







REPRODUCTION DE LA MÉDAILLE

OFFERTE EN 1850 PAR LES EXILÉS POLONAIS

A LA FAMILLE DU PLUS GRAND AMI DE LA POLOGNE EN ANGLETERRE

LORD DUDLEY COUTTS STUART

né à Mount Stuart, île de Bute, Ecosse, 4. 1. 1803 — mort à Stockholm 17. 11. 1854



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PRINCE ADAM CZARTORYSKI AND LORD DUDLEY COUTTS STUART

BY COUNTESS L. ZAMOYSKA

FIRST PART

(Countess Hedwig Ladislas Zamoyska, the writer of the following article, is a Polish lady who has left her mark on European history. She is the widow of the distinguished Polish soldier, Count Ladislas Zamoyski, who was a general in the Polish army of 1831 and served as a general in the Turkish army from 1854 to 1856, organizing a Polish Legion to fight on the side of the Western Allies in the Crimean War. Countess Zamoyska is herself a writer on history and education, and besides editing the memoirs of her husband she has founded and managed a school for finishing the education of girls. Her interesting book, *Ideals in Practice, with Some Account of Women's Work in Poland*, has been translated into English from the French by Lady Margaret Domville.)

Two men born at the further ends of Europe, the one in Poland the other in Scotland, one born in the second half of the eighteenth century, the other at the beginning of the nineteenth, the one Prince Adam Czartoryski,¹ and the other Lord Dudley Stuart,² appeared destined never to meet, and still less to combine their lives in a common effort for the same grand and worthy object.

¹ Prince Adam Georges Czartoryski was the eldest son of Adam Casimir, Duke of Klewan and Zukow, and of Isabel Flemming. He was born at Pulawy on 14th January 1770, and died at Montfermeil, near Paris, on 15th July 1861.

² Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart was the eighth son of the Marquis of Bute and Frances Coutts. He was born at Mount Stuart, in the Isle of Bute, on 11th January 1803, and died at Stockholm on 17th November 1854.

Prince Czartoryski, born on the eve of the First Partition of Poland (1772), was one of the noblest and most illustrious of its victims. The terrible plight into which his native land had fallen decided his parents to send him to Great Britain in 1789 to finish his education by taking a law course in Edinburgh and London. It was at this period that he formed numerous attachments in this country, especially among its jurists, and in this way he laid the basis of future friendships.

After passing three years in Britain, Prince Czartoryski returned to Poland with the fixed desire to work his utmost on behalf of his unfortunate country. But the Czarina, Catherine II, had other intentions; she required that he and his younger brother, Constantine, should betake themselves as hostages to her Court at Petersburg under penalty of having their vast estates in Poland and Lithuania confiscated. What the latter threat meant can only be realized when we remember that, in these days, the big Polish proprietors were bankers and administrators of the funds of their neighbours. Therefore to confiscate the goods of one of them would involve a whole province and its people in absolute ruin.

The occasion brooked no delay, and the young Czartoryski at once left for Petersburg. There he was, in spite of certain relaxations, submitted to a rigorous censorship. He could neither receive nor send the most trivial letter without the permission of the authorities. He was, moreover, attached to the person of the heir to the throne, the future Alexander I, while his younger brother was attached to the person of the Grand Duke Constantine, the future chief of the Polish army, master and almost sovereign of that part of the Duchy of Warsaw which the Congress of Vienna had baptized by the name of the Kingdom of Poland.

The result of that combination was quite contrary to the wishes of the Czarina. The young Czartoryskis were neither terrorized nor captivated. On the other hand, their serious and reserved demeanour won for them not only the respect and regard of that dissolute court but also the friendship of the two Grand Dukes. Nor did that friendship appear to be other than sincere, so long

as the Grand Dukes were not in power and it committed them to nothing; but when the time came for him to hold the sceptre in his hand, Alexander did not feel himself sufficiently strong to maintain the rights of the feeble against the covetousness of the strong, of ravished Poland against Russia intoxicated with success.

The episode of the Congress of Vienna, where Prince Czartoryski, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, accompanied Alexander I, was the culminating point, the final act and, if the expression be admissible, the exploding rocket of what had been the friendship of the Czar for the descendant of the Grand Duke of Lithuania. Such a friendship had in it no consistence, but that was not the fault of Czartoryski, who was really attached to the Czar, and quite believed in the stability of these sentiments he had so often manifested. It was the Czar himself whose feelings were ephemeral, because the assassination of his father was continually before his eyes, and he knew what it meant for the sovereign of "all the Russias" if he chanced to make himself displeasing to his slaves.

The negotiations at Vienna in 1814 had for their object to enable the representatives of eight European Powers, ostensibly assembled to negotiate a "righteous and durable peace," to end in legalizing the Partition of Poland. The first fourteen paragraphs of the general Treaty of Vienna were entirely devoted to Poland. It was apparent that these Powers had no intention to make up for the loss of independence by the compensations of nationality. The word "nationality" was even improvised by those diplomatists in 1814 to cover their dealings with Poland, or rather to favour those stipulations in the Treaty which were designed, in some degree, to recompense Poland for all of which they had deprived her. History records what has been the result both for Poland and Europe. Poland has never beheld the liquidation of these promises which were made to her; all students of history know to what a course of abuses and persecutions her people were doomed. As for Europe, it is common knowledge that the Congress of Vienna opened for her peoples an era of wars, revolutions, and mutual suspicions. The last

word of civilization appeared to be that every Power should aim at helping itself to its neighbour's possession, to defend itself against the cupidity of a second.

At the close of the Congress of Vienna, Prince Czartoryski was convinced that his work at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs would be of no advantage to Poland; and, on that account, he asked and obtained leave to return into his native land. The Czar asked what he could do to please him, and the Prince answered that he would deem himself happy if he were placed at the head of the Department of Public Education in Poland. This favour was accorded him, and he applied himself zealously to his work. He re-established the University of Vilna, founded in 1597, but suppressed ever since the Partition of Poland. He replaced certain other important educational establishments, founded fresh schools and re-organized and improved those that already existed. Poland and Lithuania at that time produced a perfect galaxy of savants, historians, and poets. At the death of Alexander I, however, the Grand Duke Constantine withdrew the educational department from the charge of Prince Czartoryski to entrust it to the hands of a Russian, Nowosilcow; and the latter afterwards declared that Prince Czartoryski had retarded the russification of Poland for at least a century. The fact was that the Russian official saw only one way of vanquishing the national spirit, and that was by corrupting and demoralizing her youth.

It is interesting to place side by side with this Russian testimony an observation which was made by an Englishman, Sir Stratford Canning, who was sent on a mission to Petersburg in 1825. In his travelling diary, whilst he was passing through Warsaw, he wrote down these words: "One only needs a superficial knowledge of the Grand Duke Constantine to conclude that a revolt in this country is inevitable." ¹ The event which disquieted Nowosilcow, and had been the subject of Sir Stratford Canning's prediction in 1825, really took place in 1830. The Poles had no intention of renouncing the rights which had been

¹ *The Life of Stratford de Redcliffe*, by Stanley Lane Poole, vol. i. p. 357.

guaranteed to them by the Treaty of Vienna. The Russians, on the other hand, had no desire to carry out the engagements to which they had subscribed. The "revolt," that is to say the insurrection, broke out on 29th November 1830, and it lasted even after the fall of Warsaw on 8th September 1831. This last disaster had results well known. It was followed by repression in the true Russian style, by death punishments, penal servitude in the mines, banishment to the utmost confines of the Empire, enrolment in the Caucasus disciplinary battalions, Siberian exile, and confiscations which, according to Russian authorities, affected 2,500 large estates and led to the eviction of 166,904 proprietors, no account being taken of the palatinate of Vilna. A strict censorship prevented, by its heavy penalties, all liberty of reading and writing even in the case of University professors. In fact, nobody was at liberty to teach anything that pertained to religion and fatherland.

Emigration not only seemed the sole means of obtaining personal security, but also seemed the sole way for the Poles to claim these rights, be it before the Governments who had recognized them, be it before the bar of public opinion which, whether we will it or not, always exercises a certain amount of influence on the Government. But the silence imposed on Poles in Poland deprived the young men of national guidance in political or even religious matters. Nor could their most qualified authorities convey to them a word of counsel, whether of comfort or of blame. These young men, delivered over to iniquitous persecution and their own devices, were lured on to such reprisals as obliged them to emigrate. The resulting movement of emigration, chiefly to the two Americas, was always in search of liberty, knowledge, and daily bread; but in 1831 and the following years the emigrants were not young men, but mostly well-deserving patriots. These were soldiers of all ranks, Government officials, senators, deputies, and members of the "National Government" which had been established at Warsaw under the presidency of Prince Adam Czartoryski so soon as the Grand Duke Constantine had abandoned his post of General-in-Chief.

Prince Czartoryski had neither the desire nor the intention to forsake his country. He had been present at the signature of the Treaty of Vienna, which contained a clause constituting on the left bank of the Vistula the Republic of Cracow, that is "the free city of Cracow with a territory of 126,115 hectares and 140,000 inhabitants." This Republic was placed under the protectorate of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, which States mutually agreed "never to permit, on whatever pretext, an army of any of them to cross the frontiers of the tiny Republic." On that account Prince Czartoryski, like many others, took refuge at Cracow, thinking to find there perfect security. Prince Metternich was the means of dissipating this illusion when, on 27th September 1831, he warned Czartoryski from Vienna that the Russians were about to enter Cracow and that if he wanted to escape the most serious danger he must leave the city as quickly as possible. The Prince further sent to Czartoryski a carriage, horses, and a Government commissary to escort him to Austrian territory. Russians occupied the left-hand side of a bridge over the river at the very moment when Czartoryski had reached the Austrian side of the stream. For several days the anguish among the Polish fugitives who had stopped for a few days at Podgorze, on the right bank of the river, was very great. Each was asking the other what it was best to do. Impossible it was to return under the Russian yoke, but no less impossible to remain under the domination of Austria. The only resource left open was a lasting exile. But here a new difficulty faced them. The object of the partitioning Powers was to isolate Poland, to prevent all intercourse with her, and to secure that, as the truth of recent events should not be allowed to penetrate to London, Paris, and Rome, so also no news from the West should filter through to Poland. These emigrants from all parts of their country faced this new conflict, forced home the truth and exposed the falsehoods of their enemies, appealed to instincts of right and justice, and called the attention of peoples and governments to the treaties which had been trampled underfoot. The youngest were the most enthusiastic. They fixed their most confident hopes on Paris, and they reckoned on the

sympathy of the French people and, if it were needed, on a revolution in their favour. As for Prince Czartoryski, he bent his steps to England.

It is probable that, apart from the political considerations that attracted him to England, the old friendships of his youth and the English interests which were linked with the Treaty of Vienna had some weight. Yet what a change was there! He who a few years before had been the minister, councillor, the confidant, and the friend of the most commanding potentate in Europe, he who by Alexander's own lips was christened his "teacher," landed in England in 1831, banished by fate from his country, bereft of one of the largest patrimonies in Europe, loaded with a charge of high treason, and on the eve of being sentenced to a shameful death. Prince Czartoryski, in fact, was at that time simply an outlaw. But the "outlaw" was none the less received in England with attention and cordiality, which was not at all flattering for his enemies. On 5th January 1832 the Ambassadors of Russia in London, the Princess Lieven, wrote to General Benckendorf, her brother, as follows: "The way in which they receive Czartoryski here makes me quite angry. I have not hesitated to talk plainly on the subject. I regard all this noise they make over the coming of Czartoryski as simple stupidity and marking the lack of a good upbringing. English people learn Latin, but they have never acquired the *savoir-vivre*."¹

Of course, it must frankly be admitted that the lessons in good manners *à la russe* which the Princess Lieven set herself to give to fashionable England had, as their results, the defection from Poland of some of her former friends; but the stars in their courses fought for her, and still, at this very moment, in Britain there are not lacking for Poland friends highminded, faithful, and sincere.

Soon after 1829 the Whig M.P., General Sir George de Lacy Evans, published, under the title *Designs of Russia*, some warnings on the danger which menaced Europe from the side of that vast country.

In 1831, after four fruitless attempts, he succeeded in

¹ *Letters of Dorothea, Princess Lieven*, by Lionel Robinson, p. 313.

raising in the House of Commons a discussion on Poland and the Poles.

General Zamoyski, nephew of Prince Czartoryski, often makes allusion in his correspondence to the friendships renewed by the Prince in 1831 on his arrival in England, and of the influence exercised on public opinion by his presence and by the efforts of his friends. He specially mentioned Lord Grey, the Whig leader, who was at that time Premier, and who had formerly been the treasurer of a movement for erecting a monument to the memory of Kosciuszko. He also spoke of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Brougham, whose acquaintance Prince Czartoryski had made in 1814, when he accompanied Alexander I in his visit to England on the eve of the Congress of Vienna. It was principally owing to Czartoryski's influence that Brougham, already well known at that time as orator, advocate, and man of letters, published an article in the *Edinburgh Review* in which he showed that the Partition of Poland was the world's greatest political iniquity, and if an act of justice would guarantee the peace and security of Europe, it was in Poland above all where this act of justice should be done.

The efforts of Prince Czartoryski during his stay in England in 1814 had thus not been absolutely unavailing. The sentiment of reparation due to Poland thus evoked among the British people found its echo in the dispatches and memoranda of the representative of Great Britain at the Congress of Vienna, Lord Castlereagh, and it is to them that a British speaker can appeal in the name of international law if he desires to uplift his voice in the cause of Poland. But in 1831 other considerations prevailed and influenced the acts of statesmen. The tendency was to admit that there was no possible way of setting bounds to the disastrous experiences of Poland. The impossibility did not arise from Russian power, nor from the valour of her soldiers and the sagacity of her statesmen. But almost all the statesmen of Europe showed a strange docility in her presence. Not even the Government of Great Britain

was an exception, so far as regarded the fate of Poland. The Foreign Minister of that time, Lord Palmerston, gave innumerable proofs of this.

Prince Czartoryski had to pull against the stream, but he soon gained to his side some influential helpers. Amongst them may be mentioned Lord Ebrington, later Earl Fortescue, the Viceroy of Ireland, who showered on the Prince many evidences of sympathy for him and for his cause. There was also the well-known jurist, Robert Cutlar Fergusson, distinguished for his heart as well as his head. Poland had never had a more eloquent defender.

The Duke of Sussex, youngest brother of King William IV, gave to the Prince many proofs of his esteem and friendship. There was a story that the Polish exiles in London gave a banquet in his honour, elected him King of Poland during the festive evening, and each of them took an oath of fidelity to his reign. It is related also, on the unimpeachable authority of the Duke himself, that he had the pleasure of seeing the King of Prussia, on his visit to this country, obliged to admire a bust of the Prince which he had placed in his study.

Amongst the number of his new acquaintances, however, the Prince was specially rich in members of Parliament. It was amongst them that he reckoned to meet men who could move public opinion and exert influence on the Government. But to produce this result a great deal of work was needed. It was to help him in this task of organization that the Prince founded, under the patronage of the Duke of Sussex, a society called "The Literary Association of the Friends of Poland."

The poet Thomas Campbell, author of a haunting couplet enshrining the name of Kosciuszko, was president of this association. Czartoryski succeeded in gathering amongst its members men of all parties.

For more than forty years this Association has acted deservedly both for Poland and Britain, and it proved that England is not actuated solely by her own selfish aims, as many have falsely pretended. How many admirable and weighty discussions in the House of Commons are due to the influence of this society! How

many public meetings and discussions were promoted by this group of devoted and often so generous souls! This work began on the morrow after the war of 1831, and it continued vigorously to the insurrection of 1863, and even beyond it.

On 3rd December 1835 Zamoyski wrote to his mother: "We (the Prince and myself) spent eight days with Lord Grey, the ex-Premier, in his house at Howick, Northumberland. Lord Grey felt himself at his ease, and so he spoke quite frankly, although late. He admitted to the Prince that the policy he had adopted in the Polish question had been too timid. He expressed regret that he had not held out his hands to us at the time when we desired it. He further said that the British Government had been too late in observing—albeit quite clearly—that in 1831 it had not quite rightly estimated the forces and methods at its disposal for checkmating Russia. The reward comes rather late, but it is none the less the reward of hard work, that our cause is better understood in Britain. Nicholas himself helped to bring about this result, for everybody began to suspect him, and to foresee the necessity, in no long time, of solving by war the problems which had come to accumulate in the East. But it is a fact worthy of attention that Lord Grey shares this view, and that Lord Grey all through his life has been against all war, and has sacrificed our cause to this opinion. So far as the future is concerned, like everybody else here, he cannot think how we can settle the difficulties raised by Russia without war. It is comforting to note that it is not simply to protect us that such voices are raised, but in the interests of their own country's safety, and that in the same breath they acknowledge us as their allies. However, I do not know where to find the statesman in England who can conceive a great thought and carry it through to a successful realization. Yet every strong feeling gets more intense over here, and as it communicates itself to others, it is very rare to find that it ends by producing no result."

The result, however, was not precisely what Czartoryski had anticipated. He persuaded the British Government

to no overt act, to no movement that had for its aim the rehabilitation of Poland. The hour of deliverance had not yet sounded for his country. Yet who shall say that the influence exercised by the Prince was without result? Was it not his personality that attracted and bestowed on Poland her marvellous defender, Lord Dudley Stuart? The latter was more than a friend of the Prince and of Poland; one might call him a veritable martyr to his love of justice. Not to defend justice, so far as circumstances allow us, was in his eyes to sin against it.

With sentiments such as these, one can imagine how Lord Dudley felt in presence of the Polish exiles. But if he was moved with indignation at the mere sight of any of the exiles, what must have been his feelings in relation to the Prince, who combined in his own person all the sufferings and opprobrium that had been endured by his country? Lord Dudley looked with great insight on it all, and he summed up his impressions by speaking almost always of "the admirable Prince," and by calling the Prince "the noblest historical personality of modern times."

Lord Dudley was scarcely twenty-seven years old when he made the acquaintance of the Prince, who had then passed his sixtieth year. The younger became the disciple of the elder, and what a disciple he was! He grasped the dominant thought of the principle—a thought, to be sure, which was quite clear and simple. What was it? That the Partition of Poland, in the opinion of every right-thinking man, was "an execrable crime." Yet, for reasons of State, this same crime had been ratified and legalized by the Powers united at Vienna in order that they might conclude there an honourable and lasting peace. It remained simply for him to await the complete re-establishment of his country by the providential working of history, and owing to the lessons of experience taught by Poland's downfall to Europe in general and to each European Government in particular. He asked of these Powers simply to refresh their memory with the promises which they had made to the Poles in handing the country over to the three dividing Powers. He asked them to read what they had signed, and to see that those con-

ditions which guaranteed Polish nationality were now respected. He addressed himself specially to England, to whom alone in Europe he had spoken quite frankly. He wished to force her to see through Russia, in unveiling before her eyes the falsehoods of that country and the flaws in her armour. He wished to get Britain to know Poland and to recognize the fateful consequences which resulted to Europe from her disappearance. He set himself to prove that Poland possessed within herself all the elements which were necessary for her rehabilitation. Lord Dudley essayed the same programme, arduous as it was, and his speeches and writings show that he devoted himself to it without ceasing until his very latest breath.

Owing to his family rank, his easy circumstances, his qualities of mind and spirit, his handsome face, and the charm of his personality, Lord Dudley was an associate and a proxy rarely to be encountered.

He applied himself to the history of Poland. He put himself in touch with lawyers, journalists, editors of big reviews, with the most influential M.P.'s and members of the Ministry. He managed to obtain grants for the exiles in spite of previous refusals. He organized concerts and balls in aid of the poor Poles, and he sought out for them situations in which they could earn their bread. In fact, it would be difficult to think of any device he had not tried, so long as he was certain that it might serve the national, political, or material interests of Poland and the Poles.

No wonder if many letters from Poles addressed to Lord Dudley end by these brief but so significant words: "God bless you." The letters of his friends and his own letters, refined and often humorous, afford us better insight into his character than all the praises in the world.

On 22nd August 1833, Prince Czartoryski received from his nephew, Ladislas Zamoyski, a letter in which the latter wrote: "Our final efforts before leaving London have been devoted to a meeting in aid of our poor refugees in Switzerland. The excellent Lord Dudley has been successful in bringing to it some well-known men, such

as Lord Clanricarde, Lord Sandon, Lord Morpeth, the Marquis of Conyngham, a former ambassador to Petersburg, Lord Robert Grosvenor, and several M.P.'s."

On another occasion, when he desired to move a motion in the House of Commons in order to obtain some settled grants for the refugees, such as were made in France, some one remarked that it was midnight, that the House was almost empty, and that he could do no justice to himself by speaking under such unfavourable circumstances. His answer was that this made no difference to him, for if the House did not choose to hear him, they would be obliged to read his speech, which would be printed and sent to every part of the world. That would answer his purpose, and he was quite right; for he obtained from the Minister the £10,000 annual grant for which he asked.

Mr. Wilson Patten wrote on the subject of this discussion: "It is difficult to imagine the extent of misery and wretchedness which we should have had to witness in the course of a very short time amongst those of your countrymen who have taken up their abode in this country, had it not been for the result of Lord Dudley's motion last night. He is, as you may suppose, in ecstasy, and is well repaid for the indefatigable and persevering energy with which he has pressed forward his charitable and kind-hearted object."

At the opening of the British Parliament in 1835, King William IV favourably commented on his friendly and confidential relations with the sovereigns of Europe. In the discussion which followed the King's Speech, Lord Dudley expressed his satisfaction at hearing these hopes of peace, but he added that he had no pleasure in beholding the partisans of the Ministry exulting at the confidence bestowed on the Government of the King by autocratic Powers when these same Powers insulted him by contravening the treaties which they had made with him.

As the numbers of the Polish exiles increased, and especially after the expulsion from Cracow of all who had taken refuge there, the poverty among them increased both in Britain and France, so that the grants which had been made to them no longer sufficed. On 22nd January 1837,

Lord Dudley wrote to his friend Zamoyski : " When I was in Edinburgh, I set all the clergymen preaching for the Poles—Scotch Kirk, English Church, and Dissenters. I hope that this may produce some moral effect, as well as pecuniary assistance."

In the same letter he wrote : " You ask me whether the Government has at last admitted the newly arrived refugees. Not a bit. The consequence is, I feel myself very ill-treated, and am almost at enmity with the Ministers. Spring Rice and Melbourne are very angry with me, and vice versa. Palmerston has neglected to send any answer to my last letter—perhaps not easy to answer—and I am in danger of being on bad terms with him also. Fox Strangeways, the excellent Fox Strangeways, is the only one in the Government of any use, with whom I remain on good terms. Palmerston, having neglected to send a consul or any agent to Cracow, makes me very angry, and I shall not spare throwing this in his teeth. I also hear that Bell's vessel, the *Vixen*, bound to Circassia, has been captured by Russia. On this he must be questioned."

Lord Dudley exerted all his energies in the cause of Poland, and when he admitted that he was " very disheartened about politics, for our present Ministers seem incapable, and I feel others would be ill-disposed," he was continuing to work all the harder in the cause of charity and to procure the means of existence for the refugees and their families. In September 1837, Lord Dudley had the idea of going to spend several days in Paris, and he explains in a letter to Zamoyski how he was delayed : " Several things have kept me here till now, amongst others a late unfortunate fête given for the benefit of the Polish refugees, which produced nothing for those it was intended to assist—only a heavy loss to its promoters."

The prime promoter was no other than himself, but this miscalculation did not stop him. " I have arranged with Wentworth Beaumont," he wrote in the same letter, " who is now at Dover, on his way to Dieppe, to take me across the Channel in a very fine yacht which he has lately purchased and which I hope may some day be made very useful." The truth of the matter was that Mr. Beaumont

allowed Lord Dudley the use of his yacht for all kinds of charitable fêtes on the water, to the joy of the fashionable world and to the profit of the refugees. "By the by," he wrote on another occasion, "you will be pleased to hear that, notwithstanding the failure of masquerade, so many subscriptions have come in lately—that, with the magnificent donation from Sir Frederick Adam, £311, we have received in the last week about £450, which will contribute much to the subsistence of the refugees and not a little to my comfort. We have also got since last autumn a most valuable man in the Council of the Association of the Friends of Poland, Frederick Pigou. His zeal and generosity knows no bounds, and he makes nothing of putting his hand in his pocket and producing £50."

The Duchess of Sutherland several times lent her magnificent residence of Stafford House to help Lord Dudley's charitable schemes. There were held sometimes sales of jewels forwarded from Poland to be sold for the profit of the refugees, and sometimes concerts where the most celebrated performers of the day, Lablache, Liszt, and many others, vied with one another in talent and generosity. People came to them from all parts of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the price of the tickets sometimes went up to a fabulous sum. There was all the more eagerness to come there, for those who attended were sure to see some princes and princesses of the blood, some members of the Government, and many other grand folks. On one occasion ministers even adjourned a Cabinet Meeting to the following day in order not to lose a fête given at Stafford House in aid of these poor refugees.

Lord Dudley induced the Marquis of Lansdowne to accept the Presidency of a charitable society in London similar to that which the Princess Czartoryska had founded in Paris. Almost at the same time the Duchess of Hamilton accepted the presidency of a charitable society of a similar kind in Edinburgh. These offices were no sinecures; there was a great deal of serious work attached to them.

For several years, at the request of Lord Dudley, the Lord Mayor of London gave a charitable ball in his

magnificent Guildhall, and he wrote once on the occasion of one of these balls, "that the middle classes of the people who were well disposed to these entertainments looked on approvingly instead of mocking us, whilst Count d'Orsay, the arbiter of elegance, and myself together danced a quadrille."

One day one of his friends found him troubled and asked the cause. Lord Dudley put in his hands a letter which he had just received. It was the request for an immediate loan of £800. "I do not know how to raise it so quickly," he said. The friend set himself to show that Lord Dudley's only course was to refuse. His answer, however, was as follows: "This Englishman is a member of the Association of the Friends of Poland. He serves the Polish cause with so much zeal and devotion that I am unable to refuse anything to such a man."

At another moment of lassitude, expressing all that he felt, he made a pen portrait of himself, which makes a true report of all that can be said:—

"I go on working with all my might in the cause, as if I were not conscious of my inability to effect more than an almost evanescent amount of good; often depressed, sometimes discouraged, but with enough of spirit and courage left to return to the charge whenever there is an opportunity."

Such "opportunities" of doing good were not wanting to those who desired to profit by them—and still more to those who went out to seek them. On this account we may say that the life of Lord Dudley was one of incessant toil. Everything that he devised to alleviate the material distress of the refugees did not make him lose sight of his higher object, the national and moral distress of their country. The Polish autobiographies and letters of the period afford numerous proofs of the truth of this.

Already on 26th July 1833, Mr. Wilson Patten wrote to Prince Czartoryski:—

"It certainly must have been gratifying to you to observe the unanimity that existed as to the main part of the question, but you would have been much more pleased had you heard Cutlar Fergusson's speech and

witnessed the manner in which it was received by all parties, Whigs, Tories, and Radicals. Sir Robert Peel, Sir R. Inglis, and others, were for once on the same side with O'Connell, Hume, Lord Althorp, etc."

The Prince replied the same day: "It is no small consolation, and makes one reconciled to humanity, to see men like Fergusson, gifted so much intellectually yet considering the cause of the unfortunate Poland as appealing to his own heart and conscience." The Prince ends his letter by saying, "Express to Lord Dudley our most grateful thanks." The Prince does not say why he is grateful, but we can easily guess.

On 20th August 1835, Zamoyski wrote from London to Prince Czartoryski: "Lord Dudley is a very important acquisition, as much for his ardour and courage as for his relations and friends. He has been the subject of high eulogies from the Duke of Sussex and the Duke of Devonshire."

The Prince answered: "I am enchanted with your testimony to the worth of Lord Dudley, for there is none worthier. He wants only one quality, the power of appreciating himself at his true value."

But if Lord Dudley did not know his own value, he was keenly alive to the value of others. That was why he set himself to gain for the Polish cause all his friends who by mouth or pen or by reason of their relations, their talents, or their fortune he thought might prove useful. For the same reasons, he enrolled his friend Thomas Wentworth Beaumont in the Literary Association of the Friends of Poland.

(To be concluded in our next.)

BIBLIOTEKA KÓRNICKA

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