

W. MOORE,  
J. HEMPHILL,  
Editors & Proprietors  
THE COUNTRY DOLLAR,  
A Weekly Paper, will be published at the  
following low  
Rates:  
1 YEAR IN ADVANCE \$1.00  
1 YEAR IN 3 MONTHS 1.25  
1 YEAR IN 6 DO 1.50  
1 YEAR IN 9 DO 1.75  
1 YEAR IN 12 DO 2.00

No paper will be sent to those who  
do not advance after the expiration of the  
one paid for.  
All letters on business connected  
with the office, to receive attention, must be  
post paid.

# THE COUNTRY DOLLAR

A WEEKLY PAPER: DEVOTED TO LITERATURE, AGRICULTURE, MORALITY, AND FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE.  
Volume 5. Clearfield, Pa., January 25, 1850. Number 31.

SHERIFFS' SALE.  
By virtue of a writ of Habeas Corpus, issued out  
of the Court of Common Pleas at Clearfield  
County, Pa., I do hereby give notice, that I  
do hereby sell, at public auction, on the  
1st day of February, 1850, at 10 o'clock  
A. M., in the borough of Clearfield,  
Pa., the following property, to-wit:  
1 do 12 months 10 00  
2 do 6 months 5 00  
3 do 3 months 2 50  
4 do 12 months 10 00  
5 do 6 months 5 00  
6 do 3 months 2 50  
7 do 12 months 10 00  
8 do or half a column, 6 months 5 00  
9 do or half a column, 12 months 10 00  
10 do or one column, 6 months 5 00  
11 do or one column, 12 months 10 00

Books, Jobs and Blanks  
Of every description, printed in the very best style,  
and on the shortest notice, at the COUNTRY DOL-  
LAR Office.

## DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH AUSTRIA.

**SPEECH OF GEN. CASS,**  
Delivered in the Senate of the United  
States, January 4th, 1850, on the fol-  
lowing resolution:  
"Resolved, That the Committee on For-  
eign Relations be instructed to inquire  
into the expediency of suspending diplo-  
matic relations with Austria."

The resolution having been read—  
Mr. CASS, of Michigan, arose, and ad-  
dressed the Senate as follows:  
Mr. President: I do not know that this  
resolution will be opposed. "It is one of in-  
quiry only, not of action." But as I should  
not have introduced it, had I not intended  
to ask the opinion of the Senate upon the  
subject, whatever may be the report of the  
Committee on Foreign Relations, and as  
the measure is not an usual one, I deem  
it proper briefly to state the reasons which  
have induced me to propose it.

The intercourse subsisting between the  
independent nations of the world, where  
not regulated by special conventional ar-  
rangements, is regulated by each for itself,  
subject to the established principles of the  
law of nations. The great improvement  
of the age, united to that spirit of enter-  
prise, commercial and scientific, which  
was never more active in itself nor more  
usefully employed than now, have given  
increased energy to this intercourse, and  
having in effect broken down the barriers  
of space which separated nations, have  
opened each to the business and knowledge  
of all.

This general intercommunication, espe-  
cially among the nations of Christendom,  
creates a community of interest, and, in  
some measure, of feeling, which becomes  
a bond, however slight, uniting them to-  
gether into one great political family. The  
internal agitations or external dangers  
which threaten one cannot be indifferent to  
the other members of this wide-spread  
community. The age is an inquiring and  
an observing one; and the facility and ra-  
pidity of communication, among the proud-  
est triumphs of human knowledge, come  
powerfully in aid of this disposition to judge  
and approve or censure passing events, as  
their character and circumstances may  
justify. This public opinion, embodied in  
the press in the daily journal it pours  
forth, is borne through the civilized  
world, pronouncing the judgment of the  
present day, and anticipating that of pos-  
terity. There are none so high as to be  
beyond its censure—none so low as not to  
be encouraged by its approbation. The  
frontiers of a country may be armed at its  
approach. But it will pass them. It may  
be checked, but it cannot be stopped. It  
is stronger than the bayonet—more vigi-  
lant than the suspicions of despotism.

The diplomatic relations subsisting be-  
tween two countries are maintained only  
by political agents, such as ambassadors,  
ministers, or charges, reciprocally sent for  
that purpose. At the commencement of  
this government we had but few of these  
functionaries, and those we had were con-  
fined to the principal European courts—

They have been gradually increased in  
number, till twenty-seven of them are now  
authorized by the statute book to be em-  
ployed. Still there are important coun-  
tries, even in Europe, where no American  
representative has ever been sent, and others,  
among which is Austria, where they  
have been sent but recently. In some cases,  
(and indeed they are not few,) this  
interchange of diplomatic agents is rather  
a matter of courtesy than of positive utility,  
either commercial or political. After  
a treaty of commerce is formed, or after it  
is ascertained that a satisfactory one cannot  
be formed, the relations between us  
and some of those countries would go on,  
as indeed they have gone on, with nothing  
to interrupt their harmony and good un-  
derstanding, because the points of contact  
are few and exposed to few difficulties—  
Such is our condition with respect to Aus-  
tria, which has but one port (that of Trieste)  
where we have any commerce worthy of the  
name, the annual value of which I find  
is about \$1,700,000. The ancient Queen  
of the Adriatic still looks out upon the wa-  
ters; but she is herself a melancholy spec-  
tacle—her prosperity having departed with  
her independence. The iron rule of Aus-  
tria has left to Venice little but the remem-  
brance of her former magnificence, and the  
oppressive sense of her present degrada-  
tion. But in these ports, and wherever  
else, if anywhere, they may be necessary,  
consuls would perform the commercial  
functions—their positions not being at all  
affected by any change of diplomatic rela-  
tions short of a state of war.

I do not pretend to say, by this glance  
at our intercourse with Austria, that I pro-  
pose this measure on the ground that an  
Austrian representative is unnecessary at  
the Court of Vienna. I trust, if we carry  
it to its practical result, that we shall be in-  
fluenced by much higher considerations.  
I allude to this topic merely to show that  
a great act of national duty may be per-  
formed without the sacrifice of any national  
interest whatever. Nor does the interrup-  
tion of diplomatic intercourse give any  
advantage of offence. There is no obligation  
to establish or continue it. Either, is a mere  
question of courtesy or convenience; and a

considerable portion of the missions of Eu-  
rope are maintained from feelings of amity,  
arising out of the affinity of kindred  
governments, and of an indisposition to ex-  
hibit what is there considered a mark of  
disrespect for a court, however limited the  
sphere of its authority, by excluding it  
from the family of sovereigns associated by  
diplomatic representations. The eighteenth  
century was prolific in the personal mem-  
oirs of active diplomatists; and no Ameri-  
can can peruse them without being amazed  
at the utter insignificance of the topics  
which engaged their attention, and which  
were swelled into consequence by the pas-  
sions and interests of the retainers of cor-  
rupt courts. They are subjects beneath  
contempt; and their influence upon the  
fate of nations is buried with the men who  
game them a factitious importance. He  
who rises from the perusal of one of these  
records of human follies can no longer  
wonder at the remark of a Swedish states-  
man, that it took very little wisdom to go-  
vern the world—as the world was then gov-  
erned.

But, sir, while I maintain that the ces-  
sation of diplomatic intercourse with Aus-  
tria, would give the government of that coun-  
try no just cause of offence, I do not seek  
to deny or conceal, that the motives for the  
adoption of this measure will be unaccept-  
able and peculiarly obnoxious to the feel-  
ings of a power proverbially haughty in the  
days of its prosperity, and rendered more  
susceptible by recent events, which have  
destroyed much of its ancient prestige, and  
compelled it to call for Russian aid in the  
perilous circumstances where the noble  
efforts of Hungary to assert her just rights,  
had placed the oppressor. On the contrary,  
the course I propose would lose half its  
value, were any doubts to rest upon the  
motives that dictate it. And certainly, were  
they not open to the day, I should not look  
for that cordial approbation which I now  
anticipate from the American people, for  
this first effort to rebuke, by an expression  
of public opinion, through an established  
government, in the name of a great repub-  
lic, atrocious acts of despotism by which  
human liberty and life has been sacrificed  
under circumstances of audacious contempt  
for the rights of mankind, and the senti-  
ments of the civilized world, without a par-  
allel, even in this age of warfare, between  
the oppressor and the oppressed.

I say this first effort, for though the  
principle of public disapprobation in situa-  
tions not very dissimilar, may be traced in  
the proceedings of at least one of the rep-  
resentative bodies of Europe, I do not rec-  
ollect that any formal act has been adopt-  
ed, rendering the censure more signal and  
enduring. If we take the first step in this  
noble cause, where physical force, with its  
flagrant abuse, if not conquered, may be  
ultimately restrained by moral considera-  
tions, we shall add to the value of the  
lesson of '76, already so important to the  
world, and destined to become far more so,  
by furnishing one guaranty more for the  
preservation of human rights, where they  
exist, and for their recovery where they  
are lost.

Mr. President: I do not mistake the true  
position of my country, nor do I seek to  
exaggerate her importance by these sug-  
gestions. I am perfectly aware, that what-  
ever we may do or say, the immediate  
march of Austria will be on the onward  
course of despotism, with a step feebler  
or firmer, as resistance may appear near  
or remote, till she is stayed by one of  
those upheavings of the people, which is  
as sure to come, as that men long for free-  
dom, and longs to strike the blow which  
shall make it his. Pride is blind and pow-  
er tenacious; and Austria's pride and pow-  
er, though they may quail before the signs  
of the times—before barricades and frat-  
ernization, by which streets are made for-  
tresses and armies revolutionists, new and  
mighty engines in popular warfare—will  
hold out in their citadel till the last exte-  
rimity. But many old things are passing  
away; and Austrian despotism will pass  
away in its turn. Its bulwarks will be  
shaken by the rushing of mighty winds—  
by the voice of the world, whenever its in-  
dignant expression is not restrained by the  
kindred sympathies of arbitrary power.

I desire, sir, not to be misunderstood. I  
do not mean that in all the revolutionary  
struggles which political contests bring on,  
it would be expedient for other govern-  
ments to express their feelings of interest  
or sympathy. I think they should not  
for there are obvious considerations which  
forbid such action, and the value of this  
kind of moral interposition would be di-  
minished by its too frequent recurrence.  
It should be reserved for great events—  
events marked by great crimes and op-  
pression on the one side, and great exertions  
and misfortunes on the other; and under  
circumstances which carry with them  
the sympathies of the world—like the  
partition of Poland and the subjugation  
of Hungary. We can offer public con-  
gratulations, as we have done, to people  
crowned by success in their struggle for  
freedom. We can offer our recognition of  
their independence to others, as we have  
done, while yet the effort was pending.  
Have we sympathy only for the fortunate?  
Or is a cause less sacred or less dear than  
freedom, that is prostrated in the dust by a  
foot of power? Let the noble sentiments

of Washington, in his spirit-stirring reply  
to the French minister, answer these ques-  
tions: "Born in a land of liberty, my anx-  
ious recollections, my sympathetic feel-  
ings, and my best wishes, are irresistibly  
excited, whenever, in any country, I see  
an oppressed nation unfurl the banners of  
freedom."

I freely confess that I shall hail the day  
with pleasure when this government, re-  
flecting the true sentiments of the people,  
shall express its sympathy for struggling  
nations, seeking, in circumstances of per-  
il and oppression, that liberty which was  
given to them by God, but has been wrested  
from them by man. I do not see any dan-  
ger to the true independence of nations  
by such a course; and indeed I am by no  
means certain that the free interchange of  
public views in this solemn manner would  
not go far towards checking the progress  
of oppression and the tendency of war—  
Why, sir, the very discussion in high places  
and free places—and here is one of them—  
even when discussion is followed by no  
act—is itself a great element of retribu-  
tive justice to punish it when an atrocious  
deed is done, and a great element of moral  
power to restrain it when such a deed  
is contemplated. I claim for our country  
no exemption from the decrees of these  
high tribunals; and when we are guilty of  
a title of the oppression and cruelty which  
have made the Austrian name a name of  
reproach through the world, I hope we  
shall receive, as we shall well merit, the  
reprobation of mankind.

I anticipate with confidence the cordial  
support of the distinguished senator from  
Kentucky in this effort. I will not doubt  
it; though I am afraid, from a somewhat  
playful remark he made the other day, that  
he is a more zealous disciple of the *stand  
still* school than he was some years since,  
when he proved himself the noble advo-  
cate of South American and Grecian free-  
dom. I have just renewed my recollec-  
tion of what the honorable senator said  
and did upon those memorable occasions;  
though, indeed, both the one and the other  
were deeply imprinted upon my memory,  
as they are yet upon the hearts of his coun-  
trymen. Among the many splendid efforts,  
both as an orator and a statesman, by  
which he will go down to posterity honor-  
ed and applauded, there are none higher  
or holier than these:

"I have no commiseration for princes,  
his characteristic declaration. "My  
sympathies are reserved for the great mass  
of mankind." "Self-government is the  
natural government of man."  
"It ought to animate us," he said upon  
another occasion, "to desire the redemp-  
tion of the minds and bodies of unborn  
millions from the brutalizing effects of a  
system whose tendency is to stifle the fac-  
ulties of the soul, and to degrade a man  
to the level of the beasts."

"Everywhere," he says at another time,  
"the interest in the Grecian cause is felt  
with the deepest intensity, expressed in ev-  
ery form, and increase with every new day  
and passing hour;" and he puts an em-  
phatic question emphatically, which I re-  
peat to him, and to every one, if there is  
any one who hesitates to keep "on a line,"  
as Mr. Canning said, with the opinions of  
his countrymen: "And are the representa-  
tives of the people alone to be insulated  
from the common moral atmosphere of the  
world?" These sentiments have no connec-  
tion with the recognition of independ-  
ence, nor is their expression claimed as  
the right or the consequence of a mere  
political act. They belong to man, where-  
ver he may be placed.

The honorable senator describes in burn-  
ing words the cruelties of Spanish and  
Turkish warfare; and in Murillo we have  
the very prototype of Haynau; and recent  
Austrian enormities may be read in the  
enormities powerfully portrayed almost  
thirty years ago; and this apostrophe  
comes to close the recapitulation: "Are  
we so mean, so base, so despicable, that  
we may not attempt to express our horror  
and our indignation at the most brutal and  
atrocious war that ever stained the earth  
or shocked high heaven?"

And I am happy, also, to anticipate the  
cordial co-operation of the distinguished  
senator from Massachusetts, who, upon a  
recent occasion, expressed his sympathy  
for down-trodden Hungary, and his ab-  
horrence of despotic sway, in a strain of  
indignant eloquence, which would have  
done honor to the elder Pitt, in the bright-  
est days of his intellect. "We have had  
all our sympathies much interested," he  
truly said, "in the Hungarian effort for lib-  
erty. We have all wept at its failure." We  
thought we saw a more rational hope  
of establishing independence in Hungary  
than in any other part of Europe where  
the question has been in agitation within  
the last twelve months; but despotic power  
from abroad has intervened to suppress it."

And the honorable senator, in scathing  
terms, which will touch a cord in the hearts  
of all his countrymen, rebukes the Rus-  
sian Emperor for his insolent demand of  
the fugitives, who had sought refuge within  
the Turkish frontier.

"there is something among men more ca-  
pable of shaking despotic power than  
lightning, whirlwind or earthquake."  
"That is the threatened indignation of the  
whole civilized world."

"The whole world will be the tribunal to  
try him, [the Russian Emperor,] and he  
must appear before it, and hold up his  
hand and plead, and abide its judgment."  
"Nor let him, nor let any one imagine,  
that mere force can subdue the general  
sentiment of mankind; it is much more  
likely to extend that sentiment, and to  
destroy that power which he most desires  
to establish and secure."  
"And now, gentlemen, let us do our  
part; let us understand the position in  
which we stand, as the great republic  
of the world; let us consider the mission  
and the destiny which Providence seems  
to have designed us for; and let us take  
care of our own conduct, that, with ir-  
reproachable hands and hearts, void of of-  
fence, we may stand up, whenever and  
wherever called upon, and with a voice  
not to be disregarded, say, This shall not  
be done—at least not without our pro-  
test."

These were noble words, and nobly  
spoken; and he who does not feel his blood  
course more rapidly through his veins as  
he reads them, has little in common with  
the freemen of this broad land. Well was  
the honorable senator saluted with "re-  
markable cheerings;" for he spoke to the  
hearts of his auditors when he said: "For  
my part, at this moment, I feel more in-  
dignant at recent events connected with  
Hungary than at all those which have passed  
in her struggle for liberty. I see that the  
Emperor of Russia demands of Turkey  
that the noble Kossuth and his companions  
shall be given up, and I see that this de-  
mand is made in derision of the law of na-  
tions."

Here comes another epistle in the story  
of this flagrant abuse of power. Kossuth,  
the Washington of Hungary, is one of  
those men whose great qualities are brot  
out by perilous times. He learned to bear  
oppression in an Austrian dungeon, where,  
while he lost his health, he learned also to  
prize the value of liberty, and in the soli-  
tude of his cell to devote himself to his  
cause; and nobly did he fulfil himself his  
mission, till domestic treachery and Russian  
power prostrated the hopes of freedom, and  
he was driven to seek shelter from the ven-  
geance of Christian powers within the do-  
minion of the successor of the impostor of  
Mecca. And then was exhibited that con-  
temptuous disregard of the feelings of the  
world, so powerfully described by the sen-  
ator from Massachusetts, in the demand  
upon an independent nation that the ex-  
patriated leader, with his little band of faith-  
ful followers, should be surrendered to the  
enemies of his country, a holocaust upon  
the altar of despotism. The civilized world  
watched with anxious suspense the pro-  
gress and issue of this demand—as insol-  
ent as it was wicked—upon the Turkish  
government. It is twelve years since I  
saw the present Sultan then a lad, sitting  
by the side of his father, the great Osman-  
li reformer, crossing the Bosphorus in a  
splendid caique, surrounded with all the  
imposing pageantry of eastern magnific-  
ence. Little did I then anticipate that  
the lovers of freedom through the world  
would ever look to the heir of the Ottomans  
to save Christian patriots from the fangs  
of Christian monarchs. We do not know  
the threats that were menaced, nor the in-  
ducements offered; but both the one and  
the other were no doubt proportioned to  
the intensity of the passions to be gluted by  
the surrender of the victims. But the ef-  
fort was vain. The Divan, faithful to the  
traditions of Eastern hospitality, if not to  
the obligations of the law of nations, firmly  
refused the delivery of the fugitives, and  
thus spared another "deluge of blood," to  
use the words of the great Roman histori-  
an, in this sad drama of a nation's over-  
throw. The latest accounts we have from  
the East inform us that this extraordinary  
contest between Russian arrogance and  
Turkish inflexibility was yet going on with  
no prospect of an amicable solution of the  
question; this wanton violation of the most  
sacred rights may yet furnish a pretext for  
the march of another Russian army, and  
of another attempt to drive the Turks from  
Europe, and to seize Constantinople. The  
Mahometan has shown himself a better  
Christian than the Russian, and has won  
the approbation of an enlightened age—  
Success be with him in such a warfare!

But, sir, with their powerful sympathies  
for human suffering, the people of this  
country, though ardently attached to the  
principles of rational liberty, are no political  
propagandists. They do not undertake to  
judge what forms of government are best  
adapted to the condition of the other na-  
tions of the earth, and least of all, to at-  
tempt the establishment elsewhere of their  
own. To maintain that practical freedom  
cannot be enjoyed under a constitutional  
monarchy, would be to contradict our own  
observation and the experience of some of  
the most enlightened nations of the earth.  
We know that a republic is best for us, and  
therefore we have it. Let those who be-  
lieve that a constitutional monarchy is  
best for them enjoy it, without the dicta-  
tion of any other power. But between

governments like these, and the despotism  
which overshadows, overwhelms, I may  
say, some of the fairest portions of the Old  
World—where power is the only rule of  
right for the governors, and obedience the  
only resource for the governed—there is  
a difference as marked and as wide as is  
the difference in their effects upon the  
character, and progress, and prosperity of  
man. The former, when they fulfil their  
legitimate duties, commend themselves to  
our good wishes and respect. There is no  
American, true to the political faith of our  
fathers, who does not sincerely desire the  
renovation of the latter, and the restora-  
tion of the oppressed masses to the rights  
and dignity of human nature.

Here is an empire of freemen, separa-  
ted by the broad Atlantic from the con-  
tents of force and opinion, which seem to  
succeed each other like waves of the oc-  
ean in the mighty changes going on in  
Europe—twenty millions of people enjoy-  
ing a measure of prosperity which God, in  
his providence, has granted to no other na-  
tion of the earth. With no interest to  
warp their judgment; with neither prej-  
udice nor animosity to excite them; and  
with a public opinion as free as the air they  
breathe, they can survey these events  
as dispassionately as is compatible with  
that natural sympathy for the oppressed  
which is implanted in the human breast.

Think you not, sir, that their voice, sent  
from these distant shores, would cheer the  
unfortunate onward in their work—would  
encourage them while bearing their evils  
to bear them bravely as men who hope—  
and when driven to resist by a pressure  
no longer to be borne, to exert themselves  
as men who peril all upon the effort? But  
where no demonstration of interest on the  
part of a government is called for by cir-  
cumstances, a sound public opinion of the  
people to proclaim its sentiments, and no re-  
serve is imposed upon their expression—  
It is common to this country, and to every  
country where liberal institutions pre-  
vail, and it is as powerful and as pow-  
erfully exerted in France and in England as  
in the United States. Its effects may not  
be immediate or immediately visible. But  
they are sure to come, and to come in  
power. Its voice is louder than the boom-  
ing of cannon; and it is heard on the very  
confines of civilization. Our declaration  
of independence has laid the foundation of  
mightier changes in the world than any  
epoch since the spirit of the Crusades pre-  
cipitated Europe upon Asia with zealous  
but mistaken views of religious duty.

The very last packet has brought us  
the London Times of December 7, which  
contains an address to Lord John Russell  
and to Lord Palmerston from eighty-three  
members of the English House of Lords  
and Commons, requesting the interference  
of the British Government to endeavor to  
restrain that of Austria from further butch-  
ery; for that, in plain words, is the design  
of the movement. I beg leave to read  
this paper, which, though drawn with some  
reserve, the better probably to attain the  
object, leaves no doubt of the opinion of  
the signers respecting the condition of  
Hungary and the character of the events  
which placed her there:

"We, the undersigned, desire to express  
to your lordships, and through your lord-  
ships to the rest of her Majesty's confi-  
dential servants, the deep interest which  
we have taken in the contest which has  
been recently carried on between the  
Hungarian nation and the Emperor of  
Austria. Not less deep is the interest  
which we now take in the final settlement  
of the question at issue between them, &  
in the permanent pacification of that great  
country. Sincerely attached to the lib-  
erties of our own country, the final suc-  
cessful termination of struggles analo-  
gous to those which have been made from  
time to time in Hungary—with equal  
sincerity desirous of maintaining the  
peace of Europe—we are fully sensible  
of the great importance that the settle-  
ment of the questions at issue should be  
effected in a manner and upon terms sat-  
isfactory to the Hungarian nation, not  
only for the sake of Hungary herself, but  
because we apprehend that a settlement  
unsatisfactory to the country will sow  
the seed of renewed discontent, may lead  
to fresh local disturbances, and, by the  
local disturbance of so large an element  
of the European system, may endanger  
the tranquillity of the whole.

"The objects of the undersigned are,  
internal liberty, national independence,  
European peace. For the attainment of  
these objects, we trust the court of Vien-  
na will bear in mind that the satisfaction  
and contentment of Hungary will afford  
the greatest security. Considering, how-  
ever, the means by which the authority  
of the House of Hapsburg has been re-  
established, the undersigned are of opin-  
ion that the occasion permits, even if it  
does not call for, the intervention of Great  
Britain in counselling the Austrian gov-  
ernment respecting the exercise of its re-  
stored executive power. With respect to  
the mode and opportunity of interfering,  
the undersigned offer no specific opinion;  
but we hope that her Majesty's govern-  
ment will not shrink from suggesting to  
that of Austria, that, since republican  
France has abolished capital punishment

for political offences, it will not be wise  
to allow a contrast to be drawn unfavor-  
able to the clemency of monarchical gov-  
ernment."

Signed by 83 members, Peers and Com-  
moners.

The allusion "to the means by which  
the authority of the House of Hapsburg  
has been re-established," and to the occa-  
sion, if not the duty of intervention by  
Great Britain, is significant enough of  
the deep feeling of indignation at the cru-  
elties of the Austrian government, and of  
the anxiety among the English people that  
they should be prevented. We also de-  
sire the same result for the future; but we  
believe that that result would be best at-  
tained by the world's censure of the past.  
What then, sir, are the circumstances  
in the conduct of the Austrian government  
which have brought down upon it the re-  
probation of the civilized world? The his-  
tory of the Hungarian effort, and its deplora-  
ble result, are too recent and wide-spread,  
and have awakened too deep an inter-  
est in our whole country, to render a  
detailed review necessary upon this occa-  
sion. I shall merely glance at some of  
the more prominent facts, but enough to  
give the true character of one of the most  
atrocious political acts of modern times.

Hungary was an independent nation,  
having no political connexion at all with  
Austria, except in the person of the sov-  
ereign, who was common to both. The  
reigning Austrian family was called to the  
Hungarian throne by election, some three  
centuries ago; and we are told by a stand-  
ard review—a high and neutral authority  
—that "the pedigree of their immunities,  
during that long space, continued unim-  
paired." The compact between the Hun-  
garian people and their monarch declares,  
that "Hungary is a country free and inde-  
pendent in her entire system of legisla-  
tion and government; that she is not subject  
to any other people, or any other State;  
but that she should have her own separate  
existence and her own constitution," and  
should be governed by kings crowned ac-  
cording to her national laws and customs."  
This article the Austrian Emperor swore  
to preserve, as all his predecessors had  
done; and as late as the 11th of April,  
1848, he solemnly renewed his adhesion  
to it, with the guarantee of a ministry, re-  
sponsible to the Diet—that plan, of Eng-  
lish origin, by which European liberal  
politicians seek to reconcile the dogma of  
the personal independence of the sovereign  
with the direction of public affairs in con-  
formity with the will of the nation. This  
was the constitution of Hungary, and thus  
was it secured. It guaranteed national in-  
dependence, Hungarian laws and officers,  
and Hungarian administration of the af-  
fairs of the country. In these days of the  
violation of the most sacred rights, there  
has been no violation more signal or at-  
rocious than the annihilation of the rights  
of this high-spirited people, once the bul-  
wark of Christendom. A *charte octroyee*,  
the work of an Austrian cabinet, struck  
down their liberties at one stroke, and left  
them (as a kindred expedient—kindred in  
its objects, though not in its form—left our  
fathers) no choice but submission or resist-  
ance.

These *chartes octroyee* are becoming  
quite fashionable in the world of arbitrary  
power, awakened from its long slumber  
by the thunder of popular indignation, and  
particularly since the restoration of the  
Bourbons—that family which was the very  
impersonation of the doctrine of the di-  
vine right of kings; and they mark signifi-  
cantly the utter contempt for the sov-  
ereignty of the people, which is engraved  
upon the hearts of all the lovers of the  
good old times, when there were but two  
classes in the world—those born to gov-  
ern, and those born to be governed. We  
first heard of them as the foundation of  
national freedom, when the declaration of  
rights proposed by the provisional govern-  
ment of France, on the overthrow of Na-  
poleon, was presented to Louis XVIII for  
his solemn adhesion. He rejected this  
act of popular power, holding on to his  
*divine right*; but as the restoration would  
have been placed in hazard without some  
security for the liberties of the French peo-  
ple, this plan of a *charte octroyee* was re-  
sorted to—a charter granted by the sov-  
ereign, emanating from his gracious bene-  
volence, and giving to the nation certain  
rights, not because it was entitled to claim  
them, but because he was kindly disposed  
to limit his own hereditary authority, and  
to allow his beloved people to be a little  
less oppressed than they had been in the  
good old days of arbitrary power. And  
this is a *charte octroyee*, by which, when  
the fears of kings prompt them to make  
concessions to popular movements, their  
*divine right* is reserved for future use, and  
the sovereignty of the people practically  
rebutted and denied. The lesson was  
precious to be lost, and yet the  
States have followed man right  
may die  
by w  
ing of  
of the