sympathy is felt by all classes) returns in the Styx, and he and Lady Smith will then immediately embark for England in her Majesty's steam frigate Gladiator, which has been placed at their disposal by the Commodore.

COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE.

Money Market.

The English Funds have been steady throughout the week, although the quotations of Friday closed a fraction lower than the beginning of the week. The condition of the French Bourse has had a depressing influence, which, however, is counterbalanced by the circumstance that the Bullion in the Bank increases.

The closing prices on Friday evening were: Consols for account and money 96½@96¾; Three and Quarter ℔ Cents 106½@106¾; Bank Stock 215 1-16. Gold shares continue in a drooping state. Foreign Securities sluggish.

PARIS BOURSE.—The rumour that the Emperor of Russia was selling off his securities continues to agitate market, and the depression excites considerable attention. It is doubted whether the rumor is correct. Latest quotations are:

Price of Bullion.—A fair extent of business has been done the past week at quotations. Silver scarce, but arrivals looked for. Foreign gold in bars, (standard) 3fb17/9d ℔ ounce; silver in bars, 4/11½d ℔ ounce. Patriot doubloons 3fb17/, and Spanish do. 3fb18/ ℔ ounce. Mexican and South Amer. dollars 4/10½d, and Spanish pillar 5/ ℔ oz.

State of Trade.

In the manufacturing districts a very general improvement in all branches of trade has been manifest this week. YARNS have been in extensive inquiry for the East, Germany, the Mediterranean, and the Levant, at advancing prices. For the lighter description of CLOTH the demand has also increased at rates that were previously unobtainable. Heavy goods have not participated to a like extent, but there are symptoms of more activity soon taking place in these also.

Liverpool Cotton Market.

From Hollingshead, Tetley & Co.'s Circular.

Notwithstanding the large amount of business transacted in COTTON during the two preceding weeks, amounting to 137,400 bales, of which 89,930 were taken for consumption, the demand continues as vigorous as ever, and during the present week the sales in no one day have been less than 10,000 bales, the trade continuing to buy with great confidence, and speculators taking an increased interest in the daily business. With all this demand, however, there is no very important change in prices, the import having been so large during the last two weeks, that there has been an increasing supply of fresh landed COTTON daily upon the market, and very great willingness manifested by importers to sell and meet the demand freely; one-eighth a pound, therefore, is the extreme advance we can quote on American descriptions. The American advices to hand this week are in favor of the larger or increased estimates of crop, but COTTON being in favor both with consumers and speculators, this has had no influence whatever upon buyers.

In Brazils the business has been moderate, but prices remain steady. Egyptians are in good request, and rather dearer, partly, no doubt, owing to an advance of something like a penny ℔ lb in Sea Island.

Surats are in good request, and prices are up ¼ ℔ lb, during the fortnight.

Twenty-two thousand and thirty bales American, 120 Pernam, 900 Egyptian and 600 Surat are taken on speculation; with 8,450 American, 400 Pernam and 2,340 Surat and Madras for export, leaving for the trade 53,340 bales.

Surats are in good request, and prices are up ¼ ℔ lb, during the fortnight.

From Wright, Gandy & Cos' Circular.

PRICES TO-DAY, (Friday)

	Fair, Per lb.	Middling, Per lb.	Ordinary, Per lb.
New-Orleans	0/N	0/5¼	0/3¼@0/4¼
Mobile	0/5¼	0/5. 1-16	0/4 @0/4¼
Atlantic	0/5¼	0/5	0/4 @0/4¼

This day the sales are estimated at 10,000 bales; 2,000 to speculators and 2,000 to exporters; but offerings being more free the full advance was scarcely obtainable, and there are indications of the demand falling off.

The selection which the recent import has afforded purchasers, and the easy condition of money matters, together with the improved aspect of the general trade of the country, and a growing confidence that no immediate dissolution of Parliament, (which would unhinge commerce,) is likely to take place, are causes to which may be attributed the increased activity in the Cotton Market. Speculators also have faith in the present prices of the material, and as this class of operators relieve the importer, and embark only with a view to profit themselves, we see no reason to apprehend any decline in rates beyond temporary fluctuations, notwithstanding the promise of a larger supply than was calculated upon a short time since. Two consecutive crops as large as the last, can scarcely be expected, and the means to hold over, pending the prospect for the next, are both ample and at command.

Stock this day, (Friday) 494,505 bags, of which 355,130 are American.

Liverpool Corn Market.

From James McHenry's Circular.

There is no change in the condition of the market for BREADSTUFFS. Most of the recent large imports have been warehoused, and are at present off the market, which gives an appearance of firmness in value. There are buyers of FLOUR at 20/; of Red WHEAT, at 6/9; and of White at 6/ ℔ 70 lb. White INDIAN CORN is selling at 29/, and Yellow at 30/ ex. ship.

Quotations are: FLOUR—Western Canal, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Canadian, 20/@20/6; St. Louis and Ohio, 21/@22/; Canadian sour and heated, 17/@18/6. WHEAT—Red, ℔ 70 lb, 5/9@5/10; White, 6/@6/2; Mixed, 5/10@6/. INDIAN CORN—White, ℔ 480 lb, 29/@29/6; Mixed and Yellow, 30/@30/6. INDIAN MEAL, none.

Provisions.

In the Liverpool market an advance of 1/@2/ ℔ cwt. has been obtained on the recent imports of BACON, the quality proving to be good. BEEF continues to be in active demand at last week's prices. No sales of CHEESE. Sales of LARD the past week about 70 tuns; market firm. Sales of French and Irish PORK are made; no American in the market. McHenry's quotations are: BACON, long middles, 43/@45/ ℔ cwt.; MESS BEEF, 92/@105/ ℔ tierce; do. India, ℔ 304 lb, 100@110/; CHEESE and BUTTER, none; HAMS, ordinary, 24/@26/; SHOULDERS, 26/ to 28/; PORK, prime mess, 70/@72/ ℔ bbl.; Mess, none.

General Produce.

From A. Dennistoun & Co's. Circular.

ASHES continue in moderate demand at 23/@24/ ℔ cwt. for Pot, and 27/6 for Pearl. TURPENTINE, 700 bbls., have been sold at 9/7@9/8 ℔ cwt. SPIRITS TURPENTINE—Sales have been effected at 46/@47/ ℔ cwt. ROSIN continues to bring high prices, several hundred bbls. being reported at 5/@10/ ℔ cwt. for common to fine qualities. TALLOW—There is not much doing. Y. C. selling at 36/6 ℔ cwt.; 70 casks of South American brought 34/@36/6 ℔ cwt. for fine quality. LARD—The sales have been 50 tuns American at 49/ ℔ cwt. OILS—The demand for Palm Oil has improved, 750 tuns having changed hands at £26@£26 15/ ℔ tun; Pale Seal is in moderate request, at £29@£29 10/ ℔ tun; very little doing in Whale or Rape Oils at previous prices. RICE—The demand has improved, and 100 tierces Carolina have been sold at 17/@18/6 ℔ cwt. in bond. DYE WOODS—The transactions comprise 100 tuns Savanilla Fustic at £3 5/@£3 7/6 ℔ tun, and a small lot Jamaica Logwood at £3 10/ ℔ ton, all faults. TOBACCO—Only a moderate business has been done during the past month, without changing prices; the deliveries have been 1,067 hogsheads; imports 722 hogsheads; stock in warehouse on 30th April 11,931 hogsheads, against 16,649 hogsheads same time last year.

Havre Cotton Market.

The market has not been very brisk. Sales of the week to May 5 reach 12,255 bales, including 493 bales Sea Island (sold during the month) against 38,000 imported. The stock in Havre on the 5th May amounted to 92,574 bales, of which 78,289 were United States. Prices were 5,200 bales New-Orleans, 64f.@91f.; 3,507 do. Mobile, 62f.@89f.; 3,042 do. Upland, 66f.@79f.; 403 do. Sea Island (during the month) 190f.@310f.; 75 do. Salonica, 60f. Total, 12,255 bales.

Freights.

From Train & Co's Circular.

Ships have arrived freely for ten days past, and charters of first-class American ships are easily made at 20 shillings to 25 shillings per register ton, to New-York and the North. Rates for Iron to New-York average 10 shillings per ton. The German emigration from Liverpool is still large, but prices of Passage have fallen to £3 to New-York.

Latest Liverpool Cotton Market.

LIVERPOOL, Saturday, May 8—11 A. M.

The market opened much the same as it closed yesterday afternoon. The demand is steady without change in prices. The Hermann's advices have not yet produced any effect.—Estimated sales this morning, 7,000 to 8,000 bales—one-fourth of which on speculation and for export.

CANADA.

New Law of Evidence—Political Libel Prosecution—Land Monopolists and the Freedom of Election—Maine Law.

Correspondence of The N. Y. Tribune.

TORONTO, Saturday, May 15, 1852.

On the practical merits of the new law of evidence, which admits of parties to a suit being examined on the facts of the case, public opinion has not yet had time to mature. As is natural with all innovations of this kind, the new law meets some disparagement at the hands of the Judges, though not one of them has yet ventured to pronounce decidedly against it. In the Queen's Bench, the other day, the Chief Justice took occasion to remark upon a case where he thought it would have been much better that the party should not have been allowed to give evidence; and so it would no doubt have been better for the witness-suitor, for he admitted that he had altered the face of a note of hand after an action on it had commenced, and the result was that he will be indicted for forgery; but it does not follow that for the interest of justice it would have been better that he should not have been placed in a position where he was brought to acknowledge a crime that perhaps could not otherwise have been specially proved. Instances have often occurred under the new law where one party to an action has been obliged to prove the case of the other, where it could not have been made out by any other available evidence; and there have occurred cases where the party having justice on his side would have been defrauded if he had not been allowed to state facts that were within the cognizance of no third person. On the whole, I think the new law augurs favorably. The terrors of perjury must generally outweigh the temptation of any merely pecuniary advantages, and thus form a barrier to the introduction of those abuses to which the law would otherwise be liable.

A prosecution for libel by a member of the Government of Vansittart, late an aspirant for Parliamentary honors and a descendant of a family whose name is imprinted on the page of English history, has just taken place at Woodstock. The case resulted in an acquittal. The prosecution seems to have been strangely bungled.

The alleged libel consisted of a series of forged letters, attempting to fasten on Mr. Hincks, as a member of the Government, gross and wilful corruption. That they were forgeries no one now pretends to doubt, although a partizan press eagerly gave them publicity as "undoubtedly genuine," at the general election. The counsel for the Crown drew up a most meager indictment; it did not set out the letters as libelous, but only the reading of the article which introduced them. The publication was not proved, or rather it could not be traced to Vansittart, the alleged owner of the paper that first gave them currency. The defendant did not attempt to prove the truth of the alleged libel, as he might have done under a recent statute, had the letters been genuine and capable of being proved. The prosecution was entirely criminal in its nature; being carried on not in the name of Mr. Hincks, but of the Crown. The defendant pays his own costs. Mr. Vansittart was the opponent of Mr. Hincks, in the late Parliamentary contest, in the county of Oxford, and the forged correspondence was, at that time, published in a local paper with a view to damage Mr. Hincks' political prospects.

Hon. Malcolme Cameron, Chief of the Bureau of Agriculture, has been reelected to Parliament for Huron, without opposition. The Tories at first set up their man, but finding that a contest offered no prospect of success, contented themselves with an unmeaning protest against the legality of the election, on the ground that there are no two members of Parliament qualified to notify the Clerk of the Crown, in Chancery, of a vacancy, they not being yet sworn in. The political evil of land monopolies has again been rigidly pressed on the public mind through the incidents of this election. Huron is the stronghold of the Canada Company; a monopoly of land-jobbers that has ever been a curse to the country. This monopoly always throws its weight into the scale against the friends of freedom. It is the obedient servant of the would-be established Church, and the overthrown oligarchy which it seeks to rescuscitate. This monopoly, as soon as it learned that a member of the liberal Government had vacated his seat, and must go back for reelection, began to flood the country with deeds, on which the holders would have been able to vote, after three months' possession. By this means the monopoly would have been able to return their nominee, if the election had been delayed. There are plenty of precedents in the history of the old colonies for dispossessing monopolies infinitely less baneful than this to the public interests; and if the Canada Company abuses its power, why should it meet a better fate?

The advocates for the adoption of the Maine Liquor Law continue their exertions, in getting up petitions to the Legislature, in various parts of Upper Canada. We hear of no such movement in the Lower Province. Canada was once famed for its strong taste for liquor, but of late years the progress of temperance has been rapid; the Sons of Temperance have suddenly become formidable from numbers and organization, and immense numbers of youths, many of them mere boys, are enrolling themselves as Cadets of Temperance, an organization from which much may be hoped for the future of society. There is still, however, much to be done, and I doubt if society be prepared for the adoption of the Maine Law, or if it could be enforced, if adopted, while so strong a *taste* and *demand* for ardent spirits exists. Whisky is here the great drink of the common run of drinkers. Of this article immense quantities are manufactured. At one time in the history of Upper Canada there were fourteen whisky distilleries in a village of seven hundred inhabitants. Besides manufacturing, we have always been in the habit of importing ardent spirits extensively. In 1809, when the population of Upper Canada was not over 100,000, we imported 100,000 gallons of strong liquors and 25,000 gallons of wine. This is about the most moderate drinking in our history, so far as it is indicated by imports; but the domestic consumption has always been greatest. One member of the Government is understood to be an advocate of the Maine Law, though I presume the majority against it in the House will be large. L. C.

MASSACHUSETTS.

The Maine Law—Veto Message.

COUNCIL CHAMBER, Monday, May 17, 1852.

To the President of the Senate:

SIR: A bill entitled "An Act concerning the Manufacture and Sale of Intoxicating and Spirituous Liquors," was laid before be on the 14th inst., for my revision. I have duly considered the measure, and now communicate to the Honorable Senate the objections I entertain to its passage. The will of the people is usually expressed through certain organizations called Government. The harmonious and efficient action of the Government is based upon the concurrence of the moral, political and physical power of the people. If only one or two of these powers exist in reference to a particular law, its influence is proportionally weak. When our laws are based upon the Constitution, and in harmony with well settled principles of public policy, they need no popular approval to give them validity and power. They rest on the admitted moral and political judgment of the people, and may therefore command the physical force of the State. In the progress of events, great and peculiar measures may be proposed, whose value depends entirely upon the popular judgment, and under such circumstances it is undoubtedly wise in the Legislature to seek an expression of public opinion. It is for this reason that in some States certain grave questions, as the creation of a public debt, for example, are by the Constitution submitted to the people.

The moral power of a statute is greatly increased by the free and decisive approbation of those who are to be subjected to its operation. When, therefore, in addition to the importance of the subject legislated upon, the act contains new principles of legislation, or is of doubtful expediency, stronger reasons exist for ascertaining the public will.

The measure before me is important, and contains new principles of legislation; is of doubtful expediency, and I therefore concur with the Legislature in the propriety of its submission to the people. Mere political power and physical force are not sufficient to secure the perfect or even respectable administration of the law. Our experience as a State, and as a member of the American Union, furnishes sufficient evidence upon this point; all safe and wholesome legislation must have a moral basis in the heart and minds of the people.

More especially is this true when that legislation interferes with the principles, controls the habits, or regulates the morals of men.

Whenever, in reference to great measures, it is doubtful whether such a basis exists, the question should be settled by an appeal to the people.

Although I could not recommend the passage of the bill before me, the chief and sufficient objection to the present movement lies against the manner of ascertaining the popular will. As a point of principle, I think all great questions should be determined by secret ballot. There is no domestic question more important than this. The use of the open ballot will divest the decision of the people of all moral power whatever. It is not necessary to consider whether a single man even would be overawed or improperly influenced in his action. A subsequent allegation that many men had been thus influenced, or that the open ballot had been unfavorable to a full expression of opinion, would deprive the verdict of its moral strength.

On the other hand, a decision by secret ballot would be final. If adverse to the law, its friends could not complain. The decision would be conclusive that the people are not prepared for the measure, and thus save its advocates from numerous labors and contests which must finally, under such circumstances, aid in their discomfiture.

Should the law be decisively sustained by the secret ballot, it would then possess a moral as well as political basis on which to have a fair trial.

A decision by open ballot may leave the law upon the statute books, but necessarily shorn of its moral strength; and I am fully conscious that it cannot stand upon mere political power and physical force. Legislation deals with men as they are. The province of law is to render certain and secure that which the moral judgment of man has approved and moral reformation has acquired.

After a careful view of the whole subject, I am brought to this conclusion: That a measure of this sort cannot rest safely and permanently upon the mere action of representative bodies of men—that it must have the sanction of the people—that that sanction must contain the moral as well as political power of the State—that a decision by open ballot would possess very little moral force, and finally, that a secret ballot furnishes the only proper means of ascertaining the public judgment.

Two considerations have had great influence upon my mind. I know of no Government, either despotic or republican, which has permanently succeeded in limiting the use of intoxicating liquors, except so far as it was sustained by the conscientious opinions and practice of a majority of the people.

And further, I cannot, by any process of moral reasoning, relieve myself of the duty of resisting the passage of a doubtful measure under such circumstances, that in the certain ultimate defeat which awaits it, is to be overthrown the cause it was intended to support.

Guided in my course and in the reasons I have presented, by a sense of duty to the Commonwealth, which has honored me with its confidence, I respectfuly return the act entitled "An Act concerning the sale and manufacture of spirituous and intoxicating liquors," to that department of the Government in which it originated. GEO. S. BOUTWELL.

KOSSUTH MATTERS.

From our own Reporter.

ALBANY, Wednesday, May 19, 1852.

The Mass Delegation left Albany for Boston in the night train. Now that KOSSUTH is out of New-England, it should be said of the Massachusetts Legislative Committee, that the members, as Committee men and as friends of KOSSUTH and his cause, conducted all the arrangements for his reception and for the prosecution of his mission in the most liberal and in a very judicious manner. It is due to the Committee to say this, because, indeed, its labors were onerous, and at no place in the United States have mutual relations between KOSSUTH and the Committee been more satisfactory. At no city of the United States had KOSSUTH a more convenient or suitable suite of rooms than at the Revere House, and at no hotel was more attention showed to him and his suite.

The amount of material aid contributed in New-England was $15,121; of this sum all but $6 65 was received in Massachusetts, and of the Massachusetts 'aid,' Boston furnished $5,927.

The proceeds of the last Faneuil Hall meeting were only $1,113, although the Hall was crowded. There were many invited guests, and many free tickets were distributed.

One of the donations KOSSUTH received in Boston he acknowledged most gratefully. It was the gift of $100, from a lady, to be forwarded to the exile's now exiled sisters. In the way of books, a very respectable library was presented KOSSUTH, and among those whose names are honorably associated with literature, and who made donations, were Mrs. FULLER, mother of MARGARET FULLER, and Mrs. HARRIET BEECHER STOWE, each of whom sent $10. W. F. CHANNING sent his father's complete works, accompanied by a very able letter on American affairs, to which KOSSUTH will reply. Mrs. FULLER made her donation in person, upon the introduction of Gen. WILSON, and was received with marked attention. Mrs. STOWE, accompanied her gift with a letter of warmest sympathy—a letter which would do the author of "Uncle Tom's Log Cabin" great honor, were it universally published.

The Hungarians are all enthusiastic in their encomiums on New-England—especially on Massachusetts and Boston.

This morning a Committee of twenty-five gentlemen from Troy came to Congress Hall to invite KOSSUTH to Troy. They did not see the Governor, but were received by PULSZKY. C. L. TRACY, Chairman of the Committee, extended the invitation, and PULZSKY replied that KOSSUTH could not visit Troy now, but would be happy to do so when he returned from Niagara. He has decided to-day to go direct on Friday to Niagara. He will probably return here one week from next Saturday.

The sum of $225, which I mentioned yesterday, was made up by citizens of Albany, of which $100 was given by Mrs. MARY GOULD, who has since died. Besides this $100 has been received through Mrs. MARY PAGE, of Schenectady.

Kossuth at Albany.

From our own Reporter.

ALBANY, Thursday, May 20, 1852.

This morning KOSSUTH's health was somewhat improved and he received company from 10 to 12 o'clock. Many prominent citizens of Albany availed themselves of this opportunity to call on him, and invitations to visit most of the places of public interest in Albany and vicinity were extended to him.

A delegation from the German citizens of this City addressed him and made a small donation. He replied to them in a speech of considerable length, and assured them that he heard with pleasure an expression from them that they were determined to devote themselves to liberty. Invitations were also received and accepted this morning to visit Auburn and Buffalo. This KOSSUTH will do on his return from Niagara.

THE MEETING.

The Kossuth Meeting this afternoon was held in Dr. Huntington's Church. It was crowded with holders of five, three and two dollar bonds. KOSSUTH was introduced by Gov. HUNT and was welcomed with great enthusiasm when he arose to speak.

FELLOW CITIZENS: I appear before you to-day in the discharge of an agreeable duty. You have assembled here to manifest the constancy of your devotion to the cause of popular liberty and national independence. You have come to testify your sympathy for a distant people whose gallant efforts to secure the blessings of free government have been crushed by the armed legions of arbitrary power. It was one of the most beautiful sentiments of ancient poetry, that a virtuous man, struggling against adversity, is a sight worthy of the gods.

A spectacle still more sublime is presented when we behold a persecuted patriot, rising superior to his misfortunes, and exerting his noblest energies, with a firm, unbroken spirit, for the deliverance of his country from the bonds of oppression. Such an example of moral heroism is now exhibited to the world in the person of the distinguished character whose presence has attracted this large assembly.

It would be inappropriate for me to detain you at this time by a full expression of the feelings which the occasion naturally inspires.

But I should be untrue to the promptings of my own heart and wanting in justice to the sentiments which animate the citizens of this State, if I failed to assure our honored guest of the sympathy and the enthusiastic regard which our people entertain toward the chosen leader of a generous nation, who has sacrificed everything but life and honor in defense of the liberties of his native land.

The inherent right of every community to establish their own form of government, and modify their institutions at pleasure, independent of foreign interference or control, is an axiom which lies at the foundation of our Republican system.

We have uniformly respected this principle in our relation with other countries; we would promote it by our example and by all proper and lawful means of encouragement; and I trust the period is not distant when its observance will be universally conceded as a rule of international law binding upon the family of nations.

The freemen of America, secure in the enjoyment of the rights of self-government, cannot be indifferent to the progress of free principles in other parts of the world. As they ever have, they will continue to regard with profound interest and sympathy the efforts of every people, however remote, to improve their political condition by the establishment of free institutions.

Governor H. concluded by introducing Governor Kossuth to the audience.

SPEECH AT ALBANY.

GENTLEMEN: More than five months have passed since my landing in New-York. The stirring influence of novelty has long since subsided, and the excitement of glowing emotion died away. The spell is broken which distance and misfortune cast around my name—expectation fell short—curiosity turned aside unsatisfied. I stand before the glaring eyes of publicity stripped of every supposed charm of personal interest—a plain, common man—not conspicuous by any attractive abilities—rather repulsive, by the deep-rooted sadness of my heart, which by all exertion I cannot succeed to master, though clashingly contrasting with the cheerful disposition of happy men. I know that it alienates instead of making friends. The freshness of my very ideas is worn out—incessant toils, and their result, sickness, spread a languor of exhaustion around me, unpleasant to look upon, and the skill of intrigues asperging me with the dust of calumny, and the willful misrepresentations pouring cold water upon the generous intimations of sympathy; and Louis Napoleon's momentary success shaking the faith of cold politicians in the near impendency of a European struggle for liberty; and in addition to all this, the Presidential election absorbing public attention and lowering every high aspiration into the narrow scope of party spirit, busy for party triumph—all these circumstances, and many things else, too numerous to record them all, have joined to make probable that the last days of my wanderings on American soil will be entirely different from those days, when the hundred thousands of the Empire City thundered up to the high heaven the cheers of their hurrahs till they sounded like a defiance of a free people to the proud despots of the world. And yet notwithstanding all disadvantageous concurrences, no change has taken place in the public spirit of America. I may have lost in your kind estimation of my own humble self, but my cause has not lost. It is standing higher than ever it stood and the future in your country's policy is insured to it. The blazing star of sympathy took the iron shape of a lasting conviction. The consistency of the people's public opinion, true to the fundamental principles of American republicanism, has baffled the malicious expectations of the despots and their votaries, who, mistaking the people's self conscious intelligence for a momentary emotion, took but for a whim of passing fashion that which is the lasting attachment to principles, and the consistency of the people's public opinion baffled equally the short-sighted calculations of unprincipled egotism which, incapable of any higher elevation of the mind, takes often to-day for odd what yesterday was even, and for even the odd.

Yes, gentlemen, let those materialists, with their one night's sagacity, look to those parting days of my presence in America, and when they have seen what decided sympathy I have met in New-England—that glorious cradle of American destiny—and when they have seen the manifestation with which the citizens of Albany have honored the cause which I devotedly plead—and when, after having seen this, and having reflected upon time and concomitant circumstances, they still persist to misconsider the nature of that public spirit to the revelation, of which I, by a wonderful decree of an over-ruling Providence, become an humble opportunity—and if, by misconsidering it, they still persist to stand passively when all around them is stirring ahead, well, then, let them not complain when they will see themselves overrun, or in the best case left unheeded and alone like a heap of snow in a rocky gap, wrapping itself in its own isolated coldness against the warm breeze of the month of May.

Poor heap of snow—thou melting monument of past winter time—thou mayst well bid Nature stop! It will not stop and thy hoary frame shall not withstand the all pervading tide.

Gentlemen, present bounty will never weaken in my mind the thankful appreciation of former benefits. The generous manifestation of sympathy I met on my arrival will always remain recorded with unfeiling gratitude; but no just man can feel offended when I say that it is the manner of *farewell* which has to decide upon the value of the *welcome*. The result of my endeavors in America will not be measured by how I was received when I came, but by how I am treated when I leave. You know

"All's well that ends well"

and to be well things must end well, and being about to close my task in America, I cannot help to say that the generous reception you honored me with, is doubly gratifying to my people, which has [illegible] with intense interest my progress in America, [illegible] dear to my heart, because it is [illegible] that the *farewell* given to the wand[illegible] course confirms the expectations, which the [illegible]

The warm reception Albany has given [illegible] the point upon the letter "I"—it decides its m[illegible] The metropolis of the Empire State gave abundan[illegible] the first flowers to the garland of America's sympathy for the condition of the old world—many a flower was added to it from many a place. Wherever there is a people there rose anew garden of sympathy, and wherever be the obligations I owe and gladly own to many a quarter of the United States, it is but a tribute due to justice which makes me publicly avow, that Ohio, with the bold resolution of its youthful strength, and Massachusetts with its consistent traditional energy, stood preeminent in the decided comprehension of America's destiny—and now the capital of the Empire State winds up the garland of America. New-York achieves what New-York has begun, and thus in leaving America, I have an answer to bring to Europe's oppressed millions, and the answer is satisfactory—because I know what position America will take in the approaching crisis of the world.

Yes, Gentlemen, men who take themselves for wiser than their age, and more powerful than the logic of necessities, such men may doubt about the issue. Unable duly to appreciate the situation, they may have thrust a nail into the earth to arrest its rotation; stretch out there a zeive to catch the rolling flood, or a sheet of paper to check the hurricane; and they may bend to the right and bend to the left, anxious to keep or to gain a standing, and know not whither it be best to lean. I say all such wisdom is vain. I am sure of the issue, because I have read it in the unalterable decrees of destiny, recorded in the voice of the people, which is the voice of the Lord.

Let me speak plainly, gentlemen. A people, now grown in its intelligence, may accept the part of not having a decided opinion of its own upon subjects of doubtful or of slight interest. Public opinion at large never enlists citizens vividly in a question, the practical value of which is not at all, or not yet intensely felt. Upon such questions the people, however intelligent, is still inclined to yield to the authority of popular names, and consents to be led, instead of to lead. But the instinct of the people is extremely sensitive whenever the exigencies of time and circumstances give to a question an important practical value. The people are always in advance to feel what is right; then, by its own instinctive wisdom, public opinion takes a decided direction, which takes the lead instead of being led; individual authorities lose their influence; the people's will becomes really sovereign. And in such cases true statesmanship consists in assimulating itself with the people's instinct; because no position can be obtained of the people against its will.

There are several moments in the national life of a people, when, to adopt a certain course, becomes a natural necessity; and in such moments the people always get instinctively conscious of the necessity, and answers it by adopting a direction spontaneously. That direction is decisive. It must be followed, and it is followed. Preëminent patriots, joining in the people's instinct, may become either the interpreters or the executors of it; but they can neither impart their own direction to the people, nor alter that which public opinion has fixed. There are no other means to become a great man and a great patriot but by becoming the impersonification of the public sentiment, conscious of a surpassing public necessity. Those who would endeavor to measure great things, by a small individual scale, would always fall short in their calculations and be left behind.

There have been already several such moments in your country's brief but glorious history. I will only mention your glorious Revolution of 1775. Who made that Revolution? The People—the unawed demigods—the public opinion. If the question had been left to the decision of some few, though the best and the wisest of all, they never would have advised a struggle, but would have arranged matters diplomatically. You remember what efforts have been made to that purpose—how anxiously endeavors have been made to prove that it was not the Americans who fired the first short, and how exculpations were sent to England with protestations of allegiance. All those little steps were vain. The people felt that it was time to become an independent nation; and feeling the necessity of the moment, it took a direction itself, and made the Revolution by itself.

Now-a-days, it is of an equally pregnant necessity to the United States to take the position of a power on earth. Nobody can hereafter make the people believe that it is possible for America to remain unaffected by the condition of the Old World—to advise that the United States shall still abstain from mixing up their concerns with those of Europe. Such advice may sound pleasantly, like the echo of a song we loved to hear in our childhood. But the people's instinct is extremely practical. It is too well aware of the fact that however wise might have been such advice, it is outrun by facts, and not more possible to be followed, because the facilities of intercourse having prodigiously increased between the two countries, their respective and political interests are already blended together in many respects.

That is a fact which no wisdom, no diplomatic dialect can undo. Therefore, the question to be decided is not whether America shall mix its concerns with those of the Old World, because that is done. But that being done, the remaining question is whether the United States shall take a seat in the great Amphictyonic councils of the nations or not? And whether it shall be permitted to some crowned mortals to substitute the whims of their ambition in the place of international law—to set up and to upset the balance of power as they please; and to regulate the common concerns of the world? And shall the United States accept whatever the Czar may be pleased to dispose about these common concerns? and shall the United States silently look at, however the Czar may grow upon the ruins of common international law, to an all-overwhelming preponderance?

That is the question, and that being the question, it is quite natural that the people has answered it, and has pronounced about it in a manner too positive and too evident to be mistaken at all. It is already more than a year ago that a distinguished American diplomatist advertised publicly his fellow statesman that "it is the popular voice which will henceforth decide without appeal the great coming questions in your foreign policy before the Executive or Congress can consider them."

I dare say, gentlemen, that it was my lot to become the first opportunity for the realization of this advertisement. The direction of your country's foreign policy is decided by the popular voice. Too clearly, too universally has the people given its verdict to admit that there could be any mistake about it.

Some have reproached me that it is an unprecedented arrogance on my part to try to change that hereditary policy of the United States. But it is not so. I but engaged public attention to consider the exigencies of time and circumstances. The *finger of the clock* only shows the hour, but makes not the time; and so did I. And allow me to say, that the coming of such a time was already anticipated by many of your own fellow-citizens, long before my humble name, or even the name of my country, was known in America. Please to read the works of WAYLAND, the distinguished American, for more than thirty years engaged at one of your high schools in the noble task of instilling sound political principles and enlightened patriotism in the heart and mind of your rising generation. You will find that already, in 1825, after having spoken of the effects which this country might produce on the politics of Europe, simply by her example, he thus proceeds:

"It is not impossible, however, that this country may be called to exert an influence still more direct on the destinies of men. Should the rulers of Europe make war upon the principles of our Constitution, because its existence may operate as an example; or should there be an universal appeal to arms in the question of civil and religious liberty, it is manifest that we must take no secondary part in the controversy. The contest will involve the civilized world, and the blow will be struck which must decide the fate of men for centuries to come. Then will the hour have arrived, when uniting, with herself the friends of freedom, throughout the world, this country must breast herself to the shock of congregated nations. Then will she need the wealth of her merchants, the prowess of her warriors, and the sagacity of her statesmen. Then, on the altars of our God, let each one devote himself to the cause of the human race, and in the name of the Lord of Hosts, go forth unto the battle. If need be, let our choicest blood flow freely, for life itself is valueless when such interests are at stake. Then, when a world in arms is assembling to the conflict, may this country be found fighting in the vanguard for the liberties of man.—God himself has summoned her to the contest, and she may not shrink back. For this hour may He by His grace prepare her."

Thus wrote a learned American patriot, as early as 1825, and he stands high even to-day in the estimation of his fellow-citizens; and no man ever charged him with being presumptuously arrogant for having shown such a perspective of coming necessities to America.—His profound sagacity, pondering the logical issue of America's position, has penetrated into the hidden mystery of future events, and he has seen his country summoned by God himself to fight in the vanguard for mankind's civil and religious liberty.

I never claimed—never have desired so much. I indeed believe that should that necessity be not prevented by answering resolutely the claims of present exigencies, the time would soon come which would prove Maryland's prophecy literally true. But though the rulers of Europe are indeed making, furiously and consistently, war upon the principles of your Constitution,—still I say the time has not yet come fo rsuch a sacrifice; the necessity of it may be rather prevented by taking, in time, the imposing attitude of a power on earth.

The people's instinctive wisdom has again understood the signs of the time, as it did 75 years ago; and declared to be resolved to meet its exigencies. The first outburst of popular sentiment five months ago, in New-York, might have been taken by unbelievers for a sudden excitement of passing emotions; but now that the manifestation of popular opinion continues from city to city, from State to State, and its bearing is registered by constituted authorities; and the honors of popular demonstration go on still clustering around the poor homeless exile, though the excitement has long since died away, and the days of his farewell are not less bright with encouraging hopes than his welcome has been,—now, at least, only willful blindness can doubt about the character of these demonstrations; only willful blindness can hesitate to see that there is a principle, there is an acknowledgment of a political necessity—there is a manifestation of the all-pervading, omnipotent spirit of the age in them.

Yes, gentlemen, whatever be the hidden mysteries of future events, of one thing all the world can be assured, and that is, that the people of the United States will not remain an idle and indifferent spectator of the struggle for national independence, and civil and religious liberty; but so soon as it will be seen that the nations of Europe are rising to settle an inexorable account with their oppressors, the material and diplomatic aid of America will ponderously weigh in the scale of right and freedom, against oppression and force.

The direction of your country's foreign policy is decided by the public opinion of your people. How far to go in that direction—*that* will be decided by time and circumstances. To anticipate this would be neither wise nor necessary. But the direction is given by a surpassing necessity, and by the people's sovereign will. No Administration can be imagined either remaining passive or acting contrary to the direction which public opinion has pointed out.

Upon this we will count in the combination of chances and of elements. Upon this we have a right to count; because we know that the people of the United States feel too well the earnestness of the matter than that it should slightly play with the blood of millions by encouraging them to expectations, and then not realizing them.

Gentlemen, during the solemn reception you honored me with on my arrival, I have seen an emblematical expression of generous sympathy, which I will remember with lasting gratitude, and would feel very glad to know that you will also remember it. "Material Aid" was the superscription of the emblem, and the emblem itself a *ballot-box, some bags of the almighty dollars, and a good sword—not alone, but held by a hand ready to strike.* That was the emblem; and full of deep meaning it was to be sure.

As to the strictly material part of that material aid, I would only wish to make it well understood: firstly, that the struggle for liberty in Europe is unavoidable; that the struggle for liberty in Europe is unavoidable; and secondly, that material aid is of higher value now in the time of preparation than it will be when once the struggle is broken out.

Don't imagine that without the material aid of America the churchyard peace of oppression in Europe can endure. No, this is impossible. Whenever a condition is so bad that nothing can be lost by trying to change it—then you can be sure of it that men will try to change. A revolution in Europe is unavoidable. We must do it, and we will do it. Your "material aid," therefore, is by no means an instrumentality for making a revolution, but only an instrumentality for making its success more sure and its sufferings less—to make the struggle shorter, and peace and tranquillity lasting by making the issue of the struggle successful. This considered, you may well agree with me that it is highly to be desired that the leaders have the means, as well to restrain an untimely outbreak, as also to profit by every favorable opportunity which may happen, at whatever moment, to insure at its very beginning the speedy success, and to master the circumstances instead of being mastered by them. Once the struggle broken out, your "material aid" may prove still efficient, but it may prove also either superfluous or too late; whereas now it is sure to be efficient, because it is aiding our being ready to profit by opportunities.

So much for the material part of the material aid.—But as to the "*ballot-box*," gentlemen, give me the privilege to make a few remarks. Faithful to my principles, I of course never will nor can meddle with your interior affairs. But I may be permitted to say that the whole world—the despots as well as the oppressed nations of Europe—look with intense anxiety to the Presidential election in the United States. May be that the fate of Europe will be definitively decided during the present Administration yet. But it is also not impossible that either the beginning of the end, or at least the end, will be delayed.

I am informed about what the great political parties consider for the issue of the next Administration, in regard to interior affairs, but I must say—and take for a prophecy, if you please, or but for a knowledge of facts—I must say, that the great issue of the next Administration is not to be found in those comparatively small internal questions, but in the question of foreign policy. Such are the circumstances of the world, that the question of foreign policy will undoubtedly outweigh in importance and in results all domestic questions.

There is the real difficulty of the next Administration; it will have to meet uncommon circumstances, requiring the utmost energy and resolution of activity, which it will in vain strive to find—in vain it will strive to rise to the level of circumstances, if the question of foreign policy does not positively enter into the platform upon which the contending parties settle the political character of their intended Administration.

It would be indeed very strange to see, that while the world is shaking in its very foundation, while the United States are come to the point where either they must boldly take the position of a power on earth, or resign their proud destiny and sink avowedly to the position of a second-rate power—not taken in any account when the balance of power is anew regulated either by the kings or by the nations—as you indeed have not been taken into any consideration when the balance of power was equi-laterally regulated by the Congress of Vienna, 1815; and again, when it was upset in favor of Russian preponderance in 1849—it would be indeed very strange to see that at such a moment, teeming with the destiny of centuries, and with such a prospect before the eyes—railroad tracks and other similar topics would enter the platform of Presidential election, and the question of life—foreign policy—be left open, undecided, unpr