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Speech of Prince Czartoryski  
held at Supes-Chambers April 26 - 1836  
at the annual meeting of the Friends of Poland

I did not need to be honoured with the flattering proof of your personal kindness just given to me, in order to think myself obliged to rise and return thanks to this meeting. As soon as I saw so many friends of Poland assembled, I determined to express the feeling with which all my Countrymen are impressed towards this association and which every one of them would acknowledge and confirm if he was here present. Gratitude you know is a sentiment congenial with the unhappy, and which he wants always to pour out. I think that the very name adopted by the association, is sufficient to call on our thanks; and surely the name was not a vain word, for in many instances you have showed that you were true friends of Poland. I would venture to say that in this respect my noble friend with his usual modesty has not rendered due justice to the exertions of this Association in which he takes such a prominent a part. Whatever has been done for Poland in this Country may be traced back and attributed in a great part to this Association or to some of its members. To their insistant cares we owe the subsidy granted generously by the Government to the Polish emigration; - Yours is

Speech of Prince Gortaleff  
held at Upper Chambers April 25 - 1836  
at the annual meeting of the Friends of Poland

... which need to be harmonized with the  
... of your personal interests but given  
... in order to their myself obliged to see and  
... to this meeting. As soon as I saw  
... of Poland assembled, I determined  
... all my countrymen  
... towards this association and which  
... could acknowledge and confirm  
... of the war has passed. Gladly you know is  
... with the emigration, and  
... to pass out. I think  
... the very name adopted by the association  
... to call our own hearts; and surely  
... not a vain word, for in many  
... that you have shown that you were true  
... of Poland. I would venture to say that  
... my noble friends with his usual  
... the friends of this association in which he  
... a firmament a part. Whether  
... has been done for Poland in this country  
... back and attributed in a  
... to this association or to some of  
... its members. Do then insist that we are  
... granted generally by the Governor  
... - found in

now the trouble of distributing that subsidy  
 and this still greater and trouble of finding out  
 other means to supply the many unprovided  
 wants of the emigration, either by charitable  
~~subscriptions~~ subscriptions or by affording to the  
 exiles profitable employments, the greatest bene-  
 fit which can be bestowed on them. Poland  
 will for ever be thankful for the kindness  
 shown here to her unhappy wandering sons  
 But we are indebted to this association for  
 another more important service. It is to have  
 made known Poland to the British public  
 more and better than she ever was before.  
 To disclose truth is the greatest possible  
 service which can be rendered to a just  
 cause; ample and repeated information  
 is the firm step which can lead to practical  
 results; and the fullest statements of facts  
 concerning Poland, the most comprehensive  
 views of her case and the most logical  
 and well founded conclusions may be  
 found in publications of the association  
 in able and eloquent speeches pronounced  
 chiefly by its members in the House of  
 Commons. However the case of Poland could  
 not be laid in sight of the British public,  
 without bringing the two parties before the  
 same auditory before the same tribunal  
 of the public opinion, - In the sad and  
 bloody narrative of the woes of Poland

now the trouble of distributing that money  
and this will greatly assist in finding out  
other means to supply the many unemployed  
wants of the emigrants, either by charitable  
~~subscriptions~~ or by applying to the  
various profitable establishments, the greater ben-  
efit which can be derived from them - Potatoes  
will for ever be thankful for the kindness  
shown here to her and apply accordingly  
to get me included to this association for  
another more important service. It is to have  
made known Potatoes to the public  
more and better than she ever was before  
to discuss books in the greatest possi-  
ble manner which can be referred to a full  
case, simple and repeated information  
is the form which can best be practical  
results and the further statements of facts  
concerning Potatoes, the more comprehensive  
points of her case and the more logical  
and well founded conclusions may be  
found in publications of the Association  
in order and elegant printed programmes  
chiefly by its members in the form of  
Programmes. However the case of Potatoes could  
not be labored in light of the British public,  
perhaps bringing the two parties before the  
same authorities before the same tribunal  
of the public opinion, for the last and  
bloody catastrophe of the case of Potatoes

the oppressed could not be separated from the oppressor, nor the victim from its executioner; so it came that of late, and especially since the motion of my noble friend one of your Vice-Presidents, considerable light has been thrown on Russia her police, and its effects on the interests of England. The chief result of every inquiry on Russia begins I think to be pretty generally understood which is, that she cannot stop her career of successive encroachments; she must go on; the 50 or more millions who obey ~~her~~ the nod of the autocrat must be occupied by some general aim and tendency they cannot be occupied by the great object of internal social improvements. They must be retributed for the

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the loss of their freedom, by the excitement of foreign contest, by the pleasures of spoil and domination. One can say that in Russia the temples of Janus never shut, she has always a war somewhere - as at the present moment the war in continuance on the Caucasus, which is a school for training young officers; and a convenient mode of getting rid of a great number of Poles who are sent to the army stationed there. —

the oppressed would not be separated from  
the oppressor, nor the victims from the  
oppressor, so it came that of late, and especially  
since the nature of my noble friend's  
opinion has been stated, can I doubt that he  
has been thorough over his own and  
its effect on the interests of England.  
The chief result of every inquiry or  
inquiry I think to be perfectly generally  
that the cause of the oppressed is  
a matter of consequence and importance, and  
go on; the 15th and 16th of the 17th  
and the 18th of the 18th of the 19th  
be occupied by some general and  
the great object of the present is  
inventions, they may be better suited for  
the present and the future of the  
the hope of their freedom by the  
of foreign countries, by the presence of  
of the present and the future of the  
that in the present and the future of  
never should be always and  
to be at the present moment the  
in the present and the future of  
is a school for training young officers;  
and a convenient way of getting rid  
of a great number of persons who  
had to the army stationed there.

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Nothing in fact can be more profitable to Russia than to contrive, that Poles and Circassians, equally obnoxious to her, and who should be friends, shoot themselves mutually at her command.

Gentlemen have said in the House of Commons that liberal opinions begin to spread in Russia, and that consequently every alarm about her Designs should be put aside. But think that if the fact be true it will be a stronger motive for Czar to busy his subjects in foreign adventures, and to silence by the drum, and by the whistling of bullets, those reflections which some of them may be inclined to do, on their own not much enviable destiny.

As I have heard here words of Sympathy towards Russia, I think necessary to state, that the information which I happen to give on her policy, is not drawn from the time when I was there in office but since that time thirty years will have passed nearly summer when I resigned my office in the Department of foreign affairs.

In the moment when I accepted it, there was a pause in the old

Nothing in fact can be more prof. like  
to Paris than to continue, that I  
and his friends, especially devoted to  
before mentioned, at her own and  
the Government have been in the hands of  
Garrison that liberal opinion began to  
appear in Paris, and that consequently  
every where about her country should be  
put aside. But there that of the fact  
is true it will be on the other hand  
to say too that the newspaper advan-  
tary, but to be sure of the ground, and by  
the writing of letters, these reflections  
which some of them in my opinion  
to do, as their own that much inevitable  
being...  
as I have heard her words of her  
faith towards Garrison, I think necessary  
to state that the information which  
I happen to give you in respect to  
the ground from the time when I was  
there in office, but since that time  
thirty years will have passed over  
summers when I resigned my office  
in the Department of foreign affairs.  
In the moment when I occupied  
it, there was a number in the  
but to the very return



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old russian policy. The Emperor Alexander was then very young, and was animated by the high and generous feelings which warm and adorn not seldom youthful breasts, but which too often, are withered and changed when years grow on. In the beginning of his reign Alexander, intended to turn all his thoughts and the activity of his people towards interior reforms and improvements; amongst the rest to the improvement of the laws and their codification, to the bettering of judicial proceedings, and the gradual emancipation of Peasants. as to foreign politics he wished to ground them on justice and even as far as possible on benevolence towards other countries. He discarded from his mind, every thought of further aggrandisement, for he was then persuaded that his Empire was already too extensive for the happiness of its inhabitants. His power and influence were to be employed to the protection of the injured, to the support of the law of nations; to the promoting of justice and prosperity as much as possible — every where; for he thought that line of conduct the most proper for securing and increasing the happiness of his own subjects. In his plans he was

our subject. In his plans he was  
and increasing the happiness of his  
of which the most proper for securing  
everywhere; for he thought that his  
and prosperity as well as justice —  
justice; to the preservation of justice  
subject to the happiness of the law of  
employed to the protection of the  
the honor and independence to be  
for the happiness of the world, to  
that his Empire was absolutely extensive  
against enemies, justice was then preserved  
from his mind, every thought of further  
towards other countries. He considered  
out even as far as possible in benevolence  
he wished to promote them for first  
tion of justice. As to foreign justice  
ceding, and with the gradual extension  
tion to the bettering of judicial pro-  
improvement of the laws and their admin-  
improvements; and as for the rest to the  
his people towards interior reforms and  
to turn all his thoughts and the activity of  
beginning of his reign Alexander, intended  
and changed when years grew on. In the  
desires, but which too often, one with the  
war and calm but seldom profitable  
by the light and generous feelings which  
was then very young, and was announced  
old world, in history. The Emperor Alexander

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particularly partial to injured Poland and considered her wrongs as a heavy stain on Russia, which their redress can only wash off.

But such principles could not thrive in that Land; the young Emperor could not resist the bias of Russian Councilors, the lessons which he received at Tilsit and Erfurt from Napoleon did I think con-

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tribute to hasten the change and to make him adopt measures which he would have rejected before. Soon after Sweden was robbed of Finland and Turkey threatened with a similar loss - However it was when the Emperor Nicolas ascended the throne, that the true old Russian policy took again its full course.

Poland in her turn fell a sacrifice to the crafty and savage System; because she had the courage to oppose it and was left alone. It would be superfluous to dwell now on all the sufferings she has endured ever since; you know them all; I have nothing new to add; no think can be so horrid than the continuation of the same sufferings with unabated and increasing cruelty.

A part of the victims is here in England before you. You may hear

I have been thinking of writing to you for some time but have not had time to do so. I have been very busy with my work and with my family. I have not had time to write to you for some time but I have not forgotten you. I have been thinking of writing to you for some time but have not had time to do so. I have been very busy with my work and with my family. I have not had time to write to you for some time but I have not forgotten you.

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their sighs, you may see their tears; and you generously relieve the sufferings ~~in~~ within your reach. Poland will never cease to be grateful for the support given to her unhappy wandering sons; but I must say that your kindest sympathy and compassion, your most heartfelt interest are due to those unhappy beings who were obliged to remain in their native land; to the great mass of the nation who groans under an insupportable yoke. We exiles, we are happy in comparison; we are free and secure on this soil of justice and liberty. But those who could not leave the unhappy land, they have retained it is true their property, but it is not for

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for enjoying it, when they go to rest, they are never sure whether awakening the next morning they will not be deprived of their property; whether they will not be thrown into prison; or draught driven to Siberia. Or if they escape it, they must look on the same acts of arbitrary cruelty daily practiced on their friends and fellow citizens; they must submit to a thousand humiliations and smile when their heart

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their rights, you may be their  
your generally, release the suffering of  
another your health. Do not will never  
succeed to be grateful for the support given  
to then unhappy numbering here, but to  
wishes they that your wishes sympathy  
and sympathy, your sympathy heart felt  
the sympathy and also to their sympathy being  
I have more obligations to remain in their  
native land, to the great mass of the  
nation who would rather than an unhappy  
wishes, you will see the cities, but one happy  
and sympathy, you are free and secure  
not to be a victim of injustice and liberty,  
I will rather than submit, but have the  
sympathy, they have retained it  
to the true liberal sympathy, but it is not  
part of the sympathy, but it is not

2

for sympathy it, when they go to work,  
they are never done without overcoming  
the best manner of sympathy with out  
sympathy, sympathy, sympathy, sympathy  
will never be shown into your own  
sympathy, sympathy, sympathy, sympathy  
sympathy it, sympathy, sympathy, sympathy  
sympathy, sympathy, sympathy, sympathy  
sympathy, sympathy, sympathy, sympathy  
sympathy, sympathy, sympathy, sympathy  
sympathy, sympathy, sympathy, sympathy

bursts with indignation, and still they must do it; they can not run to arms and expose themselves to the severe and just reproach of having covered their country with blood and sea-folds without a sufficient and reasonable chance of success. These are sufferings indeed, beyond every idea, which you, in this blessed land can even form of them.

But Gentlemen the sufferings of Poland are the source of her hope, they rise and strengthen the national spirit; they embitter and root deeper our detestations of foreign yoke; they increase the devoted attachment of the Poles to their Country, and their readiness to sacrifice, when wanted, every thing they possess to her liberation. These national, unanimous, unconquerable sentiments constitute our strength, and inspire the Poles with an unshaken faith in the future destiny of their country.

In comparing the present state of public opinion and even the present dispositions and acts of the

(6)

...with indignation, and still they  
must do it; they can not now to  
and spare themselves to the  
and give reports of having covered  
their country with blood and  
without a sufficient and reasonable chance  
of success. There are sufferings indeed,  
beyond every word, which you, in  
this behalf, can ever favor  
of them. But gentlemen, the suffering of  
Boston is not the cause of her paper,  
they rise and strengthen the national  
spirit; they embitter and root deeper  
our detestations of foreign yokes; they  
increase the devoted attachment of the  
Bos to their country, and their readiness  
to sacrifice, when needed, every thing  
they possess to her liberation. These  
national, unanimous, unceasing acts  
and sentiments contribute to our strength,  
and inspire the Bos with an  
unshaken faith in the future  
step of their country.  
In comparing the present state  
of public opinion and even the  
present disposition and acts of  
the



the government, with what they were only one year ago, without indulging into too sanguine prospects we may fairly assure that the cause of Poland is not declining, that it is even in progress. Now if I had a petition to bring before you, it would be not to desist from diffusing every possible information on Poland, Prussia, Turkey, (which is all but one cause including the best interests of Europe and of England;) and to bring those matters at every occasion before the British public and the British legislature. We have been so often forgotten, when we the least merited it, that now we dread to run the same risk even at the opening of favourable circumstances.

Who can know what is to come, matters are certainly far from being so happily settled or settling everywhere in Europe as to promise that everlasting peace will become now a more practicable dream as formerly. When we see treaties violated, minor states insecure, nations deprived of that share of independence and happiness which is their due; when we see their rights trampled upon, and alarms of every kind afloat; and when we consider that all those momentous symptoms are produced by one immense

the Government, with what they were  
only one year ago, without including into  
two business projects we may fairly say  
that the case of Ireland is not declining,  
that it is even in progress. Now if I  
had a petition to bring before you, it would  
be not to draw from differing every part  
information on Ireland, but of such a kind  
is all but one case including the bill  
interests of Europe and of England) and to  
bring those matters at every occasion before  
the public mind, and the public eye -  
I think we have been so often forgotten  
when we have been so often forgotten  
now we must to repeat the same work  
even in the opening of Parliament in  
London as in the country, and then we shall  
then can know what is to come,  
matters are certainly far from being so  
happily settled as when every man  
in Europe as to the future of that  
year will become known, a more fruitful  
become a family, but we see that  
not a few minor states, in other  
deprived of that state of independence  
and happiness which is their due, when  
we see their rights trampled upon, and  
abuses of every kind spread; and when  
we consider that all these miseries  
you persons are produced by one

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and advancing power the strength and  
ambition of which are increasing every hour,  
we can justly infer that the present period  
is more liable to changes and to unexpected  
commotions than ever were passed times.  
In such circumstances it seems as to Poland  
that common prudence commands to  
the Governments and Nations of Europe,

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to keep

keep up the devoted spirit of Poland not  
to permit its decline and fall, that in  
the hour of need they may rely on her  
essential assistance and after that hour  
is passed that they may be assured of  
Polands existence which is indispensable  
to the consolidation of the balance of  
power and of the future peace of Europe.  
And if ever great Britain is forced to  
go to war, if my country once more rises  
to assert her independence then will the  
great and decisive moment for all the  
friends of Poland to unite and do their  
utmost in order that, contrary to justice  
dignity, honour and interest, Poland even  
then might not be again forgotten  
and abandoned to her enemies.

End.

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and advancing however the strength and  
 number of which are increasing every year,  
 we can finally infer that the present position  
 is quite liable to change and to unexpected  
 fluctuations than our more peaceful times.  
 The best circumstances it seems as to Poland  
 which concerns our present and common to  
 information and history of Europe,  
 is all but one (1790) including to keep  
 things up the deposit of the Polish  
 to point its historical and political  
 the state of affairs which may help or  
 separate relations and often that have  
 happened that they may be of use of  
 Poland which is a subject of  
 to the world, history of the Polish  
 present and of the future part of Europe  
 and if ever great that we are forced to  
 go to war, if only country are more  
 to solve the independence then with the  
 great and better we must for all the  
 friends of Poland to write and of them  
 to point in Poland that contrary to justice  
 to point, however the future, Poland was  
 then might be as our fight  
 and about the to the present.

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