

lieve one of you would have cared a rush.—Well, here I am, you see, in spite of the murderous crew, and for all Jerry Pierce's fine story, I'll have blood for blood before all's over. Now that his partner in crime is out of the way, he thinks to get out of the scrape by lying, but he'll find that lying won't save his neck." "But if he has good evidence, Mr. Esmond?" suggested Moran.

"He evidence," repeated the old man scornfully; "he has no evidence that will be worth a button—that I'll answer for."

"Haven't I Tom Mulligan and Barney Breen?—you're forgetting that, Mr. Esmond?"

Here the sound of carriage-wheels was heard without, and Aunt Winifred, going to the window, said—"Talk of *somebody* and he'll appear—there's Tom Mulligan now, come with the carriage for Henrietta."

"Bring him in, then, at once," said young Mrs. Esmond.

"But do you hear, you Pierce!" said Mr. Esmond, "not a word—not a look at Mulligan—mark me, now!"

Pierce had only time to nod assent when the door opened, and in came Tom Mulligan, looking confused and bewildered. He had heard nothing of what had occurred, till he drove up and saw the police at the door, then learned from a groom in answer to his brief inquiry, that 'Jerry Pierce was within.' That was the amount of his knowledge when the summons to the parlor came to complete his bewilderment. What he saw there was not calculated to re-assure him. His eyes fixed first on his former fellow-servant, and he involuntarily exclaimed—

"Ah then, Jerry, my poor fellow, is this the way you did, at last—sure didn't I tell you how it'd end, if you didn't take advice."

Pierce made no answer, but Mr. Esmond called out in his sternest tones—

"Never mind Pierce, but tell us what you know of the murder of your master."

This put Mulligan all in a tremor.

"Is it me, your honor?—is it me know anything of the murder?—Lord save us and bless us, what'd I know of it?"

"Come, come, now, Mulligan, tell the truth," said Mr. Moran gently but firmly; "we know that you have some knowledge of how it happened, and we must hear it."

Still Mulligan spoke not—his great round eyes vainly seeking some instruction from those of Jerry Pierce, but Jerry Pierce took care to look every way but at him.

"Dolt!" cried Mr. Esmond stamping on the ground, "why do you not speak?"

"Why, then, that I mayn't sin, Mr. Esmond," began poor frightened Mulligan, then, by a sudden impulse he addressed himself to Jerry—

"Wisha, Jerry, man alive, what'll I say, at all?"

"Tell the truth—every word of it," said Jerry in his deep quiet voice, "as if you were going before your God—*Tim's dead now himself*, and he laid it on me to tell all."

"Tim's dead!" shouted Mulligan, much excited, "and they can't hang you because you're as innocent as the child unborn—oh, then, it's myself'll tell every word of it now—and no mistake!"

"Compose yourself now," said Dean McDermott, "and tell us what you say and heard the night you went out to look—to look for your master."

"I will, your reverence; I'll tell it word for word as it was at my confession I was."

He then proceeded to narrate the occurrences of that fatal night as far as they came under his knowledge, and his account was found to tally in every, even the smallest particular, with that of Jerry Pierce. With the single exception of Mr. Esmond, all present testified their satisfaction, and openly expressed their conviction of Pierce's innocence.

True to his own harsh character, Mr. Esmond gruffly commanded Mulligan to leave the room. The poor fellow obeyed, not unwillingly, but very timidly; as he closed the door he heard Pierce say—

"Mr. Esmond, I hope you're not vexed with Mulligan?"

"That's my business—not yours," was the answer.

"Have you any more to say?"

"Not a word, your honor; not a single word more."

"In that case, Moran, you may as well tell the sergeant to step in."

Here an angry chorus of remonstrance arose from the ladies.

"My goodness, Harry, you're not going to send him to prison?" said his wife.

"If you do, I'll never forgive you, Harry Esmond—never, never!" cried Miss Esmond.

"Dear me, Mr. Esmond, how could you think of such a thing?" from Mary Hennessy.

Henrietta Esmond arose, though with difficulty, from her seat, her face now pale, now flushed—every eye was fixed upon her as she crossed the room in the now deepening twilight. She stopped in front of Jerry Pierce, and then spoke in a voice broken and tremulous as the ripple of the ocean wave—

"Jerry Pierce," said she, "as the party most concerned in the sad story you have told—as the widow of Harry Esmond—I think it right to assure you that I believe every word you have spoken—I believe you did what you could to avert the dread catastrophe which your fears foresaw, and for that you will accept my heartfelt thanks. I know, too, but for you another Esmond would have gone to his account as suddenly as my poor husband—for that, too, I thank you!" she paused, and Dean MacDermott spoke.

"And for the honor done our common nature by your heroic fortitude—your generous devotion to your guilty relative and his family, I thank you Jerry Pierce!" and taking his hand he shook warmly, whilst the tear that trembled in his eye told the depth and sincerity of devotion.

"Well!" said Kate Costelloe coming forward, "if everybody thanks him for something or another, I have to thank him for not killing the young master, because there is one black villain less than I thought. And Jerry Pierce, before

all the quality, I humbly ask your pardon for all I said to you, and all the hard names I called you this while back, and for coming here a-purpose to get you taken."

"And was that what brought you here?" screamed the Vanthees. "Oh, the curse of the crows on you for an old rap, wasn't it enough for you to hang—"

"Mother! mother!" said Jerry Pierce laying his hand on her mouth, "don't talk that way—let the poor woman alone—sure she was only doing what she thought she had a right to do—and she would, too, if I had been guilty, as she thought I was—let her alone now and for ever."

"I will, Jerry, I will, aroon; when you bid me,"—and the crone wiped her eyes with a dilapidated old apron; "but—but—" she darted a fiery look at Cauth, "but—I'll not forget it to her!"

"Couldn't I say a word, Mr. Esmond?" inquired Bryan timidly.

"Yes, what have you got to say? But mind, I've a crow to pluck with you for harboring Jerry Pierce on the Rock when you had every reason to suppose him guilty of horrible murder!"

"But sure I didn't suppose him guilty, Mr. Esmond," said Bryan anxiously, "indeed, I did not, your honor. He knows himself that the first time I got sight of him there I was frightened most out of my wits, just for fear he'd be hiding himself there. I followed him from place to place among the ruins till I came on him at last, and then he told me how it was—only making me promise that I'd never give information again poor Tim. From that out, I own I did give him the run of the Rock, and I'm not sorry for it now, though I ask your honor's pardon, Mr. Esmond, if you think I done wrong!"

"Humph! I see I'm left to a minority of one," said Mr. Esmond, looking round with a scowl of defiance: "still I'll do my duty. Here Sergeant Kellett, that personage had just appeared at the door, "here is your prisoner," pointing to Pierce, who made no effort at resistance as the rigid policeman placed his hand on his arm.

"Go home, mother," said he to the old woman, "and don't fear for me—if man is ungrateful, God is not, and He'll protect me! Not a word now, for my sake, I ask it!"

He was led away to prison in virtue of the warrant issued months before for his apprehension. The party left behind were proceeding to comment on the strange scene just witnessed, lamenting in no measured terms that Jerry Pierce should have been sent to prison. They were silenced by a stern "It couldn't be helped!" from Mr. Esmond, who soon after left the room and appeared no more that evening.

(To be continued.)

THE POLISH INSURRECTION.

LECTURE OF MR. WILLIAM SMITH O'BRIEN. (Concluded from our last.)

The City of Warsaw is one of the finest Capitals of Europe, and as the manners of its inhabitants are social and genial, it ought to be a most agreeable place of residence; but, alas! the enjoyments of social life have been blighted by the accursed tyranny to which its inhabitants are subject. During more than two years—that is, since the massacres took place in Warsaw in 1861—the men and women of Poland have not only worn the sable dress which indicates a general mourning, but they have abstained from all social pleasures. During more than two years the theatres have been closed—no dances, no one sings, for to sing the National hymn is an offence which is punished as a crime by the Russian police, and during a period of general mourning who can sing strains which bespeak gladness of heart? This mourning was at first adopted as a homage to the memory of those who fell for the sake of Poland, but it has of late been also the outward demonstration of individual bereavement. The nation who were mourning for her country a year ago now wears it in testimony of grief for the loss of a darling child; and the daughters of Poland now hang their harps by the waters of the Vistula, because those whom they loved are no more. Having brought with me letters of introduction from Cracow to influential persons, I at once obtained access to some of the most distinguished of the Polish nobility. Knowing that they could repose entire confidence in the sympathy and honour of an Irish gentleman, they spoke to me without reserve. I do not think it advisable to repeat all that I heard at Warsaw and elsewhere, but I feel bound to declare that in my intercourse with society I have never met with gentlemen more courteous, more refined, more intelligent, and more humane than these members of the aristocracy of Poland. I may also add that many of them belonged to the moderate party who last year would have been disposed to make terms with the Russian government, if they could have obtained guarantees for the welfare and liberty of their country. The events of the last four months have rendered impossible any such accommodation, and now every one lives in expectation that he may become the next victim to the ruthless system of extermination which is carried on by the Russian government in Poland. It may well be conceived that such a state of affairs excites a feverish anxiety which destroys the happiness of life. In fact at present the forests are the only place in Poland in which a sense of security exists; for neither caution nor prudence can protect a Pole from arbitrary confiscation, exile or death, as long as he lives within reach of the functionaries of Russian rule. It is not surprising therefore that the young and vigorous should betake themselves to the forests, but fathers of families are compelled to await the fate which the caprice of Russia cruelty may inflict. On the other hand, it is satisfactory to know that the Russians are, as it were, besieged even in their strongholds. In few parts of Poland can a Russian detachment of fifty men make an excursion of ten miles with safety. At each station of the railway on which I travelled, I saw a military force which I could not estimate at less than two hundred men, and in many cases double that number, whilst the escort which accompanied the trains was never less than one hundred men, and in some places exceeded two hundred, so that an army is required to keep open the railway communication of Poland. I have been asked by several friends whether I think that the Poles have any chance of success in their present struggle against Russian power. It is difficult to answer this question, because it depends upon the amount of constancy that shall be displayed by the Poles, but I feel convinced that if they exhibit as much valour and constancy as were exhibited by the Greeks in their insurrection against the Turks, they are capable of driving the Russians out of Poland, provided that Austria and Prussia can be compelled to observe a strict neutrality, instead of acting as allies of the Russians. During the Polish insurrection of 1831, the insurgents endeavoured to fight upon the principles of ordinary warfare—that is, by occupying fortresses, and by meeting their antagonists in open plain:—It is obvious that this

system of warfare gives an advantage which is irresistible to the power that can bring the largest forces in the field. At that time the Poles were provided with munitions of war and held strong fortresses, yet were compelled to succumb to the superior forces of the Russians. But the system of guerrilla warfare which is now carried on in Poland gives a great advantage to an irregular force, even though it may be inadequately provided with arms and ammunition. If Warsaw were in possession of the Poles its defence would require a garrison of twenty thousand men, and in all probability this garrison of twenty thousand men, would after a few months be compelled to surrender in case the city were invested by the operation of a regular siege. Now a body of twenty thousand men distributed through the country in bands of four hundred men, would furnish not less than fifty separate bands who could harass and cut up the enemy whenever he could be encountered with advantage, whilst they could retreat and disperse whenever contest with a superior force became advisable. Until I went to Poland I did not understand the capabilities of defence which that country affords to guerrilla bands; but when I found, whilst travelling several hundred miles through the country, that an extensive wood or forest forms parts of every scene that meets the eye, my hopes for the success of the Poles became much more sanguine than they had previously been. It is obvious that to expose an undisciplined and half armed force in an open field to the action of artillery, and to the attack of certain masses and well armed troops, is to expose them to certain massacre and defeat; but in forest warfare artillery is useless, and the band which occupies a well chosen position is to receive the attack even of a superior force with hopes of success, and when the combat becomes a hand-to-hand encounter, the scythe is found to be a more formidable weapon than the bayonet. It seems to me possible, therefore, to carry on a guerrilla war during many summers—but almost all those with whom I conversed appeared to think that the guerrilla bands could not continue to occupy the forests during the winter. The conviction induces many who would otherwise desire that Polish liberty should be won by Polish valour alone to pray for the armed intervention of foreign powers in their behalf.

One of the noblemen with whom I made acquaintance at Warsaw, informed me that a Mr. O'Brien, who now bears the name of O'Brien de Lacy, possesses a large estate in Lithuania which was given to a member of the Anglo-Irish family of De Lacy for services rendered to Russia, and he strongly urged me to visit my namesake, offering me a letter of introduction to him, and assuring me that I should be received by him with an Irish welcome. My curiosity was excited by this announcement, and at the same time I was prompted by a desire to see what was passing in Lithuania. I was therefore resolved to act upon the suggestion which had been offered to me, and placing myself under the guidance of a Polish gentleman, who kindly undertook to protect me from the difficulties to which I should have been exposed, if I had travelled alone, in consequence of my ignorance of the Polish language, I accompanied him to Grodno, near which town the chateau of Mr. O'Brien de Lacy is situated. It being too late to proceed to this chateau after our arrival at Grodno, I was received as a guest by Count Victor Starzenki, to whom also I had brought a letter of introduction. As a variety of motives rendered me very anxious to return without delay to Ireland, I did not accept the invitation to remain with him which was offered to me by Mr. O'Brien, whom I visited on the day after my arrival; but I spent two days with Count Starzenki at Grodno. I was much interested by this visit. The circumstances under which Mr. O'Brien became possessor of one of the largest properties in Lithuania, about forty years ago, were very remarkable, and I found myself surrounded, whilst at Grodno, by persons whose present position is in the highest degree critical and precarious. Count Starzenki is a very able and I believe also a very estimable man. He was one of the marshals of the nobility of Lithuania, and formerly belonged to the moderate party who were anxious to keep up an amiable connection with Russia, whilst they sought to obtain guarantees for the good government of Poland, and to introduce social reforms which should ameliorate the condition of all classes of Polish society, and especially of the agricultural peasantry. He was so earnest in his endeavors to forward these views, that he undertook a journey not long ago to St. Petersburg, and obtained interviews not only with the Minister, but also with the Emperor, in the hope of inducing these exalted personages to adopt a policy which would conciliate the Polish nation. When he found that all his efforts were unavailing and that he could not adhere to the views of the Russian authorities without sacrificing the interests of his own country, he resigned his office in a manly and dignified manner. After that resignation he was commanded not to go outside the town of Grodno, and I perceive by the newspapers that within the last fortnight he has been transferred to the prison of Wilna, there to await the doom which may be inflicted upon him and upon his amiable family by Mouravieff, whose name has been recently brought under notice of the readers of English newspapers by the telegram which announced that he was about to fog with knout all Polish ladies who wear mourning. When I was in Lithuania, the name of this man, who has recently been appointed chief governor at Wilna, was mentioned with universal horror, for the inhabitants of this part of Poland bear in mind the atrocities which he committed during the insurrection of 1831, and expect from him similar proceedings in 1863. It was recently reported that he intended to commence his career by flogging women, and I doubt not that this expectation would have been realised if he had not been checked by the shout of indignation which arose in all parts of Europe as soon as this intention was proclaimed. He has, however, commenced his sanguinary career by assassinating in cold blood two of the gallant defenders of their country within one fortnight after his arrival at Wilna. I apply the word of assassination to the executions which are now taking place in different parts of Poland. The Poles are at war with the Russians, and are entitled to the rights of a belligerent nation—more especially since they are fighting on their own soil in defence of their homes and altars against foreign barbarians who began their rule with robbery and have continued it with violation of all the principles of national and individual freedom. Hitherto the Poles have borne to exercise reprisals. I was assured that they nurse wounded Russians with the same care that they bestow upon the wounded Poles and the official correspondence which has been laid before parliament mentions cases in which Russian officers have been spared by the Poles at a time when the greatest atrocities were perpetrated upon unoffending Poles by the Russians. It is obvious that this forbearance will not last for ever. If executions—that is, assassinations in cold blood—can only be checked by retaliation, the Poles will resort to reprisals. President Davis, who is now the executive chief of the Confederates of America, would have checked them long ago by hanging a Russian officer by way of retaliation for every Pole who has been executed in cold blood. A war which is carried on in such a spirit is greatly to be deplored, but in all ages, since the day when Moses smote the Egyptian, the lex talionis, retaliation has been held to be justifiable when all other modes of redress have been sought in vain. It appears now that the responsibility which attaches to the acts of Mouravieff is shared by the Emperor of Russia, and by his ministers. Let me ask any one who shall listen to the following instructions, whether a person appointed to carry them out could draw from them any other conclusion, than that his conduct would be approved and sanctioned, if he were to hang without trial all suspected persons—if he were to confiscate their estates—if he were to terrify families into submission by inflicting the torture of the knout upon women—or if he were to incite the peasantry

to murder and plunder their landlords, and their clerical pastors. The instructions to Gen. Mouravieff are as follows:—"St. Petersburg, May, 1863.

"His Imperial Majesty, attaching the highest importance to the immediate repression of the troubles which have arisen in some districts of the Lithuanian provinces, has condescended to appoint his Excellency General Mouravieff, Governor General and Commander-in-Chief of the army of the government of Wilna, &c. Knowing the hostile sentiments of the nobility of those provinces towards the Czar and Russia, his Excellency must employ the most energetic measures against those whom he supposes to be favourable to the rebellion. His Excellency must inform himself, through the marshals of the nobility, as to the feelings of the proprietors with regard to the Czar, and he must take such measures as he thinks fit against suspected individuals. His Excellency must by all the means in his power inform the peasants of the Czar's paternal intentions towards them, and show them that the proprietors are their enemies and oppressors. If his Excellency thinks it advisable he will give arms to those peasants who are attached to the Czar and to Russia. His Excellency must act with the greatest severity and energy against the present rebellion. He should have lists drawn up of suspected priests, and take against them the most energetic measures. As regards the rebels, his Excellency will shoot immediately all the chiefs who fall into his power, and will take the measures he deems advisable against the prisoners. If circumstances call for it, his Excellency can take measures against the families who have members in the hands of the insurgents. His Excellency ought to put down certain demonstrations on the part of women, and to prevent them he must adopt, even in their case, severe measures. If his Excellency does not find the forces now in Lithuania sufficient, he must immediately ask for reinforcements. Finally, his Excellency must use whatever means he deems necessary for immediate pacification, his Majesty having condescended to confer upon him full powers.

"Imperial Chancery."

To me, at least, it is positively disgusting to find in the reports of what passes in both Houses of the British Parliament, that several of the leading politicians of England repeat day after day compliments to the humanity of the Emperor of Russia, when it is well known in Poland that those Russian Generals and Commanders who commit and sanction the most barbarous atrocities, instead of being reprimanded or recalled, are viewed with peculiar favour at the Court of St. Petersburg.

I shall conclude what I have had to say respecting my recent visit to Poland, by adding that I proceeded from Grodno to Wilna, and after having spent two nights in that beautiful town, I went by way of Kowno, to Konigsberg, which, as is well known to my audience, is one of the principal cities of Prussia. Touched to the heart by what I had seen, and impressed with the deepest solicitude for the fate of Poland, and animated by an earnest desire to be useful to the Poles, I wrote at Konigsberg that appeal on their behalf which first appeared in a Belgian newspaper, as translated by Belgian friends, and which has subsequently been printed in its original language in several of the Irish newspapers. I now come to the question for the resolution of which we are assembled here to-night. Taking for granted that a large majority of those who are here present are convinced that the Poles are engaged in a struggle which is just and holy, we have to ask ourselves in what way Ireland can best assist that just and holy cause. Before I attempt to answer this question I must first observe, that I place no reliance whatever upon the diplomatic action which has hitherto been brought to bear upon the bloody strife that now exists between Poland and Russia. Had Europe been permitted to follow the first impulse of its sympathy without being mystified by diplomatic interference, some effective means would have been discovered for rendering that sympathy practically useful to Poland; but when the statesmen of England, Austria, and France undertook to negotiate with Russia on the subject of Poland, the friends of that country naturally said, "Let us await the result of their negotiations before we resort to any ulterior proceedings." I need not analyse the correspondence with which this diplomatic game was opened, for every who reads the notes which were addressed by the three powers to Prince Gortschakoff, and his answers to these notes, must have felt that all the writers who took part in this correspondence were striving to produce results very different from those for which the Poles are exposing their lives and fortunes in the forest and in the field. It was, in short, from first to last, a slimy piece of cajolery—a mere diplomatic comedy. We now behold a phase of negotiation, which seems to me, at least, to be equally illusory. In order to judge what will be the probable result of these negotiations, let us endeavour to understand perfectly the position and interests of those powers which have undertaken to deal with this question. First—I would ask whether any one can believe that Austria, which has made the proposals that are now under consideration, is really desirous that the Poles should succeed in their insurrection. The Poles do not want reform—they do not want paper constitutions, which will be violated before the ink with which they are written is dry—they do not want municipal administration—they do not want an improved law for recruitment—they want to drive the Russians out of Poland and to re-establish their national independence within the territory which belonged to Poland in the year 1772. Now, as Austria was one of the bandits who shared largely in the spoil which was obtained by the successive partitions of Poland—that is, by the acquisition of Galicia, and by kidnapping the city of Cracow, it is not to be expected that Austria should desire to reconstruct a kingdom with which the Poles of Galicia and of Cracow will naturally desire to be again associated. The Emperor of Austria affects now to govern upon constitutional principles, but he knows that several of the states which he governs are waiting an opportunity to throw off the yoke of Austria, and it might have been unsafe to prove a revolt by openly engaging himself with Russia against Poland; but I am convinced that even the King of Prussia would not regret more than the Emperor of Austria the re-establishment of Polish independence. The proposals, therefore, recently made by the Austrian Government, though suspicious in appearance, seem to me to be only an indirect stratagem for defeating the efforts now made by the Poles to regain their independence. It is not so easy to divine what is the real desire of the English people in regard to Poland. I incline to think that they would wish that the Poles should recover their national independence, but that they are not disposed to make any sacrifice whatever for this object. Assuredly, the operations of the British Government have hitherto tended to perplex rather than to assist the champions of Polish rights. Speeches have been uttered in parliament which have left an impression that the British ministers, as the British public, approve of the insurrection, but the diplomatic action of the British ministers has been favourable to Russia rather than Poland. As we have not seen the last despatches I can only reason upon the statements which have been made by Lord Palmerston to Parliament. From these data it appears that the English minister begins by asking the Poles to lay down their arms, whilst he offers humble remonstrances in their favor. Now, the Emperor Alexander offered an amnesty to all who would lay down their arms before the 13th of May, and not a single Pole asked for an amnesty on these terms. A few days before I arrived at Warsaw one of the high-souled heroes of the insurrection was executed—that is, assassinated in cold blood. I was told that his life would have been spared if he had condescended to signify contrition, and to ask for mercy. Is it to be supposed that the Poles will give up all the objects for which their life-blood has been poured out like water in reliance upon the media-

torial efforts of England? Is it fair, thus, to endeavor to dupes them into submission? It appears also that the English ministers limit their demands to fulfilment of the stipulations of the treaty of Vienna, in reference to what is called the "Kingdom of Poland," and make no demands in favour of the exterior provinces which formerly belonged to Poland, though, as in the case of Lithuania, the insurrection has been espoused by the inhabitants of those provinces which lie beyond the limits of the kingdom, with as much zeal as by the inhabitants of that portion of Poland to which the English minister is disposed to lend his protection. It matters little however, what may be the tenor of the communications made by the English cabinet to the Russian Government, as long as it is understood in Russia that England will in no case go to war for the sake of Poland. Prince Gortschakoff will probably receive a lecture from Lord Russell with due humility, or he may, perhaps, reciprocate his lordship's didactic lessons, by sending him a homily upon the government of Ireland or of India, but the claw of the Russian Eagle will be withdrawn from the vitals of Poland only when England and France, assisted by Italy and Sweden, and supported also by several of the minor states of Europe, shall say to the Muscovite, "Stand back! robber! return within the natural limits of Muscovite dominion. Your government has been tried in Poland during fifty years, and after that trial it has become a terror and a curse—the object of universal abhorrence and execration. We cannot permit the centre of Europe to be perpetually convulsed by your misdeeds. We shall, therefore, proceed to adopt, in the name of humanity and of liberty, a course of policy which we might otherwise have delayed to enforce, though it was obviously advantageous to all Europe. We will re-establish the kingdom of Poland, and it shall hereafter serve as a barrier against the encroachments of the autocrat of the east." At the time of the Crimean War a combination was formed by France and England against Russia, by which the barbarous dominion of the Turks was preserved in Europe. We were then told that of maintaining the balance of power, and that it was essential to this unholy and unnatural dominion must be upheld for the sake safety of Europe, that Russia should not only be humbled but also crippled. We remember the discontent which was felt in England by the premature conclusion of the Crimean war. Now, without expressing any further opinion respecting the policy of that war, I would ask whether any motive could at that time operate on the mind of an Englishman in favor of the continuance of the war, which does not now apply with tenfold force in favour of its renewal on behalf of Poland? But if England fail to undertake the noble mission, which honour, justice, and humanity would impose upon her, at least there still remains a hope that France will not abandon the cause of the gallant nation whose blood has been profusely shed on many a field of battle, for the interest and glory of France. I am convinced that the French nation would not hesitate for an hour to espouse the cause of Poland, if they could rely upon the co-operation of England, but they naturally apprehend that without such co-operation they might possibly find themselves engaged single-handed in a war with Russia, Austria, and Prussia, and that England would hang upon their rear and take advantage of the first favourable opportunity that would enable her to gratify her hereditary hatred, by inflicting a deadly wound upon her too powerful neighbor! Men of France! be not dismayed by such apprehensions. Proceed in the name of religion and of justice to defend the rights of humanity, and be assured that Providence will protect and reward your noble efforts! Cast aside the petty ambition which would seek to acquire a province as an indemnity for your sacrifices, and let history record that you rescued from destruction comrades who have borne your banner through many a field of glory, at a time when they appeared to be deprived of every chance, and of every hope, except those which proceed from despair. Assume to yourself the leadership of Europe, and you will find that from every nation which loves civilisation and freedom, myriads will gather round the standard which you shall uplift in behalf of Poland. Fellow-countrymen! I ask you to authorise me to tell the Emperor of France, that if he be disposed to raise a brigade in Ireland for the redemption of Poland he shall have as many thousands as he may desire to enrol. I await your answer!

But I tell you that I shall be bitterly disappointed if you hesitate to offer this pledge. If Napoleon take this position, England will probably remain a tranquil spectator of the contest. He can then say to Austria and to Prussia, "I do not want to go to war with you, but if you league yourselves with Russia you must abide the consequences. In such case, Austria will find that two hundred thousand Hungarian and Italian troops will detach themselves from the Austrian army, and will place themselves on the side of France, with a view to the emancipation of Hungary and of Venetia; and the outlying provinces of Prussia on the Rhine may again become consociated with the French Empire, whilst Posen and the port of Danzig will be transferred by way of restitution from Prussia to emancipated Poland." I have placed before you various contingencies which are more or less favorable to Poland. Let me now assume that Poland shall be left unaided and deserted by all the rest of mankind. Shall she be left unaided, shall she be deserted by Ireland? Unless the nature of my fellow-countrymen be wholly changed by the recent tuition which they have received, I proudly answer, No! The poorest man in Ireland clings to a fellow sufferer when he is in distress. The greater the exigency, the more earnest are the promptings which impel my generous fellow-countrymen to offer disinterested succor. What a stimulus to such generous emotions can be more urgent than a desire to save a brave nation, which, in the last extremity of despair, is contending against the overwhelming forces of a barbarous enemy? What, you will ask, can Ireland offer? Men, arms, and money, are required if we wish to furnish efficient aid. I am afraid that could not advise the young men of Ireland to join the insurgents of Poland, unless they be enrolled under the banners of France; though if my age were twenty-five instead of fifty-nine, I should certainly have made a campaign in Poland before my return to Ireland. Yet if any young man can command a sufficient amount of money to defray his own expenses, and who can endure privation, be anxious to go to the aid of the Poles, I would not dissuade him from doing so, even if he were my own son—but it would be necessary that he should be acquainted to a certain extent with either the French, the German, or the Polish language. In the neighborhood of Cracow I met with a young nobleman, aged twenty-three years, who told me that he possessed a good property in Posen, that is, in Prussian Poland—that he had joined the insurgents soon after the revolt took place, that he had been a comrade of Langiewicz, that he had been under fire not less than twelve times, and that being fully convinced that he was exposing his life in a just and holy cause, he preferred a camp in the forests of Poland to the Sybaritic pleasures of the banquets and of the drawing-rooms to which he had readily access. He added also that, though his health was delicate when he first joined the insurgents, his constitution had been strengthened rather than impaired by constant exposure to the atmosphere. It is probable that if this young man continue this career, he will be cut off at an early period of life, but such might have been his fate if he had entered a regular army; and if, on the other hand, he should live to witness the success of the Poles, how proud will be the exultation with which he will be able to tell his children that by his efforts he had contributed to substitute a national government in the place of the ruthless despotism of the barbarians who now rule in Poland! If any young Irishman should desire to imitate this example, they ought to be warned that they will not be permitted to take arms with them into Austria or Prussia, and they must therefore trust to the chance of being able to