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THE
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PUBLISHED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE HULL LITERARY ASSOCIATION OF THE FRIENDS OF POLAND.

No. 1.

AUGUST, 1832.

PRICE TWOPENCE.

Extract from the Protest of the Crown of Poland, against the first Partition of the Country.

"But the present proceedings of the three Courts, giving the most serious subject of complaint to the King, (Stanislas Augustus Poniatowski,) and the duties of his crown not permitting him to be silent on this occasion, he declares in the most solemn manner, that he looks upon the actual seizure of the Provinces of Poland by the Courts of Vienna, Petersburg, and Berlin, as unjust, violent, and contrary to his lawful rights; he appeals to the treaties, and Powers guarantees of his Kingdom and its appurtenances. And lastly, full of confidence in the justice of the Almighty, he lays his rights at the feet of the Eternal Throne; and puts his cause into the hands of the King of Kings, the supreme Judge of nations; and in the full assurance of His succour, HE PROTESTS SOLEMNLY, AND BEFORE THE WHOLE UNIVERSE, against every step taken, or to be taken, towards the dismembering of Poland. Given at Warsaw, October 17th, 1772."

Signed by the High Chancellors of Poland and Lithuania.

THE HULL POLISH RECORD is presented to the public under the superintendence of the Hull Literary Association of the Friends of Poland, in the anxious hope and expectation that the authentic particulars, for the diffusion of which it is designed, will tend to preserve amongst our countrymen, a lively and lasting interest in the condition of Poland.

With this important object in view,—important not only to the Poles themselves, but to the whole of christian and civilized Europe,—the Society has determined upon publishing historical documents of various descriptions, and original contributions calculated to afford a correct knowledge of the Poles,—of their country, science, literature, manners, customs, and institutions civil and religious,—together with such illustrations of international Law, and intelligence of recent events, as may enable the public to form a just judgment upon the dreadful tragedy now approaching its catastrophe on the theatre of Poland.

The transactions of Societies and meetings, having a kindred object, will be noticed.

Poetry, original and select, will embellish our columns; anecdotes will be interspersed; and every available means will be used to make this publication useful and interesting.

The "Record" will appear occasionally, but not at shorter intervals than one month.

Our first number is occupied, chiefly, with the literary defence of the Poles.

The members of the Hull Polish Society feel that no apology is necessary to justify their attempt to cultivate a field as yet but little regarded. They plead the cause of humanity,—and humanity is the cause of all men, however *unfashionable* it may happen to be for a time. Prompted by that sentiment, and by an unshaken love of justice, the Friends of Poland trust to find a responsive chord in the hearts of their countrymen: indeed they know full well that a case for the exercise of their justice and humanity has but to be made out in order to awaken that moral power, before which Injustice must stand self-condemned, and the Public Spoiler be compelled to make restitution of the plunder he has acquired. It is thus only that the crime of the *first partition of Poland* can be expiated.

We are deeply impressed with the statesman-like observation that—"Until redress is obtained for Poland, there can be no security for the preservation of the peace of Europe."*

In the words of a Member of the late Polish Diet, we may also avow, that "It is because we wish for PEACE, that we desire to arrest the progressive march of Russia, which, if suffered to proceed, God only knows where she will stop."†

* Mr. Labouchere.
† See "Polonia; or Monthly Reports on Polish Affairs," just published by the London Polish Society, (p. 27.)

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Time was.—Time is.—

"You may strip a Pole to his shirt, but if you attempt to take his shirt, he will regain all."—*Polish Proverb.*

POLAND was a powerful and independent nation, when Russia was subdivided into petty monarchies, and in a state of vassalage to the Tatars.

Poland is, now, extinguished as a nation, being swallowed up (the Prussian and Austrian portions excepted) by the Russian Empire, the most enormous that ever existed.

Poland never was an encroaching power: Russia has always been one.

Poland, although the most chivalrous nation on earth, has been content to fight only in her own defence: Russia has been always influenced by the lust of conquest and dominion.

Poland once extended from the Baltic to the Black Sea;—even at the end of the 17th Century was as large as France, comprehending upwards of 200,000 square miles;—but by the treaty of Vienna, it was limited to 48,000 square miles;—and by the Ukase of the Russian Emperor, in February last, it is doomed to be engulfed in the autocrat's immense dominions.

Poland, since the time of Sobieski (1696), had a population of 20,000,000:—by the Treaty of Vienna, it was reduced to 3,500,000;—and by the infamous Edict of 26th February last, it is to be drafted off to Siberia and to Russia, by the double system of banishment and *translocation*. The autocrat having declared that *he will make a Poland of Siberia,—and a Siberia of Poland!!!* A declaration which reminds us of that made by the Grand Vizier of the Turks, Mahomet Emin, in 1769, with reference to the same unhappy country: "The system of protecting Poland," said he, "and entering into an alliance with her, for the object of using it as a rampart against the Russians, might be good for the Christian Courts; but such a plan could never enter into the counsels of an empire, which makes its operations depend only on its will and power, and whose policy has always been to surround itself on all sides with deserts."

Poland has supplied our wants in times of scarcity, and relieved our manufacturers of their superabundant stock; Poland might, indeed, become the granary of Europe, and the emporium of British industry;—but, within the deadly grasp of Russia, she must bend to a jealous system of commercial policy, disadvantageous alike to herself and Great Britain;—some corn it is true may occasionally come from Poland, as Tallow and Hemp come now from Russia;—but no manufactures of consequence will go thither in return.

"Poland was the first nation in northern Europe which possessed political rights, the liberty of the press, religious freedom, and security of persons and property."*—She possesses these blessings no more; and her oppressor never did possess them;—of which the world needs, indeed, no formal proof.

The Poles were always distinguished for valour and frankness of disposition; the Muscovite for perfidy and low cunning—qualities which he retains to this day. The Poles are as eminent as ever for the virtues which formerly characterised them; and in reliance under Providence upon them, and the justice of their cause, they still cherish the hope of achieving the independence of their country, and seeing it rank again amongst the most powerful States of Europe; for "History is full of retribution." E.

* Address of the Polish Refugees in France to the British House of Commons, May 29, 1832.

TERRITORIAL ACQUISITIONS OF RUSSIA.

Russia, which was first confined to narrow limits, that is, to the Country which surrounds Novogorod, Moscow, and Kief, has attained its present magnitude by a variety of aggressions and conquests. The principal of these are the following:—

1.—The Kingdom of Kazan, conquered by the Tzar Yvan Vasilievitch II., in 1552.

2.—The Kingdom of Astrachan, taken from the Tartars by the same Monarch, in 1554.

3.—Siberia, a territory more extensive than Mexico or Peru, which Yermak, a rebellious Hetman of the Don Cossacks, subdued in 1573, and presented to the Tzar in atonement for his revolt.

4.—White Russia, including Smolensk, ceded by Poland to the arms of Alexis, in 1667. In 1689, Russia extended from Archangel to Azof, but had not reached the Baltic.

5.—Livonia, Esthonia, Carelia, Ingermania, Vyburg, and several islands in the Gulf of Finland, ceded by Sweden to Peter the Great, in 1721.

6.—Polotsk, Witepsk, Micislaw, and Polish Livonia, wrested from Poland by Catherine II., in 1772. (*1st Partition.*)

7.—The Crimea, the Island Taman, and a great part of the Kuban, annexed by a treaty which Catherine II. compelled the Porte to sign, in 1784.

8.—Oczakof, and the lands between the Bug and the Dneister in 1790.

9.—A great part of Lithuania and Volhynia, in 1793, (*second partition*); and in 1795, the rest of Lithuania and Volhynia, Samogitia, &c. (*third partition of Poland.*)

10.—The town of Baku and the fortress of Derbent from the Persians, in 1797.

11.—Georgia, annexed 1801, and Bialystock in 1807, under Alexander.

12.—The province of Finland, in 1809.

13.—The province of Bessarabia and the eastern part of Moldavia, obtained by the same Prince from Turkey, in 1811.

14.—Various districts in Persia, in 1813.

To which is to be added, large acquisitions in Persia and Turkey, in 1827 and 1829, and the Kingdom of Poland, lately incorporated with Russia by the autocrat Nicholas, in violation of oaths and treaties. Thus Russia, which a few centuries ago was scarcely known as an independent state, is now the largest empire of the world. It is more than twice as extensive as all the other kingdoms of Europe put together, and far exceeds the greatest empire of antiquity. The area of Europe is computed at 3,724,000 square miles; that of the Russian Empire at 7,880,000 square miles! Will the encroachments of Russia never have an end?*

HISTORY.

[Compiled chiefly from Fletcher's "History of Poland," and the History which forms the 20th vol. of Dr. Lariner's Cyclopædia.]

STATE OF POLAND THREE QUARTERS OF A CENTURY PRECEDING ITS FIRST DISMEMBERMENT.

THE renowned warrior-king of Poland, JOHN SOBIESKI, who died in 1696, was its last independent King. Since that period Poland has always received her Sovereigns under the compulsion of foreign arms. (*Rut-*

* In our next number, we shall expose the real weakness of Russia, and show that the very extent of her territory renders her less formidable.

here). The forced election of Frederic Augustus of Saxony, (successor to Sobieski,) was the first of the disgraceful series of events which laid the yoke on the necks of the Poles. This intrusive sovereign began his reign by an attack on Sweden, in attempting to recover Livonia, which had been ceded in John Casimir's time—a gross violation of the rights of nations and of equity, in which he obtained the willing assistance of Peter the Great, Czar of Russia, who, so soon after, was to treat Poland more as a vanquished province than as an allied state. Peter and Augustus contracted this iniquitous treaty in a drunken revel at Birze, (in the palatinate of Wilna,) 26th February, 1701. But Charles XII. of Sweden, although then under 20 years of age, was not to be made the tame victim of such flagrant injustice. He marched against the Saxons in Livonia. The news of Charles's approach was nearly as agreeable to most of the Poles as it was terrible to Augustus (for the young Swedish monarch had already routed the Russians at Narva); they considered him as their champion against the tyrannical and intruding Saxons; and Charles declared himself the friend of Poland, although the *enemy of their Sovereign*. "I came to make war," said he, "on Augustus the usurper, and his Saxons, and not against the Poles." Frederic Augustus was compelled to flee into Saxony. He was deposed, and an interregnum proclaimed May 2, 1705. Charles fixed his eye on Stanislas Leszczynski, (pronounced *Lesh-ichinskee*), the young palatine of Posnania, and his election was registered. The constitution was in this case infringed by Swedish influence; and although the usurpation of Augustus was humiliating to the Poles, this new one was little less so; although Stanislas had the character of being humane, enlightened, and *par excellence*, the "beneficent philosopher." Charles compelled Augustus to resign all pretensions to the crown, and even to write Stanislas a letter of congratulation on his accession to the throne! After Charles's disaster, however, at *Pultowa*, Augustus resumed the diadem despite his oath to the contrary. Stanislas retiring into Swedish Pomerania, agreed to abdicate. Charles being then confined at Adrianople stimulated the Turks to take up arms against Russia, and obliged Peter to make that famous capitulation of 1711, by which he was bound to withdraw all his troops from Poland, and *never to interfere in the affairs of that government*. Peter was, however, no sooner out of danger than *he forgot his oath*, and instead of withdrawing his troops from Poland, reinforced them. Augustus even called upon the Czar for assistance against his own subjects. The Czar, subsequently, entered into a treaty with the King of Sweden to re-establish Stanislas!—to make a *descent on England*, and in fact to become the arbiter of Europe! The death of Charles, in 1718, broke the alliance. Of all the parties, Peter was the only gainer. *From this reign Muscovite influence acquired irresistible strength*. Courland was lost to Poland. The republic had ceased to control her own destinies; her independence had vanished, and she was no longer allowed either to choose her own rulers, or to take any other important step without the concurrence of her neighbours. The reign of Augustus was one continued scene of disasters; and by many conspiring causes, hastened the decline of the Polish nation.

After the death of Augustus (31st January, 1733) attention was turned to the ex-king, STANISLAS, who, in his

peaceful court of Lorraine, was too philosophic, it is said, to be tempted by ambition. During his exile, his daughter, Mary Leszczynski, had become Queen of France,* and the French King (Louis XV.) interested himself in the election of his father-in-law. Both Austria and Muscovy, however, had resolved to resist the pretensions of Stanislas, and to enforce the election of a rival candidate, Frederic Augustus, elector of Saxony, son of the late King, who had spent the latter part of his reign in attempts to make the crown hereditary. *The grounds of this arbitrary interference on the part of the two neighbouring powers would be vainly sought in the recognised principles of international law.* (See History of Poland, 20th vol. Lardner's Cyclopædia, p. 226.) These two powers took the most careful precautions to intercept Stanislas on his way to Poland; but, in spite of every obstacle, he reached Warsaw, and was proclaimed King on the 11th Sep., 1733. Meantime, an army of Muscovites arrived at the village of Kamien, in the neighbourhood of Warsaw; and at a wretched inn in the depths of a forest, Frederic Augustus was also proclaimed King of Poland. The Polish army had been injudiciously reduced under the preceding reign; and the Russians and Austrians obtained their object. Stanislas maintained himself for some time in Dantzic; but treachery at length, leading to its surrender, he made his escape by night in the disguise of a peasant. This happened on the 27th June, 1734. He has himself described his hazardous and singular flight; which is one of the most romantic incidents in either history or biography.† Frederic Augustus, thinking he had done enough for his new subjects by reducing Dantzic, and compelling his rival to evacuate the country, abandoned himself to smoking, hunting, and Count Bruhl, his pompous and servile minister.

But Russia was even at that time (1736) the ruling power at Warsaw. Peter III. (the Successor of Elizabeth) considered Poland completely within his grasp, and in reality a province of his Empire. St. Petersburg was, in fact, the great focus where the rays of Polish intrigue were concentrated.

The princes Czartoryski (of the Jagellon family) plotting the overthrow of the republic, and the establishment of an hereditary monarchy, conciliated Russia, in order to effect this change in the person of their kinsman, the young Count Poniatowski. Even in the reign of Elizabeth, this unprincipled Pole had formed a criminal intrigue with the then grand Duchess *Catharine*; and by favour of that connection was taught to regard the Polish crown as his own. The father of this adventurer was an illegitimate son of a steward in the family of the Sapiehas; and had married a sister of the Czartoryskis. Their

* M. Leszczynski, the young Polish officer, who arrived in Hull in November last, and remained some time with us, stated himself to be a branch of this family; and he carried on his person a miniature likeness of Mary Leszczynski, the consort of Louis XV. M. Leszczynski is an orphan: his father was killed at the battle of Smolensk, fighting under Napoleon. The young hero is now in Brussels, a Captain in the body-guard of King Leopold. His amiable and accomplished companion-in-arms, M. Parczewski, is also in the capital of Belgium, and has, we are informed, received a civil appointment. They are both spoken of in high terms by Count Ladislas Plater.

† We shall give this narrative in a future number, if it be found that the public take sufficient interest in the history and fortunes of Poland.

plan was frustrated, however, by a true son of the republic, Count Branicki, (pronounced *Branitzhee*.) grand-general of the crown, the most respected and powerful person in Poland. Mokranowski also distinguished himself in this endeavour to redeem the honour and independence of their country. Eventually, Russia and her minions prevailed. The cause of young Stanislas Poniatowski, became more acceptable at the court of St. Petersburg, after the elevation of Catharine to the crown. She sought the alliance of the Prussian King, with whom she arranged a portion of the policy that was afterwards adopted in regard to this doomed nation. Even Turkey now abandoned all resistance to the encroachments of Russia on this devoted republic. The ambassador whom Catharine sent to Warsaw to further the views of her former paramour—(a young Orloff being now preferred to that "official situation,") was Count Keyserling, an old diplomatist who had grown grey in intrigues and villainy. On the death of Frederic Augustus (Oct. 1763, *nine years before the first partition*) she dispatched the ferocious Prince Replin to Warsaw, to urge on Keyserling to immediate proceedings; and regardless alike of decency and justice, ordered 10,000 troops to follow him and occupy the positions round the Polish Capital. Sixty thousand more were stationed on the frontiers, supported by 40,000 Prussians!

The competitors for the crown were Stanislas Augustus Poniatowski, the patriot hero Branicki, the young Elector of Saxony (son of the late King), and Count Oginski, who had married Michael Czartoryski's daughter. All dispute, however, was soon cut short by the united declaration of the Prussian and Muscovite ambassadors.—The Poles now *felt* that they were slaves.—But on some neither fear nor seduction had any influence.

The diet of election was held on the 7th May, 1764. Russian troops guarded all the avenues of the city,—were posted in the squares,—and the whole of the Senate-House was filled with soldiers. Of the 50 Senators then in Warsaw only 8 proceeded to the diet; but the determined conduct of only two of them struck a temporary awe into the lawless assemblage, and deprived the proceedings of the faction of even a semblance of constitutional sanction. These two intrepid patriots were Count Malachowski, the Grand-Marshal,* aged 80; and Mokranowski (before mentioned).—Malachowski, on entering the assembly so strangely constituted, instead of raising his staff—the signal for the commencement of proceedings—resolutely held it downward; and Mokranowski exclaimed, with a high voice,—“Since the Russian troops hem us in, I suspend the authority of the diet.” Immediately a multitude of soldiers, with drawn sabres, rushed at the bold patriot. This first outrage was prevented, and Mokranowski sheathing his sword, which he had drawn in his defence, and looking round at the deputies, who wore the cockades of the Czartoryski family colours, said to them, “What! gentlemen, are you deputies of your country, and assume the livery of a family?”—“Raise your staff!” shouted the armed creatures of the intriguing Czartoryskis. “No!” cried Mokranowski, in a voice yet louder; “do no such thing!” Again the soldiers attempted to lay the patriot low, while several timid voices exclaimed,

—“Mokranowski, retract your veto; we are no longer masters; you are rushing on certain death!”—“Be it so!” replied he, as he folded his arms in expectation of the catastrophe; “I will die free!”—The elevation of his purpose was read in the energy of his look, and struck a deep awe into the assailants, who began to hesitate in their design. The old marshal then spoke:—“Gentlemen, since liberty no longer exists amongst us, I carry away this staff, and I will never raise it till the public is delivered from her troubles. He was then called on to resign it into other hands; but, being made of equally impenetrable stuff with his coadjutor, the noble octogenarian answered “Never! You may cut off my hand, or you may take my life; but as I am a Marshal elected by a free people, so by a free people only can I be deposed.—I shall retire.” He was surrounded by ferocious soldiers and deputies, resolved to prevent his egress. Seeing him thus violently detained, Mokranowski remonstrated; “Gentlemen, respect this old man; let him go out! If you must have a victim, here am I:—but respect age and virtue!” At the same time he, the younger of these heroic patriots, repelled the attacks on him, and forcibly opened a way for the venerable Marshal, whom he succeeded in conducting to the gate.

But this admirable display of firmness led to no corresponding result. Poniatowski took upon himself to prolong the diet, and ordered the election of a new Marshal. Prince Adam Czartoryski was chosen. The patriots finding that force was to be the arbiter, left Warsaw. Branicki took refuge on the borders of Hungary; Radziwill entered Lithuania to attempt a confederation; Mokranowski flew to Berlin to have a conference with Frederic. He pointed out to him the gross violation which the Russians had made of their constitution, and the danger of their encroachments. Frederic pretended that the republicans had attempted to make the crown hereditary in the house of Saxony: “Besides,” said he, “you are the *weakest*, you must submit.” The Pole replied, “*your Majesty did not set us such an example*; you resisted, *single handed*, all Europe!”

The field being clear for Poniatowski he was elected on the 7th September, 1764. Even now, the King was but a viceroy of Russia.—The Sovereign of Muscovy was recognised as “Empress of *all the Russias*,” thereby supporting the claim of the Czarina to the dominion over Red Russia, and the other Russian provinces possessed by Poland. The ambassador Replin remained at Warsaw, boasting that it was he who had put the crown on the head of Stanislas Augustus, and ready to make him feel that it was he also who kept it on. And Frederic, who discovered that the new King had been proposing an alliance with Austria—Prussia's mortal enemy—exclaimed in a rage—“I will break his head with his crown!”

The fate of Poland seemed to be now rapidly accelerating.—Reader! mark the sequel.—All parties regarded the approaching diet of 1766—7 as the crisis of their country's destiny. Catharine determined to have her own way, and informed the Polish Ambassador that her demands must be granted, adding, “I forewarn you if you do not yield to me what I now request, *my demands shall be without bounds*.” It must not, however, be supposed, that this dictatorial interference of Muscovy, was admitted without opposition. It was courageously denounced in the diet by several senators, especially by Solytk, bishop of

* The office of “grand-marshal of the diet” corresponds to that of our “Speaker” of the House of Commons.

Cracow, Zaluski, bishop of Kiow, and two temporal barons: but the fate of these brave men was intended to deter all others from following their example: they were arrested by night,—imprisoned in separate dungeons—promised their liberation on condition of desisting from future opposition; and, on the offer being rejected with disdain,—were transferred into the heart of Siberia; and the empress wishing to erase even the memory of such patriotism, forbade all mention even of their names!

However appalling the fate of these men, it had not the effect designed by its framers: it roused the patriotic and the bold to a more determined and effectual opposition. To show that the spirit of Polish independence was not entirely annihilated, patriotic confederacies were formed. That which particularly deserves notice was the one formed at Bar, a little town in Podolia, of which the avowed object was to free the country from foreign influence, and to dethrone the poor creature who so dishonoured the nation. Others were organized at Cracow, and in Lithuania, under Radziwill, Count Pac, &c. Krasinski, bishop of Kaminiac (pronounced *Kaminietz*) had entered into the spirit which actuated Soltyk in opposing the Russian subjugation, but habit and character made him adopt more wary expedients. He negotiated with Turkey for aid against Russia. Yet it was the opinion of some that “to bring in the Turks to drive away the Russians, was like setting fire to a house to drive away vermin.”—Mokranowski repaired to France to endeavour to obtain the support of the French Court. Count Pac had an audience of Joseph II., Emperor of Austria, but it proved fruitless.

War had been declared by the Turks on the Czarina; and the contest lasted four years. The Russian plan for the campaign of 1770 was on a most gigantic scale. The Turks were unsuccessful, the Muscovites every where triumphant. An ominous amity seemed to be springing up between Prussia and Austria. An attempt on the part of some of the Polish confederates to carry off the King, and which failed, did no good to the cause. Every thing conspired to render the year 1772, the last of Polish independence. All these circumstances led to a result hitherto unprecedented in history,—

THE PARTITION OF THE REPUBLIC BY THE THREE NEIGHBOURING POWERS!

“It is not difficult,” says the historian,* “to fix the period when this abominable project was first entertained, or with what power it originated. Notwithstanding the cautious language of the King of Prussia in his Memoirs, there is reason enough for inferring that *he* was its author, and that the subject was first introduced to Catharine II. in 1770, by his brother Prince Henry. Unscrupulous, however, as Catharine often was, she refused to be the first to mention such a project to the Court of Vienna, whose concurrence in this disgraceful usurpa-

* The writer of the “History of Poland,” forming the 20th vol. of Dr. Lardner’s Cabinet Cyclopædia, who certainly cannot be accused of undue partiality to the Poles. We shall, for this reason, quote him with the greater freedom. When his evidence is favourable to Poland, it ought not to be doubted even by Russia. He acknowledges that the Poles are, at least, “the bravest of the brave”; and frankly says,—“Their cause stands in no need of exaggeration: it is strong in its own righteous justice.”—Note, p. 269.

tion was necessary.—Frederic had less shame.—After some hesitation the Austrian Court acceded to the alliance, and consented to share the spoil.”—“It must not be supposed,” continues this historian, “that these monstrous usurpations were made without some *show* of justice. Both Austria and Prussia published elaborate expositions of their claims on the countries invaded; claims which have neither justice nor reason to support them; but made in contempt of the whole course of diplomatic intercourse between nations; and the pretensions of Russia were at once ludicrous, impudent, and iniquitous.”

For the exposure of these pretended claims, consult “*Les Droits des trois Puissances Alliées sur les provinces de la République de Pologne, avec l’Exposition de l’Insuffisance et de la Nullité de leurs Droits*,” 2 vols. 8vo., and Malte-Brun, “*Tableau de Pologne*,” by Chodzko, tom. 1. *passim*. The mere English reader will find the said claims sufficiently exposed in “*Letters concerning the present state of Poland*,” (London, 8vo. 1773,) which prove from historic evidence, and from the treaties preserved in Dumont (*Corps Diplomatique*), that the manifestoes published by the usurping powers, are a tissue of sophistry, of perverted facts, of statements at variance with the whole course of history, and that they are further disgraced by artful omissions.

This unexampled and most unprincipled aggression marks a portentous epoch in European annals. It was the first great and glaring manifestation of a reckless disregard of the rights of independent States as recognized by the public Law of Europe.* The year 1772 is memorable in history as the commencement of that partition of Poland among the three contiguous Powers, which has served as an example and apology for all those shameless violations of public right and justice that have stained the modern annals of Europe. Wholesale iniquity, especially if not perpetrated immediately beneath our eyes, so as to affect the senses, does not excite that horror and indignation which even an individual act of villainy occasions when committed near home. The dismemberment of a great people, with its antecedent, its accompanying, and its consequent atrocities,—the havock, the rapine, the rending asunder of all social ties, the violation of national feelings, the dishonor, the debasement, the confiscations, the banishments, the heart-burnings, the entire suppression of every cherished thought, the total destruction of every institution,—all, all seem to be overlooked and lost in the *magnitude* of the crime. The murder and dismemberment of Mr. Paas, at Leicester, is regarded with horror and indignation enough—every one’s flesh creeps, and the blood freezes at the narrative, and then boils to have the deed avenged: any spectator would

* “On this occasion rapine displayed itself to view without concealment or disguise, and openly assaulted and dismembered the portion of territory which it struck. In 1802 this evil principle (of hatred and hostility to the policy of the European community) after having long been hovering on the north-eastern quarter of the European system, first entered the middle states of Europe. The partition of Germany, usually palliated under the name of the Settlement of German indemnities, is almost forgotten among the crowd of wars and treaties, which fill the history of the present century. But it deserves to be kept in remembrance, because it signalized the entry of this vicious spirit into the heart of Europe, and legalized the trampling down of public principle in its cradle, the Germanic Constitution,” &c. &c.—*Considerations on the War in Poland*. By Hunter Gordon, Esq.

have raised his arm to avert the first blow, and if that effort should have proved unavailing, would have done his utmost to bring the criminal to justice. But when a whole nation is so dealt with, sympathy is impotent, and the grand criminal escapes with impunity! It would seem, indeed, as if man had a "microscopic eye." "The rights of nations," observes Mr. Hunter Gordon, "lie remote from the path of common life; the general interest in upholding them is far less *obvious* than in the maintenance of law and government. We hear much in the present day of the subversion of establishments; but in defence of the only establishment really in jeopardy, and that the largest of all, the *European Constitution*, not a voice is heard."

Mr. Fletcher says, "The indifference with which other States regarded this partition was indeed surprising.—France, in particular, might have been expected to protest against it; but the imbecility and dotage of Louis XV., and the weakness of his Minister, paid too little attention to the interests of their own nation to be likely to think of others. They made the most frivolous excuses, and even had the meanness to attempt to shift the blame on the shoulders of their Ambassador at Vienna, pretending that he amused himself with hunting, instead of politics, and had no knowledge of the design of partition until it was consummated. Louis contented himself with saying, with an affectation of rage, 'It would not have happened if Choiseul had been here!' Some few patriots in England declaimed on the injustice of the proceeding, but the spirit of the Ministry, which was occupied in wrangling with the American Colonies about the imposition of taxes, was not likely to be very attentive to the cries of oppressed liberty."—So,

"Sarmatia fell, unwept, without a crime!"

The King, however, Stanislas Poniatowski, weak as he was, and being merely Catharine's "tenant at will," summoned a little temporary energy, and protested against these proceedings.* But the most intrepid and uncompromising patriot which the times brought to light was Thaddeus Reyten, deputy of Novogrodek, who, from his incorruptible and daring integrity has been surnamed *the Polish Cato*. He was supported by nine or ten kindred spirits: the most distinguished of his coadjutors was Samuel Korsak. The three powers had fixed on the 19th April, 1773, for the opening of a Diet at Warsaw, to ratify their claims. *Unanimity* being necessary in a Diet, and as that could not be expected wherever one true patriot was to be found, the foreigners laboured to change the *Diet* into a *Confederation*, wherein questions were decided by a majority of votes. Reyten would not let them meet as a Confederation in the Hall of Assembly: he threw himself along the door-way, and remained there six-and-thirty hours. The Confederation was held in the open air, because Reyten was still at his post;—such was their dread of even one patriotic individual. As even his opposition could not avail to prevent the scheme of spoliation, he returned to his own residence, with the melancholy consolation of reflecting that he was almost the only one who had withstood the torrent of intimidation or corruption. This great patriot became soon afterwards insane, the effects of his country's dishonor;—so entirely were all the energies of his mind devoted to the cause.

* An Extract from his Protest forms the motto to this publication, and to the "Polonia" of the London Society.

His death was singular. In a paroxysm of his disorder, he broke a wine glass with his teeth, and, swallowing the fragments, expired on 8th August, 1780.

By the Partition Treaty, (signed at Petersburg, 5th August, 1772) Russia obtained Polotsk, Witepsk, Miecislaf, and Polish Livonia,—more than 3000 square leagues. Austria had Red Russia, or Galicia, with a part of Podolia, Sandomir, and Cracow,—about 2500 square leagues. Prussia acquired the Palatinates of Malbørg, Pomerania, and Warmia, Culm, *except Dantzic and Thorn*, and a part of Great Poland, comprising about 900 square leagues.

SECOND PARTITION.

But the aim of the King of Prussia had long been to obtain possession of Thorn and Dantzic, that *the commerce of the Vistula might be entirely at his mercy*.—On the 25th March, 1793, this perfidious monarch issued a manifesto, in which he has the effrontery to state—"We have resolved in concert with the Empress of all the Russias, to take possession of the districts above-named (Great Poland), as well as of the towns of Thorn and Dantzic, and to incorporate them in our states," &c. and, with an hypocrisy emulous of Russia, he "flatters himself, that with feelings so *pacific*, he may depend on the good-will of a nation whose welfare can never be indifferent to him, and to which he wishes to give *real proofs of his affection and regard*." To add the last step to this climax of galling insult, he orders all the inhabitants, "under penalty of the punishment *customary* in such cases of refusal" to take an oath of allegiance to himself and his successors! Humiliated as the Poles were, they could not stifle their indignation at Frederick William's treachery; their forbearance was exhausted; they told him some hard truths;—and observed that he was only the instrument of Catharine to tyrannise and oppress them.—*Another treaty of partition* was, however, violently signed (Austria had nothing to do with this second iniquity) by which Prussia acquired the remainder of Great and a part of Little Poland; and the Russian boundary was advanced to the centre of Lithuania and Volhynia. The territory of the republic was now reduced to little more than 4000 square miles; and its army, by the manaces of Catharine, to 15,000 men.

No one acquainted with the warlike character of the Poles and their inextinguishable spirit of independence, could suppose that such unprincipled aggressions would be tamely borne by the great bulk of the nation. An insurrection was organised; Thaddeus Kosciuszko* was placed at the head of the native army; and appointed dictator, in imitation of the Roman custom in great emergencies. After several partial successes against the immense forces of the combined powers, Kosciuszko was overpowered 10th October, 1794. The news of his captivity spread like lightning to Warsaw, and every one received it as the announcement of the country's fall. "It may appear incredible," says Count Oginski, "but I can attest what I have seen, and what a number of witnesses can certify with me, that many women miscarried at the tidings; many invalids were seized with burning fevers; some fell into fits of madness which never after left them; and

* Like Thaddeus Reyten, he was a Lithuanian. So also were Sobieski, Jagellon, Korsak, and many other illustrious warriors and patriots.

men and women were seen in the streets wringing their hands, beating their heads against the walls, and exclaiming in tones of despair; 'Kosciuszko is no more; the country is lost!'—On the 9th November, Warsaw capitulated to the savage Suvarof, "the butcher of Ismail," a fit agent to Catharine, the murderess of her husband, and whose lusts were in every way insatiable.

THIRD PARTITION.

On the 24th October, 1795, the treaty for the third partition of Poland was concluded. *Russia* acquired the remaining portion of Lithuania, and a great part of Samogitia, part of Chelm, on the right of the river Bog, and the rest of Volhynia. *Austria* obtained the greater part of the palatinate of Cracow, the palatinates of Sandomir and Lublin, with a part of the district of Chelm, and parts of the palatinates of Brzesc, Podlachia, and Masovia, which lay along the left bank of the Bog or Bug. *Prussia* had the portions of the palatinates of Masovia and Podlachia on the right bank of the Bug; in Lithuania, part of the palatinate of Troki and Samogitia, which is on the left bank of the Niemen; and a district of Little Poland, forming part of the palatinate of Cracow.

Such was the result of the glorious but unfortunate revolution of 1794. "Perhaps no people on earth," observes the historian, (see 20th vol. Lardner's Cyclopædia,) "have shewn so much personal bravery as the Poles: their history is full of wonderful victories. But valour, though almost superhuman, could not effect impossibilities, nor, therefore, for ever turn aside the destroying sword which had so long impended over it." Poland was now, it may be said, erased from the list of nations, after an existence of nearly ten centuries. Much sympathy was excited, much eloquent invective was expended,—the cry of retribution arose, only, however, to be smothered;—for every living prince in Europe, was too intent on securing his own preservation, to dream of breaking a lance for another. Hence the impunity with which the three guilty potentates proceeded to consummate their common wickedness.

POLAND PARTIALLY RESTORED.

Napoleon Bonaparte, subsequently taught these potentates a most humiliating lesson. He perceived the importance of erecting Poland into an independent kingdom, as a barrier against the encroachments of Russia. But, eventually, in order to conciliate Alexander, he deceived the noble, but too-confiding, Poles. Having that "vaulting ambition, which *o'erleaps itself*," he lost the opportunity of securing his triumphs, and of adding an evergreen leaf to the wreath of his fame.

After the fall of Bonaparte, the attention of the allied sovereigns was powerfully demanded by the state of Poland. "The re-establishment of the kingdom, in all its ancient integrity," (observes the author of the History of Poland, in Lardner's Cyclopædia,) "was not merely an act of justice to a people whose fall is one of the darkest pages in the history of the world, but it was, *of all objects, the one most desirable towards the security of central Europe against the ambition of the Tsars*. But for Poland, a great portion of Christendom might have been subject to the misbelievers; but for her the northern Emperors would probably long ago have poured their wild hordes into the *very heart of GERMANY*: the nation which has been, and might again become, the bulwark alike of civil and

religious freedom, could not fail to be invested with interest of the very highest order. Public opinion, the interest of rulers, and the sympathy of the governed, called for the restoration of injured Sarmatia. The side of humanity, of justice, and of policy, was powerfully advocated by France and England; &c. but not with the success that could have been wished. By the

TREATY OF VIENNA, (1815.)

Austria regained Gallicia and the Salt Mines of Wieliczka, [pronounced *Vealitchka*.]

To *Prussia* was surrendered the Grand Duchy of Posen, with a population of 80,000;—besides retaining her former spoils.

The city and district of Cracow, extending to about 19½ geographical miles, and with a population of from 60 to 70 thousand inhabitants, was to belong to none of the three Powers, but to remain under their mutual *protection* as a free and independent Republic!

The Grand Duchy of Warsaw, comprehending 48,000 square miles of territory, and a population of between 3 and 4 millions, divided into the waiwodships of Masovia, Cracovia, Kalisch, Sandomir, Lublin, Plock, [pronounced *Plotsk*] Podlachia, and Augustov, reverted to Russia, as a *separate kingdom*, or independent State, with a national representation of its own. Alexander granted (24th Dec. 1815) a constitutional charter of a remarkably liberal character;—but—its provisions were soon, very soon afterwards to be violated in every article! To sum up the measure of their wrongs, the Poles had a being, bearing something of the human form, sent over to rule them, who, from the insane brutality of his nature, had been set aside from the succession to the Muscovite crown. The Poles, instead of enjoying the privileges and immunities of their Constitution, solemnly sworn to be kept sacred, were subjected to the diabolical caprices of this Calmuc maniac, whose conduct, indeed, cannot be aptly characterised by the most forcible epithets in our language.

VIOLATIONS OF THE CONSTITUTION OF 1815.*

By a primary article of the Constitution—"The legislative and executive powers are separated. The former is exercised by the Monarch and Representatives; the latter by the Monarch alone." But, in violation of this,—the legislative power *never* was divided. On the contrary, the whole was concentrated in the person of Constantine. *He* was the beginning and end of every thing.

The 10th article of the Constitution declares—That in case Russian troops shall enter the territory of Poland, their expenses shall be defrayed by the Russian government. Nevertheless, Russian troops were quartered 15 years in and around the capital, at the expense of Poland, consuming one-fourth of the revenues! Besides which, *the influence of Russia corrupted the magistracy*, and, by such means, authorised numberless abuses.

The 16th article guaranteed the freedom of the press.

* The authorities consulted are—the History of Poland in Lardner's Cyclopædia; "Poland under the dominion of Russia," by Harro Harring; the "Manifesto of the Polish Nation to Europe, voted by the Diet, 20th December, 1830;" "La Grande Semaine des Polonais," Paris, 1831; "L'Empereur Nicolas et La Constitution Polonoise de 1815;" "Retrospect of Public Affairs," (Lardner's Cabinet Library.)

But for 12 years preceding November, 1830, that freedom had ceased to exist. Scarcely a press durst be established, or even a page ventured to be printed without the dread of some malignant interpretation of a phrase, every word of which, before being committed to paper, had undergone the most serious consideration. Hundreds and thousands were put under arrest for some expression of their thoughts and feelings, not by writing even, but orally.

The ancient law of the country, (*neminem captivari permittemus nisi jure victum*) was to be preserved: by which no one could be imprisoned without being made acquainted with the grounds of his imprisonment,—nor punished, except in virtue of existing laws, and the decision of competent magistrates. Yet citizens of rank, of character, and unblemished reputation, were imprisoned without any cause being assigned, and were punished without trial. Respectable inhabitants of Warsaw were often taken and flogged before the Grand-Duke, without the formality of a trial, or the specification of a charge. Systems of TORTURE were introduced that would make humanity shudder. It extended even to *women*, who had cords bound about their breasts, to force them to answer the interrogatories of their inquisitors!

The 21st article of the Constitution left every Pole at liberty to travel or retire to a foreign country, to enjoy his fortune. This liberty, however, depended upon the caprice of the Chief and his numerous spies. Travelling in France or England amounted to a state crime, and was sufficient to occasion the arrest of the traveller on his return.

Articles 47 and 82 guaranteed the responsibility of the Ministers: but they were equally disregarded with the rest.

By that Constitution, too, the Diet was to be convoked every other year; the right of granting supplies was vested in the people; and the debates were to be public: all these stipulations were arbitrarily infringed.

By another article of the Charter it was decreed,—“That the Polish army preserves its colours, its uniform, and every thing that belongs to its nationality.” Yet, with a perverse obstinacy, Constantine attempted to alter the uniform of the army; and, to wound still deeper, the national and martial feeling of the Polish warriors, he subjected them to punishments contrary to their laws, insulting to their feelings, and degrading to their honour.

In fine, the Charter was declared obligatory upon all the successors of Alexander,—yet, NOT ONE OF ITS PROVISIONS WAS RESPECTED.

It has before been stated that the kingdom of Poland was to be united to the Russian Empire *only* by its Constitution:—this was the *sole* bond of its connexion; and when that was broken by Russia, she *forfeited all claim to that country, which then became entitled to its independence.* Mr. Hunter Gordon, in his able exposition of Public Law as it affects this question,* forcibly observes, that—

“By these infringements of the Polish Constitution, the Emperor of Russia not only violated the compact into which he had entered with the other powers, but destroyed the relations which connected him with Poland, annihilated the only condition by which he held the sovereignty of that country, and forfeited all legal title to the Polish crown.

“By persisting in that arbitrary course, he at length provoked the Polish nation to shake off his yoke,—to achieve in fact,

that independence which of right already belonged to them, and to resume the position in which their country stood prior to the Treaty of Vienna. And having thus lost not only the tenure by which he held that crown, but the crown itself, Nicholas, in December, 1830, poured an army into Poland, with the avowed object of bringing back that kingdom under his yoke, to whose allegiance his claim is gone for ever, and to deprive of its national existence a state whose independence is *as indisputable as that of any power in Europe.* When Russia, therefore, attacked the Polish territory, she violated the laws of nations, and MADE WAR ON THE POWERS OF EUROPE.—Now, as heretofore, it is against the public law of Europe, and upon the genius of European policy, that she has drawn her sword; and the plague of war is not only followed by the more fearful plague of a military commission, confiscations, banishments, gibbets, and the quartering of soldiers over the country;—but the wishes and hopes of the civilized world may be blasted by the result of the contest; and what then will remain to break the tide of despotic empire, or prevent it from spreading deep and wide to the limits of civilization?”

Since Mr. Gordon wrote, the contest has ended in the triumph of the aggressor. What remains to stop his career, then, but a confederacy of the moral forces of the free, and the physical energies of the oppressed, all over the world?

A FEW EXAMPLES

OF THAT TYRANNY WHICH, (IN ADDITION TO THE GENERAL VIOLATION OF THE CHARTER,) IRRITATED THE POLES TO RESISTANCE.

“The investigator of history knows not which to wonder at most, the unlimited and barbarous despotism of the tyrant, or the patience and forbearance of the people by whom he was tolerated.”—*Karamsin* (commenting on a Russian despot of the 16th Century.)

“Poland, has at least a charter with which she can arm herself against an unjust arbitrary will.”—*Dr. G. Hassel*, “*Principles of Statistics*,” *Weimar*, 1822.

“Poland, then, was a constitutional monarchy, and had a charter; yet the Poles submitted for 15 years, preceding the 29th November, 1830, to the humiliation of being oppressed by the cruellest caprice (under Constantine,) that any people ever endured!”

“Good Heaven! with what forbearance and patience have the noble Poles been endowed! This character may henceforth be made the foundation of an universal proverb, and it may be said:—‘To persevere with Polish patience!’—‘Patient as a Pole!’—or, ‘Polish forbearance!’”

“Patience is a virtue.—Forbearance is exalted patience, and consequently exalted virtue. People then who could patiently bear the chains of slavery, while possessing the power of breaking them, may well be said to stand forward in the attitude of real greatness.”—*Poland under the dominion of Russia, by Harro Harring, late a Cadet in the Lancer Regiment of Constantine’s Russian Body Guard.*

THE RICH BREWER OF WARSAW

CONDEMNED ON THE MERE SUSPICION OF HARBOURING A DESERTER, TO THE PUNISHMENT OF HURLING THE WHEELBARROW.

(This is in violation of the 3rd Article of the Polish Constitution, which provides,—“That all classes of citizens are protected by the ancient law of the country:—which declares that no man shall be arrested, except according to legal forms; nor deprived of his liberty, without being acquainted with the grounds of his imprisonment,” &c.)

A most opulent and respectable man named Zawadcki, the principal brewer of Warsaw, had, through some of his people, without his own knowledge, hired as a servant in his establishment, a Russian deserter. The offender was detected, and proof of innocence on the part of his

* “Considerations on the War in Poland.” 1831.

employer, being *disallowed*, the Grand Duke, by his individual decree, ordered this respectable individual to be fettered,—and in that condition he was compelled to work with a wheelbarrow, in the public streets.

His daughter, an amiable young lady, ventured to appeal to the mercy of the Grand Duke in behalf of her parent; and the unmanly monster kicked her down stairs, using at the same time, the most abusive language.

In the same way, he caused two Polish officers to be seized in the dead of night, and without trial, or even accusation, sent them to Russia.

PRINTERS AND PUBLISHERS.

Some of the publishers of Warsaw, having incurred his displeasure, he sent soldiers in the middle of the night, to break up the presses, and to destroy the types.

ARBITRARY TAXATION.

Taxes were levied without consulting the diet; and when a distinguished member, Niemoyewski, protested against such proceedings, he was arrested and sent to his country-house, under the charge of Cossacks; who kept him there for *ten* years, notwithstanding the most urgent affairs that required his attention elsewhere.

INTERFERENCE WITH THE STUDENTS.

The Students, too, especially at Wilna, were persecuted and harassed by a most notorious person, named Novozilzoff, who succeeded Prince Adam Czartoryski, as curator of the Universities. This fit tool in Constantine's hands, displayed, on every occasion, the most atrocious rapacity, and an entire absence of common humanity. One of the richest inhabitants of Lithuania, had been arrested at the instance of this modern Sejanus; but 15,000 ducats, or 7000*l.* sterling, effected his liberation! Harring says, that, although an elderly man, Novozilzoff was not only openly indecent and debauched himself, but liked to see and encourage the same conduct in others, considering profligate habits a sure antidote to notions of political liberty and truth. "Decency," this writer strikingly observes, "is not in unison with the system of absolute monarchy. Moral depravity is, as it were, the pummel of the sword of despotism."

Novozilzoff, as Imperial Commissary General, held the highest rank next to the Grand Duke. In Warsaw, his name was whispered as fearfully as was the dreaded name of Dionysius in Syracuse.

The Universities are regulated on the plan of *Barracks*, and the students are subjected to the discipline and punishment of foreign soldiers.

NOVOZILZOFF'S TREATMENT OF THE LATE COUNT PLATER'S SON AND WIFE.

His most infamous act, if it be possible to give any pre-eminence in acts almost pre-eminently wicked, was performed on the following occasion:—Michael, a boy of nine years of age, a son of Count Plater,* had in the playfulness of childhood, written in chalk on one of the forms, "The 3rd of May for ever!" that being the anniversary of Kosciuszko's Constitution. The fact was discovered by

* Who had married a lady of the name of Kosciuszko, nearly related to the great patriot. Count Ladislav Plater, a cousin of the above, is now in England. The Countess Emily Plater, a near relative of his, was one of the most distinguished characters in the late events. She organised the men upon her own estates, led them against the Russians, and sacrificed herself for her country.

some of the innumerable spies, employed *even among these infants*, to Novozilzoff, who instituted an inquiry among the boys,—not one of whom would betray poor Plater: they were *all* ordered to be flogged with the utmost severity! The unhappy offender declared that he had written the offensive words. The Grand Duke condemned him to be a soldier *for life, incapable of advancement in the army*; and when his mother threw herself before his carriage, to implore forgiveness for her wretched child, he spurned her with his foot.

MAJOR LUKASINSKI.*

One of the most atrocious acts of this most atrocious period is the treatment of Major Lukasinski, a Polish officer of high character and blameless life.

He was distinguished by the Grand Duke, indeed was especially favoured on all occasions, but, being a member of an association, having for its object mutual good offices among the army, (modelled even after the recommendation of Alexander, but now become obnoxious,) he was arrested, and after some time brought into the presence of his imperious chief; who, addressing him in terms of kindness and friendship, invited him to repose confidence in the known attachment he felt for him: thus thrown off his guard, the unhappy man spoke with frankness and candour. He was removed to his dungeon, *tried on his confession to the Grand Duke*, was convicted, and condemned to be deprived of all his honours, to chains, and to perpetual imprisonment. In compliance with this sentence, he was conveyed to the fortress of Zamosc, where *upwards of a thousand persons similarly circumstanced were confined*. One of the Grand Duke's emissaries was introduced into the prison; he got up a conspiracy for effecting the escape of the prisoners, and, without the privity of the wretched Lukasinski, contrived to procure his nomination as the leader of the conspirators! Then further persecutions were instituted, and for this imputed crime, which, even if real, could not be blamed by any man, he was condemned to death. This was, however, too humane; death would have afforded relief to the wearied sufferer, which was not the object of Constantine. It was therefore commuted to perpetual imprisonment,—and a *WEEKLY FLOGGING!* And it was directed that a record should be kept for Constantine's especial information of the effect of each blow on the wretched victim! Humanity recoils at recording such atrocity, such cold-blooded ferociousness: and we should not have ventured on making the statement, had not the facts been attested by documents found among the papers of the Grand Duke after his precipitate retreat from Warsaw on the 29th of November, 1830. To guard against the possibility of relief or escape, Lukasinski was alternately confined in a prison in the heart of Warsaw, or in the fortress of Goura; and he was instantly removed, *if the scene of his actual sufferings were even suspected*. Unfortunately for him, at the moment of the insurrection of Warsaw, he was at Goura, and although jewels, papers, and other valuables were left behind, Lukasinski was too precious not to be carried off with scrupulous care. He was removed manacled to a cannon;—and has not since been heard of!—The actual history of his sufferings would have contributed to ani-

* Whose likeness, in lithograph, published by the patriot Straszewicz in Paris, is now exhibited in the window of Mr. Craggs, bookseller, in this town. Lukasinski is represented chained to a cannon.

mate even the most torpid patriotism, when even the imperfect statements that are now communicated to the English public cannot fail to excite a disgust and detestation for the tyrant, only equalled by the sympathy for the victim of his persecution.

RESTRAINTS ON COMMUNICATION.

Harro Harring, in adverting to the want of information respecting Poland, says—"The question—Who should write for Poland, and about Poland?" may be more difficult to answer than a newspaper reader imagines. Few are perhaps aware that in Poland, and especially in Warsaw, every word, I may say, every thought is watched, and every seal broken;—in short that all channels of information are stopped, and if any one should be found bold enough to venture on speaking or writing, the next hour may doom him to captivity.

"None but men who are free and independent can be expected to speak the truth openly and fearlessly.—Now, in Poland, no man is free and independent.—Indeed no man who has acquired a knowledge of facts by personal experience in Poland, can be said to be free even in a foreign country. Wheresoever he may wind his way, he will be watched by the Argus eyes of the hirelings of the Russian Government. I see (says Harring) foreign spies about me, pursuing their vocation undisturbed—but that awes me not."

POST OFFICE.

All the clerks at the post-office wear the Russian uniform.

No letter is to be forwarded to its address until it has been opened and read!

If the dexterity of the seal-breaker should fail to perform the operation neatly, or if a cover should be torn in opening it, the whole letter is then thrown aside.

This violation of the secrecy of correspondence, and the whole of the spy-system, of which it is a part, never can co-exist with civil liberty in any country. Men's minds are agitated with the painful idea of being deprived of all certainty and safety in communicating with each other. Under such circumstances it is not surprising that the indignation of the people should at length manifest itself in an open contest of despair with oppressors and betrayers.

SPY-SYSTEM.

In Poland, there are five classes of Spies.

When a spy whose infamous office enables him to discover in a letter the secrets of another's soul—the overflowings of a warm heart expressed in the language of friendship and affection, he concludes, not unreasonably, that the writer is a man in whose breast a similar feeling for truth, justice, and freedom glows, and therefore that he is greatly to be suspected, and is a dangerous man, against whom the government ought to take precautionary measures.—In Warsaw there were several hundreds of Russian spies, and throughout the whole of Poland some thousands were maintained. They were of all descriptions, from the apparent gentleman down to the lowest ruffian, and in every company one at least was fastened like a poisonous excrescence. Thus, in no social circle, in no family party, could it be certain that some betrayer had not insinuated himself under the mask of friendship.

"Imagine yourself, if you can, good reader" says Harro Harring, "placed in such circumstances as these. Suppose your brother, your father, your son, or your friend, a hired spy of the government, sitting beside you in the domestic circle, and every kind of family confidence banished:—then ask yourself what remains to you, what peace or happiness you still possess?—You will find little that is worth living for is left."

THE POLISH REVOLUTION OF 1830,

VINDICATED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION OF 1688.

[The following is an extract from the excellent "Letter on the affairs of Poland," 1831; by Montague Gore, Esq.

—It was written whilst the contest was yet undecided.]
 "The struggle now maintained by the Poles in behalf of their liberties, cannot fail deeply to interest every friend of freedom throughout Europe; and no man, I apprehend, however opposed to revolutions in the abstract, can avoid sympathising with the glorious efforts of those who are now combating for no ideal, speculative theories, but in behalf of their hearths, their altars, their independence, and their very existence as a people.

But though a general impression exists in this country in their favour, and though Englishmen require no incentive to stimulate their love of justice and their hatred of oppression, it may not be amiss to offer a few remarks, and to detail a few facts, with the twofold object of giving fresh impulse to the zeal of the friends of Poland, and of removing the scruples of the timid, whom the word *revolution* may have hitherto deterred from espousing her cause. Though, let me observe, that this queamishness about revolutions is somewhat novel in England; for till lately the proudest boast of a Briton has been that his ancestors were *revolutionists*, and achieved the revolution of 1688; and, in point of fact, all the blessings this country has enjoyed for the last century and a half may be attributed to the influence of that *revolution*. * * *

* * * * The friends of (a righteous) *revolution*, would deprecate all such popular tumults as have arisen without adequate cause, and to promote the ends of designing and ambitious demagogues; whilst the enemies of a revolution would not object to it, when demanded by imperious exigencies, or called for by gross injustice. The safest rule to follow is probably that laid down by Aristotle, that to justify revolution the advantage to be gained should be considerable, and the faults of the rulers great: (Polit. lib. ii. c. 5.) and to this test I am willing to submit the revolution in Poland; and I am prepared to prove that it was provoked by the most flagrant violation of law, by the most barefaced tyranny and misrule, and that it was not a revolution effected by a mob, or brought about by a few crafty individuals; but a *revolution of a whole nation against foreign oppression*; headed not by obscure demagogues, but by all that was eminent for rank, talent, and character." p. 1—3.

We have noticed above, the provocations which the Poles received, and how patiently they endured them for 15 years; we have shewn how the laws were violated; we have given some examples of barefaced tyranny and misrule; and shall subsequently adduce proof of the other facts.

The Law of Nations,

WHICH FORMS THE BEST JUSTIFICATION OF THE
POLES.

Vim vi repellere licet.

MEN are assembled in civil society to protect their lives, liberties, and estates from the grasp of the strongest; and to labour in concert for their common happiness. It is with this view that every citizen divested himself of his natural rights, and resigned his natural liberty and independence. Could the Society make such use of its authority as irrevocably to surrender itself and all its members to the discretion of a cruel tyrant? Certainly not. It would no longer possess any right itself were it disposed to oppress part of the citizens. When, therefore, a Society entrusts the supreme power into the hands of a single ruler, it is with the expressed or tacit condition that the Sovereign shall use it for the safety of the people, and not for their ruin. If he become the scourge of the State, he degrades himself; he is no better than a public enemy, against whom the nation may and ought to defend itself; and if he has carried his tyranny to the utmost height—(we quote *Vattel*)—why should even the life of so cruel and perfidious an enemy be spared? Who shall presume to blame the conduct of the Roman Senate that declared Nero an enemy to his country?—(B. I. c. 4.)

As soon as a Prince (continues *Vattel*) attacks the constitution of the State, he breaks the contract which bound the people to him; the people become free by the act of the Sovereign, and can no longer view him but as an usurper, who would load them with oppression.—Again:—when a prince, without any apparent reason, attempts to deprive us of life, or of those things the loss of which would render life irksome, who can dispute our right to resist him? Self-preservation is not only an actual right, but an obligation imposed by nature, and no man can entirely and absolutely renounce it. This truth is acknowledged by every sensible writer, whose pen is not enslaved by fear, or sold for hire; and admitted even by Barclay himself, that great assertor of the sacredness of kings. This writer says (lib. iii. c. 8, *Con. Monar.*) “If any one should ask—Must the people, then, always lay themselves open to the cruelty and rage of tyranny? Must they see their cities pillaged, and laid in ashes,—their wives and children exposed to the tyrant’s lust and fury, and themselves and families reduced by their King to ruin, and all the miseries of want and oppression, and yet sit still? Must men alone be debarred the common privilege of opposing force with force, which nature allows so freely to all other creatures for their preservation from injury? I answer: Self-defence is a part of the law of nature; nor can it be denied to the community even against the King himself.”

This being premised, it is easy to see that if Poland rose in resistance against Russia, she was amply justified in so doing by the conduct of the latter, who, not content with having violated the compact entered into at the Convention of Vienna, daily inflicted upon the Poles the most ferocious acts of injustice, tyranny and oppression. Though Poland has fallen under the overwhelming brute force of the barbarians, and Russia has triumphed, what

right has she acquired by her victory? None. Conquest gives to the aggressor (and such was Russia) no right of governing. Perhaps the following passage from Locke (on Civil Government) will set this point in a clear light.—“That the aggressor who puts himself into the state of war with another, and unjustly invades another man’s right, can, by such an unjust war, never come to have a right over the conquered, will be easily agreed by all men, who will not think that robbers and pirates have a right of empire over whomsoever they have force enough to master; or that men are bound to promises, which unlawful force extorts from them. Should a robber break into my house, and, with a dagger at my throat, make me seal a deed to convey my estate to him,—would this give him any title? Just such a title by his sword has an unjust conqueror who forces me into submission. The injury and the crime are equal, whether committed by the wearer of the crown, or some petty villain.”

Whence it is plain, that the autocrat of Russia, who provoked the Poles to revolt, and drove them indeed to desperation, can derive no advantage from his own wrong, nor has any title to the obedience of the conquered.—The valiant and long-suffering Poles may, therefore appeal, as Jephthah did to heaven, and repeat their appeal, till they shall recover the native right of their ancestors to have a National Legislature, approved and acquiesced in by the majority of the nation, with those modifications of government which experience has taught them to be desirable and just.*

F.

In addition to the principles adduced, we shall hereafter quote Paley on the reciprocal obligations of sovereigns and subjects (B. VI. c. 4, *Moral and polit. Philos.*), Puffendorf, Grotius, Barbeyrac, Mackintosh, &c. &c. and give further illustrations from *Vattel*, who because he is not the most liberal of Jurists, will often be referred to, his authority being considerable with the cool-blooded casuist and pedant in diplomacy. Meantime we refer such of our readers as have access to the latter, to Bk. I. c. 16. Sections 196 and 198, c. 17, s. 201, 202. Book II. c. 1, s. 4.; c. 4, s. 49, 50, 56; Bk. 2, c. 5, 15, 18. B. III. c. 13.

It is possible that the following testimony may also be of some weight with the enemies of the Poles, since the writer is no very willing eulogist of theirs. As to the “proper time” for resistance, that is generally judged by the event. But certainly, the writer might find his own judgment affected if he had been reduced to a state of agonising desperation by perpetual goading. “That the Poles have a right to vindicate their national independence,—that to do so is their highest duty,—will not be denied on this side the Berezina; but whether they have chosen the proper time for rising, is a different consideration. Their plans were evidently not matured..... Their efforts have been stupendous; and their bravery worthy the age of their Boleslas and Sobieskis..... There is a “Providence that rules in the affairs of men,”—and a righteous cause is often made to prosper against all human calculation, when even its warmest friends despair of its success. May that of the Poles be one of these!”—(*History of Poland.*—*Lardner’s Cabinet Cyclopædia.*) We join in his prayers, and thank him for his good wishes.

* Vide “Address of the Polish Refugees in France, to the British House of Commons, dated May 29, 1832.”

Poetry.

VERSES ON THE POLISH CAUSE,

Contributed to "The Hull Polish Record," by a YOUNG LADY.

Oh there's something in sorrow's pale aspect that flings
A spell round the heart where sweet Pity's a guest,
Such as ne'er from the bright face of happiness springs,
Nor joy's sunny glances awake in the breast.

How soon from that "sameness of splendour" we turn
On memory's tablets scarce leaving a trace,
While sympathy pictures of those we see mourn
An image more tender, that nought can efface.

Though pale is the cheek, and though sunken the eye,
There's a charm undefined that still rivets our own;
And we feel, as we gaze, that we echo the sigh
With emotions half sweet,—to the selfish unknown.

Thus we heed not the laurels that tyranny wreathes—
The sound of his triumphs falls faint on the ear—
But our souls still respond to each murmur that breathes
From the Captive, to sorrow and sympathy dear.

Even such is the source of the magic that round thee,
Oh, POLAND! has woven a spell and a power;
So that ne'er when the halo of victory crown'd thee,
Have we loved thee as now,—in thy desolate hour.

Oh! colder by far than the snows of that land
Where thy sons pine in exile, our bosoms must be,
If we feel not their kindest feelings expand
When in thought, hapless Poland, we linger on thee.

Alas! is it only in thought we can aid thee,
Thou chivalrous land of the noble and brave?
Oh BRITAIN! I miss from the proud wreaths that shade thee,
One laurel that droops o'er POLONIA'S grave

THE POWER OF RUSSIA.

By Thomas Campbell, Esq.

So all this gallant blood has gush'd in vain!
And Poland, by the Northern Condor's beak
And talons torn, lies prostrated again.
O, British patriots, that were wont to speak
Once loudly on this theme, now hush'd or meek!
O, heartless men of Europe—Goth and Gaul!
Cold,—adder-deaf to Poland's dying shriek;—
That saw the world's last land of heroes fall—
The brand of burning shame is on you all—all—all!

But this is not the drama's closing act;
Its tragic curtain must arise anew.
Nations, mute accessories to the fact,
That Upas-tree of power, whose fostering dew
Was Polish blood, has yet to cast o'er you
The lengthening shadow of its head elate—
A deadly shadow, darkening nature's hue.
To all that's hallow'd, righteous, pure, and great,
Wo! wo! when they are reach'd by Russia's withering hate.

Russia, that on his throne of adamant,
Consults what nation's breast shall next be gored:
He on Polonia's Golgotha will plant
His standard fresh; and, horde succeeding horde
On patriot tomb-stones he will whet the sword,
For more stupendous slaughter of the free.
Then Europe's realms, when their best blood is pour'd
Shall miss thee, Poland, as they bend the knee,
All—all in grief, but none in glory likening thee.

Why smote ye not the Giant whilst he reel'd?
O fair occasion, gone for ever by!
To have lock'd his lances in their northern field,
Innocuous as the phantom chivalry
That flames and hurtles from yon boreal sky!
Now wave thy pennon, Russia, o'er the land
Once Poland; build thy bristling castles high;
Dig dungeons deep; for Poland's wrested brand
Is now a weapon new to widen thy command—

An awful width! Norwegian woods shall build
His fleets; the Swede his vassal, and the Dane:
The glebe of fifty kingdoms shall be till'd
To feed his dazzling, desolating train,
Camp'd sumless, 'twixt the Black and Baltic main:
Brute hosts, I own; but Sparta could not write,—
And Rome, half-barbarous, bound Achaia's chain:
So Russia's spirit, midst Slavonic night,
Burns with a fire more dread than all your polish'd light.

But Russia's limbs (so blinded statesmen say)
Are crude, and too colossal to cohere.
O lamentable weakness! reckoning weak
The stripling Titan, strengthening year by year.
What implement lacks he for war's career,
That grows on earth, or in its floods and mines,
(Eighth sharer of the inhabitable sphere)
Whom Persia bows to, China ill confines,
And India's homage waits, when Albion's star declines?

But time will teach the Russ, ev'n conquering
Has handmaid arts: ay, ay, the Russ will woo
All sciences that speed Bellona's car,
All murder's tactic arts, and win them too;
But never holier Muses shall imbue
His breast, that's made of nature's basest clay:
The sabre, knout, and dungeon's vapour blue
His laws and ethics: far from him away
Are all the lovely Nine that breathe but freedom's day.

Say, ev'n his serfs, half-humanized, should learn
Their human rights,—will Mars put out his flame
In Russian bosoms? no, he'll bid them burn
A thousand years for nought but martial fame,
Like Romans: yet forgive me, Roman name!
Rome could impart, what Russia never can;
Proud civic rights to salve submission's shame.
Our strife is coming; but in freedom's van
The Polish Eagle's fall is big with fate to man.

Proud bird of old! Mohammed's moon recoil'd
Before thy swoop: had we been timely bold,
That swoop, still fier, had stunn'd the Russ, and foil'd
Earth's new oppressors, as it foil'd her old.
Now thy majestic eyes are shut and cold:
And colder still Polonia's children find
The sympathetic hands, that we uphold.
But, Poles, when we are gone, the world will mind,
Ye bore the brunt of fate, and bled for humankind.

So hallow'dly have ye fulfill'd your part,
My pride repudiates ev'n the sigh that blends
With Poland's name—name written on my heart.
My heroes, my grief-consecrated friends!
Your sorrow, in nobility, transcends
Your conqueror's joy: his cheek may blush; but shame
Can tinge not yours, though exile's tear descends;
Nor would ye change your conscience, cause, and name,
For his, with all his wealth, and all his felon fame.

Thee, Niemcewicz,* whose song of stirring power
The Czar forbids to sound in Polish lands;
Thee, Czartoryski,† in thy banish'd bower,
The patricide, who in thy palace stands,
May envy; proudly may Polonia's bands
Throw down their swords at Europe's feet in scorn,
Saying—"Russia, from the metal of these brands
Shall forge the fetters of your sons unborn;
Our setting star is your misfortune's rising morn."

Metropolitan Magazine, January, 1832.

COPY OF A LETTER

*From M. de Niemcewicz, to the Secretary of the Hull
Literary Polish Society.*

[Resolved, at a Meeting of the Committee, to be published in the First Number of the "RECORD." The letter is dated from the seat of Earl Carnarvon, at Newbury, in Berkshire. It will be seen that this great national Poet, has made a considerable proficiency in the English language. We have ventured to make only one or two very trivial corrections. With those exceptions it runs thus:—]

"Permit, Sir, to an old Pole, to a companion of General Kosciuszko, who, during a life of 75 years, passed through a'l the melancholy events his unfortunate country has been subject to,—permit me, Sir, in the name of all my countrymen, to thank you, and the members of your Polish Association, for the exertions, and the lively interest you take in the fate of unfortunate Poland. Sympathie for the oppressed, characterised always the free, brave, and noble Britons. O may those sentiments of the Citizens of Hull, be transfused in the hearts of all the English. Persevere, Sir, in that noble task, and rely upon the gratitude of the whole Polish nation.

I have the honour to be, with great regard,

SIR,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

(Signed) J. U. NIEMCEWICZ.*

Newbury, 30th July, 1832."

[When objections are raised against the establishment of such Societies as ours on the sceptical principle

* Niemcewicz is pronounced *Nee-em-tsay-nitch*, the accent being on the penultimate. This venerable man, the most popular and influential of Polish poets, and President of the Academy of Warsaw, is now in London; he is 75 years old; but his noble spirit is rather mellowed than decayed by age. He was the friend of Fox, Kosciuszko, and Washington. Rich in anecdote like Franklin, he has also a striking resemblance to him in countenance. His reputation as a patriot is equal to his literary fame.

† This nobleman is also now in London, comparatively without fortune, although, in his own country, he possessed a revenue of upwards of £70,000 per annum. His extensive property is now confiscated, given to the Russian marauders, and his splendid Castle at Pulawy destroyed. Prince Adam Czartoryski finished his academical career in the university of *Edinburg*, and early acquired a strong taste for English institutions and for English men; of this, indeed, he gave substantial proof, by devoting 250*l.* a year to the exclusive purchase of English books. The Prince is the late President of the Constitutional Government.

Cui bono? it is a matter of congratulation and encouragement to find that our efforts are calculated not only to afford consolation in the hour of affliction, but that the father of modern Polish literature deems them of still more importance in subserving the sacred cause of his country.]

DIRECTIONS

FOR FACILITATING THE PRONUNCIATION OF POLISH
NAMES, &c.

- w is pronounced like *v*, or is rather a middle sound between *v* and *f*; thus *Warszawa*, *Varshafva*; *Narew*, *Narefv*; *kiow*, *keefv*.
- a like *tz*, and never like *k*; thus *Pac* is *Patz*; *Potocki*, *Pototzki*; *Plock*, *Plotzk*; *Zamosc*, *Zamostz*; *noc*, *notz*.
- g like *g* in *Gibbon*; *Oginski*.
- j like *y* or *i*; as *Zamojski*, *Zamoyskee*; *Francja*, *Francia*; *Jeden*, *Yaden*; *Jan*, *Yan*; *Kujawa*, *Cooyahwah*.
- ch like *k*, but with a guttural sound as in German. Ex. *Chlapowski*, *Lech*, *Chodzko*.
- cz like *ch* in *church*, or *tch* in *pitch*; *Czartoryski*, *Tchartoriskee*; *Czy*, *tchee*; *wicz*, *vitch*; *Parczewski*, *Partchevskee*.
- sz like *sh* in *shall*, *shape*, &c. *Leszczynski*, *Leshtcheenskee*; *szy*, *she*; *Staszyc*, *Stashitz*.
- szcz like *shtch*; as *szczyt*, *shtcheet*.
- rz like the French *j*, with a slight sound of the *r*. *Rzewuski*, *rJewooskee*.
- dz like *j* in *June*, *Radziwill*, *Rajjville* or *Radjville*; *Dzien*, *Gee-eng*; *godzina*, *gojeena*.

POLISH MEDAL,

*In commemoration of the Revolution of Lithuania and
other Polish Provinces.*

We have been favoured by Count Ladislas Plater, a distinguished Polish Warrior, and late member of the Diet, (now in Hull,) with the prospectus of this medallion, which is to be executed by the celebrated artist, M. Barre, of Paris. It will be in bronze, and its diameter about two inches. The price, it is said, will be very moderate. On the obverse are the shield, banner, and arms of the provinces which took part in the Revolution of 1830—1831, with this inscription:—"Polonia, Lithuania, atque regiones Russiae imperio inique subditae libertatem vi et armis querebant, anno 1830—1831. In rei memoriam Lithuania consociatio."

The reverse is to represent the Polish nation under the figure of a man breaking his fetters, and whose athletic form indicates strength and courage. The motto, from Horace,—"*Non si male nunc et olim sic erit.*" A blank form for subscriptions will be placed, with the prospectus, in some conspicuous Bookseller's shop in the town.

This Medal is published by the Lithuanian and "Terres

Russiennes,* Society in Paris, founded 10th December, 1831, by Counts Cæsar and Ladislas Plater, and comprises amongst its numerous members, most of the chiefs of the Revolution in Lithuania, and the other Polish provinces. That Association has for its object, the publication of—1, the most authentic accounts of their late Revolution: 2, the History and Statistics of that country: 3, the preservation of their common nationality.

[The claims of Lithuania will hereafter engage our strict attention.]

“POLONIA,

OR MONTHLY REPORTS ON POLISH AFFAIRS,” FOR AUGUST,
Published by the London Literary Polish Association.

Price 1s. to Members of Polish Societies; 1s.6d. to the Public.

We have been presented with several copies of this valuable publication, from the Parent Society, in London. Every page is replete with important and deeply interesting matter; it is, therefore, with extreme regret that our space will permit us merely to refer to the work. Pains, however, will be taken to diffuse a knowledge of its contents, and the merit they display.

MEETINGS AND PETITIONS.

In addition to the Petitions from Hull, Bristol, Matlock, Birmingham, &c. &c. to Parliament, we have great pleasure in noticing the recent Meetings at Leeds, Manchester, and Liverpool, at which Petitions have been agreed upon and addressed to His Majesty in Council, on behalf of the Poles. York, Norwich, and Nottingham, are about following the example.

[At a Meeting of the Committee of the Hull Polish Society, it was resolved, on the suggestion of the Rev. Geo. Lee, that a short History of the Association should be given, as well as the Address of Dr. Chalmers, the President, and some Minutes of the Proceedings of the general meetings.]

TRANSACTIONS, &c.

On Monday evening, 18th June, 1832, a public meeting was held in the theatre of the Hull Philosophical Society, for the purpose of forming an Association of persons favourable to the preservation and diffusion of Polish Literature, and which should tend, by its proceedings, to fix the attention of the public on Poland.

Dr. CHALMERS was called to the chair, and opened the proceedings by a few remarks on the claims of the brave but unfortunate Poles.

Mr. EDWARD BUCKTON was called upon to state his reasons for convoking the meeting. He detailed the measures which he had taken for that purpose, and justified the motives by which he had been actuated. Having learnt that Mr. Thos. Campbell had formed a Literary Polish Society, in London, one great object of which was to rescue Polish literature from the extinction meditated by Russia, he conceived that a Branch Association might surely be formed in Hull, which had distinguished itself by sending the first petition to Parliament in behalf of an interven-

tion to mitigate the sufferings of a noble but oppressed race of men. Mr. Campbell was delighted with the suggestion communicated, and urged to “perseverance in so sacred a cause.” Mr. E. B. then stated, at some length, the advantages which would accrue from such associations, taking a lively interest in the welfare of Poland and its people, and concluded by conjuring the meeting, by every humane, honourable, just, and even prudent feeling, to unite with him in this undertaking. He then moved the first resolution.

CHAS. FROST, Esq. seconded the motion with pleasure, and would join most gladly if the Society were to be literary and not political.

Mr. T. J. BUCKTON moved the second resolution, seconded by Mr. P. Bruce; after which some opposition was offered: the object of the Society being deemed by some to be “political,”—by others not sufficiently so.

The Rev. GEO. LEE thought the Society would be of great utility as a literary institution; and, as such, would have pleasure in promoting it.

It was finally resolved, that a Society of this nature should be formed; and a great majority of those present gave in their adhesion.

Motions were afterwards put and carried for the regulation of the Society.

Thanks were then voted to Thos. Campbell, Esq., to Mr. Edw. Buckton, and to the chairman. At an adjourned meeting the officers were elected.

The first General Meeting was held on the 18th July, Dr. Chalmers in the chair. After the routine business,

The President proceeded to deliver the following

Address:—

GENTLEMEN,
I confess that I feel at a loss how to express myself on a subject of such vast importance as the one which is in future to become the chief object of discussion and deliberation in this Society. It is my wish, however, to say a few words, not only from a sense of duty and private feeling, but to prove to you that I am not indifferent to the fate of unfortunate Poland.

Gentlemen—Painful as the recollection of the late events in Poland must be to all of us, still there appears to me some reason for consolation, inasmuch as the recent clash of arms, the fall of Warsaw, and the subsequent Russian cruelties, have awakened in all the nations on the two sides of the Atlantic, not only the deepest sympathy for the Poles, but strong indignation against their oppressors. They have also shaken off (and the establishment of this Association is a proof of the truth of the assertion) that slumber in which the literary world has so long been indulging with regard to Poland,—and I sincerely hope they will yet arouse, and at no distant period, all the physical and moral energies of Europe in her behalf.

Gentlemen—The task which you have so willingly imposed upon yourselves in forwarding the glorious cause by the establishment of this Association, does honour both to your feelings and to your understanding;—it does honour to your feelings, because the object of the Society is to advocate the cause of humanity; it does honour to your understanding, because what you have undertaken is well calculated to fill up the blank, which the policy of Despots and the carelessness of Literati have left in the pages of history.

* The “Terres Russiennes,” comprise White Russia, Black Russia, and Red Russia, Volhynia, Podolia, and the Ukraine, provinces which were formerly distinct from Russia, and formed part of ancient Poland.

Gentlemen—A country of the antiquity of Poland—the land of Copernicus, Vorstius, and many other distinguished literary characters—as well as the birth-place of Sobieski, Kosciuszko, Malachowski, and other renowned patriots—a country celebrated from its first record in history for its simple, pastoral life—its honesty, and hospitality—but above all for its love of liberty and independence; a country like this, whose history is fraught with so many gallant exploits, and versatilities—peopled with twenty millions of brave Patriots and undaunted Heroes—situated as a barrier between despotism and liberty, between barbarism and civilization—such a country, I repeat, presents a spacious field for literary investigation.

The Polish Literature, which by our co-operation with the Parent Association we shall endeavour to preserve from the wreck of that unhappy country—as the *Talmud* from the ruins of *Jerusalem*—and to give it to the world in all its purity, will undoubtedly be an invaluable addition to our store of historical illustration.—To others better qualified than myself I leave the task of expatiating on this point, and shall confine myself simply to the statement that the literature of Poland contains two grand and important lessons—the one for the instruction of kings, and the other for the instruction of the people.—The first lesson teaches sovereigns not to drive their subjects by acts of oppression and injustice, to the necessity of appealing to violence and rising in resistance—the second teaches the people how to fight the battles of freedom, and how to assert their rights and privileges—here is shown what crimes, what enormities can be perpetrated by power, when it is in the hands of an ambitious Despot,—there what a people can perform when driven to despair and madness by their oppressors.

The history of Poland, however, is most remarkable for the unambitious conduct of its people with regard to the rest of Europe.—The Poles, whom nature has gifted with every requisite for the conquest of Nations and the most daring enterprises—robust, active, laborious, indefatigable, gentle, patient, frugal—endued with a bravery and intrepidity eclipsing even the fabulous accounts of the ancient deeds of chivalry—satisfied with the bounds of their country as prescribed to them by their forefathers, and free from ambition, never looked beyond their ancient frontiers—never drew a sword except in defence of their own rights and liberties, or for the protection of the rights of other nations—they, indeed, at times have been torn by intestine commotions and civil wars, but they alone were the victims of their own indiscretions.—This conduct of the Poles, however, has not been imitated by their ambitious neighbours—who have not scrupled to prey upon their fair and fertile fields, and to bring ruin and destruction upon themselves. This part of the history of this most injured country, unexampled in the history of the world, surpasses in criminality all that ever was invented by the evil genius of the human mind. It is painful to think that in the course of our labours we shall have frequent occasion to re-awaken frightful recollections connected with this part of the history of Poland, but it is indispensable for the accomplishment of our object that no part of historical truth should be concealed.

Gentlemen—Whether the conduct of Russia towards Poland, or that of Poland towards Russia, be justified or not—whether the solemn treaty of Vienna—the oaths—and the repeated promises of the Emperors Alexander and Nicholas have been violated or not—I will not here discuss—these are questions which I must leave to others to decide. But this I may be allowed to say that no

country has been so barbarously outraged as magnanimous Poland—nor is there any country gifted with so many virtues—and sinking under so many injuries, even to her extinction as a nation—which has so strong a claim to the veneration, to the sympathy, and the gratitude of Europe, than this chivalric country—to veneration, for her virtues—to sympathy, for her sufferings—and to gratitude, for the invaluable services which she has rendered to Europe—for be it ever remembered that Poland twice arose in the hour of peril and danger, and twice saved by her undaunted valour the rich and fertile provinces of western Europe—I may say the christian world—from the grasp of Mahometan barbarians.

Gentlemen—I must again repeat, that as the object of our association is humane and generous, and is in every way praiseworthy, we ought to endeavour to forward it by all the means in our power: recollect that in fulfilling this sacred duty towards unhappy Poland, we are promoting at the same moment, the best interests and the welfare of Europe, and all mankind.

Gentlemen—My professional duties, more especially in the present melancholy state of our town, leave me but little leisure for other avocations, but every moment I can conveniently and conscientiously spare, shall be most cheerfully devoted to the discharge of the obligations which you have so kindly imposed upon me both as the president and as a member of this society; and if in the performance of them I shall fall short of your wishes, I beg you will attribute the deficiency rather to my inability than to any want of good intentions.

After the Address, Mr. E. BUCKTON, the Secretary, directed attention to some remarks of Dr. Bowring on the cultivation of literature as a resource and consolation in exile. “If there be any case in which it is natural to look with peculiar interest to the literary history of nations, it is when, by a series of calamities—and not of crimes—a people once distinguished has fallen from a high position. To Poland, after ages of national greatness, nothing now remains but her past records and her ancient fame; yet, while their history is present to the minds of Poles, it is impossible that a patriotic feeling should not grow up spontaneously.” &c. &c. (See Preface to the “Polish Anthology.”)

Mr. T. J. BUCKTON, one of the Vice-Presidents, then read a paper entitled “An Ethnographical Sketch of the Polish and other Slavonic Nations in Europe,” which he introduced by observing that although some time might elapse before the objects of the Hull Literary Association of the Friends of Poland became sufficiently known to be justly appreciated by the great body of their townsmen, it was, nevertheless, highly gratifying to find that, at the commencement of their labours, there were already enrolled so many who were willing to lend their aid and countenance to the undertaking. With every desire, he observed, to avoid the introduction of matter which could give just offence to any political party, they would still perceive that, to be practically useful, the Association must treat of recent events that had transpired in Poland and Russia, as well as of scenes belonging to a more remote period.—After dividing the inhabitants of Europe into ten classes, including the Slavonic, he observed that *Slavon* was the name which these nations had appropriated to themselves, and meant, according to Adelung, *men, people*; but Dobrowski derived it from *slowo, word, speech*. Pointing out the vast extent of territory over which these people were spread, he adverted particularly to the Poles, who came, he thought, together with the

Russians, from the lower Danube, and took possession of the countries deserted by the Goths and other Germanic nations, in their departure towards the west. In Prussia and Lithuania they became intermingled with a branch of the German family which lingered behind, and thus formed a third people, the Lettish. The whole nation bore the name of *Leches*, and afterwards Polonians or Poles, from the ruling branch. Polska or Poland signified a plain, the early inhabitants being denominated from the nature of their country; thus a Chrowate or Croatian meant a mountaineer,—and the Po-morzi or Pomeranians signified a people in the neighbourhood of the sea. The mass of the Polish nation, distinct from the Sarmatians, a Median people, were descended from the ancient Leches, the Lygians of Tacitus, and the Liciavians of the middle ages. The large provinces of Lithuania and the Ukraine were more identified with Russia than Poland, in respect to religion and language. The region of the Vistula comprehends on the South the kingdom of Galicia, or Austrian Poland; in the centre the kingdom of Poland, united to Russia in 1815; to the west the republic of Cracow; and lastly, to the north-west, the Grand Duchy of Posen, added to Prussia. The whole constituted ancient Poland. Poland, reduced to its modern limits, was divided into eight palatinates, viz.—Masovia, Cracow, Sandomir, Kalish, Lublin, Plotzk, Podlachia, and Augustowa. Its population amounted in 1829, to 4,088,290, who were nearly all Roman Catholics, and engaged in agricultural pursuits.

Mr. T. J. BUCKTON then remarked, that it was erroneous to suppose every part of the immense empire of Russia to be thinly peopled; the ratio being about 120 inhabitants to the English square mile, in many of the south-western provinces; and as the population of Great Britain and Ireland, generally considered very dense, was little more than double that ratio,—it necessarily followed that Russia was not thinly peopled in that part of Europe where her power could be brought into speedy operation against States more advanced in the arts, and more largely possessed of wealth. Setting aside, he continued, every consideration of a political nature, the aggrandisement of Russia was a deeply interesting problem to the philosophic historian and ethnographer. The fall of such an empire, sudden and precipitate as it might be, would not be the less disastrous. The dissolution of the regal chain, which now bound so many nations of various origin, would let loose the elements of civil discord in that country; and a people ignorant of the political obligations of man, and void of moderation, the ultimate lesson of history, might be excited by leaders of similar character, to the infliction of the deadliest injuries on the finer countries of the South and West; subjugating the people, as did their fathers, in ages when our ancestors were not less endowed with military ardour than now. Let it be a subject of serious reflection, continued he, that, in fact, the Russian Czars have united under their sceptre one half of Europe and a third part of Asia, and that their acquisitions have been recent and enormous.

Under Iwan I. in 1452, the population under Russian domination, was... 6,000,000.

At the death of Iwan II. in 1584, it was 12,000,000.

At the death of Peter I. in 1725,.....20,000,000.

At the death of Catharine II. in 1796,....36,000,000.

And at the death of Alexander, in 1825, 58,000,000.

This increase in 370 years from 6,000,000 to 58,000,000, was caused by numerous accessions of territory in Europe and Asia. This estimate, made up to a period distant

seven years, would soon require further additions. Turkey, Persia, and India now excited the Autocrat's lust of dominion; and Britain might soon be reluctantly induced to lift her arm in defence of her Eastern possessions. Every thing depended on the personal character of the Czar and his nobles. Treaties, national law, honor and faith were alike despised and contemned, by a comparatively few men, who, deriving all their power from an insulted and degraded peasantry, sought to steep their hands in the blood of more civilized nations. Penetrated with a conviction of these truths, he observed, they ought continually to regard with a jealous eye every systematic aggression on independent States, considering that our own interests as a people were deeply involved in preserving such a combination among the more highly civilized nations of the West and South of Europe as might counterbalance the immense power and lust of territorial aggrandisement, for which the nations of the East of Europe were so iniquitously distinguished.

When the paper was concluded, the President submitted it to the meeting for discussion. No comment being elicited, the Secretary rose, and stated that he had prepared and arranged some materials which would not be out of place at this stage of the proceedings. They comprehended a condensed narrative of the "three infamous partitions of Poland";—the partial, or pretended restoration in 1815;—and the events that arose out of these transactions.—It was shown that the Constitution granted by Alexander had been violated in almost every article. The statements of Harro Harring were adduced as corroborative evidence; and the Manifesto of the Polish nation to Europe, voted by the Diet of Poland, 20th December, 1830, was referred to as a most important document, next in value to the protest of the crown of Poland, against the first partition of that country, in 1772. Time did not admit of its perusal, but care should be taken for its extensive circulation.—The proceedings of the meeting terminated by the Secretary reading a passage or two from the valuable treatise of Mr. Hunter Gordon, and impressing upon the understanding of all present the necessity of awakening the public mind on the all-important but neglected subject of inter-national law, for which purpose the proposed cheap publication of the Hull Society would, amongst other things, be well adapted.—Donations, in money or in books, or a considerable accession of members, were indispensable to the successful pursuit of the Society's objects.

DONATIONS.

From the Parent Society in London, several pamphlets, in English, French, and Polish, and two lithographic portraits of distinguished Polish patriots. From Hunter Gordon Esq., his Considerations on the War in Poland—presented by himself. From Cutlar Ferguson, Esq. his speeches on Poland, in the House of Commons. From Dr. Chalmers, the president, a History of Poland—forming the 20th volume of Dr. Lardner's Cyclopaedia. From Mr. Edw. Buckton, the secretary of the Hull Society, Dr. Bowring's Specimens of the Polish Poets. From Mr. W. Woolley, Solicitor, "Regni Poloniae Regionumque Omnium adid Pertinentium. Novissima Descriptio. Andreae Cellarii." Published at Amsterdam in 1652. From Mr. A. D. English, bookseller, Dr. Connor's History of Poland. Donations in Money:—from Dr. Chalmers, 2*l*.; from Major Sykes, of West Ella, 5*l*.; from Sir Geo. Cayley, Bart. 2*l*.

☛ All Communications are requested to be addressed to the Secretary.