

specting either Italy or Ireland, and it would be in the highest degree unfair to invite them to come here for the purpose of sustaining the cause of Poland, and afterwards compel them to withdraw by introducing debatable points in relation to other countries. We owe to each other this forbearance as a matter of justice, and in point of expediency, it is of infinite importance that we should show to the world that Irishmen who dissent from each other upon some questions can meet in a friendly spirit to advance those objects with respect to which they agree. To-night we meet to support the cause of Poland, and with respect to this cause I trust that we shall be unanimous. The time may hereafter arrive when we shall meet to forward Irish objects with equal unanimity. I have also to observe that we have not only to consider what is due to our own countrymen, but also to remember that it would be quite possible for us to injure materially the interests of Poland, by introducing topics which would occasion dissension instead of concurrent action on behalf of that country. Having taken the liberty to offer these few preliminary remarks by way of caution, I now proceed to perform the task which you have assigned to me.

It will be manifest to every one that it is impossible for me within the short space of an hour to do full justice to a question so important as that which concerns the interest and destiny of Poland. I am compelled to omit notice of much that would be interesting in illustration of the national character of the Poles, and which would tend to prove their aptitude for civilization as well as for martial achievements. I can only snatch a glimpse at a few salient points of the modern history of Poland, but I trust that I shall be able to convince you that the Poles are justified in revolting against Russia, and that they ought to be satisfied with nothing less than the recovery of the independence of their country. For the sake of brevity I must forbid myself to dwell upon any portion of the history of Poland which is antecedent to the treaty of Vienna. I must ask you to accept as unquestionable the claims which the Poles put forward to a high place among the nations which occupied the surface of Europe during the middle ages.—They point with pride to the fact that Cholerza, Bishop of Cracow, reigned, as early as 1116, a perfect knowledge of the Roman institutes, which had been discovered at Amalá about thirty years before. They point also with pride to the fact that the first university which was founded in Eastern Europe was that of Cracow, which was established in the year 1347. They enumerate a long list of the names of persons who during more than six centuries conferred celebrity upon Poland, by their attainments in science, in literature, in theology, in jurisprudence, in poetry, in history, and in the fine arts. I fear that I could not undertake even to pronounce correctly the names of these persons; but we are all familiar with the name of Copernicus, who took the highest rank amongst the astronomers of modern Europe, and who is claimed as a Polish celebrity. They enumerate, in like manner, a long list of warriors, who served as a rampart which protected Europe during several centuries from being overrun by hordes of Eastern barbarians, and though we may not have studied in detail the achievements of all these warriors, there are few readers of history who do not remember that, so late as the year 1683, Austria would have been overwhelmed by the Turks if she had not been saved by the valour of John Sobieski, then King of Poland. I must ask you also to acquiesce in the general opinion of mankind, which has condemned as unjustifiable the successive partitions of Poland, which took place in 1773, in 1793, and in 1795—and which has consigned to an immortality of honor the memory of Kosciuszko, because he called upon his fellow-countrymen to reclaim and recover by arms the lost inheritance of their ancestors. Lapse of time cannot in itself sanction a wrong. Some nations have indeed been conquered who have subsequently accepted entire fusion with their conquerors, as in the case of the Saxons in England; but as long as the memory of past injustice is continued by the perpetration of present wrong, so long the right of redress subsists without impeachment. Though individual Poles may have been bribed to surrender the freedom and independence of their country, it cannot be said that the Polish nation has ever acquiesced in the extinction of its nationality; but if the government which was imposed upon it, without and against its concurrence, had been productive of happiness to the Polish people, it is possible that lapse of time might have brought with it forgetfulness or forgiveness of past wrong.—Thus Austria maintains that the inhabitants of Galicia are happier now under Austrian rule than they ever were whilst Galicia formed a part of Poland, and Prussia boasts, in like manner, that Posen, with the port of Danzig, is more prosperous now than it would have been if Kosciuszko had succeeded in his efforts to recover the lost provinces of Poland. Time will show how far these assertions are well founded, but no one will venture to assert that Muscovite rule has been productive of happiness to these Polish provinces which were usurped by Russia. It appears from official documents that at the Congress of Vienna, in 1815, Lord Castlereagh protested, on the part of England, against the incorporation of Poland with Russia, in the following terms:—

"The desire of his court to see an independent power, more or less considerable in extent, established in Poland under a distinct dynasty, and as an intermediate state between the three great monarchies, has uniformly been avowed; and if the undersigned (Lord Castlereagh) has not been directed to press such a measure, it has only arisen from a disinclination to excite, under all the apparent obstacles to such an arrangement, expectations which might prove an unavailing source of discontent among the Poles." He then adds—"In order to obviate as far as possible the evil consequences which he anticipates, it is of essential importance to establish public tranquillity throughout the territories which formerly constituted the kingdom of Poland, upon some solid and liberal basis of common

interest, applying to all, however various may be their political institutions, a congenial and conciliatory system of administration." The wishes of England having been overruled by the combined despots of Eastern Europe, Alexander I. proceeded to constitute as "the Kingdom of Poland" that portion of the Duchy of Warsaw which fell to the lot of Russia in the lawless division of Poland, which was effected, without the consent of the Poles, by the armed forces of Russia, Austria, and Prussia. As the engagements which were entered into by the contracting parties at Vienna in 1815, form the basis of the representations which have been recently made by the British ministry on behalf of the Poles, I will quote the exact words of the treaty.

The Duchy of Warsaw, with the exception of the provinces and districts which are otherwise disposed of by the following articles, is united to the Russian Empire, to which it shall be irrevocably attached by its constitution, and be possessed by his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, his heirs and successors in perpetuity. His imperial majesty reserves to himself to give to this state, enjoying a distinct administration, the interior extension which he shall judge proper. He shall assume with his other titles that of Czar, King of Poland, agreeably to the form established for the titles attached to his other possessions.

"The Poles who are respective subjects of Russia, Austria and Prussia, shall obtain a representation and national institutions regulated according to the degree of political consideration that each of the governments to which they belong shall judge expedient and proper to grant to them." It will be seen that the foregoing stipulations form but a very slender guarantee for the constitutional liberties of Poland, but nevertheless they give to England a moral right to intervene, on behalf of the Poles. Let us now see how they have been fulfilled by Russia. As for the outlying provinces which formed a part of ancient Poland, but which were not comprised in what was called 'the Duchy of Warsaw,' they have been treated as a portion of Russia, although it appears from all the negotiations which took place at Vienna, that it was intended that the nationality of the Poles should be preserved throughout these provinces. A glance at the map will suffice to show how small a proportion the 'Kingdom of Poland' bears to the territories which belonged to Poland in the year 1772, before the first partition, when the provinces of Wilna, Grodno, Minsk, Witebsk, Mohilef, Kiew, Vollynia, and Podolia, were associated with the kingdom of Poland, as also with Galicia and Posen. I know that Russian writers advance arguments in which there is some force that tend to show that the Poles claim as belonging to their nationality sections of territory which are inhabited by persons who profess the Greek religion, and who cannot speak the Polish language. In any settlement of the Polish question which may hereafter take place, these arguments ought to be taken into consideration, but it is certain that a large proportion of the outlying provinces of Poland, not called Russian, are as thoroughly Polish in character as is the 'Kingdom of Poland' itself. With much parade of liberality, a mock constitution was given to the kingdom of Poland by the Emperor Alexander, but its provisions were never carried into effect. I have already said that the Poles never forfeited the right of resistance which they derived from the nature of the proceedings by which their national liberties had been ravished from them; but there is every reason to believe that if the Emperor Alexander had really governed the kingdom of Poland on constitutional principles, and if he had associated with it those exterior provinces, which are unquestionably Polish in all their characteristics, he might have taught the Poles to forget the violence and the perfidy of which they had been the victims. Had he studied the happiness of his Polish subjects, there would have been no part of his dominions to which he might have pointed with so much pride, since their welfare might, in some measure, have been considered as derived from the personal efforts of the sovereign; and his success in Poland might have encouraged him to extend to his hereditary possessions in Russia the constitutional privileges which he had pledged himself to give to Poland. But instead of endeavoring to win this honorable renown, he violated all his engagements. The Polish Committee of London thus describes his conduct:—

"The constitution promised by the first article of treaty was granted to Poland in 1815 by the Emperor Alexander. Amongst his chief articles were guarantees for the liberty of the subject and of the press—the convocation of the Diet at least once in two years—and the submission of a budget to the Diet once in four years. Every one of these stipulations during the fifteen years which preceded the insurrection of 1830 was violated. Many of the most eminent of the inhabitants of Warsaw were condemned without even the form of trial to sweep the streets; many others were transported to Siberia, in direct contradiction of sentences pronounced by the regular courts; the press was fettered; the Diet did not assemble for five years; and fifteen years elapsed without a Budget having been submitted to it. These illegal measures of the government, combined with the well-known brutalities of the Grand Duke Constantine, produced the insurrection of 1830, which Russia endeavored to make its excuse for the abolition (by the organic statute of the 26th Feb., 1862) of the Polish constitution—the substitution of provincial councils for the national Diet—the confiscations, the transports to Siberia, and the forced expatriation of thousands of families and children that followed it."

It will not, I think, be disputed by any one who reads the manifesto of grievances, which was published under the presidency of Prince Adam Czartoryski, in January, 1831, that the Poles were justified in withdrawing their allegiance from the Emperor Nicholas, and although success did not then crown the efforts of the Poles to re-establish their independence, their resistance on that occasion tended to prove that they had not lost the aspirations which are inseparable even in a dungeon, from the spirit that resolves to be free.

The period that intervened between 1831 and 1861 is full of incidents which tended to perpetuate alienation of feeling on the part of the Poles towards the Russian Government. I invite some of the Catholic clergy of Ireland to tell to the people of this country the cruelties which were inflicted by the orders of the Emperor Nicholas upon the Catholics of Poland. In modern ages there has been, perhaps, no more fearful violation of the rights of conscience than the measures which were adopted, in 1839, in order to force several millions of Catholics who inhabited the eastern provinces of ancient Poland, to abjure communion with the Pope of Rome. But I will to-night avoid for obvious reasons all further allusion to religious questions. Neither can I undertake to describe in detail the various circumstances which characterise the reign of Nicholas in Poland as the iron rule of a relentless tyrant. It is sufficient to say that Poland was treated as a conquered country, and that no efforts were spared to Russify it—that is, to throw it back into barbarism, rather than to promote its advancement and improve its civilization; and that in carrying into effect this design, he was deterred by no consideration of mercy, or of justice, or of humanity. He was succeeded in 1855 by his son Alexander II., and as this Emperor had acquired a reputation for benevolence, it was hoped that he would inaugurate in Poland a policy totally at variance with that of his predecessor. He lost no time, however, in undoing those who may have entertained such hopes, for upon his first reception at Warsaw, he took the earliest opportunity of emphatically declaring that he identified himself with the acts and policy of his father. "Indulge no illusions, no reveries! the happiness of Poland depends upon its entire fusion with the people of my empire; what my father has done was well done; I will maintain it!" Such was the language which he addressed to the notables by whom he was greeted at Warsaw in 1856. In other words, his meaning would be thus expressed:—"It is my firm intention to extinguish the nationality of Poland!" He endeavored to obtain credit for a merciful disposition by proclaiming an amnesty by which exiles were at liberty to return to Poland under conditions and reservations which entirely neutralised its effect. This amnesty deceived those who did not take the trouble to consider its terms, but by the exiles for whose relief it was professedly designed it was repudiated as both illusory and insulting. The indications thus given at an early period of the spirit in which the Government of Alexander II. would be conducted, instead of disheartening the Polish nation, awakened its energies to increased vitality. An association called the Agricultural Society was founded by the leading nobility of Poland. This society devoted itself to the consideration of all national questions, and especially to the improvement of the condition of the peasantry in regard to the tenure of land. The people at large also adopted proceedings which tended to prove to the Emperor of Russia that they were not disposed to allow the nationality of Poland to be extinguished. These manifestations were of a peaceful character, such as attendance at the funerals of deceased patriots—the celebration of national anniversaries—chanting the national hymns which pray for the deliverance of the Polish nation from servitude. Although these demonstrations of public feeling were wholly unaccompanied by acts of violence, they gave occasion to horrible massacres in the months of February, March, and April, of 1861. A ferocious soldiery was let loose upon unresisting multitudes, and a frightful carnage ensued, which naturally created in the minds of the Polish people, the most intense exasperation. From that time till the present moment, more than two years, mourning dresses have been worn by the whole Polish nation. Disaffection towards the Russian Government increased to such an extent that it was deemed necessary to resort to rigorous measures of repression. In an evil hour for Russia the Grand Duke Constantine, instead of obeying the instincts of a nature which is said to be amiable, and of adopting conciliatory measures, listened to the counsel of a renegade Pole, the Marquis Wielopolski, and consented to share with him the responsibility of carrying into effect a scheme for removing from Poland all persons who were considered dangerous by the Russian police. This was to be effected by such a change in the law of conscription as allowed the Russian functionaries to select as a recruit any person in the country whom they might wish to expatriate, except the highest class of the nobility and the agricultural peasantry. The term of service in Russia is not less than fifteen years, and any one who looks at the map of Russia will see that the extent of its dominions is such as to give to the authorities the power of banishing a conscript to every variety of climate, or of exposing him to such dangers as render return to his country an improbability which almost extinguishes hope. It has been ascertained by statistical inquiries that in one small district of Poland "upwards of 11,000 men had been recruited for the army between the years 1833 and 1856, and that of this number only 438, and these crippled by diseases contracted during military service, returned to their homes." This system of proscription was put in force in Warsaw on the 14th of last January. On the 14th of January, 1863, Consul General White reported to Lord Russell as follows:—

"The lists of persons destined to be taken as recruits have been made out and the conscription is to begin in the course of a few days in Warsaw, and to follow in the provinces and in other towns of the kingdom. No effort has been spared to include in it all able bodied men who are suspected of revolutionary tendencies, and who have been marked out as such by the police during the last two years, but from what is known of the inefficiency of that department of the government, it may easily be supposed that this sort of information cannot be always relied on. The number of recruits to be raised this time from the kingdom is kept secret. I have reason, however, to suppose that it is intended to get at the rate of five per thousand of the population, and as this amounts in the towns to about 1,200,000, the number would be 6,000 men; as the rural population is exempt this time, the villages have only 2,000 men to supply, thus making a total of 8,000 men. The exact number, however, does not appear to be definitely settled, and the Grand Duke is allowed a margin as to the figures of recruits to be supplied this time by the kingdom." On the 19th of January Col. Stanton, the resident representative of Great Britain at Warsaw, reports to Lord Russell as follows:—

"The projected conscription for the Russian army, which had been announced by the Government to take place at the commencement of the present year, was carried into effect in this town on the 14th instant, when about 2,000 men were taken for service." It is to be observed, that Colonel Stanton, instead of expressing indignation against this atrocious proscription, proceeds to remark, "it is not too much to anticipate that the Polish movement will now shortly be brought to an end, and the country will resume, if not a peaceful attitude, at least one of comparative quiet and freedom from revolutionary attempts." In a letter written to Sir A. Buchanan by Colonel Stanton on the 25th January, 1863 he discloses still more openly his leanings in favor of Russian tyranny. After mentioning some details respecting the resistance which the proscription had occasioned, he says, "unfortunately the government was not prepared with flying columns to act immediately in the different districts, and some valuable time has been lost in putting down this movement, which has now taken such dimensions, that it is to be feared a considerable amount of bloodshed will take place before the rising is completely suppressed," &c. When such language is held at Warsaw by the representative of Great Britain, and when English detective officers are sent out under the sanction of the British Government, in order to assist in tracking Polish patriots, it is surprising that the Russians should believe that, whatever the British ministry may say in parliament or write in despatches, they in reality desire to uphold the tyranny of Russia in Poland. Now, I would ask any candid Englishman, whether in case the Russians were to obtain possession of his country by a combination of forces similar to that which established Russian domination in Poland, he would not consider himself entitled by right to expel them from England whenever a favorable opportunity for doing so might present itself; and also whether he would not consider that an imperative occasion for resistance had arisen, if the Russian Government were to put in force a system of proscription, by which any Englishman whom a Russian police officer might designate as disaffected, might be seized in the middle of the night and sent off to perish in Siberia, in the Caucasus, or in Kamtschatka? Yet the Poles are designated as revolutionists by the local agents of the British Government when they act as any Englishman ought to do under similar circumstances. A very intelligent Russian officer, with whom I had a long conversation when I was in Poland, took it for granted, from all the evidences which had fallen under his observation, that the English ministers are favorable to Russia rather than to Poland. Time will show how far this opinion is well founded. I am unwilling to arrive at such a conviction, but I am compelled to think that if such were really their disposition, they could not have adopted a course of policy more favorable to the views of Russia than that on which they have acted during the last five months. It is right, however, that I should mention that Lord Napier, the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg, repeatedly condemns the conscription in the most unqualified terms, as being both unjustifiable and im-

politic. In a despatch to Lord Russell, written February 7th, he repeats what he had before said, in the following terms:—

"In my humble opinion, neither the previous existence of the conspiracy, nor the object of breaking up the revolutionary organisation, can justify the measure of arbitrary recruitment. This measure seems to me to violate all the principles of justice and policy, and to be of very doubtful efficacy in a material point of view."

It is almost needless for me to say that this proscription (for such is the proper designation of a system of recruitment founded upon the principle of selection) occasioned intense emotion amongst the people of Poland. Weeping and wailing were the manifestations by which this emotion was evinced on the part of the feeble sex, but the bold and the resolute sternly declared that it was better to die at home in fighting against the Russians, than to die among the mountains of the Caucasus, in endeavoring to impose Russian servitude upon the free-born Circassians. It was well said of old, "*Parva arma ministrant*," and they have also proved the truth of the saying of antiquity, "*Unus alius miseris nullum sperare saltem*." They had been disarmed by their tyrants, but seizing such weapons as the avocations of peaceful life could supply, they converted the scythe and the harrow into implements of warfare, and going forth unprovided with everything, except the blessings of their priests and the approval of their own consciences, they rushed as it were to certain destruction. But the same God who enabled David, though armed with a sling, to overcome the giant Goliath, has not deserted the faithful people who consecrate their efforts on behalf of their country by invocations to the Deity, and petitions for protection to the Saviour of mankind. That which seemed at first to be the last convulsive agony of despair, which was destined to terminate in the destruction or expatriation of a few humble artisans, has become a grand national movement, and it is to be hoped now that the destruction of the Assyrians under Sennacherib will not have been a mere signal instance of Divine vengeance than the expulsion and extermination from the soil of Poland which awaits the legions of the Muscovite Czar. Having in the foregoing sketch of the modern history of Poland endeavored to trace the causes which have occasioned the present insurrection, I shall now relate some circumstances connected with my recent visit to Poland which may perhaps prove interesting to my audience. When I was at Vienna I neglected to procure at the Russian Embassy permission to visit Poland by what is called a *visa* on the back of my passport. I imagined that there was a Russian Consul at Cracow who would give such a *visa* in case I were disposed to proceed to Warsaw. Upon arriving at Cracow I found that I was mistaken upon this point, there being no Russian Consul in that city, and I was therefore compelled to send back my passport to Vienna, and to wait at Cracow for its return. This delay afforded me an opportunity of becoming acquainted with a considerable number of influential and intelligent Poles, and also enabled me to see and hear many particulars respecting the insurrection, in regard of which I should have collected only vague notions by reading newspaper accounts at a distance. I am compelled to use extreme caution in what I say, lest an inadvertent expression may compromise individuals and expose them to danger; but I will cite, as an illustration of what is now passing in Poland, one case in which the names of the persons concerned have already been brought before the public. I have therefore only to confirm, upon their own authority, a statement which was recorded in one of the French newspapers. While I was in Poland I heard in the course of conversation many anecdotes relative to the atrocities which are daily perpetrated by the Russians in that country; but I prefer to take as an example a case in which I have heard, from the lips of eye-witnesses, a narrative of the circumstances, rather than to go in search of tragic incidents the authenticity of which I cannot corroborate from personal information. When I was at Cracow, I had the pleasure of making acquaintance with Mr. Bielski, a Polish country gentleman, who possesses a chateau and a property which are not far distant from the frontiers of Galicia. It is the custom of the Russian troops, both in the towns and in the country, to make frequent visits of inspection in every house, under pretext that they are searching for arms or for other indications of insurrectionary proceedings. A large military force, amounting to nearly one thousand men, surrounded the house of Mr. Bielski at a time when he was living there with his family. They then proceeded to examine his house, but finding nothing that could justify them in resorting to rapine and violence, the common soldiers, who appear to have made up their minds to plunder this mansion, became excessively irritated, and began to injure various objects belonging to the household, and at the same time, to threaten the family with destruction. The danger was at one moment so imminent that Mr. and Mrs. Bielski retired to an oratory and uttered a prayer which they believed was to be the last that they should pronounce upon earth. At another moment their hearts were riven by the cries of their daughter, an interesting child, about ten years of age, whose countenance might have subdued the ferocity of a monster or of a fury. Mothers of Ireland, conceive what would be your feelings if you were to see the bayonet of a barbarian soldier within a few inches of the breast of a beloved daughter, and you will understand the emotions which were felt by Mr. and Mrs. Bielski, when they had reason to believe that the bayonet of the Russian soldier was about to pierce the heart of their innocent and unresisting child. It is consoling to think that even amongst the most ferocious barbarians men are occasionally to be found whose generous impulses redeem the lost character of humanity. Fortunately for this family the Russian troops—for the most part commanded by brutes who stimulate rather than repress the force instincts of a barbarian soldiery—on this occasion were under the orders of a brave and humane officer. This officer risked his own life in defence of the lives and property of Mr. Bielski and of his family, and declared that he would shoot the first soldier who molested them. The exasperation of the common soldiers was carried to the highest pitch of frenzy when they thus found themselves disappointed of their prey, and they threatened to burn the house, but instead of carrying into effect this threat they fell upon some Polish prisoners, whom they had seized, and they massacred them in cold blood. It happened that a certain Mr. Finkenstien, who was furnished with an English passport, was present at these proceedings. Him they seized, and inflicted upon him such a number of wounds that it was believed that he too was dead, but by a miracle he recovered, and it is said at Cracow that the Russian Government have since paid to him £10,000 by way of indemnity for violation of the English passport. As for the Poles who were massacred on the occasion, no indemnity has been offered to their families, and it may judge by what has occurred in other parts of Poland, the noble officer who exposed his life in defence of the Bielski family would probably have been honoured and promoted if he had allowed his soldiers to massacre this family, and to burn their house. Before I arrived at Cracow I was disposed to believe that Austria—from motives of policy rather than of consideration for the Poles—was adopting a strict neutrality between the contending parties, but I found, on the contrary, that all the agencies which she can employ, without openly espousing the side of Russia, are set at work to assist the Russians and to injure the Poles. I was told that persons coming to Cracow and to the principal towns of Galicia, with a view to cross the frontier, are frequently seized by the police and lodged in prison, even though they may be duly furnished with passports. I would have tested the truth of this statement by visiting the prisons, but I was told that it was useless to apply for permission to see the prisons, as such per-

mission would certainly be refused. I am able, however, to assert that when I was in company with Mr. Bielski, I saw his brother at the windows of the prison of the Castle, and I was informed that there was no charge against him except a suspicion that he was about to join the insurgents in Poland. In like manner the Austrian police, who, it is said, are in the pay of Russia, are ever on the watch to seize arms which may be sent to Cracow or Galicia for the use of the insurgents, and their operations are so successful that, according to the most favourable computation, not more than one musket out of three that are purchased abroad for the use of the Poles finds its way across the Austrian frontier. I had no occasion to regret the circumstances which caused me to stay during four or five days at Cracow, for this town, though not very large, is highly interesting by its connection with the history of Poland, and, in point of natural position, its site is decidedly pleasing. The castle stands on a commanding eminence, and from every point of view attracts the eye of the observer. Within its precincts rises that ancient cathedral in which are to be found the tombs of the former kings of Poland. When visiting the interior of this cathedral, I could not refrain from exclaiming—where are the successors of these heroic sovereigns? Why do we not find here the tombs of kings who might have ruled Poland during the last century? Alas! history answers—because a sovereignty has been extinguished by a lawless combination of crowned bandits, who have united to rob the Polish nation of its indestructible rights. Let others go in search for arguments which may justify the Poles in rebelling against the Muscovite robber. For my part, I require no argument beyond that which spoke to my heart when I visited the Cathedral of Cracow, and told me that it is never too late to redress a wrong or to punish a crime. And if an incitement were wanting to impel a Polish youth to perform his duty to his country, would he not find it in the memorials which have been raised at Cracow in honor of the memory of Kosciuszko? In the vaults which contain the mortal remains of the crowned kings of Poland, this uncrowned patriot, though unsuccessful in his efforts to save his country, shares the honors which have been accorded to deceased royalty. A still nobler monument, erected by the spontaneous efforts of the population of Cracow, is to be seen at a short distance from the town. A mound or tumulus, similar to those which were erected more than two thousand years ago over the bodies of the kings of Ireland in these pitiful fields which adjoin our river Dojny, has been raised to the memory of Kosciuszko, in a commanding position. Beneath this mound lies the ancient capital of Poland, whilst in the distance the horizon is shut in by the magnificent chain of the Carpathian mountains, which proclaims itself to be the immortal barrier of this ancient kingdom, and the natural boundary of resurgent Poland. Standing on this summit, surrounded by objects calculated to excite and intensify emotion, could I do otherwise than vow that I would bring to the aid of the Kosciuskos of modern Poland all that is generous, all that is noble, all that is brave in the hearts and arms of my fellow-countrymen? I stand here to-night in order to redeem that vow! Let it not be supposed that these memorials speak in vain to the youths of Poland. Numerous anecdotes were related to me respecting boys who had fled from their homes for the purpose of fighting against the Russians, and who proclaimed their determination to die for their country. Alas! in too many instances this patriotic devotion has consigned these noble children to a premature martyrdom. Notwithstanding the efforts that have been made by the Austrian Government to prevent the migration of patriots across the frontier of Galicia, the streets and promenades of Cracow were crowded with young men, who were awaiting an opportunity to take part in the struggle. It is impossible for the Austrian Government to prevent persons who sympathize with the Poles from availing themselves of such opportunities, and the common feelings of humanity forbid even the Austrian police to refuse to the wounded Poles a retreat into Cracow and Galicia. Accordingly, amongst the young men whom I saw in Cracow not a few bore evidence of wounds; and I was taken to see one of the hospitals which has been opened for the reception of the wounded. These patients were most impatient to be healed, not that they might return to their homes, but that they might again repair to the forests for the purpose of fighting against the Russians.

After the return of my passport from Vienna, I took my place in the railway train which conveys passengers to Warsaw, and nothing occurred worthy of mention except an incident which I shall notice because it illustrates one branch of the Russian administration of affairs in Poland. Upon arriving at the frontier of Poland, my luggage was examined, as is usual when a traveller passes from one kingdom to another. On almost all occasions I have found this examination to be a mere matter of form; but at the Polish frontier the inspection became a source of great annoyance, for my books were detained by the Russian officers of the station. The proceeding commenced by the seizure of some newspapers which I had used in packing. The ignorant barbarian who seized these papers then proceeded to tear them. He could not speak a word of French, or of German, or Italian, still less of English, and could not read a line of the papers which he was thus destroying. When travelling in Greece I had made a collection of Greek newspapers, some of which were, for particular reasons, specially interesting to me. When I saw how the barbarian treated the first newspapers that he found, I began to fear that my whole collection would be treated in a similar manner; and finding that I could make myself understood only by indicating the signs of a violent passion, I just, or affected to lose, my temper on the occasion. By means of exclamations of various kinds, I convinced the superior officers that they would be held responsible if any of my papers were lost, and I thus saved my Greek newspapers from destruction. The officers then weighed the books and papers which had been taken out of my portmanteau, and charged me a fee, leaving me uncertain whether I should ever see a collection of books which I prize much as souvenirs of my travels in the East. I did not at first understand the nature of the proceeding which occasioned to me this annoyance, but I subsequently learned that it arose from the *censure* which is exercised on all books that are brought into Poland. To this censure the Poles have been subject during more than thirty years. The mode in which it is exercised in regard to newspapers that arrive by post is very comical. When a foreign journal contains any matter the publication of which in Poland is deemed dangerous to the interests of Russia, the objectionable matter is effaced by stamping it out with printing ink, and the newspaper, thus mutilated with black patches, is delivered according to the address. As for my books, I feared that they were lost for ever, but by the kind interference of two Warsaw bookers they were recovered, and I found them at Berlin upon my arrival in that city. Mention of this incident naturally leads me to notice the fact, that during several months clandestine newspapers have been printed and circulated by the Secret Government of Poland, which is now accepted as the National Government of Poland. They communicate to the public all the information and instructions which the Secret Government desire to impart to the Polish nation, and the suggestions, or rather orders, which are thus intimated are for the most part, implicitly obeyed. Hitherto the Russian police have been baffled in all their attempts to discover the agents by whom these newspapers are printed and circulated. In all my study of history I have found nothing that is more remarkable than the supremacy which is at present exercised in Poland by a government with the names of whose members the world is unacquainted. The Russian officials are nominally the administrators of public affairs in Poland, but during the last four months the effective control and management of public concerns has been in the hands of the Secret Government, and of their subordinates.

• See Lord Castlereagh's Circular, dated January 12, 1816.