

# PRINCE ADAM CZARTORYSKI AND LORD DUDLEY COUTTS STUART

## BY COUNTESS L. ZAMOYSKA

### SECOND PART

THE annual meeting of the Literary Association of the Friends of Poland happened on the 26th March 1835, and it was on this occasion that Lord Chancellor Brougham took part for the first time in their proceedings. They made up their minds to found a Review for the purpose, among other things, of upholding the Polish cause. Such a journal was all the more necessary because the papers Polonia, and the Polish Record, of Hull, founded in 1832, after having rendered yeoman service, have both ceased to appear for lack of funds. Lord Brougham promised to any such new Review, the support of the "Society for Useful Knowledge," of which he was a distinguished member. Another generous friend of Poland, Mr. W. Beaumont, took upon himself to defray all expenses, amounting to £1,500, and thus the profits of the publication, if there were any, would accrue to the Association of the Friends of Poland.

The British and Foreign Review or European Quarterly Journal had for its main object to throw light on the intrigues of Russia, wherever these could be brought to light, though it may well be said, that any one who cared to exert himself would not have difficulty in finding the evidence of such intrigues everywhere. The new Review, however, had to fight always for Poland and against these Russian influences.

On the 21st October 1835, Zamoyski wrote from Scotland

to his mother: "Fergusson lives here in a country which he represents in Parliament for the seventh time. On the 26th of this month his constituents entertain him to dinner. and Lord Dudley, my uncle, and myself are also invited. The news of this has spread widely, and they are preparing for my uncle a big reception." On the 29th he wrote: "The Fergusson dinner could not have passed off better. My uncle spoke splendidly. Fergusson, our dear Lord Dudley, and several others expressed themselves with great animation on Poland and her future. Lord Dudley mentioned, with profound emotion, how much he felt humiliated by the conduct of Britain with regard to Poland. He showed how Poland had been wronged, and how we ought to lend her help, how the Government had vacillated while Russia had been guilty of turpitude and barbarity. Great Britain had, and still has, the forces required to vanguish Russia, and although he was no defender of war, he would in this case joyfully welcome it, because he was certain that there was no unprejudiced man in Britain who would not willingly give his consent to a war against the oppressor of Poland. He apologized for the length of his speech, whereupon there was a general shout, 'Go on! Go on!'"

Lord Dudley thereupon continued in the following terms: "As often as I, a Scotsman, return again to Scotland full of love for the land of my birth, and am there warmly greeted, I am confronted with the fact that here I behold round this table men worthy of esteem, who love their country just as much as I love mine, and who have a great deal more strenuously fought and suffered on its behalf, but who yet are not permitted to return and sit down at their own fireside, I feel so deeply pained and indignant at it all that I can hardly contain myself. I want to express the opinion that every nation should obtain its just right, and every oppressor should receive the reward he deserves."

On February 1836 Zamoyski referred in a letter to his mother to a speech delivered by Lord Dudley during the discussion on the King's Speech: "All parties, in every district of the country, are exercised over the dangers to which Russia is exposing British commerce; they are

uneasy about their country's political position in Europe, her Indian possessions, and all other questions vital for Great Britain. This disquietude has recently become much more acute. The speech of the Czar at Warsaw has disgusted and revolted British public opinion. This speech, inspired by a spirit of savage despotism, is an outrage to humanity, and the contempt it expresses for treaties is a defiance to Britain and Europe. I think that at such a juncture as the present the Ministry should advise the King to say what he thinks is needed to dissipate these alarms and to declare that he cannot submit to the violation of treaties. If they fail to do this, they are wanting in the sense of duty."

On the 19th February 1836 Lord Dudley recalled to the House the geographical position of Russia. He reminded them that the Czar reigned over the greater part of Europe, and over three times that extent of territory in Asia. He mentioned that Catherine II had 20 million subjects; that under Nicholas that number had risen to 54 millions; and he enumerated all the territories annexed by Russia since 1721 : little Tartary, the Crimea, Oczakow, Poland, Finland, Bessarabia, the Caucasus, two hundred miles extending along the Black Sea. Next he mentioned the countries over which Russia had extended her influence: Wallachia, Moldavia, Greece, Egypt, and lastly Prussia, the extension of which was an aim of her political system. He revealed the concomitants of this influence: "Wherever Russia penetrates she introduces venality. corruption, the spy system, rapine, and imprisonment."

These speeches of Lord Dudley are too long to quote in full, but they well deserve to be read, especially that of 1836, where he protested against the occupation of Cracow by those protecting Powers who had guaranteed the inviolability of this free city.

The speeches on the incredible capture of the British vessel Vixen by Russia, on the Russo-Dutch loan, and on the choice of an Ambassador for Petersburg, are also well worth study. Lord Dudley was not, strictly speaking, a great orator like Fergusson or O'Connell, but the conscientiousness with which he studied the questions on which he desired to speak, the courage which he put at their disposal, and the power of his utterances carried away the audience.

The opening signs of Eastern war next attracted Lord Dudley's attention. He knew that the Turkish Government had invited four Polish officers of high rank to serve in the Ottoman Army. One of these, his friend Zamoyski, answered that if it was a question of organizing a Polish Army Corps in the service of Turkey, he was very much drawn to the idea, but he did not feel himself to have the aptitudes necessary for a command in the Turkish Army. The Sultan was quite favourable to the creation of a Polish Army Corps, but he had to reckon with the French and British Ambassadors. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe was known for keeping a very independent position in relation to his Government, and he was very dictatorial to the Sublime Porte.

Lord Dudley Stuart was anxious to know what the Turks were proposing to do, and he desired to ascertain for himself the exact rôle which the Government of His Britannic Majesty and their Ambassador at Constantinople were desirous of assigning to Poland and the Poles in the Eastern war now so fast approaching. To be sure of this a journey to Constantinople was necessary. But Lord Dudley had an only son, an officer, who, by reason of a terrible fall from his horse, was in the throes of brain fever and had been for several weeks, in prolonged delirium, literally between life and death. There was no mother to tend him and he was entering on convalescence. Yet on the 3rd December 1853, Lord Dudley announced his departure for Constantinople. He desired to go via Paris, to see Prince Czartoryski and thus, as he often put it, to "take orders from headquarters." "Indeed it turns out to be most inconvenient for me to leave. Frank's malady has taken a favourable turn, and as he is now quite amiable and affectionate to me, this gives me regret in leaving him, even for a short time. But that is what I must do. Pray take thought beforehand what to do with me during my short stay at Paris, so that no time may be lost."

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Zamoyski took advantage of his short stay at Paris. His first child, a boy, had been just born, and in accordance with an ancient Polish custom, he had the great pleasure of associating together as the child's godfathers the three men whom he admired the most, Prince Czartoryski, the Count de Montalembert, and Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart.

In a letter dated from Lyons on the 9th December Lord Dudley complained of not being able to take the most rapid modes of transit: "no steamer on the Rhone, in consequence of the want of water, nor any place in any diligence." From Constantinople he wrote as follows:—

#### HOTEL DE BYZANCE, CONSTANTINOPLE, Wednesday, 25th January 1854.

#### MY DEAR ZAMOYSKI,

I am indeed grieved to leave Constantinople without seeing you.

Any attempts which I might have made to prompt the formation of a Polish Legion have been prevented or neutralized by the very decided opposition of Lord Stratford, who persists in thinking that such a step ought only to be taken after an open rupture between England and Russia, and not, as I have always maintained, as tending to prevent war, as well as to make it successful when inevitable.

General Barraguay d'Hilliers is worse about the formation than Lord Stratford.

He approves indeed of it in Asia, but does not in the least comprehend its political meaning nor admit its value as provoking desertion.<sup>1</sup>

War, a general war, now seems inevitable, as well as essential, for the general good. I am just embarking. I shall stop one day in Paris. God bless you and yours.

Zamoyski, too, had made haste to go to Constantinople, and it was a real sorrow for him no longer to find Lord Dudley there. He wrote about it to Prince Czartoryski, and added this comment: "Lord Dudley has interviewed everybody and has talked to them all about Poland.

<sup>\*</sup> Lord Dudley means that the Poles in the Russian Army, if they saw the Polish flag on the side of the Allies, would be likely to leave Russia and attach themselves to the Allied cause. Accordingly it pays better for me to say little on this subject, at any rate at first."

After his return to London, Lord Dudley wrote to Zamoyski on the 22nd February 1854 :---

### STRATFORD PLACE, OXFORD STREET.

#### MY DEAR ZAMOYSKI,

The Prince will have informed you that Lord Clarendon blames Lord Stratford for having opposed my views as to the formation of a Polish Legion, and promises to write a despatch urging the Ambassador now to support it. Lord Clarendon has also promised to give me the balance of the fund devoted by Lord Malmesbury, at your request, to the purpose of sending Poles to America. Lord Clarendon has also desired me to put any suggestions I may have to make on the subject in writing. I have written to the Prince, and await his reply before acting on Lord Clarendon's directions.

I am very anxious to hear from you and to learn what progress you are making about the formation.

I am unwilling to send any Poles until I hear from you.

Most people think war inevitable, but from a conversation I had yesterday with Palmerston I see he thinks that the Czar may, at the last moment, still give in before the determined attitude of Europe. His submission or his death will be a misfortune, for in either case the status quo ante would be re-established in toto or slightly modified at best, and the power of Russia would not be reduced, nor would Europe have any guarantee against future aggressions.

On the 17th April Lord Dudley, though he had scarcely snatched even a little rest after a great and fatiguing journey, wrote to Zamoyski :---

"I have been more busy than ever. Then there has been a Polish dinner, which had a brilliant success both political and financial. The Polish question has been brought favourably into notice, and there has been £900 clear gain. The revenue for at least a year has been provided for the Association.

"It may amuse and please you to hear that when the two Houses of Parliament went up to the Queen, with the answer to the message announcing the war, Layard and I

went in my brougham and were loudly cheered by the populace at the gates of Buckingham Palace, or, to speak more accurately, I was, for the people called out my name before the cheer. I hope events will force the statesmen of Europe to first consider and then support the Polish cause; at present they seem to have no such idea, but the public is gradually thinking more and more of it."

At this time, that is to say after his return to Sweden, Lord Dudley's letters became few, and were chiefly connected with the choice of Polish officers, if need be, for Constantinople. His silence was explained by the considerable effort he had mapped out for himself in order to secure an energetic and well-supported protest against the continuation of the payment by Britain of the interest of the Russo-Dutch loan to Russia. The debate on the subject took place in the House of Commons on the 1st of August 1854, and Lord Dudley's speech, extracted from Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, was published as a brochure. This same brochure contains also the speech of Sir W. Molesworth and that of the Attorney-General, who asked Lord Dudley not to press his motion to a division. But the latter answered "that he had heard nothing which had altered his opinion on the subject, and he must, therefore, divide the House." The motion, however, was rejected by a majority of 52 to 5.

Lord Dudley knew too well, the House of which he was a member and the currents of opinion there, to be under any great illusions as to the fate of his motion. Yet, although he was sensitive in the highest degree and very much affected by success, it was never merely for the sake of success that he undertook to champion a cause. One might say of him that he had an intuition of things before he brought them to judgment; but when he did judge and examine them, he went right to the heart of the matter, as can easily be seen from his speeches, letters, and all his negotiations. But once his judgment was formed, and the conviction made a part of his nature, he ascribed only a secondary value to mere success. He listened only to the voice of his dauntless conscience, and recognized no more than his duty to serve the interests of truth, right, and justice. The words he uttered in the House of Commons on the 1st August 1854 were the last of his which reached his friends of Poland. He knew that his health was very much shaken, and his doctors had advised him to spend the winter in the South. He was quite willing to undertake a journey, provided always that the voyage and the stay abroad would be of advantage to "the cause." "There would be nothing to do in the South," said he, "but I know how much there is to do in the North."

Prince Czartoryski often insisted on the necessity of gaining Sweden to the cause of the Allies, but Sweden was too feeble in herself to stand up against Russia. She needed guarantees—or rather one guarantee—the resuscitation of Poland, which would have given her quite the most effective kind of ally.

Mr. Beale, barrister and member of the Association of Friends of Poland, who was a friend of Lord Dudley, accompanied him on his journey to Stockholm, which he had now chosen as the place of his pilgrimage.

When the passengers on the steamer, which carried him there, learnt who was on board, they gave him quite an ovation. All of them, of different nationalities, accosted him to pay their tributes of respect and admiration and to express their good wishes for Poland. From that time until he landed, and during all his stay at Stockholm, he was overwhelmed with testimonies of affectionate respect. Interviews, visits, dinners, meetings, all followed one another and he could not, in spite of all the warnings of his doctor, induce himself to refuse one of them. His friend Beale was recalled home by his professional duties and was no longer with him to hold him back or send tidings to his family. Left to himself, he believed that he was quite recovered. After a grave crisis of unconsciousness, and as he desired above all to fulfil his mission, he took no precautions to avoid a relapse.

On the 11th November he was to have a parting audience with the Crown Prince. Convinced that the King, the Crown Prince, and public opinion were favourably inclined to his views, but that, left to herself, Sweden

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was unable to counterbalance the influence of Russia without having very substantial guarantees from the Western Powers, Lord Dudley desired at any cost to carry through this last audience. He had satisfied himself that the agents of Prince Czartoryski, who had preceded him, had not wasted their time while in Sweden, and he wanted to continue their mission—that is to say, not to leave Sweden until he had fastened a new and important bond of union for the future. However, the November weather and a continual sense of fatigue continued their deadly work.

On the day of the audience Lord Dudley felt so choked that he could hardly breathe. His feet were so swollen that he could neither walk nor hold himself upright. But these could not prevent him from going. He was carried to the Crown Prince in a litter; but on his return he went to bed to pass through an agonizing period of three days, at last terminated by his happy and Christian death on the 17th November 1854.

On the 22nd November, 1854, Lady Harrowby wrote to Zamoyski :---

#### MY DEAR COUNT ZAMOYSKI,

I do not know whether this letter will be the first to announce to you the terrible news of the death of my beloved brother. As I write the words, I can scarcely realize to myself that it is true. But so indeed it is, and in the midst of my poignant anguish, I feel an irresistible desire to communicate with you, who loved him so warmly, to whom he was so strongly attached himself. You have always appreciated him as he deserved. I feel you were worthy of him; and it is a comfort for me to write to you in these, the first moments of my bitter sorrow. The loss is truly irreparable. "He was a man, take him for all in all; we ne'er shall look upon his like again." Irreparable, truly, is his loss to the Poles; but to me, oh ! what is it? None can tell what it is but those who may have gone through a somewhat similar pang. . . . I have no doubt that you have had every particular respecting his first severe illness in October, when he fully believed himself to be dying, and of his subsequent imprudent exertions, which led to the loss of his precious life. You will feel with me that he died at last a martyr to the cause

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he loved so well, and so nobly defended. I believe he would have been content to do so, had he foreseen it, as he would have fallen on the field of battle. . . You will hear from others of the kindness he met with at Stockholm. The Lord reward them for all they did for him."

On the same day, the 22nd November, Lord Harrowby wrote also to Zamoyski<sup>1</sup>:---

You will be deeply moved, like the rest of us, by the terrible news. To you also he was as a brother; not simply a brother by blood, but united to you by a bond more enduring still, the bond of a common and coequal devotion to an unfortunate cause. You have learnt to appreciate him as he was with that rare combination of tenderness and almost childlike simplicity, with a courage, stedfastness, and chivalrous nobility. His sister bears the loss with a courage worthy of her brother, and with all the resignation of a true Christian heart. But what a blank his death makes in her life and Poland, how irreparable is the loss! As an individual force we cannot replace him. His social position, his knowledge of men, his judgment, and his devotion without personal ambition or self-interest, his persistance in spite of ridicule and discouragement.

In spite of all his doctors could say, he persisted in going to see the King and the Royal Family when he could hardly put one foot before the other. And all for the sake of the cause for which he had lived and for which he was well content to die. The loss is not his own, but that of his family and friends and that of humanity and Poland.

The Poles are accustomed to celebrate, so far as that is possible, the anniversaries of their insurrections. That of 1830 was celebrated on the 29th November. Hardly fifteen days after the death of Lord Dudley, third President of the Literary Association of the Friends of Poland,<sup>2</sup> Major Szulczewski, one of the most active of its members, pronounced a eulogium of the deceased before an audience exclusively Polish. He urged his hearers, if they could do nothing else, to cherish him affectionately in their

<sup>1</sup> This letter was written in French.

• The first President (1832-44) was the poet Thomas Campbell; the second (1844-48), Thomas Wentworth Beaumont; and the third (1848-54), was Lord Dudley Stuart.

memories, as they would have done a father. He briefly recounted the life and deeds of Lord Dudley and then concluded as follows :---

"Public life, that career which calls out the brightest talents of men, in which wisdom, virtue, and rigour of character have an open field for their display; in which the noblest impulses of the heart shine forth conspicuously, afforded Lord Dudley Stuart abundant opportunities for distinguishing himself, and he gained a name that will be recorded with admiration and respect in the annals of his country.

"Inspired with an intense love of truth and justice, he was incessantly pleading before the English Senate on behalf of oppressed Poland; and regardless of the frowns of the members opposed to him, and the objections of Government, his inflexible perseverance succeeded in overcoming prejudices, and in keeping alive the sympathy of the English public for our unfortunate country. Witness the numerous motions in favour of Poland made in Parliament, either by himself or by others at his solicitation, and the most important declarations of opinion from the leading statesmen of the day, which were elicited on these occasions."

At the same meeting an address of condolence in the following terms was voted to Lady Harrowby :--

This melancholy event has deprived the Polish nation of an ardent and unflinching champion, the exiles of their most generous benefactor, and the world of its most useful citizen and brightest ornament.

After the last catastrophe in Poland in 1831, when thousands of her children were doomed to tread the path of exile, Providence raised up for us, in the person of Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart, one of those heroic characters, who are ever ready to battle against all wrong, and the inalienable rights of Poland found a defender in England, whose eloquent and earnest voice soon called forth a response from many a heart, and the hard fate of the proscribed was soothed by sympathy and alleviated by generous benevolence.

Embued with the most noble and elevated sentiments, already at an early age the wrongs of Poland made an indelible impression on the mind of Lord Dudley Stuart and, devoting himself with an inimitable disinterestedness to a cause which seemed abandoned by all the mighty of the earth, and, carrying out with untiring perseverance his difficult, self-imposed mission for many years, he earnestly pleaded the Polish cause, both in Parliament and before the tribunal of public opinion in England.

To his strenuous efforts the Literary Association of the Friends of Poland of which, in his capacity of President, he was the soul and heart, chiefly owes its prolonged existence. In the midst of its severest trials, and when its maintenance was problematical, he stood foremost, undaunted by any difficulty, encouraging, animating, and supporting it munificently, passing days and nights in irksome work, sparing no trouble or anxiety, assigning to himself the largest share of labour and never shrinking from the performance of the highest or the humblest duties.

With truth may it be said that he died a martyr to the cause for which he so nobly lived, and that his death was but the crowning event of the beautiful consistency of his life. . . . The name of Lord Dudley Stuart will ever be enshrined in every true Polish heart, and his services will be a theme of national gratitude.

To you, madam, who have so often assisted in forwarding his benevolent objects, who of all others most poignantly feel the irreparable loss which all in any way connected with him have to deplore, we have considered it our duty to make this brief allusion to his unswerving devotion to Poland, to the exalted example of his life, which sheds a lustre over our country and does honour to humanity.

But it was not only in Britain that the Poles lamented the loss of Lord Dudley Stuart. Those who had gathered round General Zamoyski in Turkey to form a Polish division in the service of the Sultan, with the approval of France, and supported and directed by Britain, they also wore mourning on their arm after an order of the day by their commandant.

It is comforting to quote these eulogies of a good man from his friends, but such tributes may be suspected of partiality, or may be accused of exaggeration. Sometimes the opinions of an enemy is even more illuminating than those of a friend.

This, at any rate, was the unconscious service which the

Czar of Russia rendered to a friend of Poland. In 1845 Nicholas I passed a certain time at Rome. One day, while paying a visit to the Borghese Gallery, he noticed a carriage standing at the gate of the Palace. He was struck with the beauty of its horses, and he ordered one of his suite to discover to whom this equipage belonged. He was told that it was the equipage of Lady Dudley Stuart; whereon the Czar fell into a fit of angry temper, and asked the suite how they dared mention such a name in his presence."

After the Crimean War, and all its painful consequences, Prince Adam Czartoryski addressed in April 1859, the following appeal to his compatriots :---

#### DEAR FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,

At all times and in all countries our cause has ever had, and, in spite of the momentary oblivion to which the policy of Europe has condemned us, still has, faithful and perhaps even powerful friends: but the most fervent and the most constant of these, the one most worthy of our veneration, and most independent of all changes of fortune, was bestowed upon us by England, for as such, not only Poland but all Europe knows the name of Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart.

Issued from one of the most illustrious families of Great Britain, a descendant of the kings of Scotland, united by the ties of consanguinity to the dynasty now reigning in France, and member of the British Parliament, he knew how to rise from the high position in which he was placed by birth to that still higher and most honourable post which only a lofty mind could appreciate, select, occupy worthily, and preserve. Guided by justice, and by the exigencies of the balance of power in Europe, he devoted himself to the service of an unhappy nation, which the triumph of violence and cunning had reduced to slavery.

After our heroic struggle in 1831, when the generous and universal enthusiasm which our cause once kindled among all nations was beginning to cool, when Poland, succumbing under the repeated blows of a conqueror thirsting for vengeance, was delivered up to martyrdom by silent and indifferent Europe, and her sons, seeking everywhere help against the oppressor, became homeless, breadless wanderers in foreign lands, where their misery no longer excited more than a timid compassion, Lord Dudley Stuart stood forth, and devoted himself courageously to the Polish cause. From that moment, every energy of his soul was given to it, and he remained faithful to it until the last breath of his admirable life.

Whenever a favourable opportunity occurred, his voice was heard pleading the interests of our cause before the English Government, to each minister individually, in Parliament, and in the public assemblies of the people. When offered a place in the Government, his answer was, "I will accept office when you can send me on a mission to the Court of Poland." Want of success did not discourage him, faith never abandoned him ; he was ever ready for new efforts. Descending from the exalted regions of the statesman, he also mingled with the crowd of Polish emigrants. Making no distinction of rank, of condition, of political opinions, he embraced all in his tender solicitude; fed them, clad them, encouraged them, reconciled conflicting parties, and even bore outrages from them without being disheartened. As their benefactor, he was an example of perseverance, patience, and indulgence, as throughout his whole career he was an example of every civil virtue.

... When the war broke out in the East, Lord Dudley Stuart, who for years had been predicting its inevitable necessity, was not of opinion, like so many others, that the Western Powers could, without the aid of Poland, carry on with advantage the war against Muscovy. The hopes raised by the war, as well as his fears of failure, caused him to redouble his zeal and activity, and with unbounded devotion he made, at that solemn moment, the most strenuous efforts to conquer every obstacle that impeded the triumph of the cause he held so much at heart.

In order to infuse greater boldness into the timid calculations of the policy of the allied Powers, he visited Turkey and Sweden, two nations which have long been friendly to our country. He endeavoured thus, beyond the precincts of official relations, to create facilities, for the Powers who were about to attack Muscovy, to raise the Polish question. At Constantinople he was received with a traditional sympathy for our cause. . . .

Received with much kindness by the King of Sweden and his family, the friend of Poland was allowed to speak and was listened to. But, alas! it was the last time his voice was to plead our cause before men! Seized with illness during an audience granted him by the Crown Prince, he had not even the strength to retire, but fell prostrate. He died at Stockholm, a victim of his zeal in our cause—but like a valorous knight, he fell in the thick of the battle.

Several times already, dear fellow-countrymen, we have

given proofs of our gratitude to Lord Dudley Stuart, but now that death has called him away from us, it is a still more imperative duty for us to provide a lasting testimony which shall bear witness that the gratitude which we feel towards him will survive our death, as it has survived his. Let us perpetuate by a medal the remembrance of his services, and above all let us render this conspicuous homage to a devotion so disinterested and so rare in our days, to this pure and divine revelation of a nobility of soul, the sight of which, like the spring in the desert, restores to drooping humanity its dignity, its courage, and its strength.

On the one side of the medal we will represent his noble countenance; on the other, the map of Poland, but of Poland such as he bore her in his heart-Poland that lives and waits-Poland entire and independent, where the name of Dudley Stuart is and ever will be venerated. One day our children's children will take in their hands this medal, and will remember the long and persevering struggles which their ancestors sustained against destiny, and they will bless this heroic citizen of a happy and a mighty land, who, with the torch of truth in his hand, never ceased to point out to his fellow-countrymen the road to a new glory, untainted by a single drop of selfishness. They will bless him who shared our love for Poland, as he shared our hopes, our labours, and our sufferings, at a time when the rest of the world, forgetting that we were being trampled under the foot of the oppressor, rashly proclaimed the triumph of justice, of religion, of civilization, and of international law.

Dear compatriots! long and intimate friendship bound me to Lord Dudley Stuart. This friendship was the pride and consolation of my life. Many a time I have been the interpreter of the wishes and sentiments of our nation, but never have I been a more faithful interpreter than when expressing, as at this moment, its feelings towards this unrivalled advocate, this valiant champion, this self-devoted martyr of our cause.

As long as he lived I loved him, if I may be allowed the expression, with the whole heart of Poland; now that he has been taken away from us, let us in common ensure to him eternal remembrance and gratitude from all those who bear, and who shall in future bear, the name of Poles.

Prince Adam Czartoryski has made mention of the grateful testimonies made on many occasions by the Poles to the work of Lord Dudley Stuart. Orations, commemoration speeches, songs, have never been wanting. Specially there should be mentioned a piece of tapestry embroidered by the hands of Polish women with the arms of Poland, the white eagle and the Lithuanian Cavalier; and a watch, the work of the famous Polish watchmaker Patek, with the Polish arms on its face. But the work which would most have answered to his political aspirations, was only published after his death.

Count Titus Działyński, convinced, as were most of his fellow-countrymen, that a criminal enormity like the Partition of Poland could only be defended by ignorance and by the errors and falsehoods which have since been industriously propagated, set himself the task of labouring to re-establish the truth. With that object he published numerous works devoted to the history of the laws and of the past of Poland.

One of these is a compilation which has for its title Lites ac res gestae inter Polonos Ordinemque Cruciferorum, and it was published at Posen (Poznan) in 1855. The first folio volume, with a dedication to the memory of Lord Dudley Stuart, is adorned with his portrait engraved by Antoine Oleszczynski after Georges Hayter.

This book contains a veracious account of the exploits of the Teutonic knights and of the Hohenzollerns, their worthy descendants. It tells how these Teutonic knights came into Prussia—a Polish land—on the plea of evangelizing the pagans of Lithuania. In Prussia they distinguished themselves by spoliation and massacre, and until these monks became laymen and the former Catholics changed to the Lutheran faith. Afterwards the Grand Masters of these "Knights of the Cross," vassals of the King of Poland, became Dukes in Prussia, Kings of Prussia, and then, in the nineteenth century, German Emperors. Lastly, the book exposes their treasons, their contempt for their oaths, their falsification of documents treated at their discretion as simple "scraps of paper."

Prince Adam Czartoryski said of Lord Dudley Stuart: "He is England's gift to us." M. Szulczewski added, "that it was the moving recital of Poland's injustice and suffering made by the Prince that inspired in Lord Dudley

Stuart that enthusiasm for Poland which he always retained."

Thus it was to the Prince that belongs the honour of having enrolled among the defenders of Poland that champion whose energy and unexampled devotion has earned for him the gratitude of his own generation and the homage of generations yet unborn.

# TWO SONGS

#### By FANNY, COUNTESS RUSSELL

#### (LADY JOHN RUSSELL)

The late Countess Russell, better known as Lady John Russell, wife of the Prime Minister who as Foreign Secretary pled the cause of Poland in his dispatches of 1863, herself felt a great interest in the Polish nation. Indeed, her sympathetic heart went out to all peoples striving for liberty and for the free expansion of their national life. A striking evidence of this is furnished to our readers in the following simple and touching songs, composed-both words and music-in June 1844. They were never published, and are only now preserved among her other MS. poems; but at the present hour, when British sympathy is again being aroused in the cause of Poland, they may well be said to be of some public interest. The airs were named Czartoryski and Zamouski, after two friends of hers who were exiles from Poland and whose names are not now unknown to the readers of this REVIEW. The first. in fact, forms the subject of the preceding article by Countess Zamoyska, the widow of Count Ladislas, after whom the second air is named. We are much obliged to Lady Agatha Russell for so kindly sending us these two songs.]

## POLAND'S HOPE

Air CZARTORYSKI

LIBERTY! oh wilt thou then Ne'er bless our proud endeavour? Slavery! oh art thou then Our heritage for ever?

Have we wept and suffered vainly Is Kosciuszko's spirit fled? Or slept Heaven while profanely Warsaw's plain was stained red?

## TWO SONGS

No, the day will come, believe me, Poland's day of triumph high; Time nor tyrant shall bereave me Of a hope too pure to die.

Liberty ! oh liberty Shall bless our proud endeavour; Slavery ! oh slavery Shall pass away for ever!

Tears of millions fall not vainly, Ne'er did hero bleed in vain. Heaven slept not while profanely Stained red was Warsaw's plain.

And the day will come, believe me, Poland's day of triumph nigh, Tyrant! of all else bereave me, But my hope can never die,

Liberty! oh liberty

Shall bless our proud endeavour; Slavery! oh slavery Shall pass away for ever!

## THE POLISH MOTHER

Air ZAMOYSEI

Askst thou, English Mother, why Tears have dimmed my beaming eye, Pale now My young brow
And deep and long my sigh?
I, too, proud and happy was
In a noble child, alas! Dear to me

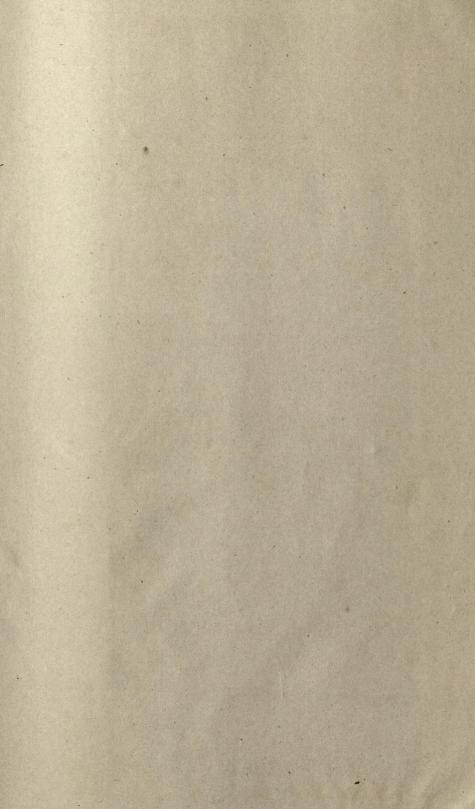
As thine to thee; Where art thou now my Ladislas! He pines afar Where deserts are, We meet no more Till life be o'er Because his little lips refused To learn the tongue our tyrants used!

So fair, so young, From heroes sprung, The dungeon's gloom Must be his tomb, And Poland to the world shall tell His crime was loving her too well!

Then no longer ask me why Tears have dimmed my sparkling eye, Pale now My proud brow And deep and long my sigh.

English Mother, happy thou, My despair canst never know; Happy ye In England free Where flowers of Freedom dare to grow!







# DO KORZYSTANIA W CZYTELNI