has ever yet had a trial of any kind—not one. If even a military trial were allowed, there would be some alleviation of the outrage. Not one of these men has had even a military trial. They are confined without a hearing, and they ask in vain what they have done.

Gentlemen here say, "we do not know what this man has done; we are ignorant of the whole matter." Strange as it may seem, a citizen is dragged from the State, taken we know not where, and not a man on this floor can tell what offence is alleged against him. Every man asks, "what has he done? of what crime has he been guilty? Nobody is able to answer. And this ignorance of the nature of the offence or supposed offence, is urged upon this floor as a reason why these resolutions ought not to pass. Gentlemen say that they cannot support the resolutions, because they do not know anything about the matter. Why that is the strongest reason why the resolutions ought to pass—just because we do not know of what this man has been guilty, or with what he is charged—just because the vital question as to the liberty of the citizen rises far above the individual importance of Mr. Boileau—just because a citizen of the State has notoriously been dragged from his home and his business, and carried outside of the confines of the State, and nobody knows for what. That is the very reason why we should take action on this matter.

The gentleman from Lancaster has said very appropriately, that the different departments of this government ought to be kept separate and distinct. I say so too; but does the President keep them separate and distinct? Does the President, in the exercise of his power, pay any respect to the judicial authority? Does he not arrogate to himself both executive and judicial functions? What is the need of a judicial department, if any executive can thus encroach upon it at his mere pleasure? Why, sir, it is impeaching the integrity of the judiciary of Pennsylvania, and charging the people of our State with disloyalty, when we are not permitted to try within our own borders our own citizens against whom any crime may have been alleged. Has our judiciary done anything to warrant this imputation upon them? Will anybody undertake to say that the people of Pennsylvania are disloyal? Will that charge be made by any representative on this floor?—Yet it is not virtually made by the course of the administration? Is not disloyalty charged upon the whole State, and are not the judicial tribunals impeached as derelict in their duty, when our citizens are dragged away and not permitted to have a public trial, as provided by law?

It appears to me that our rulers, in reference to this matter, are struck with judicial blindness. They are doing that which is calculated to make the north a

divided people. Everything should be done by the Administration to make the north a unit in this great struggle. We cannot afford to be divided at home. Yet I say that the course which the Federal Administration is pursuing, is calculated to make the north a divided people—to excite feelings (I do not say in a spirit of bravado, I say in a spirit of sorrow) which may yet lead to bloodshed—may yet lead to revolution in the north.

Why, sir, we appear to be retrograding, instead of advancing. You remember that, when Paul was a prisoner in the power of Festus, he appealed to the Emperor of Rome; and Festus brought him before Agrippa for examination, "because," said he, "it seemeth unreasonable to send a prisoner and not withal signify the charges that are laid against him." Now, sir, that was a noble sentiment. Yet what that heathen in a heathen age, under a despotic government, was ashamed to do, Christian men under a Christian government and free institutions are doing every day. We are absolutely retrograding, instead of advancing, in reference to this question of individual rights.

Now, sir, with regard to this subject of illegal arrests, there are, I know, gentlemen on this floor whose judgment condemns those arrests, but who feel constrained by the spirit of party to withhold their support from such a resolution as this. In this view, I am sorry that the question has taken a party turn. I know that those gentlemen, having aided to bring the Administration into power, naturally feel a desire that it should be successful. That spirit is entirely commendable; it is the natural feeling of any man in such circumstances. Those gentlemen, therefore, whose judgment condemns these arbitrary arrests, feel constrained, by the spirit of party, to interpose objection to a resolution of this nature. I am ready to admit that the phraseology of the resolution might be improved, but the question is not as to the phraseology but the subject matter. Are gentlemen opposed to the phraseology and in favor of the object contemplated by the resolutions? or are they opposed to the object itself?

I am glad, sir, to find that able and leading men of the Republican party are beginning to condemn these arbitrary arrests—such men, for instance, as Trumbull, of Illinois, whose Republicanism cannot be doubted. Hale, of New Hampshire, has also raised his voice against them; and John Sherman, of Ohio, has recently made a noble speech in support of the rights of the citizens. A gentleman beside me suggests also the name of Judge Curtis, whose legal attainments are acknowledged throughout the land.

Now, sir, I do not intend to detain the House by reading extracts, but I will call attention to the language used by Mr. Sherman, a few weeks ago: "If these cases," said he, "are not tried before the proper tribunals, they will be tried before the people, and to the damage of the Administration—they will be tried somewhere." Yes, sir, you may deprive these men of the right of trial by jury guaranteed by the Constitution; you may shut them up in your bastilles, without allowing them to know of what they are accused; but these cases will be tried somewhere—they will be brought before the great tribunal of the people at the ballot box—unless the ballot box should also be taken from us. Mr. Sherman goes on to say (I think this is his very language, because I do not wish to misquote him)—"Sir, this is a fearful power. No arrest should be made of any citizen in a loyal State, unless there is no remedy, and an immediate arrest is demanded by the public safety." Why, sir, how mistakes have been committed in this matter—known and acknowledged mistakes—known and acknowledged instances of wrongful arrest and imprisonment. Not long since an aged commander of our army was relieved from the command of his department at Baltimore, for the reason that he had arrested a number of loyal citizens—men whose loyalty was established beyond doubt—and had sent them to Fort Delaware without trial. How long is it since a respectable citizen of this town was arrested in just the same way and imprisoned without trial? How long are these things to continue, and how are we to obtain a remedy? A resort to the courts is denied us. This interposition of judicial authority is set at defiance.

In connection with this subject, I may say a word in reference to the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*. I know that the President has issued his proclamation by which he assumes to suspend the privileges of that writ. But I take it that the writ of *habeas corpus* was intended to relieve the citizens from illegal imprisonment. The object was, that