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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR. OUR CAUSE IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND. J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

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THE LIBERATOR.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.

"The compact entered into by the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three specific provisions to secure the perpetuity of their dominion over their slaves. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of providing the African slave trade; the second was the stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves; the third was engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exertion, fatal to the principles of popular government, of a representation for slaves—for articles of merchandise, under the name of persons. . . . To call government thus constituted a democracy, is to insult the understanding of mankind. It is doubly tainted, tainted with the infection of riches and slavery. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress, and thereby to make the PRESERVATION, EXTENSION, PROPAGATION AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT."—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

Selections.

RECEPTION OF KOSSUTH BY THE CITY AUTHORITIES OF NEW YORK.

At noon, on Saturday, 6th instant, Kossuth and his Staff landed at Castle Garden, (which was crowded to its utmost capacity,) and when he was fairly set to an alarming extent, and when he was fairly recognized, a shout was given that threatened to raise the roof from its places. After an unbroken silence, the Hungarian was surrounded by the Common Council and the officers of the Military Companies, presented the following address:—

ADDRESS OF THE MAYOR.

GOVERNOR KOSSUTH:

As Chief Magistrate of the city of New York, I tender you, on behalf of its inhabitants, a cordial welcome to our shores.

Into whatever part of our extended country you may roll, will find the people of this Republic quick to sympathize with all who suffer in defence of those personal and civil rights, which they have secured for themselves and their posterity.

They have proclaimed to the world this inherent and inalienable right of man to life, to liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

They have watched your labors in the same great cause with the deepest interest.

They saw you struggling to rescue for Hungary those rights which her Constitution had guaranteed, but which the rapacious House of Hapsburgh had determined to destroy.

They recognized in you, not only the champion of your country against foreign tyranny, but her dearest friend in all that concerned the rights and privileges of the great mass of her people.

They followed your struggles in the field against foreign power, against domestic dissension, and against the gigantic might of the Russian Czar, with the profoundest admiration of your courage, your constancy, your patriotic devotion to your country's cause.

But higher even than this has risen their admiration of that matchless and transcendent eloquence with which you have vindicated, before the civilized world, the sacred and inherent rights of Hungary to secure for her people, undisturbed by foreign interference, those blessings which the people of this republic have so happily obtained from government.

The American people cannot look with indifference upon any struggle for freedom that may be waged in any part of the world, still less can they fail to regard with the deepest interest such a cause as that which has engaged your efforts, and in which they do not doubt your whole heart is still enlisted.

I pay to no man, I say, sir, a higher or more sincere pleasure with which the people, whom I have the pleasure on this occasion to represent, bid you welcome to their country and their homes.

As the enlightened representative of Hungarian Independence, as the champion of Human Progress, as the eloquent advocate of Universal Freedom, I welcome you to the hospitalities of this city.

Mayor Kingsland then said:

I present to you, my fellow-citizens, KOSSUTH, the illustrious Chief of Hungary.

REPLY AND FIRST SPEECH OF KOSSUTH.

I am half sick, gentlemen; tossed and twisted about by a fortnight's gale on the Atlantic's restless waves, my pulse beats are still turning round as in a whirlpool, and this gigantic continent seems yet to tremble beneath my wavering steps. Let me, before I go to work, have the enjoyment of rest upon this soil of freedom, your happy home. Freedom and Home, what heavenly music in those two words! Alas, I have no home, and the freedom of my people is down-trodden. Yiving Giant of free America, do not tell me that thy shores are an asylum to the oppressed, and a home to the homeless exile. An asylum is, in all the beauty of its meaning, glorious country, can they drown into oblivion the longing of the heart, and the fond desires for our native land!

My beloved mate and I, if your generosity make blue but dearer to my heart: thy bleeding image dwells with me when I wake, as it rests with me in the sweet moments of my restless sleep. It has accompanied me over the waves. It will accompany me wherever I go back to fight over again the battle of my fatherland, and to die for her, if need be, more. I have no idea but that I have to fight but time. Even here, with this prodigious view of greatness, freedom and happiness, which upwards before my astonished eyes, my thoughts will not, cannot, shake off my mind. I look over these thousands of thousands before me, this happy inheritance of yonder freedom, for which their fathers fought and bled—and when I turn to you, citizens, to bow before the majesty of the United States, and to thank the people of New York for their generous welcome to my liberation, and for their unrolled honor of the reception, I see, from out of the very midst of this great assemblage, rise the bleeding image of Hungary, looking to you with anxiety whether there be in the lustre of your eyes a ray of hope for her; whether there be in the thunders of your hearts a trumpet call of resurrection. If there were no such ray of hope in your eyes, and no such trumpet call in your cheers, then woe to Europe's oppressed nations. They will stand alone in the hour of need. Less fortunate than you were, they will have no brother's hand to help them in the approaching great struggle against the leagued despots of the world. And woe also to me. I will feel no joy here, and the days of my life will be shortened, and I will lost for my fatherland—lost at the very time when the moment is teeming in the decision of Europe's destiny, and when every minute is a waning hour hours of rest, such as I have need to become familiar with the ground I will have to stand upon before I enter upon the great contest with my foes. I look for a day of honor, not to let escape even this first moment of your generous welcome, without stating openly to such of you as I can, that I am, and what are the expectations and the hopes—what are the motives which brought me now to your glorious shores. Gentlemen, I have faith in the people, Congress, and Government of the United States for my liberation from captivity. Human tongue has no words to express the loss which I felt when I—the down-trodden Hungary's chief—saw the glorious flag of the stripes and stars fluttering over my head—when I bowed before it with deep respect—when I saw around me the gallant officers and the crews of the Mississippi frigate—the most of them the worthiest representatives of true American principles, American greatness, American generosity—and to think that it was not a mere chance which cast the star-spangled banner around me, but that it was your protection to grant me, that the United States of America, conscious of their glorious calling as well as of their power, declared, by this unparalleled act, to be resolved to become the protectors of human rights—to use a powerful vessel of America owing to for Asia, to break the chain by which the highest despots of Europe fettered the activity of a exiled Magyar, whose very name disturbed the proud security of their sleep—to feed restored by such a protection, and in such a way, to freedom, and by freedom to activity, you may be well aware of what I have felt, and still feel, at the remembrance of this proud moment of joy. Have I spoken, when you acted; and I was free! You acted; and at this act of power, transatlantic; humanity shouted out with joy; the downtrodden of Magyar—the down-trodden, but not broken, raised their heads with resolution and with hope, and the brilliancy of your star was greeted by Europe's oppressed nations at the morning star of rising liberty. Now, gentlemen, you must be aware how boundless the gratitude must be which I feel for you. You have restored me to life—because restored to activity; and should my life, by the blessings of the Almighty, still prove useful to my fatherland and to humanity, it will be your merit—it will be your work. May you and your glorious country be blessed for it. Europe is on the very eve of such immense events, that, however great my gratitude be to you, I would not have felt authorized to cross the Atlantic, at this very time, only for the purpose to exhibit to you my warm thanks. I would have thought you by facts contributing to the freedom of the European continent, and would have postponed my visit to your glorious shores till the decisive battle of freedom was fought—if it were my destiny to outlive that day. Then what is the motive of my being here at this very time? The motive, citizens, is, that your generous act of my liberation has raised the conviction throughout the world, that this generous act of yours is but the manifestation of your resolution to throw your weight into the balance where the fate of the European continent is to be weighed. You have raised the conviction throughout the world, that by my liberation you were willing to say, "Ye oppressed nations of old Europe's continent, be of good cheer, the young giant of America stretches his powerful arm over the wave, ready to give a brother's hand to your future." So is your act interpreted throughout the world. You, in your proud security, can scarcely imagine how beneficial this conviction has already proved to the suffering nations of the European continent. You can scarcely imagine what self-confidence you have added to the resolution of the oppressed. You have knit the tie of solidarity in the destinies of nations. I cannot doubt that you know how I was received by the public opinion in every country which I touched since I am free, and what the enthusiasm of Hungary has elicited in those countries which it was not my lot to touch.

You know how I, a plain, poor, penniless exile, have almost become a centre of hope and confidence to the most different nations, and united but by the common tie of suffering. What is the source of this apparition, unparalleled in mankind's history? The source is, it is, that your generous act of my liberation is taken by the world for the revelation of the fact that the United States are resolved not to allow the despotic powers to be the judges on oppressed humanity. It is hence that my liberation was cheered, from Sweden down to Portugal, as a ray of hope. It is hence that I were anxious which instant I spire my presence in Europe now, have unanimously told me, "Hasten on, hasten on to the great, free, rich and powerful people of the United States, and bring your full sympathy and to the cause of your country, so intimately connected with European liberty!" and here I stand to plead the cause of the solidarity of human rights before the great republic of the United States.

Humble as I am, God, the Almighty, has selected me to represent the cause of humanity before you. My warrant to this capacity is written in the sympathy and confidence of all who are oppressed, and of all who, as your citizens, remember the people of British provinces with the oppressed—my warrant to this capacity is written in the hopes and expectations you have entitled the world to entertain by liberating me out of prison and by restoring me to activity. But it has pleased the Almighty to make out of my humble self yet another opportunity for a thing which may prove a happy turnpoint in the destinies of the world. I bring you a brotherly greeting from the people of Great Britain. I speak not in an official character, I speak not in the name of Kossuth, the exile of the world, but I am the barbinger of the public spirit of the people, which has the right to impart a direction to the great question of your own destinies. Secondly, I bring you a message, which, if I am not deceived, I am authorized to say, is the most decided manner, openly—that the people of England, united to you with enlightened brotherly love, as it is with the bleeding Hungary, in your strength as it is conscious of its own, has forever abandoned every sentiment of irritation and rivalry, and desires the brotherly alliance of the United States to secure to every nation the sovereign right to dispose of itself, and to protect the sovereign right of nations against the encroaching presence of the Holy Alliance, and against the impious treaties of Vienna, stand together with you, God-father to the approaching baptism of European liberty. Now, gentlemen, I have stated my position. I am a straightforward man; I am a republican; I have sworn it openly in monarchical, but free England; and I am happy to stand, I have nothing lost, by this avowal there. I hope I will not lose here, in republican America, by that frankness which must be one of the chief qualities of every representative. So, I beg you, citizens, frankly and openly, to state the following points: First, that I take it to be the duty of honor and principle not to meddle with whatever party questions of your own domestic affairs. I claim for my country the right to dispose of itself; so I am resolved, and must be resolved, to respect the same principle in others and every where. Thus, I have delight in the part of knight errant for theories. It is not my case. I am the man of the great principle of the sovereignty of every people—the choice of its own domestic concerns; and I most solemnly deny to every foreigner, as to every foreign power, the right to oppose the sovereign will of a nation. Secondly, I claim, highly and openly, my admiration for the glorious principle of union, on which stands the mighty pyramid of your greatness, and upon the basis of which have grown your prosperity, the peace of seventy-five years, to a prodigious giant, the living wonder of the world. I have the most warm wish, that the sacrificing and heroic spirit of the United States, forever be floating, united and one, the proud ensign of mankind's divine origin; and taking my ground on this principle, I am free to declare, that I, detesting, as established constitutions fact, it is not to a party, but to the united people of the United States, that I confidently will address my humble request for aid and protection to oppressed humanity.

I will conscientiously respect your laws, but, within the limits of your laws I will use every legitimate action to gain your operative sympathy and your financial, material, and political aid for my country's freedom and independence, and entreat the protection of those bodies which your constitution has raised in me and my people's breasts, and also in the breasts of Europe's oppressed nations. And, therefore, thirdly, I beg leave to state, that my aim is to restore my fatherland to the full enjoyment of that act of Declaration of Independence, which, being the only rightful, existing public law of my nation, Britain has not nothing of its rightfulness by the violent invasion of foreign Russian arms, and which, therefore, is fully entitled to be recognized by the people of the United States, whose very existence is founded upon a similar Declaration of Independence.

Thus, having expounded my aim, I beg leave to state, that I came not to your shores to enjoy a banquet. I came not with the intention to gather triumphs of personal distinction, or to be the object of popular shows; but I came a humble petitioner in my country's cause, and I have chosen representation of chief. What can be opposed to this recognition, which is a logical necessary consequence of the principle of your country's political existence? What can be opposed to it? The frown of Mr. Hulsemann—the anger of that satellite of the Czar, called Francis Joseph of Austria; and the numerous meetings with which some European and American papers threaten you, and by which, of course, you must feel extremely terrified, that your Minister at Vienna will have offered his passports, and that Mr. Hulsemann leaves Washington, should I be received and treated in my official capacity?

Now, as your Minister at Vienna, how you can combine this letting him stay there with your opinion of the cause of Hungary, I really don't know; but which I do know, that the sympathy of the American atmosphere of Europe is not very propitious to American principles. I know a man who could tell some curious facts about this matter. But really, as to Mr. Hulsemann, I don't believe that he would be so ready to leave Washington. He has extremely well digested the caustic pills which Mr. Webster has administered to him in the protocol; but, after all, I know enough of the public spirit of the sovereign people of the United States, that it will never admit to whatever remonstrance the envoy of the sovereign power, should he even be willing to do so, which, to be sure, your high-minded government is not willing to do, to be translated in its policy by all the Hulsemanns or all the Francis Josephs in the world. So I confidently hope, that the sovereign of this country, the people, will make the Declaration of Independence of Hungary, as formally recognized, and that it will care not a bit for it if Mr. Hulsemann takes to-morrow his passports,—bon voyage to him.

But it is also my agreeable duty to profess, that I am entirely convinced that the government of the United States is perfectly free from any sentiment of the people in that respect. It has proved it by executing in a ready and dignified manner the resolution of Congress on behalf of my liberation. It has proved it by calling on the Congress to consider how I shall be treated and received, and even this morning I was honored, by the express order of government, by an official salute from the batteries of the United States, in such a manner in which, according to the military rules, only a public high dignitary can be saluted. I have, sir, thus expounded my aim, I beg leave to state that I came not to your glorious shores to enjoy a happy reception. I came not to the triumphs of personal distinction, but because a humble petitioner, in my country's name, as its freely chosen constitutional chief, humbly to entreat your generous aid; and that is the aim that I will devote every moment of my time with the more assiduity, the more restlessness, as every moment may bring a report of the approaching call me to hasten to my place on the battlefield, where the great, and I hope the last battle will be fought between Liberty and Despotism—a moment may bring the finger of God to be so near, that every hour of delay of your generous aid may prove fatally disastrous to oppressed humanity. And thus, having entered my position to be that of a humble petitioner in the name of my country, let me respectfully ask, do you not regret to have bestowed upon me the high honor of the glorious reception, unparalleled in history? It was paralleled in history, though I know that your fathers have welcomed LaFayette. In a similar way; but LaFayette was a mighty claimer on your country's gratitude; he had fought in your ranks for your freedom and independence, and what still was more, in the hour of your need he was the link of your friendly connection with France—a connection, the result of which were two French fleets of more than thirty light men-of-war, three thousand gallant men, who fought side by side with you against Cornwallis, before Yorktown; the precious gift of twenty-four thousand muskets, a loan of nineteen millions of dollars, and even the preliminary treaties of your glorious peace, negotiated at Paris by your immortal Franklin. I hope the people of the United States, now just as free and independent as those who are in need of aid, as itself was once in need, will kindly remember these facts; and you, citizens of New York, and you will pardon my humble, but fidelity of Hungary. Lafayette had great claims to your love and sympathy, but I have none. I came a humble petitioner, with no other claims than those which the oppressed have to the sympathy of free men, who have the power to help; with the claim which the unfortunate have to the happy; and the claim which the oppressed have to the protection of justice and of human rights. In a word, I have no other claims than those which the oppressed principle of freedom has to the aid of victory of the strong. Then I would humbly ask, are these claims sufficient to insure your generous protection, not to myself, but to the cause of my native land—and to my native land only, but to the cause of freedom in Europe's continent, of which the independence of Hungary is the indisputable key-stone? If you consider these claims not sufficient to your active aid or operative sympathy, then let me know at once that the high hopes have failed with which Europe's oppressed nations have looked to your great, mighty and glorious republic—let me know at once the failure of our hopes, that I may hasten back and tell Europe's oppressed nations that "Let on the battlefield, single-handed, the battle of Leonidas; let us trust to God, to our right, and to our good sword; there is no other help for the oppressed nations on earth." If your great republican principles are animated by the high principle of freedom and of the solidarity in the destinies of humanity—if you have the will, I am sure, you have the power to remove the cause of freedom against the sacrilegious league of despotism, then give me some days of calm reflection, that I may communicate with the party on whom which I stand—let me take the kind advice of some active friends on the most practical course I have to adopt—and then give me an opportunity to address a petition in favor of that cause which I have the honor to represent; and then let me have an opportunity to expound before you my humble proposals in a practical form, and I confidently hope, Mr. Mayor, the Corporation and citizens of the empire city will grant me the second opportunity. If this be your generous wish, I beg leave to take this for my last number days; and let me add, with a sign of thanksgiving to Almighty God, that it is your glorious country which Providence has chosen to be the pillar of freedom, as it is already the asylum to oppressed humanity.

I am told that I will have the high honor to review your patriotic militia. Oh, God! how my heart throbs at the idea to see this gallant army enlisted on the side of freedom against despotism! Would it would be free, and you the saviours of humanity. And why not? These gallant men take part in the mighty demonstration of the day, proving that I was right when I said that nowadays even the bayonets think. Citizens of New York, it is under your protection that I pice the sacred cause of freedom and the independence of Hungary.

REPLY OF KOSSUTH TO THE ADDRESS OF THE BALTIMORE DELEGATION.

I thank you, gentlemen, for your address, but I am unable to reply to it. I could only do it but beat my lot to be subject to weakness and ill-health. To give you such an address as I could wish, it would require more Hungarian energy. I thank you for the addresses on the part of the people and the constituted authorities of the glorious city of Baltimore. They contain such principles, and such sentiments, that to be properly answered, as they deserve, would require the aid of a strong memory and the vigorous vest of the address, which ought to be recorded on my mind and treasured up in my heart. Having only heard them once, and my memory not being in the best condition on account of my health, for I am not strong, I will only make a few remarks.

If I do not mistake you, gentlemen, in the course of your address, which contains the expressions of the citizens of Baltimore, you speak of some glory which is attached to my name, and some merit which you attribute to me. Permit me to say, that after very much consideration, it is my opinion that the word 'glory' should be blotted out from the Dictionary in respect to individuals, and only left for use in respect to nations. Whatever I can do for my country, even though he should live a long life, and have the strongest faculties, would not be too much; for he ought to use his whole existence and his utmost powers, in return for the gifts he receives; whatever a man can do on behalf of his country and of humanity, would never be so much as his duty calls on him to do still less so much as to merit the use of the word 'glory' in regard to himself. Once more I say, that duty belongs to mankind, and glory to the nation; because it is in the period of the destiny of mankind, that we arrive at the time of individual greatness, which disappears and vanishes like a star before the spirit of nations; but they call for our assistance, and it is our duty to give it, that they may attain that freedom, and human liberty to humanity which is assigned to it by God. I may have done something for my country, but it is the light of the candle that spreads through the room, and there is no merit in the candlestick! I am only the candlestick, the light belongs to the people, and there is no merit due to me, it is due to the light and to that great Providence which spread the light for the whole world, to benefit humanity and to secure liberty. Let me regard the acknowledgment of my humble abilities by the people of the United States, in the political conflicts of my country, as an acknowledgment of the abilities of my people. I came not to seek an asylum in your country; I came to thank you for your reception in behalf of Hungary, and to assist the cause of my country; and your compliments are not alone given to me, but to my people.

Gentlemen, I consider that your country is one of the greatest countries at the present time in the world, and when circumstances are such that an individual, I am sorry for born in other parts of the United States, it is one of the greatest blessings and one of the proudest lots that he can have. I have not the happiness of being born in your country, but I am free, and I hope you will not be offended with me when I say, that, let the position of my people and my country be what it may, whether oppressed, down-trodden or suffering, still I have never felt ashamed of my country in the world. I may see a feeble man, who may not be able to raise his head so high as to look at the light of the sun, yet, as I know that God is in heaven, he is the common Father of humanity, and every member of humanity is brother to his fellow-members. When a human man does his duty to his own country, and becomes a patriot, he acts for all humanity, because he is the one who does his duty to mankind.

I did not come here to seek a happy and a glorious home. I came here to see the victory of principle, and to aid the freedom of my native land, which is broken down, but not destroyed. I came here to look for assistance to that principle upon which your own existence repose, and to ask if it is convenient for you to exercise your interests with regard to great principles, upon which your greatness and your glory depend. I take this opportunity to express myself more freely, because it is a public opportunity. I cause here to obtain practical assistance to the principles for which we have been struggling, more than for anything else.

I feel, gentlemen, the address which you have presented me from Baltimore, not only on account of its sympathy, but because the subject to which I have alluded has been mentioned, and I hope and expect to be gratified with seeing the honorable acknowledgments of this address fully carried out.—You have been of great assistance to the cause of Hungary, and the subject is well understood generally, which is a benefit to me. I declare to you all, that I find a more exact knowledge of the Hungarian cause here than in any other place I have been. But I am astonished to see such misrepresentation of the real facts of the case as I observed in a report of the proceedings of the United States Senate, where a member rose and said that we were not struggling for the principle of Freedom and Liberty, but rather for the support of our ancient dignity.—This, gentlemen, is a misrepresentation of our cause. There is something true in the assertion, that we were struggling for our ancient rights, for the right of independence, and for our ancient right. (Cheers.) It is no new acquisition to Hungary, for she had that ancient right a thousand years ago. The right of independence was inherited to us by a thousand years ago, and it has been insured to us by the coronation oaths of more than thirty of our kings. We have not made a new acquisition, but it had become a dead letter with us in the course of time. Before the revolution of 1848, we made a struggle to get back our ancient rights, and to get self-government. Such a guaranty was necessary to insure us that right, and to procure us a practical benefit, that we might live in the full enjoyment of our ancient rights. We struggled that we might see those rights restored; but the whole people were not interested in them, and although we were constitutional rights, they were only the rights of a class.

I wish you to understand me, gentlemen: I make these observations, because it is a public opportunity. These rights were restricted, in ancient times, not to a particular race, but to a particular class of nobles. They did not belong to the Magyars only, who came from Asia, but they belonged to all the races that settled in the country, to the slaves, to the Wallachians, the Serbs, and to others, whatever their race or their extraction. But the nobles were all that were privileged. It was not a privilege of race, but a privilege of aristocracy, of nobility, which only had its sanction in the Constitution. Thus, you see how generous was our Constitution. I was one of those privileged classes, yet I felt that that class, which was only a nobility, could not maintain its right against the power of despotic Austria, without the rights being granted to the people. I have that Austria was an enemy to those rights, for there never was a man of the House of Hapsburg who sat on the throne of Hungary, but was opposed to every principle of freedom, and to a popular system. We say that for one class only to be interested in these rights was not enough, and we wished to make them a benefit to every man in the country, and to replace the old Constitution, and the old rights, by one which should give a common and universal right to all men to vote, without regard to the country they speak, or the church at which they pray. I need not enter further into the subject than to say, that we established a system of universal suffrage, of equality in representation, a just share in election for the support of the State, an equality in the benefits of public education, and in all those blessings which are derived from the freedom of the people. Gentlemen, gentlemen, for taking up so much of your attention.

A member of the Deputation—We are highly gratified.

Kossuth continued: I came not to seek an asylum or a home among you. As for the future, I shall devote my life to the resurrection of my native land. I will endeavor to west Hungary from the power of tyrants and despots; to procure for her sovereign rights and the fundamental rights which belong to every nation. Should Providence assign me a place in the accomplishment of these great designs, I will take care that they shall receive no injury from me. I will here remark that I have always been conscious of the responsibility I take upon me, on my humble shoulders any duty which I had a positive conviction would not answer me, or which I could not perform. Yet, though I was never in actual military service, I was ready to help my country in every way I could. I was not able to be in every place at the same time, and I had not the boldness to take the practical direction of the military operations, because I feared I was not sufficiently familiar with military tactics to do so. I thought that if it so happened that anything should go wrong, and my people be defeated, that I should not only be condemned by my countrymen, but that my conscience would torture me with the feeling, that if I had not undertaken to do a thing which I did not understand, the fall of my country would not have taken place. This was my conviction. I was not master of the practice and strategy of war, and I gave the cause of my country thus far into other hands. I have seen that cause betrayed and broken in failure, and I weep for my country—not for my own misfortunes.

Since I have been in exile, I have tried to improve my intellect from the movements of the past, and to prepare myself for the future, and I rely on my people, whose confidence in me is not shaken by my misfortunes, and I look to my countrymen, who have misrepresented me. I have had all in my own hands once, and if I get in the same position again, I will do the same, I will place a Napoleon nor an Alexander, and labor for the sake of my own ambition, but I will labor for freedom and liberty, and to uphold the moral well-being of mankind. I think that in our future struggle we shall not be betrayed by treason, as we were before, nor by a despotic avenger, nor by Russian interference. I crave not for my country anything unreasonable; I wish Russia not to interfere. Russia is not so great a giant as she is supposed to be, and we could beat her if we were left to ourselves. (Cheers.) It is a country that has a large body of land, but it is very feeble, and its late movements were no prestige of its greatness. The people of Russia are human beings; they are not opposed to liberty, and the sun of freedom will yet rise over them, for they have it near their hearts, and they are my brothers. The people are the rock of liberty, and the inherent of humanity. We are in no danger from Russia because she is mighty; it is because she is near, for she is only a few hours distance from us, and could bring her powerful troops to bear on us before our nation could be organized. I came not to the United States to ask you to take such a stand as would be the consequence of your joining one in a war. I want you to use your influence to prevent Russia from interfering. We will fight for ourselves, if we are let alone. I want you to lend your support to those constitutional principles upon which your own independence repose, for the doctrine taught to you was not one taken from the policy of the moment, but was a doctrine founded on principle.

I find that your glorious Washington allowed that every man had a right to the pursuit of happiness in his own way, and to dispose of his own affairs as may best please himself, and upon this principle your institutions are founded. Unless you alter your principles, you have no right has any other nation on earth to interfere? I could write a book on this subject, and take all the words from the writings of your sentiment, from your Declaration of Independence, the Messages of your Presidents, the instructions to your Ministers at foreign courts, all of which recognize this great principle. But what are words, if they have no principle in them? Why, they are immediately violated; and words have often been violated in the presidents of nations. I should like to see these great States recognize all people as nations, who struggle for their liberty; and interest themselves in maintaining the liberty of humanity, as well as the political laws of individual nations. I would like to see your own United States placed in the same respect with regard to the laws of nations, as the Republics of citizens of your countries are placed in reference to your own laws. I should like them to feel bound to maintain the principle of Justice as a member of the great family of nations, and not allow the law to be broken. Here I take my ground on the side of law. I do not ask you to interfere yourselves, and for us—we will fight for ourselves; if you will give us fair play. (Cheers.)

We want you to take the same ground your forefathers did, when your ancient colonies rose and said they would be true; and as they did when the struggles took place in Mexico and South America, they of course, no wise thing to do but to grow, and will to grow. But now you are so far grown that you have no right to interfere with the rights of others, have anything to fear for your own existence, for your own security.

The thing, your present condition, you have entered into the second stadium of political existence, the destination of which is not only to exist for yourself exclusively, but to exist as a member of the great human family of nations, having the right to all claims which are due from that family towards every one of its full grown members, but also exacting from every one of its full grown members, the right to claim from every one of its full grown members, the duties which are due to the family. Suppose China, or by both these nations, Europe, or Turkey, or France, to live a life secluded from the world, indifferent to the desinies of mankind, in which it cannot exist; but they would be in a state where they be prepared to become also excluded from the benefits of progress, civilization and national intercourse, clock a nation and say well—I care not what about the fate of whatever other nation in the world." But I am sure no citizen of the United States had, has, or

ever will have, the wish to see this country degraded to the rotting reputation of a Paraguay, or the mummy existence of a Japan and China. The feeling of self-dignity and self-consciousness worthy of that enterprising spirit which a congenial to freemen, would revolt against the very idea of such a degrading national existence. Sooner, a thousand-fold, I will to live such a mummy life, there were no possibility to do so. The very existence of your great country, the principles upon which it is founded, be propagated throughout the present scale of civilization, and all its moral and material interests, would lead on your people not only to maintain, but necessarily to move and to develop, in their course with the world. Then, of course, being in so many respects linked to the world, connected with the world, you cannot remain indifferent, but in the possibility to remain indifferent to that outward world you are, in so many respects, connected with. And if you cannot remain indifferent, so you must feel resolved to put your own self-consistent weight into that balance in which the fate and condition of the world is weighed. If in a word, the glorious republic of the United States must feel resolved to be a power on earth—a power amongst the nations—or itself would be doomed to continual decay, and soon cease to be great, glorious and free. You are a power on earth. You must be a power on earth. So, of course, you must also unhesitatingly accept all the natural consequences of this situation. You cannot allow that whatever power should dispose of the fate of that great family of mankind, of which you are one, should consider you as a power you would resign your proud position and resign your still prouder future, and be a power on earth no more. So, I hope I have made my position, that I should even the doctrine of non-interference have been established by the founders of your republic, that which would have been very convenient to your infancy, would not now be convenient to your manhood. It is a beautiful word of Montesquieu, that republics are to be founded on virtue. And you know that virtue, as enunciated by our Christian religion, is but an effective exercise of a principle—of that great principle—Thou shalt do to others as thou desirest others to do to thee. So, I am confident that it were sufficient for me to rely simply for the decision of the question I have now to urge, upon the virtuous feelings of your generous republican hearts, and upon the consistency of your principles; but still I beg leave to mention, also, in material respects, some essential differences between your present condition and that of your fathers, when your infant republic, composed of thirteen States, was restricted to the borders of the Atlantic—now your great republic is spread to the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific, and your territory is a world, whose right hand reaches Europe over the waves, while your left hand reaches over the Pacific, the east of Asia; and there, in the midst of these two continents, there you stand, in a proud immensity, a world yourself.

Then you were a small people of three and a half millions. Now you are a mighty nation of twenty-four millions. And more than nineteen millions out of these twenty-four are boys under immense territory, the richest in the world, employed in the cultivation of the soil—that honorable occupation, which, in every age, has proved to be the most inexhaustible, the most enduring source of public welfare, and of private happiness—as all to the most unswerving ally of the love of freedom, the m at faithful preserver of all those straight, noble, and generous sentiments which the constant occupation with ever-young, ever-great, ever-beneficial Nature imparts to man. Add to this consideration, that this immense agricultural population, which, deriving large markets and affording at the same time a most solid basis, also to your manufactural industry and to your commerce, has developed in such an immense proportion, makes such a boundless difference between the infant Republic of the time of Washington and your present great Republic; that though you may very well be attached to your original constitutional principles, because the principles of liberty are everlastingly the same; but in respect to the exigencies of your present situation, impossible not to feel that, if your are to be regulated in your policy by interest, then your country has other interests to-day than it had then; and if there you were to be regulated, in your policy by the higher consideration of principles, then you are already strong enough to feel that the time has come to do so. And I, standing here before you to plead the cause of oppressed humanity,—I resolutely declare that there may perhaps never again come a time when the elevation of your position, the force of your principles identified with liberty, could prove either more glorious to you, or more beneficial to humanity; because now, in Europe, humanity on the eve of that day, when either the hopes or the fears of oppressed nations will be crushed for a long time.

Having stated so the material difference of the situation, I beg leave now to state that it is entirely an unfounded supposition, that the doctrine of non-interference in foreign matters had been, to the people of the United States, by your Washington, bequeathed to be a constitutional principle to you.

No! that is not the case.

Firstly. Washington never even recommended non-interference, or indifference, to the fate of other nations, to you. He has only recommended *neutrality.* And there is a mighty difference between these two ideas.

Neutrality is an idea which has reference to a state of war between two belligerent powers, and it is this case which Washington contemplated when he, in his Farewell Address, advised the People of the United States not to enter into entangling alliances. Let quarrelling powers, let quarrelling nations war; you consider your own concerns, and let foreign powers quarrel about ambitious topics, or merely particular interests. Neutrality is a matter of convenience,—not of principle.

But even as neutrality has reference to a state of war between belligerent powers, the principle of non-intervention has, on the contrary, reference to the sovereign right of nations to dispose of their own domestic concerns.

Therefore these two ideas of neutrality and non-interference are two entirely different ideas, having reference to two entirely different matters.

The sovereign right of nations to dispose of itself, to alter its institutions, to change the form of its own government, is a common public law of nations; common to all, and, therefore, put under the common guarantee of all.

This sovereign right of every nation to dispose of itself, you, the people of the United States, must recognize, because it is a common law of nations, which, being a common law of mankind, every nation is equally interested. You must recognize it secondly, because the very existence of your great republic, as also the independence of every nation, rests upon this basis,—rests upon this ground. If that sovereign right of nations were no common public law of mankind, then your own independent existence would be no matter of right, but only a matter of fact, which might be subject to whatever time, whatever chance, of power and of violence.

And where is the citizen of the United States who would not feel revolted against the idea, that the existence of this great republic is not a righteous, nor a lawful one, but only a mere accident, a mere matter of fact?

If it were so, you were not entitled to invoke the protection of God for your great country; because the protection of God cannot, without sacrilege, be invoked but in behalf of justice and right. You had no right to look to the sympathy of mankind for yourself, because you would profess an abrogation of the laws of humanity, upon which is founded your own independence, your own existence.

Now, gentlemen, if these be principles of common law, of that law which God has given to all, and do every intelligent and reasonable faculty to dispose of itself in the common, lawful right of every nation, then the interference with this common law of all humanity, the violent act of hindering, by armed force, a nation from exercising that sovereign right, must be considered a violation of that common law upon which your very existence rests, and which, being a common law of humanity, is by God himself placed under the safeguard of all humanity; because it is God himself who commands us to love our neighbor as we love ourselves, and to do towards others as we desire others to do towards ourselves.

Upon this point, you cannot remain indifferent. You may well remain neutral to order your war between two belligerent nations, but you cannot remain indifferent to the violation of the common law of humanity. Then, Washington never, indeed, has never taught you. I defy any man to show me, out of the entire volumes of Washington's writings, a single word to justify the idea of a neutrality generally in the case of foreign wars; but he never recommended indifference to the violation of the common law of humanity by interference of foreign powers with the sovereign right of nations to dispose of themselves.

And he could not have recommended its indifference, without ceasing to be wise as he was, because there is, without justice, no wisdom. The Gods of Greece and Rome have represented, without becoming inconsistent, because it was this common law of mankind, which your forefathers invoked, before God and against the violation of the sovereign right of dependence. It was he, himself, your great Washington, who not only accepted, but asked, again and again, foreign help, foreign help, for the sake of that common law of mankind, in respect to your own independence.

Know, gentlemen, that instruction are so universally spread amongst the enlightened people of the United States, the history of your country is such a household science at the fireside, that I feel sure, a common sentiment, that it may be sufficient for me to refer, in that respect, to the instructions and correspondence between Washington and the Ministers of Parliament, frequently quoted by Kossuth—the modest man, with the proud epitaph which tells the world that he wrested the lightning from heaven, and the scepter from his proud oppressor.

Thus I have proved, I believe, that Washington never bequeathed to you the principle of non-interference in respect to the rights of the sovereign right of nations to dispose of themselves, and to regulate their own institutions; but he taught you only neutrality in respect to the wars of foreign nations.

I will go further; and I state that even that doctrine of neutrality he taught and bequeathed to you, not as a constitutional principle—a lasting regulation for all future time—but only as a matter of temporary policy. I refer in that respect to the very words of his Farewell Address. There he states, emphatically, that it was *our policy to AVOID PERMANENT alliances with any portion of the foreign world.* These are his very words. *Policy* is the word, and your policy, therefore, was not a matter of principles, but of exigencies; and that principles are, of course, by a free and powerful nation, never to be sacrificed to exigencies. The exigencies are passing, and the life-blood of a nation, but Christian religion, is but an effective exercise of a principle—of that great principle—Thou shalt do to others as thou desirest others to do to thee. So, I am confident that it were sufficient for me to rely simply for the decision of the question I have now to urge, upon the virtuous feelings of your generous republican hearts, and upon the consistency of your principles; but still I beg leave to mention, also, in material respects, some essential differences between your present condition and that of your fathers, when your infant republic, composed of thirteen States, was restricted to the borders of the Atlantic—now your great republic is spread to the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific, and your territory is a world, whose right hand reaches Europe over the waves, while your left hand reaches over the Pacific, the east of Asia; and there, in the midst of these two continents, there you stand, in a proud immensity, a world yourself.

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It is strictly in New York that I feel induced to speak so—because New York is by innumerable ties connected with Europe. Whatever affects the fate of Europe affects New York. Whatever affects New York, affects the United States. Whatever affects the United States, affects the whole world. Yes, gentlemen, I repeat it, it is in New York that I feel induced to speak so—because New York is by innumerable ties connected with Europe.

It is the agricultural interest of this great country, which chiefly wants an outlet, and a market—and, again, I repeat it, it is in New York that I feel interest, to which you have to look, in this respect. This very circumstance cannot allow you to remain indifferent to the fate of Europe. Whatever happens Continent, because, be sure, gentlemen, and let me have spoken this chiefly to the gentlemen of trade, that commercial intercourse, by its nature, it will—it must make every possible obstacle to the commercial intercourse of Republican America, because commercial intercourse is the most powerful lever moral of principle; and be sure the victory of Absolutism on the European Continent will in no quarter have more injurious national consequences than in your great extent of your agricultural and commercial interests.

Then, why not prevent it—while yet there is a possibility to do so—by some, comparatively small sacrifices, rather than to abide that fatal catastrophe, and to mourn the immense sacrifices it would then lead?

Even in political considerations now-a-days, you have stronger motives to feel interested in the fate of Europe, than even in the fate of the Continent—or rather, in the fate of Europe itself, as it may happen in the institutions of these parts, you are too powerful to see your own institutions affected by it.—But let Europe become Republican,—as without the restoration of Hungary to its independence, and the freedom of Italy, so strongly connected with Hungary, to be sure it will—and your children will see Republican Europe—then, the Holy Alliance, formed in 1827 fulfilled on a larger scale than they were meant, that the Absolutism of Europe will not be opposed with your power, but your power, freedom has been obliterated even here.' And oh, do not rely too fondly on your power! It is great, to be sure. But have not the Romans, once, a single power on earth; but look to history. Ancient Rome has fallen, and mighty empires have vanished from earth. Yes, not the enemies of freedom grow too strong. Victorious over Europe, they may, yet, grow too strong even for you! And be sure, they hate you with an infernal hatred. They must hate you because you are the living contradiction of their most dangerous opponents. Absolutism cannot tranquilly sleep while the Republican principle has such a mighty representative as your country is.

Yes, gentlemen, I repeat it, it was from the political reaction of Absolutistic principles, which induced your great statesmen—that principle which they pronounced in 1823 in the phrase of Monroe, not to extend to European Continent, and by consequence, publicly avowed feeble motives. Every manifestation of your public life out of those times shows that it was the fear of the Holy Alliance, which, even, in 1823, in such a degenerated situation, that indeed you must have felt anxious not to come into any political connection with a European Continent, governed, then, when, as Mr. Clay said in 1818, in his speech about the emancipation of South America, 'Paris was transferred to St. Petersburg.'

But scarcely has, within a year later, the Greek nation come in its contest to an important standing, which gave you hope that the spirit of freedom is raising again, and at once you abandoned your principle of political indifference for Europe. You know how your Clays and your Websters spoke, as they spoke, in your name, pleading for my very cause. You know how your citizens acted, interested in that struggle for liberty in that part of Europe which is more distant than Hungary; and again, when Poland fell, you know what spirit pervaded the United States.

So I have shown you how Washington's doctrine of perfect neutrality in your foreign relations has by-and-by, without any fault of your fathers, to open, with all your forces, absolutistical Europe, interfering with the independence of republican institutions in Central and Southern America. I have shown you why this manly resolution was, at least, then to Europe. I have shown you the further difference between your present convenience and that of the time of President Monroe, and of your fathers and than those between Monroe's and Washington's time. But one mighty difference I must still consider—that, since the time Washington has, since Monroe's time, nearly doubled, I believe—at least, increased by millions. And what sort of men are those more than ever, in the same proportion, as also of your fathers, and of your children, who, though citizens of the United States, are by the closest sacred ties of relationship attached to Europe's plains, by the recollections of their fathers, your forefathers to take up arms, are but slight grievances compared with those immense deep wounds, out of which the best blood of Europe bleeds! If the cause of my people is not sufficiently just to invoke the protection of God, and the support of good, willing men, then there is no just cause, and no justice on earth. Then let the cry of my people, a hell will move towards Heaven. The genius of Charity, Christian love and justice will, mourningly fly the earth; a heavy cover will upon mankind, fall,—oppressed and despair, and only the Cains of humanity walk proudly, with impious brow, about the ruins of Liberty on earth!

I have shown, gentlemen, that Washington has never bequeathed to his country the doctrine of not caring about the violation of international law—has not bequeathed the principle of indifference to his countrymen, but only neutrality. I have shown that these two ideas are essentially different, I have shown that your fathers, and most naturally, he, never intended to recommend to his countrymen a lasting constitutional principle, but only as a measure of temporary policy, advisable until the United States should grown to a strength and consistency to which end he judged twenty years to be sufficient. After which, he himself declared to be resolved to expose a system, which, to allow me briefly to consider how your policy has been developed in the course of time, with respect to the principle of non-intervention in foreign concerns.

I will only recall to your memory the Message of President Monroe, when he clearly stated that the United States would take up arms to protect the American Republics, now free, from the Holy Alliance, should the so-called Holy (rather unholy) Alliance make an attempt either to aid Spain to reduce the new American Republics to their ancient colonial state, or to compel them to adopt political systems more conformable to the policy and views of that Alliance. Contrast you, to mark well, gentlemen, not only the forced introduction of Monarchical Governments, but in general the interference of foreign powers in the contest for the independence of the Spanish colonies, and you will discover a motive for the United States to protect the natural right of those nations to dispose of themselves.

But I beg leave to remark that this indifference to European concerns is a matter, not of principle, but of temporary exigency,—the motives which have, at the time of time, entirely disappeared—so much that the balance is now inclined to the opposite side. President Monroe intentions *distance* as a motive of the above-stated distinction. Well, since the progressive discoveries of Fulton's glorious invention, distance is blotted out of the political system of the United States, and, of course, the motive which President Monroe intended to be a guide to your conduct, or rather replaced by the word *time.* Distance is now, almost, blotted by *miles*, but by *hours.* And being so, Europe is of course less distant from you than the greater part of the American Continent,—that, even the word distance be taken in a moral sense. Europe is nearer to you than the greater part of the American Continent, yes, gentlemen, greater than perhaps some parts of your own territory.

President Monroe's second motive is, that you are separated from Europe by the Atlantic. Now, at the present time, and in the present condition of navigation, the Atlantic is no separation, but rather a connecting bond—the facilitating source of that commercial intercourse which brings the interests of Europe home to you, connecting with it every tie of moral as well as material interest.

Yes, gentlemen, I repeat it, it is chiefly in the interest of your commerce that I feel induced to speak so—because New York is by innumerable ties connected with Europe.

Then, why not prevent it—while yet there is a possibility to do so—by some, comparatively small sacrifices, rather than to abide that fatal catastrophe, and to mourn the immense sacrifices it would then lead?

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But scarcely has, within a year later, the Greek nation come in its contest to an important standing, which gave you hope that the spirit of freedom is raising again, and at once you abandoned your principle of political indifference for Europe. You know how your Clays and your Websters spoke, as they spoke, in your name, pleading for my very cause. You know how your citizens acted, interested in that struggle for liberty in that part of Europe which is more distant than Hungary; and again, when Poland fell, you know what spirit pervaded the United States.

So I have shown you how Washington's doctrine of perfect neutrality in your foreign relations has by-and-by, without any fault of your fathers, to open, with all your forces, absolutistical Europe, interfering with the independence of republican institutions in Central and Southern America. I have shown you why this manly resolution was, at least, then to Europe. I have shown you the further difference between your present convenience and that of the time of President Monroe, and of your fathers and than those between Monroe's and Washington's time. But one mighty difference I must still consider—that, since the time Washington has, since Monroe's time, nearly doubled, I believe—at least, increased by millions. And what sort of men are those more than ever, in the same proportion, as also of your fathers, who, though citizens of the United States, are by the closest sacred ties of relationship attached to Europe's plains, by the recollections of their fathers, your forefathers to take up arms, are but slight grievances compared with those immense deep wounds, out of which the best blood of Europe bleeds! If the cause of my people is not sufficiently just to invoke the protection of God, and the support of good, willing men, then there is no just cause, and no justice on earth. Then let the cry of my people, a hell will move towards Heaven. The genius of Charity, Christian love and justice will, mourningly fly the earth; a heavy cover will upon mankind, fall,—oppressed and despair, and only the Cains of humanity walk proudly, with impious brow, about the ruins of Liberty on earth!

I have shown, gentlemen, that Washington has never bequeathed to his country the doctrine of not caring about the violation of international law—has not bequeathed the principle of indifference to his countrymen, but only neutrality. I have shown that these two ideas are essentially different, I have shown that your fathers, and most naturally, he, never intended to recommend to his countrymen a lasting constitutional principle, but only as a measure of temporary policy, advisable until the United States should grown to a strength and consistency to which end he judged twenty years to be sufficient. After which, he himself declared to be resolved to expose a system, which, to allow me briefly to consider how your policy has been developed in the course of time, with respect to the principle of non-intervention in foreign concerns.

I will only recall to your memory the Message of President Monroe, when he clearly stated that the United States would take up arms to protect the American Republics, now free, from the Holy Alliance, should the so-called Holy (rather unholy) Alliance make an attempt either to aid Spain to reduce the new American Republics to their ancient colonial state, or to compel them to adopt political systems more conformable to the policy and views of that Alliance. Contrast you, to mark well, gentlemen, not only the forced introduction of Monarchical Governments, but in general the interference of foreign powers in the contest for the independence of the Spanish colonies, and you will discover a motive for the United States to protect the natural right of those nations to dispose of themselves.

But I beg leave to remark that this indifference to European concerns is a matter, not of principle, but of temporary exigency,—the motives which have, at the time of time, entirely disappeared—so much that the balance is now inclined to the opposite side. President Monroe intentions *distance* as a motive of the above-stated distinction. Well, since the progressive discoveries of Fulton's glorious invention, distance is blotted out of the political system of the United States, and, of course, the motive which President Monroe intended to be a guide to your conduct, or rather replaced by the word *time.* Distance is now, almost, blotted by *miles*, but by *hours.* And being so, Europe is of course less distant from you than the greater part of the American Continent,—that, even the word distance be taken in a moral sense. Europe is nearer to you than the greater part of the American Continent, yes, gentlemen, greater than perhaps some parts of your own territory.

President Monroe's second motive is, that you are separated from Europe by the Atlantic. Now, at the present time, and in the present condition of navigation, the Atlantic is no separation, but rather a connecting bond—the facilitating source of that commercial intercourse which brings the interests of Europe home to you, connecting with it every tie of moral as well as material interest

First, That, feeling interested in the maintenance of the laws of nations, acknowledging the sovereign right of every people to dispose of its own domestic concerns to be one of those laws, and the interference with this sovereign right to be a violation of these laws, we, the people of the United States, feel bound to respect and make respected these laws—believe the Russian past intervention in Hungary to be a violation of these laws, which, if tolerated, would be a new violation, and would not be regarded indifferently by the people of the United States—and, therefore, we, through our Government, to act accordingly, and to invite Great Britain to unite with the United States in this policy.

Second, That the people of the United States is resolved to maintain its right of commercial intercourse with the nations of Europe, notwithstanding the attitude of neutrality assumed by their Governments or not; and that, with the view of approaching scenes on the continent of Europe, the people of the United States consider it to take appropriate measures for the protection of the trade of the people of the Mediterranean seas; and

Third, That the people of the United States pronounce its opinion in respect to the question of independence of Hungary, so as I had the honor to state. I hope no body can reproach me to have done by this any thing inconsistent with the high regards which I have for the United States, or not appropriate in my capacity. I would regard it as a very injurious and beneficial thing, if those generous men who sympathize with the Hungarian Revolution, would form over the country the different parts of the United States, with the purpose to occasion appropriate meetings, to pass such resolutions as I had the honor, humbly to suggest. So much for the generous people of the United States, in its civil life and political capacity. And if that sympathy which I have the honor to meet with in the United States is really intended to become beneficial to the cause of my poor native land, then there is one humble wish more which I anxiously entertain. But that is a private business, it is a business which I appeal to the generous feelings of individuals. Gentlemen, I would rather starve thus rely, for myself and family, on foreign aid; but for my country's freedom, I would not be ashamed to go a begging from door to door. (Great cheering.) Gentlemen, I mean financial aid; money to unite the cause of freedom and independence of Hungary. I took the advice of some kind friends if it be lawful to express such a humble request, because I feel the sacred duty neither to offend nor to evade your laws. I am told it is lawful. There are two means to see this, my humble wish, accomplished. The one is from public subscription, to put the offerings of kind friends at my disposal, for the benefit of my country's cause. The second is a loan. As to this loan, that is business of a more private nature, which, to be carried on in an appropriate way, requires private consultation. I have close circle. So here I only mention that if there are such generous men who are willing to enter into the idea, provided it will be arranged in an acceptable way, I would rest humbly that them to enter into a private communication about the subject with me; and, secondly, I express my conviction that even this matter of loan could be efficiently promoted by the other measure of free, gratuitous subscriptions, which would be the most necessary for the agricultural institution of the loan itself. Now, as to these subscriptions. The idea was brought home to my mind by a plain but very generous letter, which I had the honor to receive, and which I beg to read. It is as follows:—

CINCINNATI, O., Friday, Nov. 14, 1851.

M. LOUIS KOSSUTH, Governor of Hungary:—

SIR,—I have authorized the office of the Ohio Life Insurance and Trust Company, in New York, to hand you drafts on me for one thousand dollars.

Respectfully yours, W. SMEAD.

I beg leave here publicly to return my most humble thanks to the gentleman for his noble gift, and the delicate manner in which he offered it; and it gives to my mind, that where one single individual is ready to make such sacrifices to my country's cause, there may, perhaps, be many who would give their small share to it, if they were only apprised that it will be thankfully accepted, however small it may be. And it came to my mind, then, that drops of millions make an ocean, and the United States number many millions of inhabitants, all animated with warm feelings, to the principles of liberty, sagacious by making dollars, is more than many millions of dollars, as if it were one single drab, to me yet more precious, because it would practically show the sympathy of the people at large. I will consider it as highly beneficial, should I be so happy to see that generous man would form committees throughout the United States, to raise out of the free offerings of the people, some material aid to assist the great success of freedom and independence of Hungary. It is a delicate matter, gentlemen, for me to speak so. It is, perhaps, one of the greatest sacrifices to my country that I do so. (Great applause.) But I love my country—(Renewed cheering)—and really will I undergo even this torturing humiliation for her sake. Would I were happy as your Washington was, who, for your glorious country's sake, was in the hour of your need, he also called for money in France.

Sir, I have done. Conscious of no personal merit, I came to your shores a poor, persecuted exile; but you poured upon me the triumph of a welcome such as the world has never seen—and why? Because you took me for the representative of that principle of liberty which God has destined to become the country-mark of humanity; and it is a glorious sight to see a mighty, free, powerful people, come forth to greet with such a welcome the principle of freedom, even in a poor, persecuted, friendless exile. Be blessed for it! Your generous deed will be remembered through all posterity; and, as even now, millions of Europe's oppressed victims will raise their thanksgiving to God for the ray of hope which you, by this, your act, have thrown on the dark night of their fate, you, through all posterity, will respect men look to your memory as a token of God, that there is a hope for freedom on earth, because there is a people who you to feel its worth and to support its cause.

LETTER FROM RICHARD D. WEBB.

DUBLIN, Nov. 17, 1851.

To Richard Andrews, Esq., Mayor of Southampton.

SIR—I beg to enclose a post-office order for one pound, as my contribution to the collection which is intended to be placed at the disposal of M. Kossuth for the Hungarian cause.

From the accounts I have seen in the papers of your country, of your independence of spirit and regard to principle, I am induced to hope for your favorable notice of the following remarks:

M. Kossuth's public course, since his arrival in England, has shown that he is fully aware of the delicacy of his position in the same space of time. These sentiments have been perfectly spontaneous; they are not attributable to government influence, cough, favor, the countenance of the aristocracy, or any thing but adhering to duty for the man and interest of his cause. The feeling is national and hearty, mainly because he is England and to Kossuth.

It is of the utmost importance that this confidence should be maintained during his stay in the United States, and this can only be effected by his strict adherence to conduct which he has shown in that country.

In no respect has M. Kossuth ability been more wonderfully evinced than in his quickness of apprehension, his readiness of perception of the complicated machinery of English society, his appreciation of the importance of our municipal institutions, his apt quotations from our poets, and the amazing facility with which he comprehends the spirit of our national and even of local public opinion amongst us.

Being the case, when he visits the United States, nobody will believe that he can remain ignorant, that the great republic contains a nation of freemen nearly as numerous as the Magyars, and that their condition as to civil rights is as much behind that of the Nespolitans as the Neapolitans are behind the people of England. I allude to the three and a half millions of slaves, whilst the half million of free colored people are subjected to a system of cruelty, being despised, and oppressed to a degree horrible in a professedly free and Christian nation. The history of the world presents no other instance of a system of such oppression, so maintained by the laws, public opinion, and physical force of such a nation. One half of the people of the Union, the inhabitants of the slave states, are kept in continual fear of a servile insurrection. Those of the free states are corrupted by their false position as assistant jailors of the prisons of the Union with the slaveholders, they are obliged to assist him in retaining possession of his human chattels.

This state of things cannot be maintained without continual resource on the part of the slaves, and of those who love the cause of justice in the United States, by the slaveholders and their abettors in power, by passing and upholding laws altogether alien to the genius or even to the existence of liberty. For example, the recent Fugitive Slave Law makes the whole Union, including all its free states and free territories, one vast hunting ground, on which any fugitive may be pursued and re-captured, and every free citizen, no matter how he abhors slavery, is liable to be summoned, under penalty of a fine of one thousand dollars and imprisonment for six months, to assist in the capture. Thousands have left, might be called upon in this way, immediately on landing; for fugitive slaves are in no part of the United States, except in the province of New York, and nowhere is the pro-slavery spirit more intolerant than among the merchants and the leaders of the great city. Case, Webster, Clay and Fillmore hold their places as nominees of the slaveocracy of the United States, about 130,000 in number, and who by their union, activity, and influence, control the destiny and direct the policy of the entire public.

A great portion of the people of the free States will welcome Kossuth as he has been welcomed here, heartily; some sympathizers, perhaps, will hear his statements and her relieve will only try, as the American phrase is, to make capital out of him, and to side, under a pretence of aid for a great foreigner and his cause, their own hostility to impartial liberty at home.

It is of the utmost consequence to M. Kossuth's true fame, and European influence, that he should be aware of this state of things, that for the sake of a hollow support from the main pillars of American slavery, he should not be induced his indignant protest against the oppression practised in the United States, infinitely exceeding the injustice, cruelty, and insolence of all the nations of Europe, combined.

Let M. Kossuth accept the welcome and the hospitality of the United States; let him express his gratitude for the kindness he receives, and his hope for future assistance to the cause of liberty in Europe; but let him not ignore American slavery. Let him, on the contrary, resolutely protest against it, and evince that his consistency and his moral courage are equal to his talents and his illustrious reputation. If you, he may thus lose some of his fair-weather friends, and the support of those who would come their own shame by the help of his great name; but he will exalt himself to a height of moral sublimity and become universally acknowledged among men. Let him raise his powerful voice in behalf of three millions of patriots in a land of freedom. Let him do so for the sake of the oppressor as well as the oppressed.

In his career in Hungary, his captivity, his return, his arrival in England, and his course while there, he has had no warmer sympathizer, no more delighted admirer than myself. I visited England merely to see him and listen to his voice, and I shall exceedingly rejoice if he withstand any temptation to join in with the oppressors of the most perfect and downtrodden race on earth, for the sake of any conceivable help these tyrants can or may hold out to the trampled nations of Europe. Let him not do evil that good may come.

I am confident that these considerations cannot fail to strike you, and I therefore rely upon your bringing them before M. Kossuth, with that earnestness which their importance in his reputation for consistency, fearlessness, and fidelity to liberty, demands. I am, very respectfully, your ob. servt.

RICHARD D. WEBB.

☞ In behalf of the entire colored population of the country, 'peeled, meted out and trodden underfoot,' we prefer their warmest thanks to their philanthropic friend and advocate in Dublin, for thus commending them to the sympathy and remembrance of the great Hungarian Martyr from American tyranny. Whether Kossuth ever saw this letter, we are not informed; but we have no doubt that he saw it, or at least that the substance of it was communicated to him. Alas! for the result.

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, DEC. 19, 1851.

KOSSUTH FALLEN!

The die is cast. All speculation is now at an end, as to the position KOSSUTH means to maintain on the slavery question in the United States. He means to be deaf, dumb, and blind, in regard to it! Like recreant Father MATHEW, to subserve his own purposes, and secure the aid of the slaveholding and slave-breeding people, he shakes—he dodges—he plays fast and loose—he refuses to see any stain on the American character, any inconsistency in pretending to adore liberty and at the same time multiplying human chains for the auction block and the slave shambles! It was for him to meddle with any thing in this country—not even so far as to express an opinion—O no! But he enforces it upon us as a religious duty, to interpose nationally for the liberation of Hungary, by threatening Austria and Russia, that if they do not speedily release the Hungarians do as they please in the management of their own affairs, we will add to our threats blows, and let slip the dogs of war! Beautiful consistency! O, this is pitiable!

In addition to repeated declarations in his speeches, since he landed at New York, that he did not mean to get 'entangled' in any of our domestic affairs—including our precious 'domestic institution,' SLAVERY—he has published the following brief but significant Address, the meaning of which needs no elucidation, either at the North, or in the South. It is a palpable pro-slavery dodge.

KOSSUTH'S ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES.

Having come to the United States to avail myself, for the cause of my country, of the sympathy which I had reason to believe existed in the heart of the nation, I found it my duty to declare, in the first moments of my arrival, that it is my mission to plead the independence of Hungary and the liberty of the European Continent, before the great Republic of the United States. My principle in this respect is, that every nation has the sovereign right to dispose of its own domestic affairs, without any foreign interference; that I, therefore, shall not meddle with any domestic concerns of the United States, and that I expect it from all the friends of my cause, not to do any thing in my name which could throw difficulties in my way, and, while expressing sympathy for the cause, would injure it.

It is with regret that I must feel the necessity of again making that appeal to the public opinion of this country, and particularly to those who profess themselves to be the friends of my cause, to give one proof of their sympathy by our friend Griffin, who which might entangle me into difficulties in respect of that rule, which I have adopted, and which I again declare to be my sacred principle, viz: not to do, and not to be mixed up with whatever domestic concerns or party questions. L. KOSSUTH.

New York, Dec. 12, 1851.

What! with more than three millions of the people in the United States clanking their fetters in his ear, possessed as property, and herded with brutes, has Kossuth not a word of sympathy to give themselves? Has he not a word of sympathy to give themselves? Has he not a word of sympathy to give them—not one rebuke to bestow upon this guiltiest of all oppressive nations? Yes! he has yet a word, but one word, but one rebuke, from his lips, that the enslaved and their friends ask! Forcibly does the Hon. E. L. Keyes, editor of the Dedham Gazette, say:—'Kossuth has decided that he will take no part, nor even allude to the great crime which curses our country far more infinitely than Hapsburg curses Hungary; but he will and, before he leaves, he will speak, perhaps not much as he does now, and that he cannot obtain ours until we shall be relieved of an opposition more galling and tyrannical than that of Haynau.'

For an illustration of the performance of the play of Hamlet, with the part of Hamlet omitted by special request, see on our last page an account of an interview with Kossuth by a Committee of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and also by a delegation of colored citizens, together with their addresses and his replies.

THE RESOLUTION OF WELCOME TO KOSSUTH. The following is the resolution introduced into the Senate by Mr. Seward, and adopted, after a protracted discussion, by a vote of 37 to 6:—

'Be it resolved, &c., That Congress, in the name of the people of the United States, offer to Louis Kossuth such a cordial welcome to the capital and the country, and that a copy of this resolution be transmitted to him by the President of the United States.'

In the House of Representatives it passed, 118 to 16.

From the Liberty Bell for 1852.

TO KOSSUTH.

BY WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

I.

Amidst the roar of public acclamation—
The tempest-greetings of a mighty throng—
The cannon's thundering reverberation—
The circle fete, with toast, and speech, and song—
The gaudy pageant, with its rejoicing nation,
A million times repeated, loud and long—

II.

Can one lone voice, all tremulous with feeling,
Be heard by those, O glorified Kossuth,
To all thy nobleest attributes appealing,
As one who knows Oppression's bitter fruit;
And to thy listening ear the truth revealing,
When sycophants and cowards all are mute?

III.

My claims for audience thou will not discredit,
For they are based on kindred love of Right;
And as for Liberty, world-wide to spread it,
I, too, have suffered scorn, and scoffs, and slight;
Known what the dungeon is, yet not to dread it,
And still am zealous in the moral fight.

IV.

Thou dreaded foe of Austrian oppression,
With earnest love of liberty imbued,
Since though America's strong intercession,
Thy liberation has at last ensued,
'Tis meet thou count here to give expression
To thy sincere and heartfelt gratitude.

V.

But, while thy obligation thus admitting,
O let it not thy generous soul enamare!
Act thou, while here, as manly part, befitting
Thy name and fame as one to do and dare,
Whate'er the peril of the hour, — acquitting
Thyself right valiantly, a champion rare.

VI.

Is it for thee to deal in glowing fiction?
To call this land great, glorious and free?
To take no note of its sad dereliction
From all that constitutes true liberty?
To gloss over thy spirit so unmanly,
By sught that thou canst learn, or hear, or see?

VII.

While this republic thou art warmly thanking,
For siding there once more to breathe free air,
Three million slaves their galling chains are clanking,
Heart-broken, bleeding, crushed beyond compare,
At public sale with swine and cattle ranking,
The wretched victims of complete despair!

VIII.

The government that thou art now extolling,
As well-deserving measureless applause,
By its strong arm these millions are enthralling,
And persecuting those who plead their cause:
O, rank hypocrisy, and guilt appalling!
Like Dagon's code, in blood are writ its laws.

IX.

For 'tis by law the father, son, and brother,
Know nought of filial or parental ties;
By law the sister, daughter, wife, and mother,
Must claim no kindred here beneath the skies;
All, at the fiendish bidding of another
Their God-given rights must basely sacrifice.

X.

By law, 'tis criminal the slave to pity,
To give him food and shelter from his foes;
For him no hiding-place in town or city;
He must be hunted wherever he goes;
And they are branded as a vile banditti,
Who for his freedom nobly interpose!

XII.

Behold what scenes are in our courts transpiring!
Behold on trial placed the good and brave
For humanity's sake! Behold the Quaker
That he when God gave him, made him a slave!
Arraigned as traitors with a zeal untiring,
And, if convicted, hurried to the grave!

XIII.

Thou hast proclaimed, in tones like ringing clarion,
That freedom is the gift of God to all;
That as a man, not as a mere Hungarian,
In its defence thou'lt bravely stand or fall;
For Jew and Greek, for Scythian and Barbarian,
Alike are summoned by its trumpet-call.

XIV.

I take thee at thy word, out-spoken hero!
Forget not those who are in bondage here;
For our humanity now stands at zero,
And threatens utterly to disappear;
Rebuke each merciless plantation Nero;
Reprove our land in accents loud and clear!

XV.

While praising us wherein we are deserving,
Tell us our faults, — expose our crime of crimes;
Be as like needed to the pole unswerving,
And true to Freedom's standard in all climes;
Thus many a timid heart with courage nerving
To meet the mighty conflict of the times.

XVI.

Say slavery is a stain upon our glory,
Accursed of Heaven, and by the earth abhorred;
Show that our soil with negro blood is gory,
And contrary to the judgments of the Lord;
So shall thy name immortal be in story,
And thy fidelity the world applaud.

XVII.

Yet first, for this, thou shalt be excerated
By those who now in crowds around the press;
Thy visit shall be sternly reprobated;
Thy friends and flatterers grow loss and less;
Thy hopes for Hungary be dissipated;
America shall crime be, and not bless.

XVIII.

But if, alas! thy country's sad condition,
And need of succor, a appeal be made,
Why from thy lips should fall no admonition,
Lest she should lose our sympathy and aid;
No blessing can attend thy selfish mission —
The cause of freedom thou will have betrayed.

XIX.

O, shall the millions here in bondage sighing,
Branded as beasts, and scourged with bloody whips,
The majority of tyrants God-defying,
Hear not one word of pity from thy lips!
O be not dumb, to thy reproach undying —
And thy great fame save from a dire eclipse!

XX.

Courage, Kossuth! Be true—fear not the trial!
Pluck out thy right eye, and thy right hand lose!
Though, on thy head be poured out every vial,
To wear a gallant one! thy lips enclose!
And thou shalt gain, through holy self-denial,
A brighter crown than all the world can choose.

Boston, Dec. 10, 1851.

☞ Since these lines were written, Kossuth has made a dishonorable election. He is a trimmer.

For the Liberator.

THE AMERICAN SLAVE TO KOSSUTH.

BY W. L. CHAPPELL.

Where the dark Danube proudly runs,
Maybap your heart, your hope may be:
There live your brothers,—noble ones,—
For whom you crossed the rolling sea.

And many a vine-clad cottage stands,
And patient hearts throb aching there
Thus pray, you weep, you hope and bands
To God, on-bending, for the prayer.

You think of your dear sister's form,
Crushed by the impious Haynau's blow;
Your feelings true, your heart so warm,
Feel, then, for us, feel for our wo!

Slaves in the land of Freedom bright,
Slaves on the wild Missouri's side,
And Texan wales in sunny light,
Slaves on the old Potomac's tide.

The lash we feel, the chains we wear,—
God of the free! Shall nought avail,
Our strike for us, and empty air
Pour from his mouth for his lost home?

Awake! thou burning Magyar soul!
Strike for thy brother slaves in view!
Then calmly shall the ocean roll,
Nor yex thy heart, so warm and true.

Where are our wives?—to torture sold!
Kidnapped our children,—love disgraced!
Hope, freedom, friends, are gone of old,
At once torn out, and life effaced.

O Kossuth! Magyar! Man, at last!
Betray as not, nor let there be
Our curses lingering on thy pas,
Our hate a household thing for thee.

Are we not men?—are we not slaves?
By the dark Danube there's no more
Thy brothers found right glorious graves
Along his wild, romantic shore!

And we would die—but galls the chain;
Die—but in prison—and in our lot;
By inches killed, the wretch's pain
Who, dying, lives by all forgot.

Strike, then, for us, with thoughts and prayer,
God give thee power, most noble heart!
Nor waste thy words on empty air,
But, flying slave, take the slave's part!

BLOODHOUNDS TURNING SPANIELS.

BY SHARPSTICK.

The city of New York has this month made enthusiastic demonstrations in welcome of Kossuth. The same city last year mobbed the American Anti-Slavery Society. Now, Kossuth's obvious merit is, that he struggled for human liberty, and sacrificed less and the loss of the powerful to promote it. The Anti-Slavery Society likewise struggle for human liberty, and their sacrifices to promote it are neither few nor insignificant. Why, then, is the former feasted and flattered, and the latter interrupted and insulted? Why do the New Yorkers grasp with one hand the palm of the Hungarian patriot, and shake the other hand, doubled up, in the faces of the Abolition patriots? How can they fork over a few dollars of their spare cash to help Eastern runaways, and subscribe many dollars to harass South-ern runaways? How can they (as Greeley expresses it) 'go their length in freedom in Europe, and twice their length for bondage in America?—laud a *white* Kossuth to the skies, and almost burn a *black* Kossuth at the stake? Is emancipation a good thing for foreign serfs, and not a good thing for domestic slaves? Does a transfer of five thousand miles give moral principle a new twist, or a new bottom-side up? Is a certain course of conduct glorious on the banks of the Danube, and infamous on the banks of the Hudson? Can he be deserving of the highest honor who tried to check that woman-whipping, child-selling, husband-selling, wife-selling crime, in the clime of the Carpathians, and throw be deservingly of abuse and violence who try to check the woman-whipping, child-selling, fugitive-hunting citizens, that out-Haynau Haynau in the clime of the Alleghanies?

The fact is, these Gothamite editors and officers are hypocritical. They want to curry favor with the Goddess of Liberty, and be recognised as her true worshippers, while defacing her temples and stoning her priests. And they imagine—being a shrewd set of fellows—that they can hoodwink that fair deity. They confidently expect to pass themselves off as original, true-blue, dyed-in-the-wool disciples of hers. They reckon that the oliness of their present words, will make her forget the ruthlessness of their late deeds; that she is as easily reconciled as the God of Calvinism, who, if merely prayed to in Christ's name, snatches the vilest sinner from hell's jaws in a twinkling. But I think she won't be propitiated by any such mock ceremony as getting up an occasional 'hurrah' over an Old World apostle of human rights. She will tell them, with a stern frown and a piercing voice, to do whatever they have power to assist the New World apostles of human rights *first*, or they have no business in her church. Active, living goodness, and not mumbling a dead creed, is her chief requirement of membership. Toasting and banqueting and saying smooth sentences to Louis Kossuth won't be regarded as a substitute for, from those who were engaged in seizing and chaining and passing harsh sentences on Henry Long.

LABORS IN CENTRAL NEW YORK.

NORWAY, Herkimer Co., N. Y., December 8th, 1851.

FRIEND GARRISON,—

After leaving Boston, on Friday, Nov. 28, we arrived at Rockton, Herkimer county, New York, on the 29th, and were met by our friend Griffin, who conducted us (Parker Pillsbury and myself) to the house of Josh Petrie, where we found an excellent home, among the truest of friends, during our stay in the place. We staid here two days, and held our usually well attended meetings. At our third session, Judge Beardsly attempted to get up some little opposition to the Convention, by making a speech of about an hour's length, in which he endeavored to show that the 'read, write and cypher' folks of Massachusetts need not send their agents to New York to teach the New Yorkers how to conduct themselves politically, touching slavery; and told us frankly, we had better go home and mind our own business. The Judge is a Hunker Democrat, and, of course, felt very much disturbed; but on his taking his seat, Parker came up, and, in a few minutes, he made, and (, the being only a judge and lawyer,) in a very summary manner, occupying not more than one minute, and bringing down loud cheers from all parts of the house; the judge, at the same time, rendering all possible assistance by making himself scarce, not even stopping to put on his threadbare coat, but hot out of the way of the 'read, write and cypher' boys of Massachusetts. Thus the matter ended triumphantly.

On Monday, Dec. 1st, by the aid of Zenas Brockett, we reached Manheim, and we held an evening meeting in the Methodist Episcopal Church.

December 2d, after passing a very pleasant night at the anti-slavery home of Z. Brackett, we journeyed to Brockett's Bridge, where we spent two days, and held four very interesting meetings in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Among those who were present, Brockett, Spofford, Faville, Hewett, and families, for their kindness to us and aid to the cause.

December 4th, we passed on to Salisbury Centre, where we found but very little sympathy, and that from very few quarters. At our last evening meeting here, which was held in the Union Church, a lawyer, by the name of Smith—the only lawyer of the village—came to the defense of the Church, but was so powerfully exposed, that, in a few minutes, he left the pro-slavery church numbers present (excepting a few Methodists, who were among the rowdies) hung their heads for shame; exhibiting, to my mind, one of the most extraordinary cases of total depravity that ever came under my observation. The meeting was thus broken up—Parker spoke not a word at all—and we left the people (excepting our friends) to reflect upon their own misconduct.

On the 6th of December, by the aid of Truman and Thomas Cole, we journeyed to Norway, where we held four successive meetings in the Methodist Church. In this place, we found some good friends, and many others who were disposed to take the subject fully into consideration.

On Sunday, we had a goodly number of church members at our meeting during the day, many of them feeling dissatisfied with their position. At the same time that sinners, in the Methodist and Baptist churches of the village, were inquiring what they should do to be saved from the vengeance of a sectarian God, and what to their churches, there were church members at the anti-slavery meeting, inquiring what they should do to be saved from the coming destruction of the American Church. More hereafter. Yours for the right,

LEWIS FORD.

THE EIGHTEENTH NATIONAL

ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR,

AT ASSEMBLY HALL,

OVER THE DEPOT OF THE WORCESTER RAIL ROAD,

(ALBANY STREET,)

Opened on THURSDAY, DECEMBER 18, at 11 o'clk, A. M.

The Committee have much pleasure in announcing to their friends, that it has never before been in their power to present so varied and beautiful a collection of articles as on the present occasion. Owing to increased exertions on the part of friends in Great Britain, and the residence of several of our Committee on the Continent, we trust that the Bazaar of the present year will, in utility, variety and beauty, surpass all its predecessors.

We will enumerate a few of the articles, premising that we are prevented, by want of time, from giving a more elaborate description:—

Sofa, Carriage, Toilet, Elbow and Pin Cushions, of every description, silk, velvet, merino, richly embroidered and plain; the Scotch Shawls heretofore so much admired for their beauty and fineness, including one sent from Edinburgh for exhibition at the Crystal Palace; every variety of Berlin wool Work, knitted, netted and crocheted, for ladies' and children's wear; Scarfs, Caps and Handkerchiefs, knitted Boots, Shoes and Stockings, for children, of every variety and color; children's Dresses, in silk, calico and merino, the latter plain and richly embroidered; Cloaks and Bonnets, exquisite Honiton Lace, Dolls, plain and in costume; very beautiful Affghan Blankets, of all sizes; Tidies, of all descriptions, some in entirely new styles; Table Covers in silk patch work, Aprons of silk and satin, plain and embroidered; Basket Work of several descriptions, including some of great fineness and beauty, contributed by the inmates of the Blind Asylum in England; ladies' and children's Robes, Garden Chairs, or Camp Stools; embroidered Covers for chairs and ottomans, exquisite Swiss Wood Work, Bohemian Glass, drawings in crayons and water colors, Portraits and Autographs of distinguished Individuals, Gift Books, contributed by B. B. Wiffin; every variety of De La Rues' celebrated Stationery; Bog Oak Ornaments, Articles in Papier Mache, Ornaments in Ivory and Rosewood, Paint; Paintings on Ivory, Perfumery, Foreign Confectionery, Fancy Soaps, and a great assortment of useful clothing.

We refer our readers to the article below for a description of one of the most costly and magnificent articles that the Bazaar contains, the folding Screen from Leeds. To see this, were alone a sufficient inducement to visit the Bazaar.

The Liberty Bell, containing articles from the pens of distinguished writers, both foreign and American, will be published on the morning of the 18th.

ANNE WARREN WESTON,
MARY CHAPMAN,
MARY MAY,
LYDIA D. PARKER,
FRANCES MARY ROBBINS,
HELEN E. GARRISON,
LOUISA LORING,
ANN TRUESDALE PHILLIPS,
HENRIETTA SARGENT,
SARAH SHAW RUSSELL,
SARAH H. SOUTHWICK,
ELIZABETH A. COTTON.

Extract of a letter from an English friend.

A few of the chief interesting points and figures in the large Screen contributed by the Leeds Ladies, for the Boston Anti-Slavery Bazaar—Oct., 1851.

The four little impersonations of the Seasons are from statues of the Queen's children, (Victoria's,) taken in these characters by Mary Thornycroft. Winter, the Prince of Wales; Spring, the Princess Alice; Summer, the Princess Royal; Autumn, the Prince Alfred.

The two large groups containing the blind figures are of Belisarius.

'The Young Gardeners,' from a painting by an English artist.

'The Chocolate Girl,' from the Dresden Gallery.

'The Nymph of the Waterfall,' from a painting by D. Maclise.

'The Grape Gathering of Capu,' from a painting by Rudoll Lehmann. [This is a single female figure.]

'John Knox administering the Sacrament,' from an unfinished painting by Sir D. Wilkie.

'Titian in his Study,' from a painting by Robert Fleury.

'Cupid Disarmed,' from a painting by W. Hilton.

Hogarth's Laughing Audience.

'Lady Jane Peel,' for obtaining permission to engrave whom, Sir Thos. Lawrence received £150.

Many of the above are selected from the Art Union.

The following description of the Screen was given by a visitor:—

'On entering the room, what a confused mass of beauties are spread before us!—confused for an instant, but examination soon discloses order amid apparent confusion, arrangement where all seems left to chance. When I tell you that you behold, on one surface, the veiled Egyptian, the elegant Parisienne, the lovely English woman, in all the charms of domestic life, the cathedrals and college edifices of England, together with the most recent edifices of the Metropolis of England, and the principal and principality cities of the provinces, the marble representations of all that has charmed the ages, from Diana down to the children of Her Majesty; the cottage homes of England, and the lordly seats of her nobility; the costumes of the foreign peasantry, and the manly grandeur of our own yeomanry; her Majesty, (Queen Victoria,) now surrounded by her Ministry, now relaxing at the Opera, and now amid the caresses of her family; the winner at the principal horse races, and the lady sitting in the parks; together with the cows, buffaloes, fairies and fairy-like ladies; all displayed on the richest scarlet and blue, you may imagine that you have before you a melee, capable of interesting the most *indifferent*, instructing the best informed, and of beguiling the longest and most solitary hours of sickness.'

ANTI-SLAVERY LADIES.

You are again called upon to bring up your gifts and your offerings and sacrifice upon the altar of freedom. Let not one of willing hearts, and let her who cannot bring the temple's tribute, bring a turtle dove, or a young pigeon.

When you are forbidden by the laws of your country to give bread to the weary one fleeing from bondage, seek other outlets to your charity; send food to the Anti-Slavery Bazaar, and it will be sold for his benefit, and in this way aid and comfort him. Contributions from every article that is found upon your table, in your cellars and larders, will be thankfully received, and made over to the slave's account.

The history of the past year ought not to weaken your endeavors, but nerve you, rather, for greater efforts. Women can do much; even the most humble can at least set apart something from their skill and toil, for this cause; and if they have kept themselves informed of the conflict that is now going on between Freedom and Slavery—if they see Slavery every where rampant in our country, they will be glad thus to manifest their sympathy with the wronged, and their appreciation of the right.

As many of the anti-slavery ladies, who have heretofore contributed so munificently liberally to the Boston Bazaar, may this year, on account of their proximity to Worcester, pour in their streams of benevolence upon the heart of the Commonwealth, the Fair at Worcester being nearly simultaneous with the one in Boston, it is hoped that many other individuals and towns, who are nearer the latter, or brought near by railroads, will pour their charitable contributions into Boston, the heart of the anti-slavery enterprise. From them, an extra supply will be expected of milk, butter, cheese, poultry, eggs, fruit, coffee, tea, sugar, bread, apples, candies, &c. &c., for the cold cells of the Boston REFRESHMENT TABLE.

RALLY TO THE BAZAAR FOR THE RESCUE OF THE BLACK HUNGARIANS OF AMERICA, AND THE FUGITIVE KOSSUTHS PURSUED BY BLOODHOUNDS!!

☞ The Anti-Slavery Bazaar is now open in the grand Assembly Hall in Albany Street. It presents (besides the most brilliant attractions) a true test of the actual amount of genuine sympathy that is felt in this section for down-trodden humanity. Swell the receipts to an unprecedented sum by your presence and purchases, O friends of liberty, without regard to complexional distinctions! DO ALL YOU CAN!

OUR FRIENDS IN THE CITY AND COUNTRY, who have any spare clothing, suitable for the necessities of those whom this nation robs and oppresses, will please remember that we have frequent calls from this class of persons. Any articles of either men's or women's wearing apparel may be sent to the anti-slavery office, 21 Cornhill.

Two Maps are here, who desire to obtain places for the winter. One of them is qualified to do out-of-doors work generally; the other is accustomed to in-door work. Early application is desirable.

THE CHRISTIANA TREASON TRIALS ABANDONED. The treason trials at Philadelphia were brought to an abrupt termination by the rendition of a verdict of Not Guilty in the case of Castner Hanaway. The jury were absent but a few moments.

In the Circuit Court, Dec. 12th, application was made for the discharge of the Lancaster men, in custody for being concerned in the Christiana riot. The District Attorney announced that all will be held to answer the charge of misdemeanor, and that, when against whom detainers have been entered by the authorities of Lancaster county, will be sent there to take their trials for murder, as speedily as the ends as may be determined on. The District Attorney said he was determined distinctly to test the question whether a person is or is not a fugitive, and which a forcible resistance to the law is recognised by it.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTIONS.

NEW SERIES.

PLYMOUTH.

Saturday Evening and Sunday, Dec. 20 and 21.

In connection with meeting of Old Colony Anti-Slavery Society *See Notice.*

GEORGETOWN, (Essex Co.)

Saturday Evening and Sunday, Dec. 27 and 28.

This meeting will be attended by George W. Putnam, and Alonzo J. Grover, Agents of the Massachusetts A. S. Society.

OLD COLONY A. S. SOCIETY.

FOREFATHERS' DAY!

The approaching anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrim Forefathers will be celebrated, by the members and friends of the Old Colony A. S. Society, in Old Plymouth, on the 20th and 21st of December, 1851: "The abolitionists of Plymouth County have, in their celebrations of this eventful day heretofore, made the occasion one of deep and stirring interest, and worthy of the heroic spirit of the Pilgrim Fathers. The present meeting will, undoubtedly, be of equal interest and importance. All persons, without distinction of sect or party, who feel that they are with us, and take part in our deliberations. Abolitionists throughout the State are particularly invited to be present.

The following persons have engaged to be present: Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Edmund Quincy, Stephen S. Foster, Parker Pillsbury, C. C. Burleigh, N. H. Whiting, and James N. Buffum.

BOURNE SPOONER, *President.*

H. H. Barnes, *Secretary.*

South Abington, Nov. 30, 1851.

☞ THE DAY—the occasion—the SPEAKER—should not these unite to summon all Pilgrim Hill Hill, like a strong bugle-blast, the friends of impartial liberty throughout Plymouth and the neighboring Counties? Who needs to be quickened in a crisis like this? O for a double portion of the fearless, self-sacrificing, indomitable spirit of the Mayflower Pilgrims, to aid and encourage us in our protracted struggle with the demoniacal Slave Power of our country!

The train leaves the Old Colony Depot, in Boston, on Saturday, at half past 6 o'clock, A. M., and at half past 4, P. M. There will be no extra train, and no reduction of fare.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETINGS.

☞ GEORGE W. PUTNAM and ALONZO J. GROVER, Agents of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, are now in Essex County, and will hold the following meetings at the times and places indicated below:—

Hamilton,	Friday,	December 19.
Topsfield,	Saturday,	" 20.
Ipswich,	Wednesday,	" 24.
Byfield,	Thursday,	" 25.

and at Georgetown on Saturday evening, and through the day Sunday, 27 and 28.

TO THE LADIES.

AMONG the many improvements of the day, the one for the better promotion of female comfort is one of no little moment of life, and of considerable part. These ladies who regard comfort, purity and delicacy, as worthy of their attention, will be pleased to learn that the same can be attended to by

MRS. M. CHOATE,

MIDWIFE AND PHYSICIAN,

an educated practitioner, and a graduate of the Boston Female Medical School.

She will also attend to diseases peculiar to her sex, and spare no pains to render herself attentive and skilful in her profession.

☞ No. 20 Bennet street, Boston.

December 19 tf

Phrenology.

DR. N. WHEELER

WILL continue his lectures on this subject, accompanied by a public examination of heads, every Saturday evening, commencing at half past 7 o'clock. Admittance 12 1-2 cents for a gentleman and lady. Office for professional examinations and verbal, or written delineations of character, including charts, 245 Washington street, Boston. Classes formed to teach the science of Phrenology.

POETRY.

For the Liberator.

THE NEGRO.

BY W. HATHAWAY.

No spot where the black man can live,
No shelter to which he can flee;
No home that protection can give,
In all this wide land of the free;
No mountain, no hillock or glen,
No island, no valley or plain,
Where Negroes may stand up as men,
Where Blacks are not bound with a chain.

No refuge for them but the grave,
No help but the rest of the tomb;
The Negro is ever a slave,
His sun ever shrouded in gloom.
The winds of the South bear his groan,
The breeze of the North bears his sigh,
He has neither friends nor a home,
But Home and the Friend that's on high.

But, Afric, brood not o'er the past,
Gaze into the future afar,
Though darkness be over it cast,
Beyond, there is beaming a star.
Thou shortly shalt see it arise,
To brighten thy earth with its blaze,
To scatter the gloom of thy skies,
And bring to thee halcyon days.

Though God is a being of love,
His justice to man shall not cease;
Thy prayers have ascended above,
And thou shalt have answers of peace.
But woe to the nation whose laws
Have given no comfort nor rest,
When God shall remember the cause
Of those who are sorely oppressed!

Lockport, N. Y., Dec. 5, 1851. W. H.

KOSSUTH.*

BY J. G. WHITTIER.

Type of two mighty continents! combining
The strength of Europe with the warmth and glow
Of Asian song and prophecy—the shining
Of Orient splendors over Northern snow!
Who shall receive him? Who, unblushing, speak
Welcome to him, who, while he strove to break
The Austrian's chain from Magyar necks, struck off,
At the same blow, the fetters of the serf,
And reared the altar of his father-land
On the broad base of justice, and thereby
Lifting to Heaven a pure and honest hand,
Mocked not the God of Battles with a lie!
Who shall be Freedom's mouth-piece? Who shall give
Her welcoming cheer to the Great Fugitive?
Not he, who, all her sacred trusts betraying,
Is scourging back to Slavery's hell of pain
The swarthy Kossuths of our land again!
Not he, whose utterance now, from lips designed
The bugle-march of Liberty to wind,
And call her hosts beneath the breaking light—
The keen reveille of her morn of fight—
Is but the deep bass of the blood-hound's baying,
The brute's hoarse howl behind the bondman's flight!
Oh! for the tongue of him who lies at rest
In Quincy's shade of patrimonial trees,
Last of the Puritan Tribunes, and the best!
To lend a voice to Freedom's sympathies,
And hail the coming of the noblest guest
That Old World Wrong has given the Young World
of the West!

* It can scarcely be necessary to say, that there are elements in the character and history of the great Hungarian leader eminently worthy of the admiration of even those who question the expediency and rightfulness of an appeal to the sword for the redress of political wrongs.

From the N. Y. Evening Post.

A WELCOME TO KOSSUTH.

Once in an age a mind appears,
That seems by will of Heaven ordained
To gather in the thoughts of years,
And show to man what man hath gained.

And, be he martyr at the stake,
Or hero on the well-fought field,
Millions do battle for his sake,
And know not to retreat or yield.

But, gaining on the Future still,
Old errors fall before their way—
Like clouds before the sun, until
The morning broadens into day.

Such was our Washington, who stood
Before mankind, with purpose high,
And showed them how to carve the good
From forth the age then rolling by.

Since his, no name in patriot ranks
Hath shown with milder, steadier ray,
Nor more deserved the bondman's thanks,
Than his who is our guest to-day.

A welcome, then, to our free land,
Unto the Magyar, tried and true!
Though foiled himself, the good he planned
The Future yet shall carry through!

From the Evening Post.

KOSSUTH.

BY JAMES LINEN.

Give the Magyar a welcome, ye sons of the free,
Since his life is devoted, O Freedom, to thee!
Bless the hero that comes to her blood-purchased soil,
Where no king can enslave, and no tyrant despoil.(1)
Give the Magyar a welcome with heart and with hand,
Where each man is a monarch who lives in the land;
Let him feel that the flag which floats o'er him in
pride,
Wraps the brave in its starry folds, graceful and wide.
Though he comes not in pomp, though he comes not
in power,
To be gazed at by crowds for a brief passing hour,
There's a halo around him, a spell in his name,
That may yet the down-trodden of Europe inflame.
Though he hears not the drum and the bugle of war,
Let the winds waft the shouts of his welcome afar;
They may wake the hushed spirit of Freedom again,
And her songs be re-echoed on mountain and plain.
Hard on Hungary's neck rests the Autocrat's heel;
Deep in Hungary's heart reeks the Austrian's steel;
Her people are crushed, and her banners are riven,—
Oh! why sleep the bolts of the vengeance of Heaven?
Perjured monarchs may prate, and their minions de-
ride
The soul-strivings of millions with Right on their side;
They may stagger with blood like the drunkard with
wine,
But where shall their thrones be when freemen com-
bine?
Sooner waves of the ocean their murmurs may cease,
Or the tiger in mercy its victim release,
Ere the despots of Europe would slacken the yoke
Till shivered to atoms by Freedom's bold stroke.
Then, O welcome brave Kossuth, ye favored of earth,
For he fought like your sires for the land of his birth;
May the flame that he kindled unquenchably burn,
Until Honor and Glory shall hail his return.

New York, Dec. 2, 1851.

(1) Three millions three hundred thousand chattel slaves in this country, and yet 'no tyrant to despoil,' and 'each man is a monarch'!!!—*Ed. Lib.*

The Liberator.

For the Liberator.

THE CHRISTIAN IDEAL OF WOMANHOOD:

An Essay read by Sallie Holly, *at the Commencement Exercises of the Ladies' Department of Oberlin College, August 26th, 1851.*

'I saw her upon nearer view,
A spirit, yet a woman too!
A being breathing thoughtful breath,
A traveller between life and death.
The reason firm, the temperate will,
Endurance, foresight, strength and skill;
A perfect Woman, nobly planned,
To warn, to comfort and command,
And yet a spirit still, and bright,
With something of an angel light.'
Wordsworth.

Hans Christian Anderson tells a beautiful and richly significant story of 'The Ugly Duck,' that was so frightfully homely in her personal appearance that other ducks declined associating with her. So, after a few weeks' life of uncomfortable disquiet, and trials that painfully lacerated her tender sensibilities, she resolved to leave home and seek fortune elsewhere. Accordingly, one day she set out, and patiently pursued her journey until nightfall, when, worn and weary with the fatigue and 'dust of travel,' she found herself before the open door of a small hut, and humbly asked admittance. She was kindly received and hospitably entertained. The inmates of the hut proved to be a cat, a hen, and an old lady. After a good night's repose, the little duck awoke much refreshed. In the morning, as she was standing looking out of the open door, she observed that, at a little distance off, a river of clear, sparkling water rolled by. Then, turning to the hen, with a countenance all beaming with enthusiastic joy, as if it was in her nature to expect sympathy, she announced her desire to have the luxury of a swim upon its delightful surface, already fluttering her wings in glad anticipation. Whereupon, the hen, with a look of unbounded surprise, and with dignified gravity of deportment, declared she had never in her life heard any one talk in such style before; and that, for impropriety and absurdity, it exceeded any thing which had come to her knowledge. She entreated the little duck not to think of any such extraordinary conduct, especially while with them. 'It would be a town talk'—'People would think her crazy'—'She would bring odium upon the whole family.' 'You don't see,' continued the hen, 'the cat, nor the old lady, *to say nothing of myself*, behaving in that kind of way.' 'O, but,' put in the little duck, 'it is *so* delightful to feel the clear water splashing and tossing and sparkling over my head and wings. My whole nature craves it.' 'Nonsense,' replied the hen, 'it is all ridiculous, romantic nonsense. Besides, don't you know that it is very impertinent and unbecoming in a little duck like you, of such short experience of life, to set up to have any opinion of your own upon the subject. Look at the cat and the old lady, to say nothing of myself. You don't hear any of us wishing to go into the water.' And then the story goes on, informing us how, in after life, the ugly (and, to the hen, *ultra*) little duck, comes out a large, beautiful, white swan!

To our minds, this hen not inaptly represents that class of persons, who, through misapprehension, and entire want of appreciation of the wants and necessities of woman's nature, gravely assume to mark out her sphere, and limit the boundaries of her action. Woman, in attempting to assume the responsibilities of an individual—in attempting to emancipate herself from long-cherished dependence upon her brother, has been greatly misunderstood and misrepresented, as being antagonistic to man. Antagonism to man is no part of the woman's rights reformer's doctrines. They hold that every influence that increases the strength of her mind—that every influence that broadens the sphere of her activities, adds a proportional strength and breadth to the mind and action of man. There is no clashing among all the higher and nobler interests of man and woman. All are in grand and beautiful consonance and harmony with each other. The well-being and elevation of one are mutually dependent upon those of the other; and if restraint is imposed upon either in any department of being, just so much of the life and energy of the other is crippled in the same or some other department of his being. All human interests are identical. In the words of James Russell Lowell—

'Laboring man and laboring woman
Have one glory, and one shame;
Every thing that 's done inhuman
Injures all of them the same.'

That prevalent opinions and customs are highly unfavorable to the moral and intellectual development of woman, is the dawning sentiment of all the liberal and philanthropic minds of the age. True culture, in woman as in man, consists in the full and free development of individual character, regulated by individual perception of what is true and of what is good. This individual responsibility is rarely acknowledged, even by the most refined, as necessary to the spiritual progress of woman. I once heard an 'Address to Ladies,' that illustrated this idea. The speaker said many beautiful things. He most eloquently urged us to self-improvement—to mental and moral progress. He reminded us that though our spheres were humble and obscure, yet we need not consider any amount of culture superfluous; that even the talents of an archangel might be all employed in the most retired and secluded life—so priceless and invaluable is the life of immortal mind. But the *incentive*, the *motive* to all this was, the possibility that we might, one day, become serviceable to *great men!* Might be the sister of an Oliver Cromwell!—the mother of a Washington! Now, if such reasoning were addressed to young men, the insult and absurdity would be manifest at once. Imagine young men urged to mental and moral elevation by the hope of one day being father to a Hannah Moore, brother to a Harriet Martineau, uncle to a Dorothea L. Dix. Not but that it is laudable, and may be one of the inspiring motives for either man or woman, to aim to be nearly related to the great and good. I only protest against its being set forth as the exclusive 'and exceeding great reward' of woman. The most efficient influence in realizing a true and noble ideal of life must be, earnest and living faith in God—in the power of truth—in individual immortality. Whatever strengthens these is the 'very gate of heaven.' The common burden of humanity, which we all have to bear, is to unfold all the capacities of our being. We may grow up under the sheltering care of parents and of kindred; we may lean on friends; we may be amused by acquaintances; we may be made happy by those we love; yet to this conclusion do we all come at last—that each one must find out what life is, for himself and for herself. There is a sense in which we each meet life alone, as truly as that alone we must pass through the 'sacred trance' of death. No one doubts that man gathers strength and sustenance from his aloneness with the everlasting Father; but somehow or other, it seems to be supposed that all the good gifts from God to woman are valueless—or, at least, doubtful—unless man is the receiving medium. In accordance with this idea, we almost every where see marriage held up as the only object of a woman's life. She is constantly exhorted to press forward toward the mark for this prize of her high calling. A true marriage is beautiful and desirable. I believe, in the millenium, every body will be married. But now, alas! all outward marriages are not real ones. Who of us has not been saddened at the spectacle so often presented of artificial union in married life—the enforced constancy of unsympathising beings—hearts dying out in the long struggle of an uncongenial bond? And who will dare deny that this is one dreadful consequence of the present utterly false estimate of female character and capacity? Whatever awakens thought and develops the spiritual nature, is a blessing, and marriage, only so far as it does this, is a blessing. It should be regarded and reverenced as one grand means of immortal improvement, of educating the undying spirit.—Hearts that are warmed in the homes of earth are best prepared to love God.

It is a matter of hopeful promise, that the unequal position of woman with regard to property is being more and more recognized; and various State Legislatures in this country have attempted to do her justice in this respect, with more or less success. Still, almost every widow will tell you a tale of legal oppression. Men complain that their veneration, their reverence for woman, is awfully shocked when any allusion is made to her assuming the care, the responsibility of her own property. Like the worshippers of Buddh, the object of their affectionate idolatry is disenchanted of its lovely attributes—of the happiness of its position—of its felicitous exaltation, at the mere hint of having any trouble of exertion! The Siamese shake their heads, and declare that the God of the Christians must be very unhappy, he has so much care—so much to do and see to! But, in the words of another, 'I seek the real, the practical, the tangible. I am weary of empty words. Indulgence, gallantry, flattery,—these are but gay and sunshine courtiers. Grave, sober-eyed *justice* is worth them all. How much is there that is pharisaical in this appearance-loving age of ours! We strain at a gnat—we swallow a camel. Yet it avails nothing now, any more than in Jesus' time, to make clean the outside of the cup and platter, while within is all uncleanness. It is pitiable, and evinces narrow and distorted views, to talk of 'reverencing' weakness, either moral, intellectual or physical; or to say that 'woman is indebted for all the gracefulness of her nature to masculine authority.' The true instincts of the soul always prefer 'angels that excel in strength.' Though we may be pleased for the passing hour with mere doll and parlor ladies, yet it is the intellectual and spiritual woman, full of heroic strength, that enchains our highest esteem and ever during admiration. I know, some gentlemen profess to be 'repulsed and disgusted' by intellectual energy and force of understanding (or, as they term them, 'masculine qualities') in woman; and, as the climax of their disapprobation, aver that 'they would not choose such women for wives.' Such men are defective themselves—of perverted education and gross association. When the world's great reformers seek the aid and counsel of woman, they do not feel 'repelled' and 'disgusted' with reason and judgment in woman. See the noble Wilberforce in the British Parliament gratefully acknowledging his indebtedness to the force of reasoning and clear understanding of Elizabeth Heyrick; and our own beloved Channing conferring in the anti-slavery halls of Boston and Philadelphia with that (to use his own language) 'beautiful example of womanhood, Lucretia Mott.' True intellectual strength, as well as moral loveliness, let her be where she may, always surrounds a beautiful woman like a glory. And notwithstanding all the loud talk about the exalted position and enviable distinctions conceded to woman in this country, she still occupies a degrading and disgraceful stand-point, as the light of coming ages will all too surely show. This debarring woman from all voice and power and presence in affairs of civil government, in Senate chambers and Congressional halls, is a blunder so great, that it is even now attracting the serious and earnest attention of philanthropists, philosophers, theologians and metaphysicians, nay, even political economists, in the old world and in the new. The hour cometh when she shall occupy her rightful position there. My heterodoxy of to-day will be your orthodoxy of to-morrow. As Mr. Goodell would say, 'Get rid of the destiny of the world, if you can'!

Blessed be God! the spirit of coming ages is beckoning to woman, saying, 'Come up higher!'—'Come up higher!' Let us cherish a high and generous idea of the dignity, duty, responsibility and true honor of woman. Be not deceived! The full exercise of *all* the intellectual, moral and immortal powers of woman, as well as man—the perfect development of the reason, judgment, understanding, conscience, will, sensibility, and all the rich affections of the spiritual nature, in *woman*, no less than in man, is one of the most glorious objects of contemplation in the mind of the Supreme Being himself. And with reference to this, he has created and governs the whole outward universe. For this the heavens are filled with splendor, and the earth decorated with beauty. For this, holy ones of old were raised up and enabled to set before their fellow-beings the brightest examples of devoted virtue. For this, Jesus manifested his characteristic divinity, in suffering, in sympathizing, in loving, in forgiving, in promising, dying and reviving. Welcome the glad hour when this glory of the Lord shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea! The full and free action of all the best attributes of *humanity* is the only broad, deep and enduring foundation of happiness—the only solid and indestructible basis of the most polished, magnificent and ornamental pillars in the most superb fabric of human enjoyment. The means of enlarging our souls to the whole circle of human charities, and thoroughly awakening within them all those social and spiritual wants, the full supply of which must for ever constitute the bliss of heaven!

THE BIBLE QUESTION.

Norristown, (Pa.) Nov. 30, 1851.

Esteemed Liberator:

With great respect for the paper and its editor, I ask the privilege to notice very briefly the sentiments of Daniel Foster on Biblical authority. I do this with no desire to impeach his motives—I have no right to do so; but to record my earnest protest against the tendency of his views, calculated, as it seems to me, to unsettle and confound the simple and salutary faith of those who read and reverence the Bible. This book is so much more pure and more authoritative than the wrangling discussions and hesitant suggestions of philosophers, ancient and modern, that I hope and pray it may be exalted, rather than degraded, in the reverent affection of mankind. Macaulay informs us that the attempted invasion of England by the Duke of Argyle was controlled by the squabbles of a debating club in the heart of his camp, of which the Duke was only a member, instead of asserting the supreme command. Let James II. represent the devil, and the virtuous Argyle and his debating club the benevolent philosophers and speculative priests, and then consider the result of their effort, and you will understand my conception of the power of human opinion to overthrow sin, and save the world. Let there be given a supreme and accepted standard of faith and duty, as Jesus, the Savior, in my judgment, gives the Old Testament, by quoting it at large, and embodying its doctrines in the sublime dogma, 'Thou shalt love the Lord,' &c., and we have an authority which awes the bold, nerves the timid, and concentrates all the moral force of the world upon any point of attack. Now, Mr. Foster, if I understand him, wants none of this; but makes equally good men equally inspired.

While he writes very well himself, he seems to teach that words convey no definite instruction; at least, have no permanent meaning. So it follows that every man must have his own revelation, not couched in words, or, if verbally expressed, to be changed at short intervals. In brief reply to this, I think, the propositions, 'In the beginning, God created the heaven and the earth,' and 'God said, let there be light, and there was light,' convey a *plain*, *eternal* and *sublime* meaning; the best possible *primary* definition of his nature and power.

Mr. Foster's seeming idea, (for, on his own theory, I am not bound to understand him right,) that a revelation from God must be palpably and perfectly excellent in its style, language and arrangement, as well as matter, appears contradictory of his dogmas, that language cannot clearly and permanently represent any thing. Besides, it disagrees with the analogies of nature. God has not made the face of the earth so beautiful or so fruitful as He might have made it. Many creatures are venomous and loathsome. Human beings are rarely so graceful or dignified in form and movement as He might have made them.

Now, if God has chosen to give a revelation, why not, like His other works and ways, liable to exceptions, at least, those of a cavilling spirit? Why not permit some difficulty in matters spiritual, as well as physical truth and laws?

Sharp things are said of the extreme absurdity of the declaration, that God required Abraham to sacrifice Isaac. Now, I can conceive if an articulate voice from the sky should call one to leave his country, promising safety and blessing, he should feel it was his duty to obey. If superhuman visitors should predict the utter destruction of the towns and cities of the Schuylkill valley, and at the appointed time precisely, a fiery deluge from earth and heaven should obliterate them all; and if, according to like predictions, one's wife, at ninety years of age, should bear him a son, with the promise that he should be the father of a great nation; and if the same authority that wrought all these miraculous works should require the offering of that son at the father's hand, I should feel that he ought to obey the mysterious power, believing that such power could prevent pain and restore life; and knowing that the Giver of life has a right to take it away, and to appoint the means of doing so.

The cruelty of Moses and the Hebrews is condemned, and it is deemed almost blasphemous to attribute their acts to God. Now, if it were reported that a people of three or four millions in Africa were known by the American colony there to be marching westwards towards the sea, declaring that God had commanded them to fly across the ocean; and should the news reach us that they had actually risen into the air, with no aid of science or art; and again should they soon appear on our coast, declaring that they had been appointed of God to exterminate a large part of our nation for its sins, and even myself among the number, I think reason, as well as reverence, would compel me to exclaim, 'God's will be done!' I think Mr. Foster would do the same. Yet, if the miraculous instruction and preservation of the Israelites is truly stated, they had, I think, far clearer authority for acting as they did; and Christ fully vouches for Moses' integrity and most meritorious obedience; and Mr. F. vouches for the integrity and supreme excellence of our Divine Savior.

Of the Jewish controversy about the canon, I know very little. If it amounts to no more than the intrinsic discrepancies pointed out by Mr. F., it would appear to me indeed trivial.

We are all hopeful here of the acquittal of the brave men of Christiana. The Marshal has certainly polled jurors, of whom many are almost unexceptionable men. The evidence thus far against Hanaway establishes no treason, murder, nor malice.

Your sincere friend,
SAMUEL AARON.

ADDRESS OF THE AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY TO KOSSUTH.

On Tuesday, Dec. 9th, Kossuth was waited upon by a Committee of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, who presented to him the following Address, which is doubtless from the pen of Judge Jay:—

Illustrious Exile!

The American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, by its Executive Committee, welcome you to these shores. We rejoice to see the patriot and statesman, who is first in the hearts of his countrymen, and justly endeared to the liberty-loving people of every land.

Descended from patriots, who, on resolving to deliver themselves from a foreign yoke, declared to the world that 'all men are created free, and are entitled to certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,' we honor him who promulgated a similar noble sentiment in his own country, when surrounded by despots; a sentiment which should be written in ineffaceable characters on the escutcheon of every nation under heaven: 'Every inhabitant, without regarding language or religion, should be free and equal before the law; all classes have the same privileges and protection from the law.' It is our earnest hope that you may live to see the day when the God of the oppressed will prosper your patriotic efforts, and the labors of the friends of Liberty in both hemispheres, in making these truths a practical reality, not only in Hungary, but in the United States of America, and throughout the world.

Your name, Sir, will be associated in all time with the names of patriots in every country who have contended for the rights of man, for the downfall of caste, and the overthrow of oppression. It must be to you a gratifying reflection that, on being elevated to the highest post in Hungary, you struggled fairly and openly for the rights of the people, and availed yourself of the opportunity which God had given you freely to propose, as a first measure, the emancipation of the peasantry, nobly declaring that 'Liberty must not be paid for!' The Magyar, race, influenced by your patriotism, your just appreciation of human rights, and your eloquent exhortations, proved that they were not unjust to other races, that they did not strive alone for their own freedom, but for that of every Hungarian; and the world has heard from your own lips, that the moment they became free, and enjoyed their political rights, 'they became JUST, and placed all things upon a basis of freedom and perfect equality.'

Associated as we are to carry out, by constitutional and appropriate means, the great principles avowed before the civilized world by the founders of this Republic, in their Declaration of Independence, we hail the presence of a true Son of Liberty from a far distant land, who spoke to his own countrymen, and virtually to the people of every nation, these memorable words: 'You must be strictly just, and seek your future greatness, not in the predominance of one race, but in the perfect equality of all! * * * No government can retain the confidence of mankind which does not secure to the people liberty of opinion, social order, and the impartial protection of property and person, of every class and every member of society.'

We feel animated in the discharge of duty by your commendation, while in England, of Free Associations, the off-shoots, as you justly intimate, of a people who study the Sacred Volume, 'which teaches and enables men to learn how to live'; and we feel that there is a peculiar propriety in your being welcomed to this land, and cordially addressed here, by an Association similar in principle to the British Anti-Slavery Association, since you have said, 'These associations are bound up with much of the glory of England, because it was by them that every great principle was carried in that country, from the Abolition of Slavery down to Free Trade.'

While welcoming you and your exiled countrymen to this land, we would not be unmindful of the obligations of the friends of humanity and freedom to the Sultan of Turkey, in whose dominions you found an asylum, for his refusal to surrender unfortunate fugitives to their cruel and vindictive persecutors—an example worthy of imitation by all governments into whose territories the oppressed may flee, and of all people who profess to regard the rights of man, or the principles of Christianity.

Most ardently do we hope and pray that Hungary, so dear to you and your compatriots, and so interesting to all true and consistent friends of liberty, may speedily come into possession of her inalienable rights, never again to be wrested from her; and that the down-trodden and oppressed of every nation, without regard to race or complexion, may be equally free and happy, under the benignant smiles and powerful protection of that great Being, who, as the common Father of all mankind, is no respecter of persons, and has made of one blood all nations of men, to dwell on all the face of the earth. In anticipation of the coming of these glorious events, we may say to our enslaved countrymen, and to the oppressed of every clime, the encouraging words uttered by yourself to the Hungarian people—'Yield not to despair! Be patient, hope and wait thy time! Though all men forget thee, the God of justice will not.'

May the sublime sentiments you have uttered on various occasions, with so much eloquence and power, be engraven upon the hearts of men in every part of the globe, and find a sincere and hearty response from every one who is called to lead in the councils of nations! May your great example enkindle enthusiastic devotion to liberty in this country, and throughout the world! May your happiness, and that of your beloved family, ever be the care of that Providence whose guidance and interposition you have so frequently invoked and acknowledged! May the God of nations bless your beloved country, and your companions in exile, now and forever!

On behalf and by order of the Executive Committee of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, the fourteenth day of November, Anno Domini eighteen hundred and fifty-one.

WILLIAM JAY, *Chairman.*
Lewis Tappan, *Sec'ry.*

☞ The above address was accompanied by the following letter:—

New York, Dec. 9th, 1851.

Sir:—In the peculiar position in which you are placed, as the nation's guest, we owe it to those we represent to say, the address we have had the honor of presenting to you has not been prompted by a desire to connect you with any party in this country; and, as a response might, in the opinion of some persons, seem to have that appearance, *we beg leave to remark, that no reply is desired*; at the same time assuring you that by no portion of the American people are the great and glorious sentiments announced by you, and referred to in the address, held in greater veneration than by such as acknowledge the Divine obligation of doing justice and showing mercy to all men, irrespective of race and complexion.

We have the honor to be
Your Excellency's ob't servants,
Lewis Tappan,
Joshua Leavitt,
George Whipple,
William E. Whiting,
Samuel E. Cornish,
For the Committee of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

To his Excellency, Louis Kossuth, &c. &c. &c.

KOSSUTH'S REPLY.

Gentlemen:

I thank you both for your address and your letter, and though in consequence of this letter I am fully entitled not to say more than this, yet I will offer you my humble thanks for the sympathy you have shown both for myself and the cause which I have the honor to represent. I feel highly gratified to see from your address, that you have bestowed the kindest attention upon the principles which have actuated me and my people, and that the addresses which on every occasion are presented to me, are in favor of the down-trodden cause of my country. I have confidence in being able to win your sympathy and support, for it is my desire to acquaint you that the future of Hungary rests almost with you, and the strength you will add to her cause.

By the attention you have paid to her, which I gather from your addresses,—out of yours as well as the rest,—I see that on your glorious shores our cause is much understood, and therefore my work is much facilitated. I have not to use arguments to persuade you of the justice of the cause of my country, for you are sure of its justice, and that we merit your kind sympathy and support. This is so, and for your attention to the proceedings of my dear native land, in her struggle for her just rights, I thank you; from my heart I thank you. Still more, I thank you for the position in which you have placed me, in not wishing me to connect myself with any party question. I know that you are just and generous, and will not attempt to entangle me with questions of a party character, while I remain among you. I must attend to one straight course, and not be compelled to connect myself with any principle but the one great principle of my country's liberation.

I avow that I claim for my nation the sovereign right, and independent faculty, to dispose of her own domestic affairs; and I feel it is my duty to respect the same principles in every place and in every country where I go, as I desire the principle may be respected for myself and my country, in its independence and its freedom. We are men of humble faculties, and, as far as he was concerned, he had received a great reward in having his life granted him, but he trusted that Divine Providence would ensure the right to the people, of which he was a humble member, to dispose of their own domestic affairs, and that they would gain independence, which would aid the moral welfare of the nation.

He again thanked the Committee for their kindness, and after shaking hands with all the members of the deputation, they retired.

RECEPTION OF COLORED PERSONS.

On Tuesday afternoon, 9th instant, the first delegation presented was a committee of colored persons, who, through their chairman, George Downing, presented the following Address:—

Governor Kossuth:

We appear before you to pay homage to a great principle, which you announce with so much distinctness, and uphold with so much power, the principle that a man has a right to the full exercise of his faculties and powers in the land which gave him birth; and that it is his first duty to devote all the energies of his being to maintain that right for himself and his compatriots. Around this principle you have thrown a radiance which almost clothes it with the sacredness of a new Evangel, and from your world's platform have called upon people and nations, however weak, to stand up and maintain it against whatever odds oppression and tyranny may have arrayed against it.

In the face of the distinguished example of the Pilgrim Fathers, and the many eminent men who have made this their *exile* home, we have steadily maintained this birth-home right during the last third of a century in this our native land, and will continue to maintain it until its ultimate triumph, 'for the first love of man is in his home.'

We feel that this great principle is surely gaining ground, and we hail in your person its living Apostle, who has given it voice and expression. We would express the deep sympathy we feel in you, because of the relation you sustain to Liberty. We feel that your mission is a most happy and propitious one. We see in it a part of the special ordering of Providence. The landing of the Pilgrim Fathers; our Declaration of Independence; the Revolutionary struggle, led by Washington; and the later developments of the principles of Liberty, as seen in the struggles now going on in our own country for its further advancement and application to all men, are kindred efforts.

God speed you in your mission! May Hungary be free! And we earnestly pray, that when the resurrection of your country shall indeed take place, she will clothe herself in the true vestment of Democracy, fitly prepared for her when you abolished caste, so that pure Republicanism will in her be vindicated, and every man stand an equal in the eyes of the law. Yes! illustrious patriot, may Hungary be free! May the world rejoice in her speedy disenthralment. May the joy be two-fold in that Hungary shall be redeemed,—and not Hungary alone, but with her the world—mankind.

The attention of nations is fixed upon you! At the mention of your name, tyrants tremble, the oppressed rejoice! There is not a principle advocated by you, not a word that escapes your lips, but that is caught up and wafted to every civilized nation. And deep and wide-spread is the joy felt through Europe, when you proclaim the thrilling and trumpet-toned annunciation, 'Ye oppressed nations of Europe, be of good cheer and courage.'

God moves in mysterious ways. The result of the late Hungarian struggle will be propitious to the general growth of freedom. But for your imprisonment, the world would not now be so electrified by your eloquence—by the spirit of freedom. Hungary suffers in the ordering of Providence, for the good of the whole—but her destiny is to be free.

Respected Sir, your mission is too high to be allied with party or sect; it is the common cause of crushed, outraged humanity.

May you, when you leave our shores in furtherance of your heaven-high mission, carry with you the sympathy of *all*, the active countenance of *all*.

Be assured, that as you have now our prayers, so when the time comes, we shall give you our 'liberty offering,' though it may be but the 'widow's mite.'

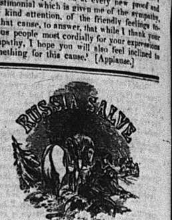
JOHN S. ZUILLE, *President.*

James McCune Smith, Geo. T. Downing,
Robert Hamilton, Jeremiah Powers,
William J. Wilson, Junius C. Morel,
John T. Raymond, William Burnett.
T. James White, } *Secretaries.*
Philip A. Bell,

RESPONSE OF KOSSUTH.

To which Gov. Kossuth made the following response:—

'I have no intention, gentlemen, to make a speech. I believe you do not expect it from me. Last night I had an opportunity to express my humble wishes, on which occasion I made propositions to the people of the United States. Now, I know the sympathy of the people of the United States for the cause which I represent, and I confidently hope they will be made aware, after the statements I made last evening, that the time for *addresses* has passed, and the time for *action* has come. And therefore I will take this very ground at every new proof and new testimonial which is given me of the sympathy, of the kind attention, of the friendly feelings toward that cause, to answer, that while I thank your generous people most cordially for your expressions of sympathy, I hope you will also feel inclined to *do* something for this cause.' [Applause.]



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CUTS,
BURNS, BRUISES,
FLESH WOUNDS, CHAPPED HANDS,
BILES, FELONS, SORES,
SORE EYES,
CHILBLAINS,
PILES,
INJURY BY SPLINTERS,
RING WORM, SALT RHEUM,
ERYSIPELAS,
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AND
YOU NEVER WILL BE WITHOUT IT
BECAUSE
The Good it Does is Felt at Once,
AND THE
CURE IS SURE AND PERMANENT.
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VEGETABLE OINTMENT
Has cured thousands of the above troubles. It has been used and sold in Boston for the last Thirty Years, and its virtues have stood the test of time.
EVERY MOTHER WITH CHILDREN
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ALL HEADS OF FAMILIES,
Should keep a Box in the Cupboard, or on the Shelf, handy to use, in
CASE OF ACCIDENT.
Price, 25 Cents per Box.
Put up in large size metal boxes, with an engraved wrapper, similar to the above engraving, without which none are genuine.
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DR. PORTER'S
Anti-Scrofulous Panacea.

ORIGINALLY made by Clark & Porter, and now offered by the proprietor for the cure of Scrofula, Humors, and chronic diseases. Put up in larger bottles than formerly, at $1 per bottle, or $5 for six bottles. To those who are really poor, we will furnish the medicine at a reasonable discount. If they wish to consult us, we will with pleasure give them advice gratis. All diseases treated on botanic or eclectic principles.

☞ Among the many certificates that have been given to the surprising efficacy of the Anti-Scrofulous Panacea is one from William Lloyd Garrison, Esq., the Editor of the Liberator, who has tested it in his own case, and known of its good effects in other instances, and who strongly commends it to public patronage.

Prepared and sold by Drs. SKINNER & PORTER, No. 11 Washington street, foot of Cornhill, Boston. Medical office in the same building. Office hours from 9, A. M. to 5, P. M.

June 11 tf

WORCESTER
Eye and Ear Infirmary.
DR. STONE,
Oculist and Aurist,

CONTINUES to devote particular attention to all diseases and affections of the EYE and EAR, at No. 2, MAPLE STREET, WORCESTER.

He operates for Squint Eye, for Cataract, for Fistula of the tearduct; and inserts Artificial Eyes of the most life-like and natural appearance.

He treats Deafness on the most recent modern principles, as practised by celebrated Aurists, Cramer, Curtis, and Yearsly, of Europe. Upwards of two hundred cases of deafness have been successfully treated, and hearing restored by him, since the commencement of this Institution.

☞ DR. STONE likewise attends to all general practice. ☞ The best of references given. Office hours from 10, A. M., to 4, P. M.

November 14 1y

Practical Phrenology.

The best Daguerreotypes are those of the mind; and the highest prosperity is to know and improve ourselves.

JAMES LOW, *Practical Phrenologist*, will make professional examinations, and supply charts, with verbal or written descriptions of character, capabilities, virtues and defects of those who are desirous of knowing why and wherefore they exist; and what situations in life they are best adapted to occupy.

Parents will find a Phrenological examination of their children an invaluable aid in training them up in the way they should go, and in selecting for them those occupations in which they are best qualified to succeed.

Office, No. 21 School street. Attendance day and evening.

November 21 4t

BOOKS.

BELA MARSH, No. 25 Cornhill, has for sale the following valuable books, viz:

The Slave, or Memoirs of Archy Moore,
The Branded Hand, by Capt. Jonathan Walker,
Picture of Slavery for young persons, by do.,
History of the Mexican War, (including 'Facts for the People,') by L. Moody,
Narrative of Henry Watson, a Fugitive Slave,
The Church As It Is, by Parker Pillsbury,
Letter to the People of the United States on Slavery, by Theodore Parker,
Parker's Discourse, occasioned by the death of John Quincy Adams,
Conscience and Law: or a Discussion of our comparative Responsibility to Human and Divine Government, by Rev Wm. W. Patton,
Spooner's Argument on the Unconstitutionality of Slavery,
Spooner's Defence for Fugitive Slaves against the Acts of Congress of February 12, 1793, and September 18, 1850,
The Three Chief Safeguards of Society, a Sermon by Theodore Parker,
Parker's Fast Day Sermon—The Chief Sins of the People,
The Great Harmonia, vol. 2—The Teacher, by A. J. Davis,
The Philosophy of Spiritual Intercourse,
do do of Special Providence—A Vision,
Heat and Light for the Nineteenth Century,
The Auto-Biography of Henry C. Wright,

Aug. 29.

HOME SCHOOL.
MR. AND MRS. MAY

CAN receive into their Home School, after the 1st of December, a few young, well-disposed Boys, to educate. A kind interest will be taken in the morals and habits of those entrusted to their care. Terms for English branches, including Drawing, (and board,) $2 50 per week. An additional charge will be made for tuition in the Latin, French, German, or Spanish Language. The most satisfactory references can be given, if required.

Apply to CHARLES MAY, Milford, (Hopedale,) Mass.

Milford, November 4, 1851.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.

THIS is to certify, that I have, from this date, given my son, Franklin Washington Ward, his time, and shall henceforth neither claim his wages nor pay his debts. ALVAN WARD.

Ashburnham, Nov. 24, 1851.