THE LIBERATOR
IS PUBLISHED
EVERY FRIDAY MORNING,
AT THE ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, 21 CORNHILL,
BY
Robert F. Wallcut, General Agent.

TERMS—$1 50 per annum, in advance.

All remittances are to be made, and all letters relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to be directed, (post paid,) to the General Agent.

Five copies will be sent to one address for $10 payment to be made in advance.

Advertisements making less than ten lines, inserted three times for $5 cts.—one square for $1 00.

The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and Ohio Anti-Slavery Societies are authorized to receive subscriptions for the Liberator.

Financial Committee.—FRANCIS JACKSON, ELLIS GRAY LORING, EDMUND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHILBRICK, WENDELL PHILLIPS. [This Committee is responsible only for the financial economy of the paper—not for any of its debts.]

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.

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

"YOU IT cannot be denied—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their entrance into the Constitution, three special provisions to secure the perpetuity of their dominion over their slaves. The first was the immediate one, that, in lieu of preserving the African slave trade; the second was the stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves—an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for slaves—in 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, with the infection of riches and slavery. It is oligarchical 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, PROPAGATION AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND. J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

VOL. 52. BOSTON, MASS., FRIDAY, DECEMBER 26, 1851. WHOLE NO. 1094.

Selections.

DEBATE IN THE U. S. SENATE IN RELATION TO KOSSUTH.

SENATE—Dec. 9, 1851.

SPEECH OF WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

I have said that I should postpone a discussion of this question on the merits at this present time, and adverse, in the first place, simply to the circumstances under which it comes before Congress.

If the distinguished personage whose name it bears, the origin of this resolution to honor had floated up on our shores unbidden and unheralded, there would have been no great embarrassment in suffering his arrival to pass unnoticed by Congress. But the case is widely different. The Congress of the United States found him a prisoner in Asia Minor, an exile from his native land, in an effort for the redemption of which he had fallen. They caused the President of the United States to express to him the sympathy of Congress with him in his exile and misfortunes; and they tendered to him an invitation to come to America as an asylum, in one of the vessels of the public navy. The President of the United States executed these instructions, and, in pursuance of that, it is known to all the world that Kossuth was liberated from his captivity, and is now upon our shores. The President of the United States, in anticipation of his arrival, informed Congress, on their assembling at the present session, that he had executed their instructions, and that the arrival of this illustrious man was hourly expected; and he recommended to Congress to take into consideration the proper manner and ceremonial of receiving him who had been brought here under their authority. This of itself was sufficient to engage the attention of the world, and to call for the action of Congress in relation to the personage whose name and fame at this time fills the eye and ear of the world. But the action of the government has not stopped here. In pursuance of its recommendation, and at the instance of the President and the administration, the subject has been urged in this chamber. A resolution has been offered upon the question submitted by the President. Under such circumstances, absolute silence would amount to nothing short of neglect; and neglect would be liable to be construed, in my judgment, into indignity. It is under these circumstances that this question comes before Congress. And I am sure that it is not the intention of the Senate, that their treatment of Louis Kossuth should be capable of being construed into indignity. It is not, I hope, the intention of the Senate, that in the infliction of a wound upon the generous and noble heart of a friend to liberty, whose gratitude we had prized and cultivated, we should have so much as unkindled the expectation of a warm, and generous, and cordial welcome. Such would be the effect upon him. The effect upon his country would be to stifle the feeling of affection and gratitude, which the expression of sympathy in their misfortunes thus far has awakened. The effect of it would be to disappoint the hopes and expectations of the friends of freedom throughout the world; and, finally, it would have the effect to encourage the advocates of oppression throughout Europe in their efforts to prevent the transition of the nations of Europe from under systems of force to voluntary systems of government, such as we have established and commended to their adoption. Under such circumstances, I was not at liberty to consent to be understood as being willing to allow the arrival of Kossuth in the United States to pass unnoticed; but I felt that I might put myself right, and give an opportunity to others who might agree with me in opinion to put themselves right, I have endeavored to submit a proposition which would avoid the consequences which I have endeavored to indicate, and to bring this question before Congress in a form which it seemed to me all might agree to adopt.

Now, sir, I will say a word upon the form of the proposition which is proposed by this joint resolution. It is not such a form as I myself would have originally wished. I have no particular tenacity with regard to it. The proposition submitted by the honorable Senator from Mississippi [Mr. FOOTE,] would have received my vote. It would have received it if it had been amended so as to say more, as was proposed by the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. HALE.] It would have received my vote if it had said less. It would have received it under any circumstances, if it had been proposed, as it might have endeavored to cooperate with the honorable member in scouting any amendments which might otherwise be proposed, yet that we should best secure its passage. But that has passed by; and I think it is more plain and unquestionably expressed by the Senate, in the form in which it is now, than any other in regard to the Hungarian revolution, and in regard to the hero and champion of Hungary, it is that of WELCOME to our shores as the first Western Sovereign. Taking that idea as my guide, I have sincerely submitted a form of resolution, in which Congress declare that they believe Louis Kossuth, whom they have invited hither, a cordial welcome. Less than this, Mr. President, no man can propose, who thinks it proper that a welcome to our actions have also any notice whatever of his arrival; and moreover, no man who may well be content to waive, knowing that something like this, or nothing, must pass, and that this is better than nothing.

I would have the passage of this resolution communicated to Kossuth by the President, the executive organ of the republic. Although they own feelings derive further expression, I consent to waive it. Not in consideration that the simplicity of the act will give it greater power. I know not in the history of this nation a more sublime spectacle—I know not in the history of modern times a more sublime spectacle—than would be afforded by hearing the American Congress, in the name and behalf of the American people, give to the representative of the cause of popular government in Europe a cordial welcome, on the ground that from the period of its political existence, it has been the position of this nation, and that, where that system of government is established, and in full and successful operation, it is a simplicity about it, which is worthy the dignity of the American government and the American people. There is a simplicity in it worthy the character of the illustrious citizen whom it proposes to honor. As I have said, I have no authority in regard to this measure in preference to any other, which would make me averse to accepting any other. It seems to me to be preferable, in that of the honorable Senator from Illinois, [Mr. SHIELDS,] I will undoubtedly be adopted in the House of Representatives, and will thus be a national act; and I confess I am desirous, as the Congress of the United States did bring our guest to Kossuth to be brought here under their authority, that he receive it should be a national act, and that the two houses of Congress should not be divided, but should act together in this great proceeding. This great, also, seems to commend itself to adoption by the Senate, because it stops short of committing Congress to any action beyond the words—beyond the simple [illegible] of giving Kossuth a cordial welcome. What I desire is not the utterance of words; what I want to have Congress do is to act—to extend the welcome to Kossuth which the world expects him to receive.

Objections have been made, to which I will advert very briefly. It has been said, or intimated, that we are not well aware of the merits of Kossuth—not well acquainted with the character of Kossuth—that we do not know, certainly, that he is entitled to this attention from the American people.

Mr. President, in the course of human events, we see the nature of Europe struggling to throw off the despotic system of government, and attempting to establish a government based upon the principles of republicanism or of constitutional monarchy. Whenever such efforts are made, it invariably happens that the existing despotisms of Europe endeavor to suppress the high and holy endeavor, and to subdue the people by whom it is made. The consequence is, that despotism has one common cause; and it results that the cause of civil and constitutional liberty has, in all countries, become one common cause—the common cause of mankind against despotism. Now, whatever action leads the way at any time—at any crisis—in this contest for civil liberty, it becomes, as we perceive, the representative of all the nations of the earth. We once occupied that noble and interesting position, and we engaged the sympathies of civilized men throughout the world. No one can deny that now, or recently, Hungary took that position. We saw the messenger on the sea, we saw the messenger in independence; and thus our own proceedings show that we, in common with the friends of civil liberty elsewhere, hailed Hungary as such a representative of the nations of the earth.

Mr. President, it happens, in the providence of God, wherever a nation thus assumes to open this controversy for liberty in behalf of the nations of the earth, some one man more than another becomes identified with the struggling people by his virtues, his wisdom, his valor, or his sufferings, until he eclipses all others who may be associated with him, and comes to be regarded by the country itself in whose behalf he labors, or struggles, or suffers, and is regarded by mankind as the *representative* of that nation and of that great cause.

The deliverance of Switzerland brings up the association at once of the name of William Tell; the struggle of Scotland for national independence calls up the name of Wallace; and, all over the world, in times ever leaving the impression of revolution, spoken of, but it calls up before him the majestic form of Washington; so, Mr. President, it has happened that the name of Hungary calls up at once the great and towering fame of the author, the hero, and the sufferer of the Hungarian revolution. How, then, shall we say that we do not know that Kossuth is worthy to be regarded as the friend and advocate of liberty in his own country? Shall we say that he does not merit the homage paid to him as the leader of the Hungarian revolution? Hungary herself has set the seal upon his merits, and has concluded that question; and it would be as unreasonable and absurd in us to listen to those who should disparage the fame and character of Washington, as to those who stand doubting and hesitating whether in honoring Kossuth we are really honoring the cause of liberty and the cause of his unfortunate country.

But it is asked, why should the American people engage in paying these honors to Kossuth? Granting all his merits, still he has done nothing for America. That is true, Sir; he never did anything for America; for we have reached that time when no man living out of America can confer upon us benefit. We are beyond the reach of beneficence, other than that which we may receive at the hands of the Creator and Preserver of all nations. But do we reward only those who confer benefits on us? Certainly not. We honor all those who serve the glorious cause of civil liberty everywhere, and which I think our cause, and we honor those who advance and promote it. But although Kossuth has done nothing for this country, Europe has. If it has sent us a Lafayette, a Kosciusko, a De Kalb, and a Steuben, and they have created a debt against us, which, while we cannot pay it to the illustrious dead, still we can find its recipients for the payment in the persons of the illustrious living.

I will notice a single other objection, and then I will listen to those who should disparage the fame of Kossuth. It is the apprehension that, by the adoption of this or a similar measure, the Congress of the United States would commit itself to some act of intervention in the affairs of Europe, by which, the government of the United States may be embarrassed in its foreign relations. I am a lover of peace, and I shall never freely give my consent to any measure which I think will tend to involve this nation in the calamities of a foreign war. I believe that while our mission is a mission of peace, yet that we shall best execute that mission by maintaining peace at home and peace with all mankind, and thus, by the greatness of our example, convince mankind of the excellence of the republican system. If I saw in this measure a step, in advance towards the bloody field of contention on the shores of Europe, I, for, would hesitate to take a single step in it. But I see no advance towards any such danger in doing a simple act of national justice and magnanimity.

I think that no man will deny the principle, that a nation may do for the cause of liberty in other countries whatever the laws of nations do not forbid. I plant myself upon that principle—that what the laws of nations do not forbid, any nation may do for the cause of civil liberty in any other nation and country. Now, the laws of nations do not forbid hospitality; it is the law of nations that forbid sympathy with the exile—sympathy with the overthrown champion of freedom. The laws of nature call forth and command sympathy; and, all from the very immediate sources of our nature springs up that sympathy. What is that great epic poem which has filled the second place in the admiration of mankind next to the affections—of mankind for two thousand years, but the history of an exile flying from the walls of a burning and abandoned city? It is that which, in the laws of nature require, and the laws of nations deny and, hospitality to those who flee from oppression and despot. This is all that we have done, and all that we propose to do. We have invited Kossuth here; we have procured his release from captivity; we have brought him here; and now we only propose to say to him, as we have done to us, upon our own shore, as his eyes are directed towards us, and while we know that the eyes of the civilized world are fixed upon him, even by the decisive representative of Austria. Though we have the high authority of the President, in his message, for styling our cause "Hungarian," yet we have never, in fact, made the independence of Hungary at the very time when our government declined to acknowledge it,—the resolution avoids this difficulty, and speaks of him without title of any kind—simply as a private citizen. As such, it offers him a welcome to the capital and to the country.

The country of nations I respect. To the behests of the law of nations I profoundly bow. As in our domestic affairs, all acts are bound by the Constitution, as to a touchstone, so in our foreign affairs all acts are brought to the touchstone of the law of nations—that supreme law, to which the collected civil which overarches the grand commonwealth of Christian States. What that forbids, I forbear to do. But no text of the voluntary code, which seems so much to close, can be found which forbids us to welcome any exile of freedom.

Looking at this resolution in its various lights—as a carrying out of the act of the last Congress, as justly due to the exalted character of our guest, and as proper in form, and consistent with the law of nations—I seem impossible to avoid the conclusion in its favor. On its merits it would naturally be adopted. And here I might stop.

But an impulse has been given against the resolution on grounds which seem to me extraneous and irrelevant. It has been attempted to involve it with the critical question of intervention by our country in European affairs; and some speeches in Boston and New York have been adduced to show, that such intervention has been sought by our guest. It is sufficient to say in reply to this suggestion, introduced by the Senator from Georgia with a skill which all might envy, and also by the Senator from New Jersey, that *no such intervention is promoted or implied by the resolution.* But I feel strongly on this point, and desire to go further.

Without formally joining in this tribute, let me be understood as in no respect encouraging any idea of armed intervention in European affairs. Such a system would open plains of perplexities and ills, which I dare not contemplate. I will never be called to affront. In the wisdom of Washington we may find perpetual counsel. Like Washington, in his eloquent words to the minister of the French Directory, I would offer sympathy and God-speed to all, in every land, who struggle for human rights; but, sternly as Washington on another occasion, and against every pressure, against all popular appeals, against all solicitations, against all blandishments, I would uphold with steady hand the peaceful neutrality of the country. Could I now approach our mighty guest, I would say to him, with the respectful frankness of a friend: 'Be content with the outgoing sympathy which you now so unreservedly inspire throughout this wide-spread land, and may it strengthen your soul! Trust in God, in the inspiration of your cause, and in the great future, request with wisdom for all mankind. But respect our ideas, as we respect yours. Do not seek to reverse our traditional, established policy of peace. *Do not, under the lofty impulse of your upholding, to intervention, provoke American intervention on distant European soil.* Leave us to tread where Washington points the way.'

And yet, with these convictions, Mr. President, which I have most sincerely express, I trust the Senate from long-well practice, will pardon me, if I say, that I cannot join in his proposed amendment; and for this specific reason: it attaches to an act of courtesy and welcome a condition which, however just as an independent proposition, is most ungracious in such connection. It is out of place, and every thing out of place is, to a certain extent, offensive. If adopted, it would imply, if not decry, the idea of an act. A generous hospitality will not make terms or conditions with a guest; and such hospitality, I trust, Congress will tender to Louis Kossuth.

SPEECH OF JOHN P. HALE.

Mr. President, I am desirous that this resolution should pass; and I am so desirous of its passage, that I am willing, in order to attain that result, to resign what I believe to be one of the principles of the Senate. With great deference to the Chair, I look upon the decision of the Chair as incorrect; and before I set down, I shall ask the Senate to reject that decision, and quote my authority from the Manual which decides parliamentary questions—that decision of the Chair which decides that the amendment proposed by the honorable member from Illinois [Mr. Shields,] is out of order. But, before I make this motion, I want to make a remark or two upon the question in the position in which it is now presented.

I beg to assure the honorable Senator from Mississippi, [Mr. Foote,] Sir, I am sorry to hear, that I shall use words with no secretion, no hidden, or sinister meaning. I think I can use pure English, and use language which my generous acceptance among the people of the United States, even as far South as civilization extends. (Laughter.) With no qualification at all, I am desirous that the resolution should pass. I am willing to resign, if, in the end, I pass, that I will interpose no amendment, because the honorable Senator from Michigan, (Mr. Cass,) whom I have in my eye, thinks that, on a former occasion, an amendment which I proposed proved very fatal to a resolution which he introduced. But my own opinion is, that the amendment lost strength by being tacked to his resolution, (laughter,) and that, if I should have introduced it as an original measure, I would have carried it. I shall, then, come to this resolution before me, and I want to answer what seems to be the objection to it, that it wants—

THE PRESIDENT. The Senator gave notice that he should appeal from the decision of the Chair; but the question must be taken at the time the appeal is made. The Senator from Georgia (Mr. Berrien) rose when an appeal might have been taken. The Chair will still receive an appeal, but if the discussion goes on, it will be understood that the decision of the Chair is acquiesced in.

Mr. HALE. Sir, I do not wish to embarrass the resolution, I will not take an appeal. I hope it will not be taken as a precedent; but, although I think the Chair is wrong, I will submit to the wrong, for the sake of the resolution. I will greater good—that is, the consideration of this resolution. I want to address myself to those who think this resolution ought not to pass, because it is a precedent which is to be found in the reception which was given to the justly celebrated Lafayette. Sir, I have heard no argument against the propriety of this individual; and those services entitled him to the reception which was tendered him when he visited our shores, as the representative of something more than a quarter of a century since. I want to take the case of Lafayette, and see if it is not a case in point. When the idea was first suggested to the mind of Lafayette—Here are a transatlantic people—a wide ocean (an ocean wider by a thousand miles, for all practical purposes, than it is now since the introduction of steam navigation) between him and his trans-atlantic people, who had risen with the energy of freemen to declare their rights, and were struggling for their lives to maintain those rights—if Lafayette, instead of the noble devotion and chivalry with which he threw himself into the contest, had set himself to the task of sounding the musty records of the past, to discover a precedent, how long would it have been before he would have thrown his life and will his energies into the struggle to assist in establishing freedom and the supremacy of human rights? Sir, it would have been a long time—many centuries would have passed away before such a precedent would have been found. He found none for the occasion, and the occasion made the precedent.

Now, Sir, one word with regard to precedents. What has been the history of the United States? Why, Sir, instead of following precedents, they have made precedents, and have set up their own and their destiny. The honorable Senator from Mississippi, (Mr. Foote,) it seems to me, cannot hear the word *precedent*, and sounds it so much like *President*, without calling up some thoughts between us.

Mr. FOOTE, of Mississippi (interposing.) Really, now, the gentleman is thinking of the true man to be run for the office of President! I thought it possible the idea would run in his mind, though the pronunciation is very distinct.

Mr. HALE. Well, Sir, in pronunciation I will yield to the honorable Senator from Mississippi, but in nothing else, Sir. I will go further. In dictionaries, in precedents, and in pronunciation, I will yield to him; but in nothing further, Sir. And, Sir, I think it is a little ungenerous for the honorable Senator from Mississippi to come from the field which he has so successfully won—the cotton field—with his plumed cap, and sword by his side, in the midst of the blushing honors with which his State has crowned him, with which a thing of no power cause, which were so long ago rejected. (Laughter.)

I ask him, Sir, where all these honors are heaped upon him, if he cannot enjoy them so long as he sees Mordecai the Jew sitting at the king's gate? I did hope better things of him. I had hoped that prosperity would have taught him a better lesson; but it seems that all such hopes are doomed to disappointment.

I was saying, Sir, that it has been the province of the United States not only to set up a Presidents, but precedents. I believe that the members of the Continental Congress, assembled on the 4th of July, 1776, to make and declare that they had a right to political freedom, acted entirely without precedent; a precedent was not to be found where a people had come together in peaceful convention, and throw off the restraints of that government, they had been taught to support, and to cease to render the obedience they had been accustomed to render to the mother country. But they thought not of precedents then. They were acting without a precedent, too, when,—after the justice of that declaration had been established by the sword, and after a experience of a few years of peace had told them that peace itself might become valueless without something to render its blessings more permanent and valuable,—they assembled together in the convention which framed our Constitution. They were acting entirely without a precedent. I believe you may search the history of the world, and you cannot find an instance in which the representatives of a nation came together and formed a written Constitution. It was without a precedent. It was the first time that men under which we labor of starting every sixth day, that we born into 'the Great Republic of the United States,' and cooperating to grow on, live and be in a state of prosperity, happiness and mental darkness compared with which the restraints imposed upon Hungarian freedom of action and thought were perfect freedom and the fullest liberty. Sir, I do not, in offering infirmity M. Kossuth has now proclaimed, he does not intend to 'meddle with.'

This was intended in the Reply which he would make to the Address of Mr. Lewis Tappan's Society, notwithstanding the gentle entreaties of that too benevolent and philanthropic man not, embarrass his patriotic health by such an exertion. So, again, in his Reply to the Address of the colored citizens, the exiled Hungarians of our Asylum. But to return to the Address of the colored citizens, he pays forth the Proclamation to which we have alluded. That is to say, while he is appealing to the people of the United States for their intervention between his countrymen and their tyrants, he is careful to let them know that he has no intention of intervening between them and the victim of their own tyranny. He invokes the moral power of the nation, with eighteen millions that it will be of no great avail, unless the physical power stand behind it, to control the heart and to strengthen the hands of Hungary in the conflict which he sees to be impending. And to purchase this moral, perhaps physical interference, he is willing to disclaim any intention of meddling with the nation which neutralizes its moral power. He proclaims that, as far as Slavery is concerned, his sympathy is with the Slaveholding Confederacy. And, in one of its chief Rubbies, is 'SILENCE.' He would have us feel for the robbed, peeled, hunted Magyar, and to express our sympathy for the Slave-holder who rods, while he has no sympathy for the wretched fugitive slave, and none of scorn and execration for the monster, from whose lips, in Court, or for the Woods, or Collinses and Union Safety Committee men who 'intervene' to send him back in chains!

Now, we do not deny that M. Kossuth is wise in his generation in this doubt. He certainly could not get what he came after, if he did anything else. He has a double, if not triple, object in his purpose. His mission to this country. He is a man of sense and ability. He did not come here for trumpery processions, and vapid speeches, and the sense of their promulgation. The same doctrines, when promulgated, give offence now; and they will continue to do so, until the latest period of time, if they depart from the old world and the new. They will never be pleasant and palatable; and if the people and government of the United States pander, and cater, and flatter how the expression and utterance of their sentiments may be made palatable, and avoid giving offence to those who entertain directly contrary sentiments, they will be silent, and close their mouths in eternal silence at once. It is because the utterance of these sentiments will give offence to those who are in power, and who control the destiny of liberty are uttered, that they are of value. It is because they will testify to the victims of oppression everywhere, that there is a feeling of sympathy, of commiseration, of condolence, and of respect in the hearts of all the American people with them in their misfortunes, and that they will not have their ostracism any value. And if you stop to fortify it with previous, qualifications, reservations, and explanations, and conclusions, it may be a very good special plea, but a very poor substitute for the real sympathy of the American people is to find vent, utterance, and expression.

No, Sir, let the expression of these sentiments be broad, manly, open, unqualified, and direct. Let them be expressed in the plainest terms in which the English language is capable of presenting those sentiments and ideas which to-day are beating and vibrating in the hearts of the whole American people. Let it be expressed in the ears of the great American heart, which has been moved by the advent of this man to our shores as it has not been moved for more than a quarter of a century past, and a corresponding response from the hearts of their representatives in the Senate and Congress assembled. Let us not be afraid that there is any danger of compromising ourselves, or of giving rise to any step which we may hereafter have need to retrace and retract. I trust, as has been said by a distinguished American statesman on another occasion, that he 'takes no steps backward,' such will be the language of the American Senate and the American people, that 'we take no step backward.' They have planted their banner; they are unfurled; they have written their sentiments where the world may read them, and from whence, I trust in God, that all time shall never efface them. And let it pass by to the victims of oppression and despotism in the old world, who are straining their eyes and looking with anxious and throbbing hearts to see what the only free people are on the face of the earth will do! let it never be said to them that we have hoisted, hedged, failed, and furled our glorious banner, lest the characters thereon should be obliterated by the blood of our fathers, by being repeated and routered by us, might give offence to those to whom the principles of liberty are not dear as life. I trust that, instead of going back—instead of retrograding—instead of pausing—we will make this resolution more full, more explicit, more explicit, and if the sentiments there expressed, or intended to be expressed, want more meaning, let it be given to them; and, in doing so, we do not give words to anything and everything that anybody else has said, but we do give words to the great principle of fidelity, to the great cause which was at the foundation of our revolution, and which is embodied in our Constitution. I trust that, so far as that we are prepared to go.

But as I am jealous that this resolution should pass, I will not trespass longer upon the attention of the Senate, but will give way, hoping that we may arrive at an early conclusion in reference to this matter.

From the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

KOSSUTH AND SLAVERY.

M. Kossuth has now defined his position. He has erected his platform, and proclaimed where and what it is by the sound of the trumpet. He will hereafter be known as the Hungarian Bridge of the English language is admitted, on all hands, to be most remarkable. His acquaintance with the *Jargon* language is no less extraordinary. His superlative eminence as a linguist henceforward can never be gainsaid. He is accurate in idioms and exact in phrases. He has made a Proclamation, and an Address and Resolutions of a Democratic Convention, or a Doctor of Divinity cooking up a sermon on the Religious Duty of Catholic and Protestant, and Greek and the societies of our Albert, more skillfully. 'Domestic Affairs,' 'Foreign Interference,' 'Domestic Concerns and Party Questions,' flow from his pen as if he had been a Cabinet Minister for the last 20 years. 'Tyng of his days, or had studied law with George Wood or Daniel Webster. He knows as well as Webster, or Wood, or Hamilton, or Tyng, that 'Slavery is but one affair,' 'concern,' 'question,' with which he or any other foreigner is not free to interfere in his heart's content. And he is the little tender-hearted man under which we labor of starling every sixth baby, that is born into 'the Great Republic of the United States,' and cooperating to grow on, live and be in a state of prosperity, happiness and mental darkness compared with which the restraints imposed upon Hungarian freedom of action and thought were perfect freedom and the fullest liberty. Sir, I do not, in offering infirmity M. Kossuth has now proclaimed, he does not intend to 'meddle with.'

This was intended in the Reply which he would make to the Address of Mr. Lewis Tappan's Society, notwithstanding the gentle entreaties of that too benevolent and philanthropic man not, embarrass his patriotic health by such an exertion. So, again, in his Reply to the Address of the colored citizens, the exiled Hungarians of our Asylum. But to return to the Address of the colored citizens, he pays forth the Proclamation to which we have alluded. That is to say, while he is appealing to the people of the United States for their intervention between his countrymen and their tyrants, he is careful to let them know that he has no intention of intervening between them and the victim of their own tyranny. He invokes the moral power of the nation, with eighteen millions that it will be of no great avail, unless the physical power stand behind it, to control the heart and to strengthen the hands of Hungary in the conflict which he sees to be impending. And to purchase this moral, perhaps physical interference, he is willing to disclaim any intention of meddling with the nation which neutralizes its moral power. He proclaims that, as far as Slavery is concerned, his sympathy is with the Slaveholding Confederacy. And, in one of its chief Rubbies, is 'SILENCE.' He would have us feel for the robbed, peeled, hunted Magyar, and to express our sympathy for the Slave-holder who rods, while he has no sympathy for the wretched fugitive slave, and none of scorn and execration for the monster, from whose lips, in Court, or for the Woods, or Collinses and Union Safety Committee men who 'intervene' to send him back in chains!

Now, we do not deny that M. Kossuth is wise in his generation in this doubt. He certainly could not get what he came after, if he did anything else. He has a double, if not triple, object in his purpose. His mission to this country. He is a man of sense and ability. He did not come here for trumpery processions, and vapid speeches, and the sense of their promulgation. The same doctrines, when promulgated, give offence now; and they will continue to do so, until the latest period of time, if they depart from the old world and the new. They will never be pleasant and palatable; and if the people and government of the United States pander, and cater, and flatter how the expression and utterance of their sentiments may be made palatable, and avoid giving offence to those who entertain directly contrary sentiments, they will be silent, and close their mouths in eternal silence at once. It is because the utterance of these sentiments will give offence to those who are in power, and who control the destiny of liberty are uttered, that they are of value. It is because they will testify to the victims of oppression everywhere, that there is a feeling of sympathy, of commiseration, of condolence, and of respect in the hearts of all the American people with them in their misfortunes, and that they will not have their ostracism any value. And if you stop to fortify it with previous, qualifications, reservations, and explanations, and conclusions, it may be a very good special plea, but a very poor substitute for the real sympathy of the American people is to find vent, utterance, and expression.

No, Sir, let the expression of these sentiments be broad, manly, open, unqualified, and direct. Let them be expressed in the plainest terms in which the English language is capable of presenting those sentiments and ideas which to-day are beating and vibrating in the hearts of the whole American people. Let it be expressed in the ears of the great American heart, which has been moved by the advent of this man to our shores as it has not been moved for more than a quarter of a century past, and a corresponding response from the hearts of their representatives in the Senate and Congress assembled. Let us not be afraid that there is any danger of compromising ourselves, or of giving rise to any step which we may hereafter have need to retrace and retract. I trust, as has been said by a distinguished American statesman on another occasion, that he 'takes no steps backward,' such will be the language of the American Senate and the American people, that 'we take no step backward.' They have planted their banner; they are unfurled; they have written their sentiments where the world may read them, and from whence, I trust in God, that all time shall never efface them. And let it pass by to the victims of oppression and despotism in the old world, who are straining their eyes and looking with anxious and throbbing hearts to see what the only free people are on the face of the earth will do! let it never be said to them that we have hoisted, hedged, failed, and furled our glorious banner, lest the characters thereon should be obliterated by the blood of our fathers, by being repeated and routered by us, might give offence to those to whom the principles of liberty are not dear as life. I trust that, instead of going back—instead of retrograding—instead of pausing—we will make this resolution more full, more explicit, more explicit, and if the sentiments there expressed, or intended to be expressed, want more meaning, let it be given to them; and, in doing so, we do not give words to anything and everything that anybody else has said, but we do give words to the great principle of fidelity, to the great cause which was at the foundation of our revolution, and which is embodied in our Constitution. I trust that, so far as that we are prepared to go.

But as I am jealous that this resolution should pass, I will not trespass longer upon the attention of the Senate, but will give way, hoping that we may arrive at an early conclusion in reference to this matter.

of this country have no sympathy with the oppressed classes any where. Their secret yearnings are towards Austria and Russia, and not towards Hungary. They will encounter no interference, not because of what Washington said in 1793, or to carry out any established system of policy, but because they do not want the thing done for which the intervention is invoked. They would intervene fast enough, if the interests of the Slave Power were to be so promoted. The slaveholders are not prepared to run the risk of the ruin of their cotton trade by a European war, be the pretence what it may, unless it were the security or extension of Slavery.

M. Kossuth is doomed to bitter disappointment in the result of his American mission. It is plain enough that he has nothing to expect from the Government. A dinner at the White House, a seat within the bar of the Senate, a farm at New Bedford, if any of these things move him, he can probably have them by applying to Mr. Webster. But as to any effective expression, much less action, such as he desires, he might as well ask it of M. Bedaux or the Chevalier Hulsemann. He was so to help outside of the Government. He may rest assured that he will not be permitted to levy troops; and as to his proposed loan, it is not at all likely the Government will permit it to go on, should it promise to be of sufficient amount to alarm either of the double-headed birds of prey which find fitting company in our foul roosting place. A sum sufficient for his personal wants might be tolerated, but anything that looked like the sinews of war would be cut up at once. But there is little danger of this. The slave-catching patriotism of New York may rise to the point of paying Mr. George Wood $500 for his legal services in catching and sending back poor Long; but there is small reason to expect that it will rush into a Hungarian loan to any available extent. Unless M. Kossuth can make up his mind to remain in this country as one of the cards with which the next game for the Presidency is to be played, or as the occasion and excuse of unlimited turtle-soup and champagne, at public expense, he will sooner be taken himself back to England, the better.

We always deeply regretted M. Kossuth's plan of visiting this country. We felt then, as we do now, that it was impossible, if he remained here long enough to the national Basil; and equally impracticable if he did. We knew, as perhaps he did not, that neither on the subject of Slavery in this country nor morals, social, political morality, he feared that he would injure the *prestige* of his European name, by what he would do or leave undone, while we knew he could not avoid it. He could hope from the sacrifice. In short, we knew, whether he did or not, that Slavery is the prevailing, predominant element of our institutions, and that it would be and extend hope in some shape as the condition of his very existence here, it would never risk danger or inconvenience to help Liberty anywhere. We are grieved that we should be proved a true prophet by the event. M. Kossuth, no doubt, took us, as a nation, at our own account of ourselves. If that account were true, his expectations would not have been unreasonable; but, then, we should long ago have swept Slavery out of our way and his. He will return to Europe "a sadder and a wiser man." He will have used his opportunities to little purpose, if he has not learned that Slavery can't out the heart and spirit of a nation where it is tolerated, and that a Slaveholding Republic is but a Despotism in disguise.

E. Q.

From Frederick Douglass's Paper.

KOSSUTH AND AMERICAN SLAVERY.

There is now an end to all speculations among abolitionists, as to what is the policy of Kossuth in respect to American Slavery. His great speech in New York, his unsolicited address to the committee of "the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society," his brief response to the committee of colored citizens who addressed him, settle the question. He frankly avows his determination to steer clear of the anti-slavery question in this country; and he evidently intends so to advocate the claims of his downtrodden country, as not to give offence to this nation standing on the necks of some three millions of its people. His friendship for universal liberty he does not mean shall be understood as including in its benefit range the white man's universal right to slavery in this country. His language is clear and unmistakable.

Her much sorrow we may be disposed to condemn the principles and policy thus avowed, we must commend the frankness of Louis Kossuth. His declaration, *"may others delight in the part of knight-errant,"* tells the whole story, and shows that while he is willing to advocate non-intervention in our national affairs, he would gain the co-operation of the mass of the American people in behalf of a direction gratifying to American tyrants, upon fanatical abolitionists who are but applying the great principle of freedom, which he professes to hold dear to his heart, to the institution of slavery.

It is hardly worth while to go into a discussion of Kossuth's motives. But the wisdom of his policy, and the soundness of his principles as avowed above, are matters respecting which all have a right to speak, and to speak plainly. The great Magyar, doubtless, means to be consistent. But we know of no man, whom it would be more easy to convict of inconsistency. For what has he come to this land? Not to seek an asylum, not to repose on his laurels, and not to escape the vengeance of Austrian oppressors. He nobly scorns all this, and spurns the selfishness which such purposes would imply. He tells the Americans, frankly, that he wants none of their empty adulation, that he claims no glory for himself; and that he comes here to get the American people and government to aid and cooperate with him in the great work of giving freedom to his enslaved fellow-countrymen. When told that the mission of the United States is Peace, that this government cannot consistently interfere with the government of Europe, that non-intervention is its true policy, he replies, that *this is the doctrine of Cain*; it is the cold-hearted maxim, that *"I am not my brother's keeper?"* and with argument and eloquence, surpassing in grandeur and sublimity, those of any other living orator, he turns upon the selfish abomination into fragments. Hear him:

'If the cause of my people is not sufficiently just to insure the protection of God, and the support of godwilling men—then there is no God in heaven, or the earth; a heavy curse will upon mortality fall—oppressed men despair, and only the Cains of humanity walk proudly, with impious brow, about the ruins of Liberty on earth!'

Can the man who uttered these glowing sentiments, turn a deaf ear to the cries of enslaved millions? Can he fraternize with the men who are the hunters and whippers of the image of God? Can he take the gold, stained with the blood of millions, to hire and sustain soldiers to fight for the liberties of his country? He may do so: but amid the blessings which may descend upon his name from liberated Hungary, will be showered the mingled curses of those neglected ones, whose blood-stained earnings contributed to the achievement.

KOSSUTH AND THE ANTI-SLAVERY COMMITTEE.

NEW YORK, Dec. 20, 1851.

To the Editor of the Commonwealth:

Perceiving in your paper a quotation from the *Courier and Enquirer*, respecting the interview between the delegation of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society and Kossuth, in which a gross misrepresentation is made, I write this note that it may be corrected. The falsehood of Webb's paper I should not have thought it worth while to correct, had it stood alone, but as the statement has been copied into your paper, and others also, I trust that those papers which have given currency to the untruth will correct it. The letter of Gov. Kossuth was not intended for a private letter, but was, on the face of it, a letter for the public; and *the Committee, from the beginning, determined to publish it with the Address.* You see, then, the absurdity of "exhibiting signs of surprise and vexation" when M. Kossuth asked me to read the letter to him. I understood him, at the time, that he could not read my hand-writing, and I neither felt nor manifested surprise or vexation.

As Gov. Kossuth had previously declared that he would not be brought into a discussion of the merits or demerits of our Slavery institutions, he was not obligated not to address him at all on the subject of American Slavery, or to do it in such a manner as propriety required. We thought a publication of his recorded sentiments, introduced into an Address from a portion of the Abolitionists of this country, would do good, now and hereafter, in many respects. We intended no secrecy or evasion, and the documents show clearly enough, one would suppose, that nothing else was in our minds.

Your ob'd't, LEWIS TAPPAN.

MOVEMENTS OF KOSSUTH.

The Press dinner to Kossuth at New York, Monday evening, 15th inst. was an interesting affair. The hall was splendidly dressed, and hung with the flags of Hungary and the United States, among the flashing colors of which were numerous mottos and devices. William C. Bryant, of the Evening Post, presided at the banquet, which was in the centre of the invited guests' table, with Gov. Kossuth on his right and Count Pulsky on his left. At the lower end of the table was Horace Greeley of the New York Tribune, Journal of Commerce, and a large representation of the press of New York and vicinity was gathered around the board. Grace was said by Rev. Henry Ward Beecher. Mr. Bryant introduced the toast in honor of Kossuth with a brief speech, to which the Hungarian replied in one of the most eloquent speeches that he ever made, concluding with a delicate compliment to Bryant, in the following language:

And if you generously accord me that protective aid, I will yet also see fulfilled, in my country, the noble sentiment of your poet, which you, Sir, (to the Chairman,) from that height where the genius of poetry soars, have told your people, which so likes to listen to the noble inspirations of its poets:

'truth crushed to earth shall rise again;
Th' eternal years of God are hers;
But error, wounded, writhes in pain,
And dies amid its throes.'

Let me add, Sir, with

—his worshippers.'

Some of the New York papers are rather severe upon the Kossuth proceedings, and the Mirror says of this banquet, that

The whole affair, from beginning to end, was not but regard as one of the most ridiculous exhibitions of restless vanity and intolerable egotism, of which the press of this or any other city has ever been guilty.

The Plymouth Church, at Brooklyn, was crowded on Thursday evening, to hear Kossuth's Address. As the tickets were 25 cents, the receipts could not have been less than $10,000. Kossuth was introduced by Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, in a brief and appropriate speech, after which Kossuth rose and was enthusiastically cheered.

CONGRESS—SENATE, Dec. 18.

Mr. Foote's Compromise resolution was taken up, and Mr. Hale spoke against it, on the ground that every Southern State was in favor of Compromises, except South Carolina, and therefore the resolution was inappropriate. If Brother Basil Pennsylvania would continue to enforce the Fugitive Slave Law. Mr. Hale then spoke at length.

Mr. Hale said that the resolution declared the Compromises were intended to be final, yet the Senator from Mississippi had already declared his willingness to divide California.

Mr. Foote made several explanations, the purport of which was, that in the Compromise, the admission of California was the point, and it made no difference what her Southern boundary was; her admission as a State was the material point. He did not consider the proposition to change her Southern boundary as disturbing the Compromise.

Mr. Hale still considered the Senator as declaring that he would vote for the division of California.—In looking over the acts called 'the Compromise,' he agreed with the Senator, that the North gained nothing. Some might suppose the share of the North was California, yet we are now advised that the South desires it. California is to be divided. Whenever should the South look over the record, would be compelled to say, that the South in this Compromise got all, and that such had always been the case, and always would be. The Senator from Louisiana could write up this chapter, he must say, that if the North spoke the truth, its language should be that of Balaam's beast, 'Am I not thine beasts me three times? hast thou not ridden on my back, and I not thine ass, and have I not borne thy burden? He examined the several Compromise acts, and came to the conclusion that the North had got all she claimed. He thought that the resolution ought to read, that the South will be satisfied with the Compromise until you, and your friends, shall come to have it the doctrine of Constructive Treason lately advanced, was endorsed by this resolution, The very first principles of liberty had been pro trated and prostituted by doctrines of Cushing and Thompson, strongly tried with regard to this Fugitive Slave Law. The Senator from South Carolina has complained that the majority of the Northern States, were of the opinion, that that the Mexican laws, abolishing Slavery, were in force in the territories. He knew not what the facts of the case would be, if the Senator from South Carolina, which met in the room beneath the Senate Chamber was the very Citadel of American Slavery.

Mr. Shubrick called the Senator to order. The Senator had said the Supreme Court had prostituted itself, and he did not consider such remarks in order.

The Chair decided that the Senator's remarks were not forbidden by the rules.

Mr. Hale said that his remarks of prostituted and prostituted were not applied to the Supreme Court, but to another quarter. 'No case under the Fugitive Law had been brought before that Court. From the organization of the Court, it was so composed as to be the very Citadel of Slavery.

Mr. Butler asked what there was in the organization of the Supreme Court, to which the Senator objected?

Mr. Hale said that the Judicial Districts of the United States were so arranged as to give a majority of the Court to States where the institution of slavery existed.

Mr. Butler denied that any such fact could ever influence the decision of any honest man.

Mr. Hale said he would inquire, whether the Mexican laws abolishing slavery prevailed in the territories, the lawyers North and South of a certain living minority, he knew, in different opinions, and he regarded it as no impeachment of a man's integrity that he should be influenced by the institutions which surrounded him. He repeated the declaration, and on it he was willing to stake his reputation, that in the Supreme Court rests the final hope of Slavery.

Mr. Underwood replied, and then the Senate adjourned.

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, DEC. 26, 1851.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The Nineteenth Annual Meeting of this Society will be held in the MELODEON, in Boston, on WEDNESDAY, THURSDAY, and FRIDAY, January 28th, 29th and 30th, 1852—commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M. All auxiliary Societies are solicited to be strongly represented on the occasion. The widest and most cordial invitation to be present is extended to all those who 'despise fraud, and loathe rapine, and abhor blood,' and who long to see this country presenting to the world a pure and glorious example, with not a slave upon her consecrated soil.

Able and eminent speakers will be present, whose names will hereafter be announced.

FRANK SANBORN, *President.*

EDMUND QUINCY, *Sec'y.*

ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR.

Excluded, very consistently, from Faneuil Hall, by the same men, 'city authorities,' who conspired for the seizure and return of poor Shadrach, and always, no other suitable place could be obtained for the Bazaar, excepting the Assembly Hall, in Albany street, which, on every account, excepting its location, is even preferable to Faneuil Hall. Thus far, the result has exceeded the expectations of its friends; but, by the woes of three millions of manacled slaves, it ought very far to exceed them; and it is to be hoped that, as the Bazaar is to close on Saturday evening, every lover of his race, who can possibly visit it, will use his influence and do all in his power to swell its receipts beyond any previous year. In regard to the beauty, variety and value of its articles, it is the most attractive of the series.

KOSSUTH'S VISIT TO THE U. STATES.

Resolution of a Meeting of the Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society, held Nov. 6, 1851:—

Whereas the presence in this country of Louis Kossuth, the friend of universal liberty, and the prospect of his early departure to America, have suggested the conviction that he might prove an important instrument for the advancement of the cause of the Bondmen and Bondwomen of that land,

Resolved—That an address be prepared, laying before him the condition of the 3,000,000 of slaves which groan under the lash, and entreating him, as the friend of *universal liberty*, to exert his influence in their behalf.

ELIZA WIGHAM, Secretary.

TO THE HONORABLE LOUIS KOSSUTH, LATE GOVERNOR OF HUNGARY.

We are members of a Society whose object it is to embrace every opportunity to aid the abolition of slavery throughout the world: and conceiving the present to be such an opportunity, we venture to address you, deeming apology unnecessary, in expressing on behalf of liberty, to the acknowledged champion of that great cause.

We have heard of you, and been, though for so short a period, an honored sojourner on these our shores; but, before you leave them, to claim the warm welcome which awaits you on the other side of the Atlantic, we feel it incumbent on us to remind you, that, in the United States of America, where a free home is tendered to you, there exist upwards of 3,000,000 of human beings who are the object, slavery, held as property, liable to be bought and sold, and to have their family ties riven asunder at the will of a taskmaster; while all moral and intellectual culture is strictly withheld, under laws which enforce stringent penalties, and in some cases even DEATH for teaching slaves to read. Yet, though thus debased, the condition of chattels, the love of liberty is strong in the breast of these much-injured beings, and their struggles to attain it, though trial, and, in many instances, sad sequel to some of which we read; but when, through these struggles, they deem that they have secured this blessing—when they imagine their feet are on the soil of the *Free States* of the American Union, instead of receiving the enthusiastic welcome which justly greets the hero of liberty, they are met by a law which forbids, by fines and imprisonment, their rest to shelter or aid them, and enjoins on all to return them at once to their hopeless and cruel bondage, in direct contravention of the law of Jehovah, by which commands—'Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is escaped from his master unto thee. He shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best; thou shalt not oppress him.' (Deut. xxiii. 15, 16.) This is a point which must, we feel assured, be conceded to the heart of one who is himself a fugitive from wrong and despotism, and who can sympathize with the crushed hopes and wishes of those which must be the lot of these victims of tyranny and oppression.

We would, then, humbly entreat you to take advantage of the favorable position in which you will be placed to plead their cause. You, as the champion of liberty, will be hailed with enthusiasm by thousands who claim to be her most devoted votaries; and among them will be those who (with such professions on their lips) yet stand in the position of oppressors of their brethren. Oh, then, we beseech you to make use of your opportunity to represent to those the degradation and anomaly of their position, and to plead with them at once to forsake it by 'doing justly,' and 'letting the oppressed go free.' We conceive that your voice would be endowed with mighty power, and your noble example in having released the bondsmen of your own land would be more powerful still.

It may be deemed needful of apology, that those of our sex should come before one so prominent in station; but when it is considered that wherever oppression rules, it falls most heavily on the female portion in a *three-fold* degree, and that more than a million and a half of our sisters endure unexampled cruelty and degradation in the Southern States of America, it will surely be forgiven us that we attempt to plead their cause.

In conclusion, allow us once more to entreat, that by your continued and consistent advocacy of the rights of men, you may assail oppression in every form; and may the Most High bless and sustain you, and prosper the work you undertake in the peaceful and joyful enfranchisement, not only of your own, but of all the nations of the earth.

We are, respectfully and affectionately,

The Committee of the Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society,

SARAH J. WIGHAM, President.

Edinburgh, Nov. 18, 1851.

Whether Kossuth ever made any reply to this excellent address, we do not know. It does not appear, however, to have made any impression upon a heart which seems to beat only for Hungarians.

SPEECHES, ADDRESSES AND OCCASIONAL SERMONS, by THEODORE PARKER, Minister of the XXVIIth Congregational Church in Boston. In two volumes. Boston: Wm. Crosby and H. P. Nichols. New York: C. S. Francis & Co. pp. 442—440.

The first volume contains his Thursday Lecture on the relation of Jesus to his Age and the Ages; his discourse on the True Idea of a Christian Church; a Sermon on War; his Fanueil Hall Anti-War speech in 1847; Sermon of the Mexican War; the Perishing Classes in Boston; of Merchants; of the Dangerous Classes in Society; of Poverty; of the Moral and Spiritual Condition of Boston; on the most Christian Use of the Sunday; of Immortal Life; and his Syracuse Address on the Public Education of the People.

The second volume contains the Address on the Political Destination of America, and the Signs of the Times; Discourse on the Death of John Quincy Adams; Speech on the Abolition of Slavery by the French Republic; Do. before the New England Anti-Slavery Convention; Thoughts on the Free Soil Party and the Election of Gen. Taylor; Remarks on Mr. Webster's 7th of March Speech; Anti-Slavery Speech in 1850; Discourse on the Death of President Taylor; Sermon for the Times, on the function and place of Conscience, in relation to the Laws of Men; Thanksgiving Sermon for the State of the Nation; Fast Day Sermon on the Chief Sins of the People; Sermon on the Three Chief Safeguards of Society; and his Waterville Address on the Position and Duties of the American Scholar.

The appearance of these volumes will be gladly hailed by many of the friends of Humanity and Progress. They are admirably adapted to the times, and cannot be too widely disseminated.

PLYMOUTH ROCK.

The annual celebration of Forefathers' Day, at Plymouth, was slightly anticipated by the Plymouth County Anti-Slavery Society, on Friday and Saturday last, holding six meetings successively in the Green Church, in a spirit not unworthy of the Pilgrims who have made Plymouth Rock world-famous. The attendance was encouraging—on Sunday evening, far beyond the capacity of the building, which was most densely crowded. Among the speakers were Wendell Phillips, Edmund Quincy, William Lloyd Garrison, Lucy Stone, Charles C. Burleigh, Charles L. Remond, Nathaniel H. Whiting, George W. Putnam, and A. J. Grover. The last evening session was wholly devoted to a consideration of the present position of Louis Kossuth, in regard to the subject of American slavery, and his professions of attachment to the cause of liberty universally. It was shown that the great Hungarian exile had allowed a padlock to be put upon his lips, respecting a system of oppression 'the vilest under the sun,' being intensely adverse to the interests of Hungary, and willing to act the part of a time-server and a flatterer, in order to effect his object; and, therefore, that he was no longer worthy of respect and confidence as an uncompromising champion of liberty. A keen analysis of his course was made by Edmund Quincy, in the course of a spirited speech, which was followed by an exciting and most eloquent speech by Wendell Phillips, which was listened to with intense interest, but, regret of which, it is to be deeply regretted, no one present was qualified to make. We wish Kossuth himself had been a listener to the faithful rebuke of his timid, selfish policy, and to the glowing strains of a world-wide, liberty-loving spirit.

The following are the resolutions that were discussed, and unanimously adopted:

1. Resolved, That slavery, as it exists in this country, is neither a party question nor a domestic institution; neither a matter of geographical interest, exclusively, nor purely an American affair; but it is a system of robbery, pollution, blood and misery, which impinges on every man's rights, according to his intelligence, and to denounce which is the right and duty of every man, whether native or foreigner, who is conscious of its existence.

2. Resolved, That the inconsistency and hypocrisy of this nation, which had no parallel among the ancient Jews, are again signally displayed in the pomp and circumstance attending the reception of Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian fugitive from Austrian oppression; in his pretended sympathy for the cause of civil liberty abroad, as represented in his person; in its affected abhorrence of the tyrannous alliance between Austria and Russia; and in the contribution of money and arms to enable the Hungarians to recover their lost rights, let the effusion of blood be what it may.

3. Resolved, That as our colossal slave system is the evidence of our national contempt for the rights of man, so it serves as a sure test by which to reveal the true character of every distinguished foreigner who lands on our shores; and we lament to say, that the conduct of Louis Kossuth, has thus revealed the most melancholy and astounding results, in either a base bowing of the knee to the dark spirit of Slavery, or a cowardly silence on the subject, in order to secure the favor of a slaveholding and slave-trading people.

4. Resolved, That, standing on Plymouth Rock, as the voice of a cause which is the natural growth of the principles which have rendered that Rock illustrious in the history of mankind; as the friends and advocates of impartial liberty, without regard to complexion, race, country, or clime; we record, with the deepest sorrow, the defection of our fellow-citizens, to his own great fame,—to the principles on which he has claimed for Hungary the sympathy and interposition of the world,—not only not to sacrifice the welfare of the colored race to the benefit of his own country men, but to have known and declared that the cause of civil liberty was one the world over, and that such a course must be fatal in the end to the highest interests of humanity.

5. Resolved, That the return of this hallowed anniversary brings to our glad and grateful remembrance the presence of our unencumbering and unfaltering transatlantic coadjutor, GEORGE THOMPSON, a year ago; that we tender to him the renewed expressions of our love, admiration and gratitude, for the glorious example of a world-wide consistency of principle in his advocacy of the cause of universal freedom; and that we hail his return among us, more precious and illustrious by the lamentable defection of the great Hungarian exile, who is dumb in the presence of three millions of chattelized slaves, as a master stroke of worldly policy, but which act is one of revolting inconsistency and criminal cowardice.

The forenoon meeting, on Sunday, was chiefly occupied in grateful remembrances of departed friends of the cause, more particularly of the venerable man to whom reference is made in the following resolution:—

Resolved, That in the death of our venerable friend, JOHN CURTIS, of Hanover, this Society has lost a worthy member, the slave a warm-hearted advocate, and the community a true man.

Allusion was made to the sudden decease of our lamented coadjutor, OLIVER DENNETT, of Portland, and a grateful tribute paid to his memory.

Thanks to our friends Bourne Spooner, Johnson Dwyer, and others, for their assistance in our meeting.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON:

I SAW in the *Liberator*, a notice of the death of our venerable friend, Oliver Dennett, of Portland, passed over. No one, perhaps, better knows the worth of a genuine abolitionist, in the retired walks of life, than the lecturing agents. They see them frequently at their houses; and they know, too, with how much or how little fidelity they adhere to the cause, attending the meetings and contributing to its support, and how many ways they will aid, or not aid, the agents and others in fulfilling their mission; and with what degree of interest they listen to addresses, and keep themselves informed on the various questions which are continually arising, and are discussed in the anti-slavery newspapers, as well as in conventions and elsewhere.

In all these respects, permit me to bear a most honorable testimony in behalf of our deceased friend. It is not often that one of his years clings with such enthusiastic ardor to any subject as did he, in the last years of his life, to the cause of humanity and the slave. It has been my privilege and happiness to meet him often, and always to be cheered and strengthened by his sensible and manly words, uttered from a warm and full heart.

I have not seen the manner of his death, nor what were his views and feelings in his last days and hours. But if a well-spent life insures a happy death and glorious immortality, then I am sure that our temporal loss is his everlasting gain. The Old Colony Society, of which he was a most worthy member, will no longer see his venerable form in the Free Soil Party and the Election of Gen. Taylor; Remarks on Mr. Webster's 7th of March Speech; Anti-Slavery Speech in 1850; Discourse on the Death of President Taylor; Sermon for the Times, on the function and place of Conscience, in relation to the Laws of Men; Thanksgiving Sermon for the State of the Nation; Fast Day Sermon on the Chief Sins of the People; Sermon on the Three Chief Safeguards of Society; and his Waterville Address on the Position and Duties of the American Scholar.

The appearance of these volumes will be gladly hailed by many of the friends of Humanity and Progress. They are admirably adapted to the times, and cannot be too widely disseminated.

PLYMOUTH ROCK.

The annual celebration of Forefathers' Day, at Plymouth, was slightly anticipated by the Plymouth County Anti-Slavery Society, on Friday and Saturday last, holding six meetings successively in the Green Church, in a spirit not unworthy of the Pilgrims who have made Plymouth Rock world-famous. The attendance was encouraging—on Sunday evening, far beyond the capacity of the building, which was most densely crowded. Among the speakers were Wendell Phillips, Edmund Quincy, William Lloyd Garrison, Lucy Stone, Charles C. Burleigh, Charles L. Remond, Nathaniel H. Whiting, George W. Putnam, and A. J. Grover. The last evening session was wholly devoted to a consideration of the present position of Louis Kossuth, in regard to the subject of American slavery, and his professions of attachment to the cause of liberty universally. It was shown that the great Hungarian exile had allowed a padlock to be put upon his lips, respecting a system of oppression 'the vilest under the sun,' being intensely adverse to the interests of Hungary, and willing to act the part of a time-server and a flatterer, in order to effect his object; and, therefore, that he was no longer worthy of respect and confidence as an uncompromising champion of liberty. A keen analysis of his course was made by Edmund Quincy, in the course of a spirited speech, which was followed by an exciting and most eloquent speech by Wendell Phillips, which was listened to with intense interest, but, regret of which, it is to be deeply regretted, no one present was qualified to make. We wish Kossuth himself had been a listener to the faithful rebuke of his timid, selfish policy, and to the glowing strains of a world-wide, liberty-loving spirit.

The following are the resolutions that were discussed, and unanimously adopted:

1. Resolved, That slavery, as it exists in this country, is neither a party question nor a domestic institution; neither a matter of geographical interest, exclusively, nor purely an American affair; but it is a system of robbery, pollution, blood and misery, which impinges on every man's rights, according to his intelligence, and to denounce which is the right and duty of every man, whether native or foreigner, who is conscious of its existence.

2. Resolved, That the inconsistency and hypocrisy of this nation, which had no parallel among the ancient Jews, are again signally displayed in the pomp and circumstance attending the reception of Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian fugitive from Austrian oppression; in his pretended sympathy for the cause of civil liberty abroad, as represented in his person; in its affected abhorrence of the tyrannous alliance between Austria and Russia; and in the contribution of money and arms to enable the Hungarians to recover their lost rights, let the effusion of blood be what it may.

3. Resolved, That as our colossal slave system is the evidence of our national contempt for the rights of man, so it serves as a sure test by which to reveal the true character of every distinguished foreigner who lands on our shores; and we lament to say, that the conduct of Louis Kossuth, has thus revealed the most melancholy and astounding results, in either a base bowing of the knee to the dark spirit of Slavery, or a cowardly silence on the subject, in order to secure the favor of a slaveholding and slave-trading people.

4. Resolved, That, standing on Plymouth Rock, as the voice of a cause which is the natural growth of the principles which have rendered that Rock illustrious in the history of mankind; as the friends and advocates of impartial liberty, without regard to complexion, race, country, or clime; we record, with the deepest sorrow, the defection of our fellow-citizens, to his own great fame,—to the principles on which he has claimed for Hungary the sympathy and interposition of the world,—not only not to sacrifice the welfare of the colored race to the benefit of his own countrymen, but to have known and declared that the cause of civil liberty was one the world over, and that such a course must be fatal in the end to the highest interests of humanity.

5. Resolved, That the return of this hallowed anniversary brings to our glad and grateful remembrance the presence of our unencumbering and unfaltering transatlantic coadjutor, GEORGE THOMPSON, a year ago; that we tender to him the renewed expressions of our love, admiration and gratitude, for the glorious example of a world-wide consistency of principle in his advocacy of the cause of universal freedom; and that we hail his return among us, more precious and illustrious by the lamentable defection of the great Hungarian exile, who is dumb in the presence of three millions of chattelized slaves, as a master stroke of worldly policy, but which act is one of revolting inconsistency and criminal cowardice.

The forenoon meeting, on Sunday, was chiefly occupied in grateful remembrances of departed friends of the cause, more particularly of the venerable man to whom reference is made in the following resolution:—

Resolved, That in the death of our venerable friend, JOHN CURTIS, of Hanover, this Society has lost a worthy member, the slave a warm-hearted advocate, and the community a true man.

Allusion was made to the sudden decease of our lamented coadjutor, OLIVER DENNETT, of Portland, and a grateful tribute paid to his memory.

Thanks to our friends Bourne Spooner, Johnson Dwyer, and others, for their assistance in our meeting.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON:

I SAW in the *Liberator*, a notice of the death of our venerable friend, Oliver Dennett, of Portland, passed over. No one, perhaps, better knows the worth of a genuine abolitionist, in the retired walks of life, than the lecturing agents. They see them frequently at their houses; and they know, too, with how much or how little fidelity they adhere to the cause, attending the meetings and contributing to its support, and how many ways they will aid, or not aid, the agents and others in fulfilling their mission; and with what degree of interest they listen to addresses, and keep themselves informed on the various questions which are continually arising, and are discussed in the anti-slavery newspapers, as well as in conventions and elsewhere.

In all these respects, permit me to bear a most honorable testimony in behalf of our deceased friend. It is not often that one of his years clings with such enthusiastic ardor to any subject as did he, in the last years of his life, to the cause of humanity and the slave. It has been my privilege and happiness to meet him often, and always to be cheered and strengthened by his sensible and manly words, uttered from a warm and full heart.

I have not seen the manner of his death, nor what were his views and feelings in his last days and hours. But if a well-spent life insures a happy death and glorious immortality, then I am sure that our temporal loss is his everlasting gain. The Old Colony Society, of which he was a most worthy member, will no longer see his venerable form in the Free Soil Party and the Election of Gen. Taylor; Remarks on Mr. Webster's 7th of March Speech; Anti-Slavery Speech in 1850; Discourse on the Death of President Taylor; Sermon for the Times, on the function and place of Conscience, in relation to the Laws of Men; Thanksgiving Sermon for the State of the Nation; Fast Day Sermon on the Chief Sins of the People; Sermon on the Three Chief Safeguards of Society; and his Waterville Address on the Position and Duties of the American Scholar.

The appearance of these volumes will be gladly hailed by many of the friends of Humanity and Progress. They are admirably adapted to the times, and cannot be too widely disseminated.

PLYMOUTH ROCK.

The annual celebration of Forefathers' Day, at Plymouth, was slightly anticipated by the Plymouth County Anti-Slavery Society, on Friday and Saturday last, holding six meetings successively in the Green Church, in a spirit not unworthy of the Pilgrims who have made Plymouth Rock world-famous. The attendance was encouraging—on Sunday evening, far beyond the capacity of the building, which was most densely crowded. Among the speakers were Wendell Phillips, Edmund Quincy, William Lloyd Garrison, Lucy Stone, Charles C. Burleigh, Charles L. Remond, Nathaniel H. Whiting, George W. Putnam, and A. J. Grover. The last evening session was wholly devoted to a consideration of the present position of Louis Kossuth, in regard to the subject of American slavery, and his professions of attachment to the cause of liberty universally. It was shown that the great Hungarian exile had allowed a padlock to be put upon his lips, respecting a system of oppression 'the vilest under the sun,' being intensely adverse to the interests of Hungary, and willing to act the part of a time-server and a flatterer, in order to effect his object; and, therefore, that he was no longer worthy of respect and confidence as an uncompromising champion of liberty. A keen analysis of his course was made by Edmund Quincy, in the course of a spirited speech, which was followed by an exciting and most eloquent speech by Wendell Phillips, which was listened to with intense interest, but, regret of which, it is to be deeply regretted, no one present was qualified to make. We wish Kossuth

VOL. XXI. NO. 52

ARMED INTERVENTION TO PREVENT INTERVENTION.

From the reply of Kossuth to the address of the delegation from Hartford, Dec. 11, I extract the following passage:—

'I know that the moral power of civilization has a great weight; but I also know that the simple moral or material force of the governments will never retire behind a well not support, will not back this moral force, if, in case of necessity, by the most resolute of deeds, in the case we have such a resolution of deeds, in the world's history, there is no exception to the doctrine of Constructive Treason, and the Fugitive Slave Law, but of this I am so positive, that I will not be the first to give an

A LETTER FROM EMMANUEL VITALIS SCHERB.

BOSTON, November 15, 1851.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE LATE WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION:

DEAR MADAM—It is a matter of regret to me, that I have been twice prevented, by illness, from availing myself of your invitation to attend the Convention in Worcester. I should have been glad to take a part in the discussion of a question which I consider second to none which at present agitates the world. You have been kind enough to think that a word from me, even now at this late hour, would still be a word in season, and might contribute some one, to which, for various reasons, the subject is as yet a new one. It would afford me great satisfaction, should I learn, at some future day, that your expectation has not been disappointed. In the mean time, I am glad, for my own sake, if for no others', to be offered this opportunity of expressing my interest in a cause, which, surely, is not the less the cause of *Man*, for bearing on its bannerett the honored name of *Woman*; a cause, which, great mother cause of Humanity, and most intimately connected with all the other great reform movements of our age, has the advantage, after all, of appealing more powerfully and irresistibly than any to the finest sensibilities and noblest energies of *Man*.

The object of this movement, as represented by those who have had no opportunity of knowing the truth, or by them, through knowing it, have an interest in telling it, is to reverse the order of nature, and to metamorphose *women into men*.

If this were the object of your movement, I must confess I should look upon it as both foolish and doubtful; foolish, because it attempts the impossible; and doubtful, because it were a rebellion against Him, whose will is infinite Wisdom and infinite Love. I need not add, that with such a movement I could feel no manner of sympathy.

But your object, as stated in the clear, unmistakable language of your reports, is, on the contrary, not to change Women into Men, but, *by removing out of Woman's path the obstacles which till now have prevented a free and full development of her own peculiar nature, to make her*,—what God and Nature meant her to be,—*true and perfect Woman*.

With such a movement I can sympathize, and do sympathize, and consider it both a duty and an honor to avail myself of every opportunity, public and private, to give it in my heartiest and most energetic support.

I am a lover of Liberty, but I am also a friend of Order. Yes, I consider these two inseparable. There is no true Liberty without Order, no true Order without Liberty. Of course, I do not speak of the order, *I you name a Tarquin*, the order which tyrannizes, old and new, like to have preached and enforced, but of that divine order, which results from the full and harmonious development of the liberties of all. The emancipation of Woman, *in your sense* of the word, far from endangering the true order, will only establish it, by removing the disorder which arose from her oppression.

The distinction of sexes,—I side with Swedenborg against Plato,—is by no means accidental and superficial, but providential and essential, and merely particular modification of the same duality of forces which, under various names and in various guises, permeates and governs the Universe. What in the physical world in general exists as the Dualism of Contraction and Expansion, Repulsion and Attraction, appears again in the particular sphere of Human Life, (spiritual no less than animal,) as the antagonism of the Masculine and the Feminine. And as the Beauty and order of the material universe depend upon the harmonious co-operation of the two material forces, so the World of Humanity will never be a Cosmos before the equilibrium between the Masculine and the Feminine is restored.

A fuller exposition of my views on this subject I have given in my Lectures on Goethe's Faust, and Dante's Divina Commedia, some of which you attended.

Suffice it here to repeat: that Woman is not Man, and Man is not Woman, and never will be, nor was meant to be. It is not in the interest of either, but that of all of Woman, ever to forget the distinction. The Woman is not undeveloped, Man,

Neither is Man the developed Woman,
Not, from one stock, one blossom bud the man,
Bent Love were slain, whose dearest bond is this,
Not to be like, but like in difference.'

Yet, though distinct, or rather because distinct, neither of the sexes is able fully to develop its own peculiar nature, except in communion and co-operation with the other. Man is incomplete without Woman, Woman is incomplete without Man.

'Are they not made as tones of music are,
For one another, though dissimilar?'

Individual character, be it of Man or Woman, can be only *a complete and harmonious, in whom the marriage between the Masculine and the Feminine has not taken place.* And what holds good of individuals, holds good of communities: there is no true society, no true state, without an equal representation of both.

The Woman is as much interested as Man in the reform of the existing order of things, which, as it now is, is not a Cosmos, but a Chaos.

The Liberator

POETRY.

For the Liberator.

THE MOTHER.

The night was still and dreary, dark clouds were o'er the sky,
A sad and lonely mother looked forth with tearful eye:
How mournfully she gazeth! no light, no hope is there;
Around her darkly brooded the mists of deep despair.
Within that cabin lonely but yesterday there smiled
A noble boy and fearless—that mother's only child!
Oh, where was now her darling? why had he left her side?
He was her only earthly joy; she'd nought to love beside.
In yonder mansion stately, where youth and beauty dwell,
Lived one who falsely claimed the right his fellow-man to sell;
And when a fiend, in human form, tempted with glittering gold,
Regardless of her prayers and tears, her precious babe he sold.
God help the stricken mother! Thine is a lot of woe;
For where thy poor boy dwellest, fond one, thou may'st not go.
He toileth in a stranger's home—that dear one as a slave;
Far better he were laid to rest within the quiet grave.
Oh! young and doting mother, when in its cradle-nest
Thy darling baby sweetly sleeps, or in thine arms is prest—
When bright dreams of life's future years with rapture fill thy heart,
And many a fairy wreath of hope Love weaves with magic art,—
Think of the poor slave-mother, and of her darkened home,
Wherein Joy's radiant sunlight again may never come.
Oh! strive to save her from such fate,—thou hast the power to save.
Oh! free and happy mother! pity the weeping slave.

Barre, Mass. CARRIE.

From the Liberty Bell for 1852.

THE SLAVE.

BY REV. EDWIN CHAPMAN.

Full fed, well-cared for, thoughtless of to-morrow,
The favored Slave may sing, and dance, and laugh;
And the full cup of sensual pleasure quaff;
Nor heed the pangs of those who pine in sorrow,
Who can no hope from calm endurance borrow;
For their dear life is doomed, in fields away
From all who could their fleeting spirits stay.

Caressed and fondled for her clean beauty,
Wanton and shameless, conscious of her power
To charm amid the dallyance of the bower,
And her mistaking yielding—love for duty,
The poor degraded girl may lightly buy
The first experience of a mother's throes,
The antecedents of unnumbered woes.

But not fair sunshine on foul stagnant pools,
Not worthy honors heaped on worthless men,
Not waving trees hiding some savage den,
Nor good and simple men made willing tools
Of the world's hypocrites—its selfish fools—
Do cell forth loathing half so strong and deep
As Slavery smiling in polluted sleep.

Wearied and worn, oppressed with hated toil,
Conscious of knowledge hidded from his sight,
Of darkness to which no man bringeth light,
Of wounds unctessed by wine, unsoothed by oil,
Of chains which bind beneath a tyrant's smile,
Of passions foul, unbridled, proud and stern,
Which lustful now, now vengeful, fiercely burn;

The Slave may groan and curse, may plot and vow
Such vows as Heaven alone can register
And not condemn;—the mother's heart may stir
With feelings dead within her soul till now,
And clouds may darken her late wanton brow
To think that those whom she has borne in pain,
Her gifts from God, but swell her master's gain.

But in their deepest woe, their loudest wait,
In all the treasured hatred of their breasts,
Where, as its home, blackness of darkness rests,
In all the stormy passions which assail
Their prisoned mind, is proof, of large avail,
That the deep spirit of their wildest cry
Is for man's holiest birthright—Liberty.

Escaped and free, by his own courage saved,
Or purchased for himself with his own gold,
For which he mightily anxious labor sold;
Each barrier overleaped, each danger braved,
His feet firm planted on the stand where waved
The flag of Freedom, and his heart burn through
To welcome as their hearts the fondly wronged;

The Slave, become a man, may proudly swell
With his new-found emotions; he may stand,
With ever-open lips and outstretched hand,
His tale of woe, and rage, and hate to tell:
How he was tortured, as by fiends of hell:
How, while he yet was tracked with savage zeal,
He grasped, with purpose strong, the ready steel.

But gentler thoughts soon soothe his manly breast;
To present duty, blinds, he turns his view,
And the fair race of life begins anew:—
Toil now is hallowed—holy too is rest—
Now the free woman looks, with cheerful quest,
Into her children's eyes—they too are free—
And her full heart-rate, gratefully, to God, on Thee!

Bristol, England, October, 1851.

From the same.

SONNET,

Suggested by the inscription on the Bell of the Hall of Independence, Philadelphia:—"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof."

BY ANNE WARREN WESTON.

Not to this land alone; to every clime
Those tones of hope and prophecy were borne;
Forerunners of the sure if distant morn,
That ye shall break as in that earlier prime
By mount greeted, the long night of the chime
When every cliff shall echo back the lays
Of Slaves made Freemen. On what shore shall blaze
The first effulgence of that light sublime?
O, land from whence this beacon-fire should shine,
Land hallowed by the tread of Pilgrim feet,
Land sanctified by prayers, made dear by grave
Of Freedom's martyrs, rouse in strength divine,
And in true penitence those tones repeat!
The old world's despots vanish with thy Slaves.

Weymouth, October 1, 1851.

For the Liberator.

SOLUTION OF MACALLA'S ENIGMA.

Bend! I have it; 'tis a God.
Cut off his head, he's very odd;
Cut off his tail, and you're a Co.;
And that plural, all men know.
Cut off both head and tail, you'll find
Nought but a cypher left behind.
What is his head cut off? A sounding C;
What is his tail cut off? the river Dee;
And where's the sphere but says,
'Good Zounds!
I know the Cod produces most sweet sounds!'

The Liberator.

FROM OUR LONDON CORRESPONDENT.

LONDON, November, 1851.

DEAR GARRISON:

Here is an extract, which is going the rounds of our papers:—

WHAT THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES HAVE DONE.—*The Times*, one day last week, presented the public with a very lengthy account of the commercial condition of the United States. In an interval of little more than half a century it appears that this extraordinary people have increased 500 per cent. in numbers; their national revenue has augmented nearly 700 per cent., while their public expenditure has increased little more than 600 per cent. The prodigious extension of their commerce is indicated by an increase of nearly 500 per cent. in their imports and exports, and 600 per cent. in their shipping. The increased activity of their internal communications is expounded by the number of their post-offices, which has been increased more than a hundred-fold, the extent of their post-roads, which have been increased thirty-six fold, and the cost of their post-office, which has been augmented in a seventy-two fold ratio. The augmentation of their machinery of public instruction is indicated by the extent of their public libraries, which have increased in a thirty-two fold ratio, and by the creation of school libraries, amounting to 2,000,000 volumes. They have completed a system of canal navigation, which, placed in a contiguous line, would extend from London to Calcutta, and a system of railways which, if continuously extended, would stretch from London to Van Diemen's Land, and have provided locomotive machinery by which that distance would be traversed in three weeks, at the cost of 1 1-2 *d.* per mile. They have created a system of inland navigation, the aggregate tonnage of which is probably not inferior in amount to the entire inland tonnage of all the other countries in the world; and they possess many hundreds of river steamers, which impart to the roads of water the marvellous speed of railway locomotives. They have, at one, constructed lines of electric telegraph, which, and continuously, would extend over a space longer by 20,000 miles than the distance from the north to the south pole, and have provided apparatus for transmission by which a message of 300 words despatched under such circumstances from the north pole might be received and working at the south pole in one minute, and by which, consequently, an answer of equal length might be sent back to the north pole in an equal interval. 'These,' says the *Times*, 'are social and commercial phenomena for which it would be vain to seek a parallel in the past history of the human race.'

Now, this beats the account of the increase of the Jews in Egypt. It is both gratifying, for it shows what liberty enables man to do for his race, notwithstanding his selfishness. It demonstrates the importance and value of that universal liberty for which you labor, and the benefit which would result to your people immediately from emancipation, and the necessary extension, through their indomitable energy and example, to the world. Assume only that they shall have copied the example of England, and have abolished slavery in the States, what an immensity of moral power they will, as a people, throw into the moral scale in every movement they shall make as a nation. With such astonishing results of the power of the Democratic principle, notwithstanding this *rot* of slavery pervading its institutions and corrupting their efficiency, how marvellously influential must you not become as a people, when able to stand forth as the moral champions of the world!

The people of this country are greatly in advance of their government, which is aristocratic, and are prepared to imitate the Americans, and welcome their greatness, as tending to advance and demonstrate the value of the great principle we love and cherish, and for which we, and our best writers, our common fathers, have suffered and have labored.

The convulsions, moral, economical and political, which are foreshadowing themselves in Europe, are opening sources of wealth in sinew and bone and mind for your great country.

Every man carries with him his wants, and as a rule he carries with him his power to labor and supply his own, by ministering to the wants of others. He carries wealth with him, therefore, for labor is the source of wealth; and unless his spirit has been broken by the ill-treatment of governments and aristocracies, he prefers, as a rule, to supply his own wants to begging his food from others. The gastric juice, ever acting, works in favor of order. If governments would but trust Freedom. Left to themselves, men naturally seek their daily food, and their tendency is to seek it by labor according to the circumstances in which they find themselves, in a separate or social state. Governments have only to look to the keeping open the field of activity for all, to guard against monopolies arising from open force, or the selfishness of capitalists.

Capital, which is hoarded labor, is essential. The capitalist is an instrumentality only. Money is power, and the taxation of a State should be graduated and placed upon the wealth of the country, and not, as it now is, by customs and excise, upon labor, and by consequence upon the laborer.

The gastric juice puts in motion the great stream of human activity, and every stream pursues its course to the sea, and that again supplies the stream to its channel, so government is aided, if they will but avail themselves of the aid, in preserving order, and advancing the good of the people over whom they preside, by this great natural want and tendency.

You, as a people, have to-day the plague spot, are manifestly destined to receive the best energies of the old world—to be strengthened, and re-edify the new. The best minds of Europe are being pressed out of its fruitful and best soils now, but they will return bolder, by their disappointments, to agave our effete dynasties, and give constitutions, just laws, and increased commerce to the world.

Be it yours, my dear Sir, to receive and cherish the down-trodden of Europe, to give them strength to act again in aid of truth, liberty, and progress, and to raise and emancipate the United States from their own bitter prejudice against color, and their great backsliding from liberty and justice in the permitted existence of slavery.

Yours, EDWARD SEARCH.

KOSSUTH'S APOLOGY FOR HIS SILENCE IN REGARD TO AMERICAN SLAVERY.

HANOVER, O., Dec. 7, 1851.

DEAR GARRISON:

Have you read Kossuth's answer to the address of the French Democrats, refugees in England? That address is about to the same point, and the only one, address that has been presented to him. The answer of Kossuth is short and pointed, and plainly indicates that he would rather the address had never been presented. It clearly shows, also, that American slaveholders have been whispering in his ear the course they wish him to pursue, if he reaches the United States. He is evidently apprised of the fervid zeal which awaits him, as an advocate of liberty, in this slave-breeding and slave-hunting republic. He puts forth the course beforehand which he intends to pursue when he arrives, and, without a word or syllable of our slave auctions, our slave pens, and our slave hunts. Does he avow his resolution to speak out against slavery, or for liberty, at all? Not he; but, in the answer above alluded to, made in London, Oct. 31, 1851, he says:—

'As for me, I do not wish to occupy myself with those ideas which divide France. I do not occupy myself with that which is of a nature to impair the independence of Hungary. If I have not manifested in England that thought which I expressed in Marseilles, it is because *I do not wish to interfere with the affairs of a country which gives me hospitality. I wish to reserve for the future of Hungary.*'

What is the idea that divides France? Precisely that which is at issue between Hungary and Austria, and between the Italians and the Pope; precisely that which is at issue between the people of England and the aristocracy; that which divides the friends of freedom and the friends of despotism throughout Europe. Yet, this 'martyr in the cause of universal freedom,' in effect says, that he does not wish to occupy himself with the idea of liberty in France, in England, or in any other country; but he wishes all other countries to occupy themselves with the ideas that divide the empire of Austria. 'He does not wish to interfere with the affairs of any country that gives him hospitality.' He knows those affairs relate to the great struggle between freedom and despotism. How utterly mean, selfish and contemptible are the heroes of armed revolutions! 'A martyr,' indeed, to the cause of *universal* freedom!

Here, then, Kossuth has announced beforehand his course in regard to slavery in this country. *The affair*—the all-absorbing affair—of this nation is, the conflict between liberty and slavery. Shall the United States continue to be, as it ever has been, the most potent, energetic and determined supporter and propagandist of slavery on the world's broad shores. The first object that meets his eye is the American flag flying over a slave auction; or an American judge on the bench trying a man on the issue—Is he a slave or a freeman?—a beast or a man? Or he sees Fillmore, Clay, Webster & Co. in pursuit of a fugitive slave; or footing, selling their children as slaves—his sons to the plantation, and his daughters to prostitution. He sees this nation putting forth its energies to extend slavery over this entire continent. He hears the clinking chains and fetters of three millions of slaves; the crack of the whip, as it comes down upon their backs in three weeks, at the rate