tion, and to discuss the chances of escape. At the distance of only a few hundred yards, appeared the shore—a lonely waste of sand hills, so far as could be seen through the spray and driving rain. But men had been early observed gazing at the wreck, and, later, a wagon had been drawn upon the beach. There was no sign of a life-boat, however, or of any attempt at rescue; and, about 9 o'clock, it was determined that some one should try to land by swimming, and, if possible, get help. Though it seemed almost sure death to trust one's self to the surf, a sailor, with a life-preserver, jumped overboard, and, notwithstanding a current drifting him to leeward, was seen to reach the shore. A second, with the aid of a spar, followed in safety; and Sumner, encouraged by their success, sprang over also, but, either struck by some piece of the wreck, or unable to combat with the waves, he sank. Another hour or more passed by; but though persons were busy gathering into carts whatever spoil was stranded, no life-boat yet appeared; and, after much deliberation, the plan was proposed—and, as it was then understood, agreed to—that the passengers should attempt to land, each seated upon a plank, and grasping handles of rope, while a sailor swam behind. Here, too, Mrs. Hasty was the first woman to venture, under the guard of Davis. Once and again, during their passage, the plank was rolled wholly over, and once and again was righted, with its bearer, by the dauntless steersman; and when, at length, tossed by the surf upon the sands, the half-drowned woman still holding, as in a death-struggle, to the ropes, was about to be swept back by the undertow, he caught her in his arms, and, with the assistance of a bystander, placed her high upon the beach. Thus twice in one day had he periled his own life to save that of the widow of his captain, and even over that dismal tragedy his devotedness casts a gleam of light.

Now came Margaret's turn. But she steadily refused to be separated from Ossoli and Angelo. On a raft with them, she would have boldly encountered the surf, but alone she would not go. Probably, she had appeared to assent to the plan for escaping upon planks, with the view of inducing Mrs. Hasty to trust herself to the care of the best man on board; very possibly, also, she had never learned the result of their attempt, as, seated within the forecastle, she could not see the beach. She knew, too, that if a life-boat could be sent, Davis was one who would neglect no effort to expedite its coming. While she was yet declining all persuasions, word was given from the deck that the life-boat had finally appeared. For a moment, the news lighted up again the flickering fire of hope. They might yet be saved,—be saved together! Alas! to the experienced eyes of the sailors it too soon became evident that there was no attempt to launch or man her. The last chance of aid from shore, then, was gone utterly. They must rely on their own strength, or perish. And if ever they were to escape, the time had come; for, at noon, the storm had somewhat lulled; but already the tide had turned, and it was plain that the wreck could not hold together through another flood. In this emergency, the commanding officer, who until now had remained at his post, once more appealed to Margaret to try to escape,—urging that the ship would inevitably break up soon; that it was mere suicide to remain longer; that he did not feel free to sacrifice the lives of the crew, or to throw away his own; finally, that he would himself take Angelo, and that sailors should go with Celeste, Ossoli, and herself. But, as before, Margaret decisively declared that she would not be parted from her husband or her child. The order was then given to "save themselves," and all but four of the crew jumped over, several of whom, together with the commander, reached shore alive, though severely bruised and wounded by the drifting fragments. There is a sad consolation in believing that if Margaret judged it to be impossible that the *three* should escape, she in all probability was right. It required a most rare combination of courage, promptness, and persistency, to do what Davis had done for Mrs. Hasty. We may not conjecture the crowd of thoughts which influenced the lovers, the parents, in this awful crisis; but doubtless one wish was ever uppermost,—that, God willing, the last hour might come for ALL, if it must come for any.

It was now past three o'clock, and as, with the rising tide, the gale swelled once more to its former violence, the remnants of the bark fast yielded to the resistless waves. The cabin went by the board, the after-parts broke up, and the stern settled out of sight. Soon, too, the forecastle was filled with water, and the helpless little band were driven to the deck, where they clustered round the foremast. Presently, even this frail support was loosened from the hull, and rose and fell with every billow. It was plain to all that the final moment drew swiftly nigh. Of the four seamen who still stood by the passengers, three were as efficient as any among the crew of the Elizabeth. These were the steward, carpenter, and cook. The fourth was an old sailor, who, broken down by hardships and sickness, was going home to die. These men were once again persuading Margaret, Ossoli and Celeste to try the planks, which they held ready in the lee of the ship, and the steward, by whom Nino was so much beloved, had just taken the little fellow in his arms, with the pledge that he would save him or die, when a sea struck the forecastle, and the foremast fell, carrying with it the deck, and all upon it. The steward and Angelino were washed upon the beach, both dead, though warm, some twenty minutes after. The cook and carpenter were thrown far upon the foremast, and saved themselves by swimming. Celeste and Ossoli caught for a moment by the rigging, but the next wave swallowed them up. Margaret sank at once. When last seen, she had been seated at the foot of the foremast, still clad in her white night-dress, with her hair fallen loose upon her shoulders. It was over,—that twelve hours' communion, face to face, with Death! It was over! and the prayer was granted, "that Ossoli, Angelo, and I, may go together, and that the anguish may be brief!"

☞ The bill to recharter the New-Castle and Frenchtown Railroad passed the Delaware House of Representatives, on Saturday morning, by a vote of 12 to 7. The lottery bill also passed the House on Saturday, by a vote of 12 to 6—consequently they are now both laws. The Railroad, we believe, is rechartered for twenty years, on condition that it pays to the State $200,000, in annual installments of $20,000, of which sum $165,000 is to be appropriated to the construction of a Railroad from Donna Landing, near Dover, to Seaford, in Sussex County. By the lottery grant, the State receives $100,000. An equal sum, for a similar grant, has been offered.

☞ Five children of John Whipple, of Hamilton, Mass., were shockingly burned, on Wednesday evening, Feb. 4, by the bursting of a spirit lamp. They were sitting round a table, studying their lessons, when it exploded, and they were immediately enveloped in a sheet of fire. One ran and pitched into a snow bank. Three were carried to the pump, and extinguished, and the fifth was soused in a tub of buttermilk. The youngest child has since died, and another is in a hopeless condition. How long will people continue to apply explosive liquids to such purposes?

☞ Capt. Samuel N. Dixey, late commander of the bark Missouri, of New-York, which was lately wrecked on the coast of Sumatra, and Augustus S. Hickings, mate of the ship Sterling, have given bail before Commissioner Hallet, at Boston, in the sum of $10,000 each, to appear for examination on charge of having stolen $20,000 in specie from the Missouri. The defendants protest their entire innocence, and Capt. Dixey states that after the bark was wrecked, the natives flocked to her, overpowered the officers and crew, and carried off the specie.

☞ Gen. Martin, a member of the Senate of Louisiana, has introduced into that body a bill which proposes to place habitual drunkards in the same position, in regard to the management of their property and their family, affairs as that which the law assigns to lunatics and minors. They are to have curators, with powers of administration; they are to be incapable of suing or being sued in their own names; they could not be members of a corporation, nor executors or administrators of an estate.

☞ Flavel Clark, a soldier of the Revolution, died at his residence in Mohawk on the 29th ult., aged 91 years. Jeremiah Sweet, also a Revolutionary veteran, died at Granville, Washington Co., on the 8th inst., in the 99th year of his age.

KOSSUTH IN OHIO.

MEETING OF THE STATE HUNGARIAN ASSOCIATION.

GOV. WOOD'S ADDRESS.

KOSSUTH'S SPEECH.

[REPORTED FOR THE NEW-YORK TRIBUNE.]

The first regular meeting of the OHIO ASSOCIATION OF THE FRIENDS OF HUNGARY, was held in the City Hall, in Columbus, on Saturday evening, February 7. The Hall was crowded to its utmost capacity.

KOSSUTH was conducted to the stand by Gov. WOOD and Dr. THOMPSON. Dr. T. called the meeting to order, and introduced the President, Gov. WOOD, to the auditory.

The GOVERNOR said:

I thank you, gentlemen—I return you my great acknowledgments for the position you have assigned me. I assure you it is not my purpose to make a set speech—I could not if I would, on account of ill-health. It is due to others to say that you could have selected one to preside over your meetings, who would have served you with more ability; but it is due to myself, to say, that you could not find one who would serve you with more integrity to the purposes of your Association. [Applause.]

This is a cause in which the people of the United States feel much interest. Much has been said on the doctrine of intervention and non-intervention. There was a time when, if I ventured to speak a word on any question in this State, it was received with authority. The opinions I now express have been formed with the same deliberation of those expressed with authority in another capacity. There seemed to be a combined effort, on the part of despots in Europe, to put down free institutions. It was the duty of freemen to oppose this effort—to resist the principle that every civil community has not a right to regulate its own affairs. Whenever one nation interferes with the internal concerns of another, it is a direct insult to all other nations.

Louis Napoleon never would have taken the step he has taken, if he did not believe that he would be backed by the power of Russia, Austria, Prussia and other monarchies. Thus it appears that there is a combined effort in Continental Europe to overthrow all free and liberal institutions. This accomplished, what next? The efforts of tyrants will be directed to our institutions. It will be their aim to break us down. Must we not prevent this event—peaceably if we can—forcibly if we must? [Applause.] No power will prevail with tyrants and usurpers but the power of gunpowder or steel. [Applause.]

I will detain you no longer, gentlemen. I know you are all waiting anxiously to hear Gov. Kossuth. I take great pleasure in introducing him to you. [Applause.]

Gov. KOSSUTH arose, and turning to Gov. WOOD, said:

Before addressing the assembly, I humbly entreat your Excellency to permit me to express out of the very heart of my heart my gratitude and fervent thanks for those lofty, generous principles which you have been pleased now to pronounce. I know those principles would have immense value even if they were only an individual opinion; but when they are expressed by the elect of the people of Ohio, they doubly manifoldly increase in weight. I have met the sympathy of the people of Ohio—I have been honored with a public welcome by the Legislature, now I have met the principles of that man whom the people of Ohio have selected to be the executor of its sovereign will, and I express my most fervent thanks for it.

Gentlemen, I feel very happy to have met at last, in the present meeting, that organization which I, on mature reflection, consider the only means to come to a practical result for the benefit of that cause which the people of the United States, and more particularly the people of Ohio, honor by a sympathy and an interest so warm and so universal as to be almost unparalleled in history.

Gentlemen, I have such a faith in the ultimate triumph of the cause which I represent and that very sympathy which I meet in America, (I, an unpretending stranger—the son of a far distant land—the very name of which is a hard task to pronounce for an American tongue,) that very fact is to me a motive more firmly to believe, that Divine Providence has the intention to make use of my humble self as an instrumentality for a great aim—that conviction imparts a power to my soul by which I almost believe I can control the fragilities of my outworn frame, and command death itself to keep off hands from me so long as I have not done my task—and that task is to have liberated my country, and established by its national independence, the corner stone of national freedom on the European Continent, or at least to have laid the foundation for it. Don't laugh at me when I say that often I experience that wonderful power of the mind over the debilities of the body. My friends and family know that there were several moments in my life when I appeared nailed to my sick bed, surrounded by friends with the tear of compassion in their eyes, despairing of my recovery, and the tidings came of an important event, claiming all the freshness of my activity, and I arose with full strength, shook off from me the fetters of sickness, and exclaiming, "I have no time to be sick," commanded my body to have strength and it obeyed. [Applause.]

But it is curious, I never found this power of mind but for a task that was absolutely necessary, never for a task which is no more the order of the day. Now I have the profound conviction that the task of speaking is gone and the task in action has come—hence the curious accident that I cannot command my physical strength for the task of a speech, though to have all necessary strength for business activity. My Secretaries could tell you something about how I harrassed them on my sick bed, when I lay exhausted last night and to-day.

Be pleased, Gentlemen, to value this for an excuse, that on the present occasion you will feel entirely disappointed if you expect something like eloquence. For oratory, I have in consequence of a severe sickness, not an idea in my burning brains. But I am among friends. You have generously avowed yourself to be such. [Applause.] I consider myself therefore to be in a familiar circle, and thus trusting to your kind indulgence, I say confidently: Friends of my dearly beloved Hungary, let us talk business familiarly, if you please,—talking, no speech-making, if you please.

The restoration of Hungary to its national independence, is my aim, to which I the more cheerfully devote my life, because I know that my nation, once master of its own destinies, can make no other choice in the regulation of its institutions, and of its government, than that of a Republic, founded upon democracy and the great principle of municipal self government—without which, as opposite to centralization, there is no practical freedom possible. My nation has experienced, and experiences still, the acme of oppression from monarchy, that there is now no power on earth to induce it to have any transaction whatever with monarchy. [Applause.]

Public opinion, in connection with the principles of Christendom, being developed as it is now-a-days in Europe, (that the poorest men are conscious of the truth that it is the people which constitutes the aim of human society, and not one man or one family, or some families—there can be no doubt about that whatever)—for the future of a people will be in the condition to regulate its institutions and the form of its Government—it will no where more be such a fool as to make another starting point in its own regulations, than its own freedom, its own happiness; and certainly no nation will abandon its reconquered sovereignty to be framed into a tool of oppression against itself.

This very consideration would in itself be sufficient to give you certainty, gentlemen, that in seconding the principle of National independence you are promoting the spreading principle of those institutions which make your glory and your happiness. [Applause.]

But as to Hungary, there is not only the palpable superiority of this sound doctrine above all speculative fallacies of sophistry, degrading science itself to an instrumentality of blindness, and by blindness of oppression—there is not even only the attractive view of your prodigious happiness which insures the principles of your institutions in my native land—there is, besides all this, that all outweighing circumstances that the people of Hungary has been too cruelly burnt and tortured by Kings and aristocrats as that it should not hate, with inexorable hatred, monarchs and aristocracy, and feel not revolted at their very name. [Applause.]

Other nations, enjoying a comparatively tolerable condition under their existing governments, though more of them imperfections, may shrink from the idea of a change by making a revolution of which they cannot anticipate the issue, but know that in every case it is attended with great sacrifices and great sufferings for that generation which undertakes the hazard of that change, and indeed it is no child's play to risk the blow of a nation. There may be, therefore, which, though enjoying a Constitutional Government, though imperfect in its institutions, and enjoying freedom of the word and freedom of the press and freedom of associations, may trust to the vital powers of these elements for their peaceful progress in freedom, justice and public welfare.

But this is not the condition of Hungary. My poor native land is in such condition that all the horrors of a revolution even without the consideration of the happiness to be gained by it, already in themselves are highly preferable to what it has to endure now. The very life on a bloody battle-field, where every whistling musket ball may bring death—that very life affords more security—more easiness, and is less alarming than that life which the people of Hungary has to suffer now. We have seen many a sorrowful day in our past. We have been, by our geographical position, destined to be the breakwater against the flood of every great misfortune, which in former centuries rushed on in threatening immensity over Europe from the Orient. It is not only the Turks when they were yet a dangerous, conquering race, which my nation had to stay, by wading to the very lips in its own noble, heroic blood. No; the still more terrible invasions of Batuckhan's raging millions, poured down over Europe from the steppes of Tartary, who came not to conquer, but to destroy, and therefore, spared not nature, and not men, and not the child in its mother's womb. It was Hungary which had to suffer it, and stay its all-destroying flood from overflowing the rest of Europe; and when the plague stretched out its terrible fingers toward Europe, and the stormy winds of Asia blew endless, boundless clouds of locusts to the Occident, it was Hungary which had to meet the doom in its first terrible outbreak, and tire it out and stifle its rage, by inexpressible sufferings—but all what Hungary has ever suffered, is a child's play compared with what it has to suffer now from the merciless, bloody tyrant of Austria—himself, in his turn, nothing but the slave of ambitious Russia.

Oh, it is a fair, beautiful land, my beloved country, rich in nature's blessings as perhaps no land is rich on earth. When the spring has strewn its bloom over it, it looks as the Garden of Eden may have looked, and when the Summer ripens the ocean of nature's manifold fruits over its hills and plains, it looks like a table dressed for mankind by the Lord himself; and still it was here in Columbus that I read the news that a terrible dearth—that famine is spreading over the rich fertile land. How should it not? where life drawing oppression weighs so heavily—even the physical life—that the land owner offers the use of all his lands to the Government, only to be freed from the insupportable taxation laid upon it, because its revenue, with all possible industry could not be raised so high as to cover the tax to be paid from it; whence the vintager cuts down his vineyard, the gardener his orchard, and the farmer burns his tobacco seed, to be rid of the duties laid upon and the vexations attending them. There, of course, must dearth prevail and famine raise its hideous head; and when we see that the bloody tyrant adds calumny to oppression, and offends the honor of my people before the world, by attributing the dearth to a want of industry, after having created it by oppression—when we consider that there exists no personal security of property, that not even the "not guilty" pronounced by the tyrant's own national court is sufficient to insure a single woman's security against prison, nay, against the death by the hangman's hand. Poor Louis Batthyany was in that case, but that did not secure him from being shot, by a new trial ordered to find him guilty at every price. Even now persecution is going on—thus hundreds are arrested secretly and sent to prison, and their property confiscated, though they were already acquitted by the very Haynaus from every imputation, from every charge. When we consider that even to whisper that a man or woman was arrested in the night, is considered a crime punished by prison, or, if the whisperer be a young man, by sending him to the army, there to taste, when he dares to frown, the corporal's stick; when we consider that no man knows what *is* forbidden, what *not*, because there exists no law but the arbitrary will of martial courts—no protecting institution—no public life—the word forbidden—the press fettered—the complaint a crime,—when we consider all this, and are conscious that all this the nation has to endure from a tyrant whom it has beaten down to the dust, though we were entirely unprepared to meet his disciplined armies—and whom now we know *his* weakness and *our* strength we would blow away like vain chaff the very moment he cannot rely on his protection—the Czar—[applause] from whom he derives all his momentary power, which he employs to oppress nations and make them rage,—indeed it is not possible not to come to the conviction that, come what may, that condition is not to be endured, and a new revolution in Hungary is not a matter of choice, but a matter of unavoidable necessity, because all that may come is by far not so terrible as that which is.

But I am often asked, "What hope has Hungary should she rise again?" Pardon me, gentlemen, for saying that I cannot forbear to be surprised as often as I hear this question in America, just so surprised as when I hear an American doubt that your nation's protest against the violation of international law will be respected by Russia. [Applause.] If I were an American I never would permit whomsoever to doubt that the word of America must be respected [applause] when spoken for justice and right, and if I were an American I never could doubt the success of such a nation as the Hungarian is, in shaking off such an unnatural oppression as the Austrian is. Why? the Emperor of Austria, fresh with his bloody victories over Italy, Vienna, Lemberg and Prague, attacked us in the fullness of his power, when my nation had no anticipation of any attack, and was least in the world prepared to meet it. The invader had already advanced within five miles of our metropolis, and besides we were attacked on several sides, and our fortresses were in the hands of traitors, and we had yet no army at all—secluded from all the world—forsaken by all the world—without money—without arms—without ammunition, and without friends—having nothing for us but the justice of our cause and the people, burning with patriotism—men who went to the battle-field almost without knowing how to cock their guns—but still you know they fought like demigods, [applause] and in this condition, within less than six months, we beat all the powers of Austria—we crushed it to the dust, and in despair the proud tyrant fled to the feet of the Czar, mendicating his assistance for his sacrilegious purpose, and paying him for his assistance, honor, independence and all his future.

In contemplating these facts, who can doubt that we are a match for Austria. Then we had no army—now we have 120,000 brave Magyars who fought for freedom and fatherland, enlisted in the ranks of Austria, forming its weakness and our strength. [Applause.] Then hostile nations were opposed to us—now they are friendly, and are with us. Then no combination existed between the oppressed nations—now the combination exists. Then our oppressor took his time, and struck the blow when he was best and we were worst prepared—now we will take our time, and strike the blow when it is best for us and worse for him. [Applause.] In a word, then every chance was against us, and we almost in a condition that the stoutest hearts faltered, and we only took up the gauntlet because our very soul revolted against the boundless treachery—now every chance is for us, and it is the nation which throws the gauntlet to the tyrant's face. Our very misfortune insures our success—because, then we had yet something to lose—now we have nothing to lose. We can only gain, because I defy every imaginable sophistry of despotism to find yet out anything of public and private oppression which were already not afflicted upon us. Indeed, the condition which my nation was suffering is such that, (excuse me for my frankness,) what I expected to meet from Americans was not to be so scrupulously inquired what security of success we have, but rather the word,

"Well boys of Hungary, you are in an execrably bad condition—nothing worse can happen you—just try one blow more—you may perhaps succeed—try—try—here is our hand, and God be with you."

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is no easy matter for me to address the public in a foreign tongue, and therefore always when it is possible for me, I like to prepare something so as not to disappoint entirely my audience. But I was so sick yesterday, and indeed to-day, that so far only I went, and for the rest I am not prepared. I must therefore doubly entreat your indulgence, because now there is a sick man who speaks in a foreign tongue to you, without any preparation at all. [Applause.]

Let me see, I was upon the question of success. When I meet that question—upon what reposes the success of Hungary—it always occurs to my mind that the last Administration of the United States sent a gentleman over to Europe during the Hungarian struggle, not with orders to recognize the independence of Hungary, but just to look to what chances of success we had. Now suppose that the United States, taking into consideration the right of every nation to dispose of itself, and true also to that policy which it has always followed, to take the established facts as they are—not to investigate what chances there might or might not be for the future, but always recognizing every new Government everywhere—suppose that that gentleman had come with such an instruction to Hungary, what would have been the consequence? The Government of Hungary which existed—and indeed existed very actively, for it has created armies, has beaten Austria, and driven her last soldier from Hungarian territory—that Government recognized by the United States, of course commercial with the United States in whatever respect, would have been lawful according to your existing international laws. The Emperor of Austria, the Czar of Russia, because they are recognized powers, have full liberty to buy your cannons, gunpowder, muskets—everything. That would have been the case with Hungary. That legitimate commerce with the people of the United States with Hungary, of course would have been protected by the navy of the United States in the Mediterranean. Now, men we had enough—but arms we had none. That would have given us arms, and having beaten Austria already, we would have beaten Russia, and I, instead of having now the honor of addressing you here, would perhaps have dictated a transaction of peace in Moscow. [Applause.] But the gentleman was sent to investigate the chances of success. Upon this investigation Hungary perished.

Let me entreat you, Friends of Hungary, do not much hesitate about success. Believe me, there is no man fool enough to hazard the blood of nations without having full motives of belief in his success. Hesitation may have the same consequences. While Rome deliberated Saguntium fell;—that might be the consequence. I fear that by too long investigating what chances we have, the chances of success will be compromised, which, by speedy help, could have been insured.

Well, I am answered, "There is no doubt about it. Hungary is a match for Austria. You have beaten Austria, it is true, but Russia—there is the rub."—Precisely because there is the rub, I come to the United States, relying upon the fundamental principles of your great Republic, to claim the protection and maintenance of the law of nations against the armed interference of Russia. That is precisely what I claim. That accorded, no intervention of Russia can take place, because the word of America will be respected, not out of consideration for your dignity, (Europe's despots have never a consideration for the people, but only for their own interest,) but because the Czar and the cabinet of Russia, sacrilegious as they are, are no fools, and will not risk their existence. Therefore, your word will be respected.

Upon that principle, pronounced by the great Republic of America, Russia would have to meet, not your continental armies—of course America cannot get to Europe with a hundred thousand men—but every nation, from Sweden down to Italy, Turkey, Circassia, Hungary, Poland—all these nations will avail themselves of the opportunity when they see their cause is approved. They stand upon the basis of international law, pronounced and proclaimed for the future of all humanity by your great Republic, and backed by the resolute attitude of your people.

But I am entirely sure that such resolutions as I met here in Columbus from the Legislature of Ohio, if soon passed in Congress, would entirely relieve Hungary from any Russian intervention. [Applause.]

But I am told, "Suppose the word of America shall not be respected, then America has to go to war." I have very often answered that question, but now I will give another answer to it. Well, if the people of America fear war, let them pronounce in such a way for the maintainance of the great principle of international law, and let them add such a sanction to it as will in itself secure to America that it will have no war. [Applause.]

You have an act of Congress, passed in 1818, by which the people of the United States are forbidden, by law, to take any hostile steps against a power with which the United States are in amity. Well, suppose that Congress pronounces such a resolution—that in respect to any power which violates the laws of nations, we recall the neutrality law, and give full liberty to the people to follow its own will. [Applause.] Now, by declaring thus, Congress has prevented a war, because it has pointed out to the people in what way that pronunciation of the law of nations is to be supported, and the enterprising spirit of the people of the United States is too well known—its sympathy for the cause of Hungary is too highly pronounced, not to impart a conviction to the Czar of Russia, that the United States will not to go to war, but still the law of nations will be enforced, peaceably if possible, (turning to Gov. Wood,) forcibly if necessary. [Applause.]

But again and again, meeting the doubt that you protest, even with such a sanction, will not be respected. I again answer in respect to the doubt of success—let me entreat you to try. It costs nothing. You are not bound to go further than your will,—try. Perhaps it will be respected; and if it be, humanity is rescued, and freedom on earth reigns, where now despotism rules. It is worth the trial.

My humble prayer, in that respect, is often answered by the traditional policy of the Father of your country—the great Washington. I have already had the opportunity to explain what I have found in the documents of America—that that was never a *principle* of Washington; if it was anything, it was a recommendation of policy for twenty years. Here I that consideration particularly repeat. Why? Because Ohio did not yet exist when Washington pronounced that policy—[laughter and great applause]—and I am sure Washington was too wise a man to frame laws for those who did not exist. [Great laughter.] This country is now in quite a different condition. A world of power rises up. States, which did not exist among the old thirteen, who achieved your Republican existence, are now added.

But, Sir, certain newspapers charge me, with impertinence, in having come to this country a stranger, with the arrogant intention to teach here the true sense of the Farewell Address of Washington. Now, indeed, if ever a man came unpretendingly to America, I may say I came so. But I believe the people of America have not written its history for being shut up in a trunk, but for giving and imparting instruction by it to humanity. Have not written the documents—I have read them—and perhaps it is no arrogance to take that construction out of your history which I found there ready expressed. And so, taking that ground, I to-day say, that very soon, (and I believe this, not upon my own authority, but upon the authority of one of your very distinguished fellow-citizens, an American in a high position,) you will have to read a historical work from a classical American author, where you will find the truth stated, that that principle of not entangling America in European alliances, even so as I have interpreted out of American documents, was not the will of Washington—it was forced upon him by peculiar circumstances—by peculiar considerations. It was a principle of General Hamilton. Washington resisted all suggestions for a very long time, and only when he saw that the French nation had executed who sent help to America in your war of independence, and banished that La Fayette who fought for your independence—only then did Washington, by that impulse congenial to such a man as he, declare that, with a nation which had so acted toward the benefactors of his country, he would not mix in entangling alliances. That is a historical fact. You will see it proved very soon by an American historian.

Now in respect to the declaration of those principles which are registered in the resolutions of the State of Ohio, and which were so manly and resolutely pronounced by his Excellency the Governor of this State, to-night, I say that the associations of friends of Hungary can do very much. Congress is about to discuss the matter. Of course the Senators and Representatives of the people of the United States lay their highest glory in the idea to follow the direction of the public opinion of the people whom they recognize, and take it for their glory to recognize, to be their sovereign. Now, if associations of friends of Hungary should now spread rapidly through the land, while discussion is going on in Congress, that to be sure would be a very, very important manifestation of the will of the people. Should that proposition there fail, it would only fail because the will of the people is not yet sufficiently known in that respect. Cheers cannot be registered; hospitality is no political principle; but associations of friends of Hungary—there is principle in them, and if these associations would now spread throughout the United States, I believe very soon—in some few days—in a fortnight perhaps—the Congress of the United States will have enacted a law which will liberate the world from despotism, ensure the triumph of republican principles on earth, and conquer a glory to the United States unparalleled in all history. [Applause.]

But there is yet another consideration which I humbly beg leave to recall to your memory. Besides the principle that every nation has the sovereign right to dispose of its own domestic affairs, and that foreign intervention is a violation of the law of nations, in which every nation is equally interested—besides that principle, which I discussed in my first municipal address which I had the honor to deliver in New-York, there was yet another principle highly important for the success of the next struggle for freedom in Europe, which principle, I am sorry to say, out of the circumstances that all the attention was concentrated around the first great principle, was not so much taken into consideration and was a most quite forgotten in public opinion. It was the principle of commercial intercourse—the right of that commercial intercourse. Now, in what condition is that commercial right? If Venice, taking a start from its classical remembrances, rises to day to shake off the yoke of Austria, and Austria sends its armies against it, by this very fact the commerce of the United States and of whatever other nation is excluded from Venice. Well, I say, that is not right; there is no principle of nature or of nature's God in it. If Lord Palmerston will have war against Greece, why, let them quarrel at their own expense, and not at the expense of those who carry on commerce with that nation. Therefore, I say that, though the United States have not the right to open by force a market wherever in the world, yet where a market is offered to them, and they are willing to send to that market what nature and their industry afford, there they have a right to send it. How could the fact of Hungary, being in a revolution, be a sufficient reason to damage America in its own commercial right? Therefore, my second principle which I claim, and which I consider highly important for the future of Europe, for the next struggle, is, that the United States may declare that the people consider the right of commercial intercourse with every nation that is ready to accept that intercourse, as a right which no revolution and no oppression can prevent. Therefore, they will carry on their commerce with Austria, and whoever will sell arms to Austria is at liberty—it is a consequence of that principle of national intercourse. But with the nation of Hungary the case is quite different. Austria—though it is not on a legitimate basis—has a right to carry on commerce with America; but poor Hungary has not the right. That is not a right principle—it is a violation of the laws of nature and of nature's God; and, therefore, I claim the principle of commercial intercourse in all time, for every nation that is ready to accept it. [Applause.]

And this consideration I beg leave particularly to recommend to the wonderful West. I have looked at the exportation registers of Cleveland, and for that single port more than 3,000,000 bushels of wheat has been shipped during the last year to Europe; and more than 18,000,000 from the West to Europe. Gentlemen, I am so poor that I can give no other pledge to you but my head, but this I offer very readily if what I say does not prove true—that if absolutism on the European Continent prevails, the very year after its accomplished triumph the West of America will not send a single bushel of wheat to the markets of Europe—not a single bushel; it will be excluded by a continental decree. Why? Firstly, because it is natural that the tyrants, and despots, and absolutistical powers cannot sleep tranquilly so long as the Republic of America has free intercourse with Europe; and, secondly, because your wheat is a mighty, powerful rival against the wheat and corn of Russia. Russia is a very fertile land. Now it can send very little to the markets of Europe, because it is not in a condition to be your competitor, but after Russia becomes master of Europe it will exclude your wheat, and you will export to Europe not a single bushel. I pledge my head for it—that must be, will be done. It is a necessity of Russia, out of political and out of commercial considerations; and, therefore, I again and again recommend to the wise consideration of the statesmen of the United States, and of the friends of Hungary, that second principle of free commercial intercourse, not dependent upon a revolution but only on finding a market and having something to sell. [Applause.]

There was yet a third political point in my prayers. That was, the recognition of the legitimate character of the declaration of independence of Hungary. This my humble prayer was taken up by my enemies as if I claimed the recognition that I am *de facto* the Governor of Hungary. Believe me, ladies and gentlemen, I care about all the titles in the world not so much as that, [snapping his fingers,] nor about any public offices at all. [Applause.] My countrymen can say that I took the high position of the chief of a nation of fifteen millions with sorrow and with painful feelings. I took it as a painful duty and not as a happiness; and I told my nation, the very moment when I took oath before God to do everything as long as I lived to sustain that independence of Hungary—and that oath I am fulfilling, even now—I told them that the very moment when my nation should be free, there was no power on earth that could hold me in office, high or low, for a single moment. That is the only thing in which I submit not even to the will of my people. [Applause.] It is no affectation, but I would like to till my ground; and therefore that is not the question. Am I Governor or not Governor? That is nothing. The question is—was the Declaration of Independence of Hungary, in the judgment of the people of the United States, a legitimate one, to which my nation had a right, or was it not? I believe America cannot answer No—because your very existence rests upon a similar fact. And if that declaration is made, what will be the consequence of it? what will be the practical result? The practical result is, that the very moment when I, or whoever else, upon the basis of the declaration, shall be recognized to be legitimate by your Republic, and shall take a step upon Hungarian soil, and issue a proclamation, declaring that a National Government exists, that very moment the existence of the Government will be recognized, and the gentleman who will be sent to Europe will not be sent to investigate what chances we have of success—[laughter]—but into what diplomatic relation we shall come. [Applause.] And what will be the consequence of it? A legitimate commercial intercourse with America. Then I can fit out men-of-war, steamers, and everything, and your laws will not prevent me. The Government of Hungary will then be a friendly power; and, therefore, according to your laws, everything might be done for the benefit of my country; and who knows what a benefit it might secure to yourselves?

These three points are made the political considerations which I humbly recommend to the associations of Friends of Hungary. It is not only out of respect to the material aid that I entreat again and again the formation of associations of Friends of Hungary. It is also because the formation of associations being registered, I, by this very form, can tell in those quarters where the constitutional authority and foreign policy is divided, that so many—a hundred thousand or a million of citizens of the United States of America—have declared themselves to be Friends of Hungary, after having known what my principles are, and what I humbly pray and claim. Therefore, this declaration of the people, being thus registered, will be taken into consideration, and it will have great political weight.

But, then, there is the consideration of material aid. Now, I declare that I will respect the laws of every nation where I have the honor even temporarily to be. Therefore, I will employ that material aid which the friends of the cause of Hungary may afford to my disposition for the benefit of my country, to be sure, but only in such a way as is not forbidden by or contrary to your laws. Now, to make an armed expedition against a friendly power—that is forbidden. But if Hungary rises upon the basis of a recognized, legitimate independence, then what is necessary for it to prepare for coming into that position is lawful. I have taken the advice of the highest authorities in that respect. I was not so bold as to become the interpreter of your laws, but I have asked—is that lawful, or is it not? And I was answered by the highest authorities in law matters of the United States—that is lawful, and that is not lawful. So I will proceed.

Now take Hungary. In what condition is it? In the beginning of my talking I mentioned the invasion of Tartarian hordes. Then was there such a condition in Hungary that the wild beasts spread over the land and caused the few remnants of the people to take refuge in some castles, fortresses, and fortified places, and in the most remote and sterile ground the wild beasts fed on human blood. Now the wild beasts in Hungary spread again in a terrible manner—and why? Because to have a single pistol, to have a sword, or a musket, is a crime which is punished by several years' imprisonment. Such is now the condition of Hungary. Therefore you may now see that Hungary is disarmed. It has no arms; and you may see of what importance it is for that success about which I hear now and then doubts, to have arms prepared in a convenient, lawful manner for Hungary, should Hungary rise, which it will most certainly.

I have often explained this, and still you may excuse me, because this very assembly proves that you are quite in a contrary condition. I am sorry to say that till now, in that respect, I have not had great success. Why? Because the people are not willing to contribute? Oh! my God! can it be possible? I have seen workingmen who have contributed two week's wages—two per cent. of their yearly earnings, to the cause of Hungary. No; but there is some fatality about it, that I am always honored by invitations, and that to give material aid is postponed till I come. Then when I come, there is indeed material aid, but I cannot accept every invitation. If I had yet for two years to stay in the United States, still I could not be everywhere; and therefore if the generosity to give material aid is attached to the condition that I should be personally present, of course I will fail, because I can see only a small portion of the United States. But here is the great importance of associations of friends of Hungary. That is the only means to give a practical direction to that sympathy which exists and which is willing to sacrifice for the purpose of affording aid.

But when now and then I become a little sad in view of the want of success in my labors, then I am told in consolation, "Give us time—the people want some time to act in a true direction—they will give you aid." I answer, let the friends of Hungary give substantial aid—in a word, give money to Hungary—and then I will give time, [laughter,] otherwise I cannot. [Applause.] My people honors me with its confidence. It knows that I never have betrayed it, never have flattered it, never have promised anything which the people was not able to fulfill, never have pointed out a condition or direction which, when taken, could not have had the result which I predicted; and therefore my people honors me with its confidence, and will follow my advice without money, without anything. But the combined action of all the nations of Europe is necessary to insure success. Now to have my due influence in the affairs of Hungary, in such a way as I consider necessary to insure success, of course the other nations will bestow their confidence on myself only when they see that I have something to contribute to that success. And when I can tell them, "This I have, and that I expect; here is the basis of my expectations: it is not even hope—it is certainty; this and this I will carry, and if you will follow my direction, you will find it is the only one which will lead to success,"—when I can say this, of course they will listen to my advice and follow my direction. But when they say to me, "Now, you have spoken three hundred speeches, and what is the result of it?" and I show them the balance of my cash book, they will not follow me, of course. Therefore, it is an earnest matter when I say, "Give material aid to Hungary, and I will give time to the people of America to bestow all its energy and develop all its activity. But without material aid I have no time. Circumstances will grow over my head, and men may take the destinies of nations into their hands, who, perhaps, even as faithful as I—as, for instance, Mazzini, with whom I am on very friendly terms, but who is perhaps not so skilled in the school of practical misfortune as I am—will spoil it all. Give me money for Hungary, and I will give time.

Now in respect to that money. The Associations of Friends of Hungary are founded on the basis of one dollar subscription. Why? To afford an opportunity to the generous people, which takes the very bread from its lips to bestow to the cause of freedom, but who cannot give much to become members. But there is a substantial class of citizens of the United States, whom I should be very sorry to consider that one dollar as a maximum which it is not possible to exceed. I have the confidence to believe that there will be generous men willing to bestow more out of the abundance which God has allotted to them; therefore, I have prepared shares of a Hungarian loan. If Hungary does not succeed—which cannot be; the storms of ten centuries have passed over the head of my nation, and it was in a more desperate condition than now, and still it stands unshaken in courage—firm in its courage, and it will have its future—but even should it not succeed, you will only have given out of the richness which nature and industry have afforded you so much as you give almost every year to the cause of freedom on earth. I know very well that if I come begging for myself, a poor Belizarius from door to door, perhaps no door would be shut, and my wants would be abundantly supplied. But I claim aid not for myself—I claim it for the great cause of freedom on earth, [applause,] and should I meet not so much consideration as the private misfortune of the man who goes begging at every door, that would be sorrowful indeed.

Everything depends on energy. The organization of friends of Hungary is connected with the loan fund. There are fives and tens, and other higher sums in the loan fund will perhaps be prepared. I have met some generous men who have given a thousand dollars. One from Cincinnati sent me this large sum at New-York, without inviting me to any meeting and without expecting to hear me speak. Perhaps I may find other generous men who will take five, ten, fifty, or a hundred dollars each. But these two influences