AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL.

Yes I it cannot be denied-the slaveholding ords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to secure the perpetuity of their dominion over their slaves. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was the stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves—an en-gagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a repre-sentation for slaves—for articles of merchandize, 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. Its reciprocal operation upon the government of the nation is to establish an artificial majority in the slave representation over that of the free people, in the American Congress, and thereby to make the PRESERVATION, PROPAGATION AND PERPETUATION OF SLAVERY THE VI-TAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NA-

TIONAL GOVERNMENT.'-JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

Robert F. Wallcut, General Agent. This remissances are to be made, and all letters said to the pecuniary concerns of the paper are to IF fat copies will be sent to one address for THE Advertisements making less than a square inthree times for 75 cts.—one square for \$1 00. The Agents of the American, Massichusetts, The Agents of the Anti-Slavery Societies are aumaritum and can seriptions for the Literator. funcial Committee. - FRANCIS JACKSON, BLLIS Guriano, EDNEND QUINCY, SANUEL PRIBEICK,

SET LARING, EDNOND QUINCY, SAMUEL PHEBRICK, EXTELL PHILLIPS. [This Committee is responsible enforthe financial economy of the paper—not for sy of its debts.] WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD-OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.

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### BOSTON, MASS., FRIDAY, JANUARY 2, 1852.

WHOLE NO. 1095.

# The Liberator.

ATTACKS OF PREDERICK DOUGLASS AND JOHN SCOBLE UPON GEORGE THOMPSON, ESQ., M. P.

London, December 1, 1851.

Is not presumptuous enough to imagine, that and shirt you have already done, could have been hele performed by myself. Difference of position net, haverer, have given me additional means of include to those possessed by yourself upon the sater is question, and I may be able to render still there it attended to be lased upon our common friend. You have, indeed, not ably treated the attack of the first gentleman used in the heading of this letter, and before this sches you, in all probability you will have dealt win the other gentleman in like manner; but a few splemental remarks to what you have already sail, I trust, not be unacceptable from one who wil knows, and can fairly take upon himself in perdegree to represent, the sentiments of Mr. Thompsa's friends on this side the Atlantic. Inerer experienced greater pain and disgust than

sim prusing the article from Frederick Douglass's forr, upon Mr. Webb's letter, and the impudent ment of John Scoble at Brooklyn-pain at the meeting, and, I must say, wanton, attack of the Eshester New Organization proselyte-disgust at the hypocritical libel of the Broad Street Committee pes Mr. George Thompson. Here they have exded universal reprobation of the ingratitude of the expersions of libels against a sincere and trueeted friend; ay, and however their pride may reroll at the application of the term, a generous and no-He lesefactor. Alas ! that Mr. Thompson should erer have had cause to say of Frederick Douglass, as well as John Scoble, 'I gave him bread; he has est at me a scorpion! It is lamentable to see men. whose disparity of mental stature and moral influence were as great as that of a giant and dwarf, leagued torether to endeavor to impair, and, if possible, to detroy, the public and private character of one, whom I am certain all candid men among the New Organsationists, however they may differ with him in opinion as to the most fitting means to be employed to shish slavery, will nevertheless delight to honor, and whose talent and devotion to the anti-slavery cause they will unhebitatingly acknowledge to have been without parallel in Europe. The simultaneous res of the attacks at Rochester and Brooklyn may have been accidental; but, certainly, it furnishes eround of suspicion for pre-concert, especially when viewed in connection with that extraordinary scene. perfectly artistic in its performance,-which was retently enacted at the Buffalo Convention, of the ostentations fraternization of those two old abolitionist anti ofens 'Reother Donelass' and ' Brother Scoble." The unbounded kindness of Mr. Thompson to Frederick Douglass, in 1845, 1845 and 1847, and also the fact that John Scoble owes the very bread he has den the publication of falsehoods reflecting upon his publicand personal character an not which I will not true myself to designate, but which the world will know how to stigmatize.

I will, for the present, confine myself to the only risily powerful or important of these assailants of Mr. Thompson-Frederick Douglass. Itsleed, the difference in mental stature and moral position between him and his colleague is so great, that while the fall of the one would excite the attention and elect the sorrow of mankind, the other might desend to be earth unnoticed, and certainly unpitied. Atthrisk of being charged with performing a work of supererrogation, I will, however, next week furnish you with a few facts, justifying even stronger expres sions than those I have used towards this less potent enterenist of Mr. Thompson, Mr. John Scoble. I regret that occasion should have arisen for a refu

ation of these calumnies; nor would I have attempted it, without a strong feeling of imperative necessity is so doing. I know the use which the pro-slavery pay make of any breaches among the friends of the sire, and especially among men holding such promment positions as Messrs. Thompson and Douglass. ha, moreover, painful to me to utter a word of disparsgement of Frederick Douglass, towards whom I have mertained and uniformly expressed the highest esteen, believing that his genius has placed him at the head of the colored race, and that his magnificent oratomand powerful writings have demonstrated the natural atellectual equality of his race with that of the Cauthe tyrants by whom even he is trampled upon and begraded in the United States. But, at the same tina I feel that a neglect to vindicate the character of so noble and distinguished a man as Mr. Thompim would be the greater evil of the two to the antitarery cause; and that a refutation of the fallacies tal misrepresentations of Frederick Douglass, however demnatory to his own personal and official characer will be more serviceable to the cause of abolitionan, than the political capital which slaveholders may aleaver to make out of disunion in the anti-slavery true can be detrimental to that cause. Some years of personal friendship with Mr. Thompson, and a very brable es-operation with him in anti-slavery labors, would demand from me a reply to what I know to be tasden cast upon a personal friend. If so, then, a Action, upon public grounds-my knowledge of the position sustained by Mr. Thompson, which canand be damaged without injury to the cause of freedon, not merely locally, but universally, as well as he official character I have sustained as honorary mary to his Committee, would require me to do s. I should, indeed, be guilty of a dereliction both of private and public duty, were I not to expose the theod of statements and insinuations, which, in Ottober, 1851, Frederick Douglass has thought proper to make respecting the public and personal character of a man, whom, up to the May preceding, he had publicly recognized as his warm personal friend, and whom he had culogized as his noble, untiring, and self-agerificing colleague in the cause of the acipation of his own race. Nothing has intermedutely been done by Mr. Thompson to provoke or justify this personal attack. The change has evident-

upon the matter. I have no fear of the result of any Mr. Thompson, and should not have interfered, on this occasion, had not the former gentleman had reyou upon anti-slavery subjects, as you know, I have carefully avoided the painful subject of Mr. Douglass's secession from the American Anti-Slavery Society. The suddenness of the conversion certainly greatly surprised those who were his anti-slavery pupils, and to whom he preached, as his fundamental and well-nigh absorbing doctrine, the damnable guiltiness of the American Constitution, and the impossibility, without treason to God and a sacrifice of the No damnation was more fearful, no thunder more terrific, than that launched by him against that which is now his anti-slavery gospel. The American Constitution was then the heresy of heresies, and whatwas with him anathema maranatha. By what mirac- sooth! ulous conversion that book, of which he then told us every page was red with the blood of the American slave,' should instantaneously become the only divine revelation for the slave's salvation and the white man's regeneration in the United States, we were, and still are, at a loss to conceive. We were, indeed, amazed and confounded; but, knowing nothing of any tortuous indications in the career of Mr. Douglass, and giving him full credit for that which he appeared to possess when in England, -an ingenuous character, and a sincere attachment to the cause of the slave, not for any individual benefit or aggrandizement, but for the sake of the cause itself, -we acquitted him of the bly :charge, of which an ordinary man would have been guilty, of apostacy, and freed him from the suspicion of any thing like sinister motives. With the means of information we possessed, we charitably came to the conclusion, that his was one of those unhappy cases of 'perversion,' as they are now called in this country, like those of Protestantism to Popery, arising from some mental illusion, by which the jet black yesterday appears the pure white of to-day. But, I regret to say that, with all our predilections in his favor, the style of his recent article, and his ungenerous personalities to his own friends and fellow-laborers in the same mission, have greatly weakened that belief in the conscientiousness of his change of communion. Making every allowance for the proverbially hot and overdone zeal of new proselytes, still there is something in the mode in which he defends his new party, indicative, not of an intelligent conversion, but, as some here unhesitatingly put it, of a consciousness of the pieces of silver being in his pocket, and that he must therefore do the bidding of the rulers, and surrender to crucifixion the characters of and that absence of cool argument which Frederick Douglass can employ, and which he knows is the most powerful means of convincing men who are in theoretical error? He knows that personal vilification is not a fitting instrument for conversion. A talented advocate, like him, would never have conducted his case in such an undignified and virulent spirit, had he possessed confidence in the merits of his case. He must have had a similar endorsement upon his brief to that said once to have been put into the hands of a barrister-'No case. Please to abuse

Before proceeding to his personal attack upon Mr. hompson. I will dispose of some false statements of ssumed facts upon which the whole of his supertructure is based; and here Frederick Douglass has need himself upon the horns of a pretty considerable lemma. Either he has been guilty of intentional nisrepresentation, in the belief that the general want f information upon English laws and customs in America would enable that misrepresentation to pass nuster there,-a motive which I do not impute to im.-or else he has made such bad use of his ninecen months' residence in this country, with all the acilities of knowledge afforded him, as to have returned to America ignorant of facts, public and no orious to the most superficial observer of public usa-

he plaintiff's attorney."

He tells his readers that Mr. Thompson, a member of the British Parliament, 'has sworn to support the British Constitution. Now, this is false in fact. No nember of Parliament is sworn to do any thing of the aind. There are three things to which they are sworn only one of which is in fact applicable to the present lay :- First, to abjure the Pope's spiritual supremac in England, (a provision introduced by Henry VIII. after the Reformation;) secondly, to be loyal to the sovereign, (a precaution introduced by that wise onarch, James I.;) and, thirdly, to abjure the Preender, or, in other words, to support the House o Brunswick, and resist any attempt to restore the old nd now extinct tyrannical dynasty of the Stuarts, an oath introduced by William III., soon after the settlement of the Crown upon the House of Brunswick.) Notwithstanding you kindly pointed out his blunder in this as well as other points, he most perversely reiterates them. It may be humiliating to a man in his position to have to confess his ignorance upon matters public and notorious, but that will be less degrading than involving himself in a charge of wilful falsehood. I hope this is not to be taken as a specimen of the general intelligence and scrupulosity of American editors in dealing with facts. It is a kind of ignorance by no means creditable to Mr. Douglass, as a journalist; for there is no portion of processing the constitution as equally sacred and valuable with the constitution structure of the constitution, the constitution is equally sacred and valuable with the constitution, spurious interesting in the constitution, are restrict, if not to destroy, in important respects, that liberty. I am, consequently, in favor of reviewing, and reforming the institutions of this countriction, in favor of reviewing, and reforming the institutions of this countriction, in favor of reviewing, and reforming the institutions of this countriction, and it is a liberty to the citizens of this countriction, in favor of reviewing, and reforming the institutions of this countriction, and it is a liberty to the citizens of this countriction. It is not to destroy, in important respects, that liberty. I am, consequently, in favor of reviewing, and reforming the institutions of this countriction. It is not to destroy, in important respects, that liberty. I am, consequently, in favor of reviewing, and reforming the institutions of this countriction. It is not to destroy, in important respects, that liberty. I am, consequently, in favor of reviewing, and reforming the institutions, so called, operating to constitution as equally sacred and valuable with the constitution, but the constitution is country, I find many institutions, so called, operating to restrict, if not to destroy, in important respects, that liberty. I am, c ettlement of the Crown upon the House of Bruns

ly been made by party spirit, which, I fear, has London, in the person of Baron Lionel Rothschild made some havoe of the character of Frederick Doug- prominently bringing out that question; and one also ass, but which, I trust, has not so far destroyed the at Greenwich, in the person of Mr. Alderman Salotruthful and generous within him, as to prevent his mons. At least half a dozen debates have taken dmission of the fact, that from the man whom he place upon it in the Houses of Lords and Commons. has thus attacked, he has not, during his life, received If the Rochester editor reads any English newspaa single unkind word, or a solitary unfriendly action. pers, he must have seen leader upon leader on the Had the controversy rested simply upon the merits of subject, giving such an amount of information as the Bristol discussion, at which I was present, -al- leaves the ignorance of a journalist upon it inexcusahough I have my own decided opinion on that sub- ble. If Mr. Douglass persists in his statements, that ject, formed, too, very materially, from Mr. Doug- Mr. Thompson has sworn to the British Constitulass's own teaching. - I should not have written a word tion -that he has sworn 'to preserve the relations between Church and State,' or that he is not even at contest which may arise between Mr. Douglass and liberty to upset that connection to-morrow, if it be in his power-that he has even sworn to preserve inviolate the doctrine, discipline and government of the course to poisoned fails. In speaking or writing to Church of England -that, as a member of Parliament, he supports 'a system of things, by which one religious denomination has an exercise of power to compel all others to contribute to its support'-if he persists in these gross misrepresentations after his erfor is pointed out to him, then his character for veracity will be destroyed in the old world, and with all intelligent and well-informed men in the new. I do not wish to offend his amor propria, in which I know he is not deficient, but it may serve to make him, for cause of the slave, of taking political action under it. the future, more careful in asserting facts to know, that while believing the statements to have been made in error, and not wilfully, his old friends and admirers have regarded it as one of the most extraor dinary instances of wool-gathering which any man of ever abolitionist was base enough to subscribe to it talent and genius ever fell into; and an editor, for-

Mr. Douglass is equally at fault respecting the nature of the British Constitution, which he talks of as a single, clear, concise document, with inflexible provisions, like the laws of the Medes and Persians, or the American Constitution itself. It would be treating this matter more gravely than it deserves, to quote any of the standard writers upon our Constitution. I have casually laid my hand upon a school book of one of my daughters, which contains the following question and answer respecting the constitutional powers of Parliament, and which will show Frederic Douglass the latitude of a member of that assem-

'What is the jurisdiction of Parliament?'
'It has uncontrollable authority in making, abrogating, repealing and revising laws. It can regulate and new model the succession to the crown; alter or new model the succession to the crown; alter or establish the religion of the land; and even change the Constitution of the kingdom, and of Parliaments

Now, that is an extract from a book most extenively used in schools, called 'Mangnall's Historical and Miscellaneous Questions for the Use of Young People. Edited by the Rev. G. N. Wright, M. A. It is very probable that Frederick Douglass may be able to purchase the work in the United States; if so, he had better do it, for I am sure he will agree with me, that it is not seemly that an American editor should possess an amount of information, upon a subject on which he writes, inferior to that of schoolboys and girls. I think every one must admit that the powers of Parliament, as here defined, are tolerably comprehensive. As a matter of history, w know they enabled us to abolish colonial slavery, and they would have enabled us to have done the same, had slavery been with us a 'domestic institution. nose whom he had just deserted, and with whom he | Search the debates in Parliament, and all the multihad just broken bread. Else why that pettishness tudinous printed speeches and articles written on the subject, and you will find no quibbling about the wording of clauses in the British Constitution. If a slave escaped to our shores, what did that Constitution do? Set him free. If a slave escapes from one State to another, in the United States, what does the American Constitution do? Return him to his bondage. And yet, Mr. Douglass, himself an emancipated slave, thinks that Mr. Thompson is criminal in supporting that Constitution which sets the slave free and that he would be virtuous in supporting the oth er, which returns him to slavery!

Mr. Douglass talks about the 'anomalies' of the British Constitution. What are they? Why, all reformers in this country, even the most democratic look to the powers of that Constitution as the instrumentality for remedying the imperfections of our political institutions. Fairly carried out, it has all the beneficial properties of the American Constitution, without any of its pro-slavery clauses, consigning one-sixth part of its population to hopeless persons slavery. Had Mr. Thompson, in fact, sworn to support the British Constitution, he would have swor to a Constitution, which, without any mental reservation, or torture of language, he could, before God, have subscribed to; and that is more than Frederick Douglass, upon his own showing, could do. For the information of those who believe Mr. Thompson to be an honest and honorable man-and I do not think the number will be lessened by Frederick Douglass's communication-I will quote Mr. Thompson's own views of the British Constitution, delivered to his constituents, at the commencement of the election in 1847, and a copy of which was put into the hands of every elector-18,000 in number-at the time :-

'Let me also state, that I have a high regard for the British constitution, as its principles are laid down and expounded by our greatest jurists. I re-joice that it is my privilege to live under that con-stitution, and I would, and will, labor to maintain and stitution, and I would, and will, lapor to maintain and perpetuate it, believing it to be consistent with, and conducive to, the liberty, order, security and happiness of society—the great ends for which all constitutions should be framed. But I do not regard events that the second ery institution which has grown up under that constitution as equally sacred and valuable with the Douglass, as a journalist; for there is no portion of Parliamentary usage which has been so often and so thoroughly discussed, within the last four years, as the subject of Parliamentary oaths. Within that period, three elections have taken place in the city of The world out-grows them. Experience proves the

In the same address, Mr. Thompson stated what he ntended to do upon ecclesiastical reforms, the language of which statement will, I think, settle the point about the swearing to 'support the doctrine, discipline and worship of the Established Church, and to maintain the connection between Church and State: at least, it will be conclusive with all those who believe that Mr. Thompson would not purchase legislatorial honors at the expense of wilful per-

· I think that the result of a tolerably extensive acquaintance among the most eminent and thought-ful of the Dissenters of this country—a patient study of their history and principles—and a reve-rent attempt to understand the scriptural nature of a Christian Church, and the divinely-appointed means of extending the knowledge and influence of religion—has been to brisg me to an enlightened, as I am sure the process hal brought me to a firm conviction, on the subject. That conviction is in favor of the most perfect religious equality—of the non-in-terference of the State in matters of faith and conscience—of the abolition of all imposts for the sup-port of a sect—and the withholding of all grants and port of a sect—and the withholding of all gains and endowments for ecclesiastical purposes, whether the creed set up and sought to be promulgated be Pro-testant or Roman Catholic. I would neither seek nor accept a grant for my own sect, nor consent to the bestowment of one upon another. With these views, I would dispense with a State-paid clergy and Church in England, the Presbyterian Church in Scotland, or the Roman Catholic or Protestant Church in Ireland. I would separate the Church from nore than those who would perpetuate its alliance as they think) with temporal power and patronage. n my opinion, there is, and can be, no real and sential alliance between the true Church (the members of which are all those who love the common Head sincerely, and worship him in spirit and in ruth) and the State. With my present views of the nature, the government, the component elements, and the ultimate design of the Christian Church, can be no consenting party to the continuance of the connection between what is called Church and State; but earnestly desire a separation, that so the religion of the Gospel may be left to its own native, divine, and omnipotent energies. As a member of civil society, I cannot conceive of perfect civil freedom apart from perfect religious freedom. I cannot regard that man as enjoying the civil rights of a citi-zen, who is declared inalienable for public service on account of his nonconformity to the tenets and preperiotions of a particular sect; neither can I regard it as just to lay an impost upon any man for the sup-port of religious forms and doctrines to which he cannot conscientiously subscribe. It is, in my view, at once an outrage on his conscience, and an unlawful exaction of his substance.

I apprehend that Mr. Douglass will not go so far as assert that Mr. Thompson had a perfect knowledge that ' the connection of Church and State,' and ' the maintenance of the inviolability of the doctrine, disipline, worship and government of the English hurch,' and 'the preservation to the bishops and lergy of England, of the rights and privileges which y law appertain to them,' (I omitted this rich list pefore.) were component parts of the British Constitution, yet deliberately told the people of the Tower Hamlets, at the outset of his canvas, that, with a full nowledge of that fect, he would nevertheless go into he House of Commons, take a solemn oath to do all these things, and then immediately turn round and endeavor to undo them. If he believes Mr. Thompson capable of such an act, what does he say to his par excellence pious friend, John Scoble, being particeps criminis in such baseness, for he supported Mr. Thompson's election at the hustings? The idea s a gross and silly libel upon Mr. Thompson, as well s the 7,000 men, who, if this foolish statement about British oaths and Constitution be correct, voluntarily roted for him to commit such an atrocious act of deiberate perjury.

The attempt to represent Mr. Thompson's theoret cal preferences for republican institutions, as incompatible with the support of a limited monarchy like ours, is really puerile. Why, I have no doubt there are many Americans who have a liking for a limited nonarchical government, but the world would de nounce them as noodles were they churlishly to remain inactive, and refrain, upon that ground, to act as itizens of the United States. The history of Engexist under - Popery, Prelacy, Puritanism-State Church and no Church-King and Commonwealth.

invest capital in the purchase of seats in the legislature, and get a return for their money, and a handsome profit to boot, out of governmental corruptions, he sole instrumentality is that identical political ac tion which Mr. Douglass has now selected as his appropriate sphere of labor. To protect the interests of ertain monopolies, such as the West India merchants, the East India Company, the land owners, the same means have also been resorted to. But no religious, philanthropic, or popular movement, has ever been conducted to a successful issue upon such principles. To assert that the British abolitionists, as body, sought to achieve their object in the same nanner as the Liberty Party in America, by forming hemselves into a political section, and endeavoring to gain seats in the Legislature, is truly ridiculous. In the first place, they would have had to expend millions of pounds at every election, before they could have had a chance of making way in that direction. In the next place, that money would have had to be expended, not in the legitimate purposes of elections, but in debauching the voters, through the ties. In the third place, when they had thus spent

ca cast upon your immortal memories ! The Dissenters gained the abolition of their slavery, the Test and Corporation Acts, without having, as without the ossibility of getting, a single man of their party into the Legislature. The Catholics achieved their emancipation under like circumstances. In 1832, the Reformers gained the Reform Bill from a Parliament composed principally of the representatives of rotten boroughs. By what instrumentality was all this accomplished? The very same as that employed by the American Anti-Slavery Society-the regeneration of public opinion. The excitement of the popular indignation against the legally established evil, and the bringing of the public influence to bear against the government and legislature, through the medium of petitions and remonstrarces. The allusion to the course pursued by the free traders was as unfortunate selection as Mr. Douglass could have made. The Anti-Corn-Law League tried political action, in the American sense of the term, and found its utter worthlessness. They tried the plan of contesting boroughs, and after some half-dozen attempts, with varied success, and the expenditure of many thousand pounds, they gave up the game, as too expensive and nefficient. They adopted Sir Robert Peel's plan of attending to the registration of voters. I could show that the result of that adoption, in the very best locality for its operations-the Lancashire boroughswas, that after seven years' labor, and an enormous outlay, the free traders were just where they were at the commencement, and that they had not gained a the State, and do it for the good of both. And this, not because I love the religion of the New Testament less, but because I think I, practically, love it Monday, they declare they have invested nearly single seat in the House of Commons. Then came £2,000,000 of money. With what result upon the Legislature? Why, the attainment of some halfdozen seats, some of which are now held upon a very doubtful tenure. The potato disease was a much more efficient political action than the ballotbox, or, rather, the polling booth, in the attainment of free trade. The freehold land scheme is now avowedly maintained more for its social than its political advantages. The National Reform Association do not dream of achieving their object by gaining elections, which they avail themselves of only for the purpose of educating the people in the principles of political justice. Had the Dissenters and Catholics trusted to political action, they would have remained in political bondage until doomsday. Had the British abolitionists possessed no other means of rescuing the negroes our 800,000 colonial slaves would still be clanking their chains on the plantations; and had free traders been shut up to that resource, the people of this country would now be hopelessly consuming their heavily taxed food. There was one power, and one alone, by which these various forms of personal, religious, d industrial slavery could be overthrown, and that was, the omnipotence of public opinion, which, when expressed in conformity with the will of God, becomes, in fact, the voice of God. For myself, I have no confidence in the success of any party, even with a righteous object, which loses its faith in the foolshness of preaching.' Whether means which have

> eration, I will not venture an opinion : I merely testify to their utter failure here. It is a pity that Mr. Douglass had not pointed out what he meant by the 'anomalies' of the British Constitution. He should not have left us to guess at his meaning. Has he, since he has become a political party man, grown so ultra republican, that he can see nothing but evil in our Queen and aristocracy? Why, when here, he was in the habit of paying them high compliments, and placing them in most advantageous juxtaposition with your President and democracy. Here is one of his pretty stock quotations, in the use of which he was very happy, which I have cut out from one of his own printed speeches :-

been proved materially ineffecient for the promotion

of a good cause, and are only potential for govern-

mental corruption and the support of monopoly, may,

when transplanted to America, become the most fit

ting means for slave emancipation and national regen-

. The lion at a virgin's feet Crouches, and lays his mighty paw Upon her lap—an emblem meet Of England's queen and England's law.

Well, now he must know, from reading the papers that the British 'lion' still lives; that 'England's and will show what varieties of circumstances, both Queen 'is the same as when he was here, except havn Church and State, the British Constitution may ing got a little stouter and more matronly, and being still more popular with her people; and 'England's law' has also somewhat improved since 1847. If The Rochester editor appears to be just as much in there are anomalies in our Constitution, or even in the dark upon the subject of political action in our political institutions, he, at all events, should his country, as he is upon the nature of the Bris deal gently with them, now he is a supporter of the sh Constitution. With Tories and Whigs, who American Constitution; for, after nineteen months' experience in this country, he thus describes the relative legrees of liberty he had enjoyed in America and

'Sir, liberty in England is better than slavery in America. Liberty under a monarchy is better than despotism under a democracy. (Cheers.) Freedom under a monarchical government is better than slavery in support of the American capitol. Sir, I have known what it was, for the first time in my life, to enjoy freedom in this country. I say that I have here, within the last nineteen months, for the first time in my life, known what it was to enjoy liberty.'

foul insults and indignities, which, as a colored man, he was subjected to in America, the bulk of which. magine, still continue, although he has risen from the condition of a fugitive slave to that of an editor, and a leading member of a political party in the

The next assertion in his article is so un and personally offensive, that it really deserves to be characterized by a few short but expressive Saxon words; but I will forbear. Frederick Douglass astheir money, and brought guilt upon their souls, they sents that Mr. Thompson has 'labored hard and long

necessity of remodelling them, and of sometimes substituting others in their place more in consonance with the ripened intelligence and new wants and circumstances of the people. They are means to an end, and should never be regarded as the end itself. Institutions for men, not men for institutions, is the maxim by which my actions would be governed, in all proposals to alter, amend, or abolish any of the established customs of the country.

Would have had the satisfaction of knowing that they were opposed to a party who could beat them hollow in length of purse and unscrupulousness in the employment of means. Why, Wilberforce spent £100,-100 in a single election in Yorkshire, and posterity do not look upon that as the most creditable part of his history. Shades of Sharpe, Clarkson, Wilberforce, and, after much solicitation, and allen, what a libel does this son of Africation of knowing that they were opposed to a party who could beat them hollow in length of purse and unscrupulousness in the employment of means. Why, Wilberforce spent £100,-100 in a single election in Yorkshire, and posterity do not look upon that as the most creditable part of his history. Shades of Sharpe, Clarkson, Wilberforce, and, after much solicitation, are constituency, that it was for their interest and political well-being to clect him 'to the House of Commons. Now, here again, Mr. Douglass's statement is completely without foundation. The fact is, that, in 1847, at least twenty because the history of his history. Shades of Sharpe, Clarkson, Wilberforce, and a 'representative, and, after much solicitation, are constituency, that it was for their interest and political well-being to clect him 'to the House of Commons. Now, here again, Mr. Douglass's statement is completely without foundation. The fact is, that, in 1847, at least twenty because the him of the common of t House of Commanns. Now, here again, Mr. Doug-lass's statement is completely without foundation. The fact is, that, in 1847, at least twenty beroughs representative and, after much solicitation, the Fower Hamlets gained him. Here, again, I will uote his own words, delivered at the time, which nclusively refute Mr. Douglass's statement, inasnuch as, in addition to the reliability of Mr. Thompon's own word, there is the fact that they were deivered before a multitude of persons, who could and would have contradicted them, if they were untrue. Your readers will also be enabled to judge from the extract, whether it is the language of a man standing ap-in-hand before the constituency :-

For more than a year. I have been aware of the

vish entertained by a considerable section of the electors of the Tower Hamlets, that I should offer electors of the Tower Hamlets, that I should offer myself as a candidate to represent this large, important, and influential borough in Parliament. A requisition, bearing a thousand signatures, is, I believe, in existence, to support the truth of this assertion. Since that period, I have been honored with communications, both personal and written, from other parties, who are fairly entitled to be regarded other parties, who are larry children as and influence of some extent the organs of numerous and influential portions of the liberal constituency of this borough; and still more recently. I have had laid borough; and, still more recently, I have had laid before me such facts, and have at the same time received such assurances of support and co-operation, as have left me no room to doubt, that the number of as nave left me no room to dook, that the minder of the electors in this borough, who are desirous of sending to the House of Commons a gentleman holding the views and opinions which I hold, is suf-ficiently large to place the individual they select, and sustain by their votes, in a position of success at the p il. My appearance among you this evening, therefore, is the result of an observation for more therefore, is the result of an observation for more than a year of the political aspects of this borough, and an intercourse, during that period, with gentlemen intimately familiar with, and often officially representing, the sentiments and wishes of large bodies of the electors. Those gentlemen will bear me witness, that I have acted with candor and with content the whole of our correspondence. me witness, that I have acted with candor and with caution throughout the whole of our correspondence; and that I have shown no inclination to obtrude myself on the atlention of the electors of this borough (cheers); but, on the contrary, have sought, nay, have required, the most convincing and satisfactory evidence of the existence of something like a general feeling in favor of the appearance of a candidate cherishing the opinions and principles, to the advancement of which my public life has been devoted. What those principles and opinions are, I am here to exthose principles and opinions are, I am here to ex-plain, and I doubt not you will afford me the oppor-tunity of placing them before you, with the frank-ness and honesty which you have a right to demand of the individual who aspires to the honor of repre-

senting you in Parliament.
Gentlemen, let me assure you, that the sentiments am about to avow are not adopted for the occasion : neither have they been at any period taken up to serve a purpose, or to square with the prevailing spirit and temper of the times. They are my genuine, my heartfelt, my conscientious convictions. I hold them, because I believe them sound and just, vinced in my judgment that they are wrong. Should that ever be the case, I will fling them away, and adopt better-for I have never sworn that I will not

these sentiments are in accordance with your own, and how far they are such as you require in your representative. Should they be found to be generally in unison with those you entertain, there is still the question whether I, as the impersonation of those principles, am the person you ought to select as your representative. Upon this point I am as anxious, as I have no doubt you are determined, that you should exercise the freest and most deliberate choice. In resenting myself before you, I can make no selucing promises, nor can I come under any engage-ments, but those of most honestly discharging my luty, and carrying out, as far as I am rinciples which I have declared. I am here to so-

duty, and carrying out, as far as I am able, the principles which I have declared. I am here to solicit no favor, nor can I undertake to confer any. I do not conceive that a faithful representative contracts any obligations, save such as are mutual and reciprocal. You of your own choice select him as your servant, and if he, at the end of his term, is able to say, 'I have done my duty,' he may cry quits with his constituents, (Cheers.)

'Of myself, personally, it is always irksome and embarrassing to speak; but my difficulty is diminished by the thought, that I am going to utter nothing of a self-flattering character. In origin, in station, and in influence, I am a most humble individual; but I am willing to apply all the energies I possess, and to use the small modicum of talents with which it has pleased Providence to gift me, for the advancement of the liberties, the rights, and the happiness of my fellow-creatures, by pursuing the the advancement of the floeries, the right, and the happiness of my fellow-creatures, by pursuing the great objects I have set before you. (Cheers.) I have neither rank, connections, pedigree, nor wealth to recommend me to your notice. I cannot promise to build docks, or make railroads, or establish man-

'As I shall not go into Perliament as a party man to do the bidding of the Minister, I can hold out no prospect of obtaining any gifts for those who may place me in the hall of legislation. If you choose prospect of obtaining any gifts for those who may place me in the hall of legislation. If you choose me, therefore, it will be for the sake of my principles, and because you deem me, as a man, not unworthy to be the advocate, in your name, of those principles. Let it be understood that I do not appear before you as the representative of any exclusive section of the constituency of this borough, or the opponent of any particular individual in Parliathe opponent of any particular individual in ment, or seeking your suffrages to get there.

ment, or seeking your suffrages to get there.

'I hope every gentleman who claims your notice will have as fair a chance as myself of winning his way to your good opinion, and that you will select the best from among the number, be they few or many. I shall experience no feelings of bitterness or disappointment, if I am rejected by your vote of this evening, but retire with the most friendly sentiments, and the most carnest wish that you may find a more fitting representative, and that the great measures to which I am sure you are time and consistently attached, may, by your exertions, comount the successful issue.

In reply to a question, Mr. Thompson said he could be no party to the distribution of intoxicating liquors during the election. He would not purchase his seat by the demoralization of a single human being.

Mr. Thompson acknowledged the vote now passed, and expressed his deep sense of the obligation conferred on him. He had received invitations from many other constituencies. These he had declined. He now accepted this invitation, and would strad for the Tower Hamlets. (This decision was received with tremendous cheers.)

(Concluded on last page.)

## The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders! BOSTON, JAN. 2, 1852.

OUR TWENTY-SECOND VOLUME.

With the commencement of a new year and new volume, we proffer to our friends, patrons, and co laborers the heartfelt congratulations of the season desiring for them, in the great struggle for justice and liberty still convulsing our land, a vigilance tha never tires, courage and perseverance equal to any emergency, a fidelity of purpose inflexible and incorruptible, the quenchless flame of a world-wide phi lanthropy, that faith which overcomes the world that hope which is as an anchor to the soul, and that charity which is the bond of perfectness.

We enter upon the TWENTY-SECOND VO the Liberator. Twenty-one years, therefore, havbeen completed by us, in the advocacy of the sacreclaims of our enslaved countrymen, through its col umns. What was sown in weakness has been raise in power : the cloud that erst was no bigger than man's hand, has overspread the entire land. Throng obsenrity and feebleness, through contempt and per secution, through constant vicissitudes and amizing difficulties, the cause of justice has steadily ad vanced with a God-given vitality and a divine me jesty, till the land rocks beneath its tread, and al eyes are fastened upon it, and all tongues are loosed in its discussion.

'The end is not yet,' but the end is neither un certain nor far distant. A superficial and unphilo sophical mind might argue, that the anti-slavery struggle has been abortive, affording no remuner ation for past sacrifices, no ground for continued of fort, no occasion for exultation and triumph. Since 1831, an immense extent of slave territory has been added to the old, several new Slave States have been admitted into the Union, the increase of the slave than a million. Apparently, the Slave Power is more absolute in its sway now, than it has been at any other period. Where, then, do we find cause for anti slavery congratulation?

Every where! Though the Slave Power has every thing its own way, its anxiety and trepidation are visible to the dullest vision. What does this prove -strength, security, perminence? Numerous as are its adherents, few of them are to be relied upon; for as they are not governed by principle, but by interest, they can be retained only so long as their interest is consulted. Preparations for the overthrow of slavery, not in detail, but on a comprehensive plan, in the gross, are going on continually, through the process of public enlightenment which is in so many ways effectully made, by means of the press, of discussion, of personal influence, of combined action. Anti-slavery is a growth, not simply a development. Slavery is a development, not a growth. The first has been constantly gaining; the second as steadily declining, in spite of apparent success. Many a hard conflict is yet to be fought, but, by the eternal law of moral forces, there is no uncertainty as to the result. Emancipation must

The Laberator will continue to advocate imme diate and unconditional emancipation for those in bonds-equal rights and privileges for such of our colored countrymen as are nominally free. As hitherto, its distinctive object will be the overthrow of slavery by moral and peaceful instrumentalities, for the benefit alike of the oppressor and the oppressed. Incidentally, it will aid other reformatory movements: and still be characterized for its inde pendence and fairness, both sides of every question being allowed an impartial hearing in its columns No society is responsible for its sentiments; and as for its support, it is dependant upon its subscrip tion list, which we should be glad to see greatly augmented, both for the sake of the cause and the improvement of the paper in various particulars.

### LETTER OF MR. PARMER.

The letter of Mr. FARMER, in vindication of George THOMPSON from certain imputations cast upon him by FREDERICK DOUGLASS, is of great length, but of such a nature that we have been unwilling to break its continuity by dividing it. The vindication is as com plete as it is long. We call particular attention to that portion of it which explains the relation, responsibilities and duties of Mr. Thonrson, as a member of Parliament, and which will enlighten the minds of many inquirers on that subject. As to the real character and intent of the American Constitution, we think Mr. Dovolass exhibited them truly to the British public, in the extracts so pertinently quoted from his speeches by Mr. FARMER; and it is surprising to us that he can now seriously persuade himself that that Constitution is exactly opposite to the views he then entertained of it. A slaveholding, slave-breeding, slave-trading, negro-hating nation cannot tolerate any other instrument than such as will justife and protect them in their villany.

### LETTER PROM WM. AND ELLEN CRAFT

OCKHAM SCHOOL, near Ripley, SURRY, (Eng.) Nov. 29, 1851.

I hope you will not think that we have in the least degree forgotten your kindness towards us, though it may seem so by our not writing to you before part, or [of] the proper valuation of true friends, But merely because we, as you well know, have been deprived of the art of writing, and consequently fell our inability of addressing a letter to you.

But the letter of introduction which you were kind as to give us, was to such a kind and valued friend, that we trust not to labor under this disad-

Through the aid of Mr. Estlin, and some other kind friends, we have been able to settle at the above school, to get such an education as we hope will en able us to do something for the liberties and the elevation of our enslaved countrymen.

And as writing becomes more easy to us, we will take great pleasure in sending you a few lines from time to time, to let you know how we are getting on And will be much pleased if you will send us the Liberator occasionally, so that we may know what is

We were very sorry that the slaveholders were successful enough to get a slave from Boston, but were much pleased with the difficulty they had in

We think a few more such cases as the Christian affair will put a damper upon slave-catchers.

Please to remember us very kindly to Mr. Garrison, Mr. Wallout, and all other inquiring friends, And believe us to be,

Yours very truly,

### THE BAZAAR.

The Boston Bazuar finished its operations on Saturday evening last. Considering the difficulties at tending a new location, and one less eligible than that oi Fancuil Hall, as well as other circumstances, the sum realized-THREE THOUSAND DOLLARS-exceeded our anticipations. On the last evening, WENDELL PHILLIPS delivered to a large audience a most timely, eloquent and thrilling speech in relation to Kossuth and his position to the cause of down-trodden millions in our land, which we lay before our readers.

KOSSUTH.

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, At the Anti-Slavery Bazaar, Saturday evening, De ber 27th, 1851.

PHONOGRAPHICALLY REPORTED BY J. M. W. YERRINTON. I have been requested to consider, this evening, the

position which Kossuth occupies in relation to the anti-slavery cause in America. I need not say to those who have traced the course of this illustrious man that it must be with the profoundest regret that any criticism in regard to him. His life has been, up to the time of his landing on our shores, one continued (Loud cheers.) sacrifice on the altar of his country's independence. He has never forgotten her. He gave her the bloom a prisoner, hardly an exile. He might well, as in a Union cemented with my blood. classic story, have fallen down and kissed the deck of Take his speeches. Do they differ from those of that national frigate which was to be his rostrum, the most pro-slavery American. Does he qualify with the world for an audience. You will not under- his eulogy, does he limit his praise? Has he a word duty to do. But there was something more expected Webster and Rufus Choate, with those of any of the of him. That expectation has been disappointed. I dulge in any epithets which shall characterize his course. I want to state a few simple principles, and then a few pregnant facts, and ask you whether the to the fact, that one-sixth part of the inhabitants unabolitionists of this country have not a fair charge to der it are denied those personal rights which make make against the great Hungarian; whether those men who wait always with patient expectation the coming of these great and noble spirits, who are to and withdraw themselves from the crowd of idolators form spirit of the age-as one whose boundless capacity, purity of purpose, and the universality of replace it with the form of the great Hungarian. This, then, is my purpose,-to look at Kossuth as

have to say with a single remark about America. You will recollect the old story of the African chief seated naked under his palm tree, to receive the captain of an English frigate, and the first question he asked was, . What do they say of me in England? We laugh at this vanity of a naked savage, canopied the desert of a barbarous continent. But the same spirit pervades our twenty millions of Americans. The heart of every man is constantly asking the question- What do they say of us in England? Europe is the great tribunal for whose decision American sensitiveness always stands waiting in awe. We declared our independence, in '76, of the British crown, but we are vassals to-day of British opinion it dwells yet with the elder branch on the other side f the water. The American still looks with too servile admiration to the institutions which his fathers reluctantly quitted, and which he still regards with edges it :- a war which even the Senate of the Unitovermuch fondness. Our literature is but a pale re- ed States pronounced wicked and unnecessary; which flection of the English mind; and one reason why we the noblest intellects of the land have reprobated; have never become more thoroughly democratic is the whole literature upon which we lived was impregnated with English ideas, and every student and every thinker breathed the atmosphere of London. London is yet the great fount of ideas for all the Saxon race. Not until the principles of democracy. shall enter Temple Bar will the Saxon race be fully democratic, whether planted on the steppes of the Cordilleras, or on the shores of the Pacific. What is thus true of England, is true in a less degree of the

Now, it is to such a nation as this that Kossuth

comes-a nation sensitive to a fault, servile to the last absorbing question has banished all others from the nation's mind. The great classes and interests of society crash and jostle against each other like mighty vessels in a storm. The slave question having, like Aaron's rod, devoured all other political issues, claims and keeps the undivided attention of excited millions The lips of every public man are anxiously watched. and his lightest word scanned with relentless scrutiny. Pulpit and forum are both busy in the discussion of the profoundest questions as to the relations of the citizen to the law, and the real value and strength of our Institutions. For the first time, some men have begun to doubt whether they are compatible with free speech and Christianity : while men, called statesmen, either emboldened by success, or hardened by desperate ambition, have been found ready openly to declare that the Union is possible only on condition that the sons of the Pilgrims consent to hunt slaves, and smother those instincts which have made the poets of all ages love to linger round the dungeon of the patriot and the stake of the martry-with Tell and Wallace, with Lafayette and Silvio Pellico-with Charles Stuart hunted by the soldiery of Cromwell, and the Covenanter shot by that same Charles Stuart at his cottage door. Kossuth lands on a shore where humanity is illegal, and obedience to the Golden Rule of Christianity has just been declared treason. He was not ignorant of this state of things. Private individuals and public societies in England had placed in his hands ample evidence of the real character of American institutions, and the critical state of public opinion on the momentous question of enslaving every sixth man, woman and child in the land. Some besought him to pause ere he set foot on a land cursed with such monstrous system of oppression, and all bade him beware of the temptation to which his position subjected him, of strengthening by his silence or approbation the hands of the oppressor. At such a time, and in the midst of such a people, we have a right to claim that he should walk carefully. He knew that he must throw the weight of his mighty name in

Foote spoke truly when he said, from his seat in the Senate chamber, 'There is a great struggle going on through the world. It is between despotism and liberty. There is no neutrality in this struggle. No man can fail to be on one side or the other. He that is not with us is against us.' To which John P. Hale replied with such readiness, 'Exactly!' We have now that condition of affairs which George Canning prophesied when he said, 'The next war that passe over Europe is to be a war of ideas.' Now, whereve there is this war of ideas, every tongue takes a side. There is no neutrality. Even silence is not neutralione who loves liberty can utter the first word of ty; but he who speaks a word of sympathy to his brother man is on the side of humanity and progress

Now, I have brought three facts before you. man whose simple name is an argument, whose opinof his youth. He has given her the first fruits of ion is a fact potent throughout the world in sustain his genius. He has been true to her amid the temp- ing institutions of government. I have placed him in tations of ambitious life. He has been her martyr in the midst of a people with every eye fixed upon him, the horrible dungeons of the despots of Europe. He to note his course and learn his opinion. I have has stood by her equally under the temptations of shown that he is not ignorant of this his critical po suffering, and the greater temptations of success. sition. What has he done? No man expected that His name has become synonymous with patriotism he should come into this Hail; that he should go into and devotion to the rights of his race. He came to anti-slavery meetings; that he should take ground us heralded by the sympathies of every one who had against the Pugitive Slave Bill. No. But you reheart either for the sufferers by the oppressions of member, when Alexander went to see Diogenes, and Europe, or for those who lie under the weight of asked what he could do for him, the reply of the cynic the far greater oppressions of our own country. Not was, 'Stand out of my light!' Now, the slave had only this, but he came to us indebted to the govern- at least the right to say to Kossuth Stand out of my ment of the United States. Words of gratitude from light!' Let the glowing sun of the humanity of the his lips were both natural and fitting. He could not nineteenth century strike full upon me. Let the do otherwise than be grateful. He had a right to light and heat of those generous ideas, with which pour out, with oriental profuseness, the overflowing God has inspired some of the white race, fall upon thanks of one who had been rescued from the heavy me, to melt these chains of mine; and let not your yoke of Russia, and allowed to plead his cause face lavish praise be the spell that shall lull to sleep the to face with the millions of the West of Europe and half-awakened conscience of a people who have just of our own land. It was something to be thankful begun to attend to the neglected, and to remember the for. No one can find fault with him, for any grateful forgotten. Throw not the weight of your great name words which he has uttered on touching the land into the scale of those, my enemies, who glory in s under whose flag he first raised his head, no longer national prosperity fed out of my veins, and worship

stand me, therefore, as endeavoring to disparage the of sympathy for the oppressed, a hint, even, at any momentous service which he has rendered to the blot on our national escutcheon? Could he have spo-Sclavonic races of Europe—the purity of his purpose ken without taking aside, unless he had used the most played—no, nor to find fault with the gratitude which he has expressed to America. All this it was his Place them side by side with the speeches of Daniel relating to the Constitution of the United States. shall not attempt, for it is not in the mood either of very quality of being an added ligament to hold the men recognised as supporters of this Union, for its slave to his master. Is not the tone the same? Is not the eulogy of our Constitution as unqualified and as glowing? Do you ever find the slightest allusion the sufferings of the Magyar peasant tame in comparison? Throughout this flood of sublime eloquence drag forward the cause of human progress, at least a to applauding crowds, when has he been heard to speak a word for three millions of people in this land, around him who has been designated as THE man of he sympathised with them; to hint that he knew of their existence. Our country is ' great, glorious and free; the land of protection for the persecuted sons of whose sympathies, almost merited that we should This is his language. As I am speaking of one se freedom among the great brotherhood of nations." much praised and trusted, let me read to you two or three lines, to show the tone in which he speaks of the Union whose President and courts have been octhe slave would look at him. Let me preface what I cupied more fully, the last twelve months, with the recapture of fugitive slaves, and with the trial of men who have nobly aided them, than with any other cases whatever; a Union of which Daniel Webster says the Fugitive Slave Bill is the very bond and corner-stone,-that it cannot exist without it: a Union pledged to pursue and recapture every man who has by a palm tree, on an unknown river somewhere in the heroism to escape from Southern bondage. Oppressed men will look to your memory as a token of God that there is hope for freedom on earth '-[this of a Union which returned Sims and Long to their chains, and by which fugitives have been returned by dozens from Ohio and Pennsylvania !] - because there is a people like you to feel its worth and support its cause. Europe has many things to learn from America. It has to learn the value of free institu-So far as concerns American literature or American tions, and the expansive power of freedom.' And thought, the sceptre has never departed from Judah; this is a fair type of his general language. You know

We have just closed a war for the perpetuity of slavery-every man, North and South, acknowlnecessity to preserve the Union by aiding slavery, and not on the ground of justice, of humanity, or of liberty. What does he say of it? 'Take, for instance, the glorious struggle.' [We sent out a party from a slave State across to Mexican territories; we, Protestants, set up slavery on the soil which Catholies had purged from the stain. Take, for instance, the glorious struggle you had not long ago with Mexico, in which Gen. Scott drove the President of that Republic from his capital.' Mark you that language. I shall have occasion to refer to it again.

·I know how to read your people's heart. It is 'I know how to read your people's heart. It is degree; catching, with a watchful interest, the first breath of foreign criticism; hugging to its bosom with delight any eulogy that falls from the lips of noted men on the other side of the water. Is there any thing peculiar and to be remarked in the state of public affairs at the time of his visit; Yes, he comes precisely at the moment when one his constitution of the power in the state of public affairs at the time of his visit; Yes, he comes precisely at the moment when one his constitution and the power is a leading to the nature, and unpolluted, (1) like a virgin's heart. It is easy to read it, because it is open like nature, and unpolluted, (1) like a virgin's heart (!!) May others what he is a virgin's heart (!!) May others what her cause they regard duties but through the glass of petty interests. Your people has that instinct of justice and generosity (!) which is the stamp of many country's power; it is jealous of its own dignity; it knows that it has the power to read your people's heart. It is dealy to read it, because it is open like nature, and unpolluted, (!) like a virgin's heart (!!) May others what their ears to the cry of oppressed humanity, the stamp of petty interests. Your people has that instinct of justice and generosity (!) which is the stamp of many heart of the proposition of the propo tions to the principles of justice and right; and knowing itself to have the power, it is willing to be good as it is powerful.

These are the twenty millions of people whom George Thompson, with such striking truth, has described as engaged in one great slave hunt, with their President at their head, pursuing a poor trembling fugitive, flying for refuge to the flag of Great Britain, on the other side of the lakes. 'Your people have that instinct of justice, and generosity which i the stamp of mankind's heavenly origin' !!!

May your kind anticipations of me be not disap-pointed! I am a plain man. I have nothing in me but honest fidelity to those principles which have made you great, and my most ardent wish is, that my made you great, and my most argent wish is, that my own country may be, if not great as yours, at least as free and as happy, which it will be in the establishment of the same great principles. The sounds that I now hear seem to me the trumpet of resurrection for down-trodden humanity throughout the world."

What! free as the land where the Bible is refused to every sixth person! Free as the land where it is crime to learn every sixth person to read! Free as the land where, by statute, every sixth woman may be whipped at the public whipping-post! Free as the land where the murderer of the black man, if the deed is perpetrated only in the presence of blacks, is secur from legal punishment! Free as the land, the banks of whose Mississippi were lit up with the horric sight, not seen in Europe for two centuries, of a man torn from the hands of justice, and burned in his own blood, by a mob, of whom the highest legal authority proclaimed, afterward, that their act was the act of the people, and above the notice of the Judiciary Free as the land, the beautiful surface of whose Ohi was polluted by the fragments of three presses-the emblems of free speech and no tribunal has taken notice of the deeds! Free as the land, whose prairie has drank in the first Saxon blood shed for the right of free speech for a century and a half-I mean the blood of Lovejoy! Free as the land where the fugitive dares not proclaim his name in the cities of New Eng land, and skulks in hiding-places until he can concea the scale of one party or another, that was waging kind shelter of Liverpool and London! Free as the

of Louis Kossuth-I mean Ellen Crafts-(great cheering)-has pistols lying by her bed-side for cheering)—has pistols lying by her bounds, weeks, as protection against your marshals and your sheriffs, your chief justices and divines, and finds no Connell or Fayette for a moment. That is just the difference between him and them. O'Connell, (I was difference between him and them. Fowell Buxton,)

But what does Kossuth wish for Hungary? 'My most ardent wish is, that my own country may be, if which it will be in the establishment of the same berforce, Lushington and Brougham, to speak on the great principles. 'As free and as happy'! Is that platform of Freemasons' Hall, and advocate what is tive land? Would he thrust back to serfdom one sixth loose from these associates, if you will close your part of her twelve millions? Would he not blush mouth on the slave question, you may reckon on our peasantry to learn to read, and make the teaching of country's claims come up, you shall be sure of fifty every sixth Hungarian a penal offence? Would he votes on your side. 'No!' said O'Connell; 'let God Crandalls and Lovejoys? Would he hang his courts dungeon whence one of his comrades went to his grave, and the other came out blind-let him send er, for a moment, would be consent to lift Ireland, garian Craft, Sims, Long, etc., who had escaped and the world believes him, learn there that he never States are, and that he begs aid for his loved country too dear, if he begs it by words not truthful from the lips of Louis Kossuth.

· Happy art thou, free nation of America, that thou hast founded thy house upon the only solid basis of a nation's liberty! Thou hast no tyrants among thee to throw the apple of Eros into thy Union. Thou hast no tyrants to raise the fury of hatred in thy national family '! This he says, when he knows that the newspapers of one half the Union are full of the records of the atrocities perpetrated by the white men upon the blacks, guilty of nothing but a skin not colored like their own. I dely Kossuth to find in any German paper, at the very fount of Austrian despotism, such advertisements as daily fill our Southern presses. I defy him to match the crimes and wickedness of the press that leagues with despotism in this land. Mothers sold with their infants. six weeks old, together or apart. I dely him to match the advertisements coming from our Southern States. calling for a man or his head :-Fifty dollars reward for a man, dead or alive!

A land with three million of slaves, and not a tyrant! Free speech achieved on the floor of Congress only after a dozen years of struggle, and still a penal offence in one half the Union-our jails filled with men guilty only of helping a brother man tohis liberty-yet the keen eyes of this great soul can see nothing but a 'solid basis of liberty'! Southern Conventions to dissolve the Union-the law executed Government calls it, stalking through the streets of New York-Massachusetts denied by statute the not wish to meddle with Austrian politics." and feathers-one State proposing to exclude the a question of American politics. commerce of another-demagogue statesmen perambulating the country to save the Union-honest men

something to love one's race, and so much is patriotism; but they claim for Kossuth that he represents not dispute his title to this, that he has been devoted like her! to Hungary. Grant him that. When Alexander had only claim for Kossuth that he is ready to do and dare all for Hungary, we are willing to reply with the Lacedemonians- Be, to Hungary, her Washington.' The time was when even he claimed more, when he could proclaim that the cause of liberty was one the world over-that whoever struck a blow for

culogize a nation of slaveholders—to carry his point. cheering.) What greater wrong can he do the slave, than thus to Just such is the message that the American strengthen his foes in their own good opinion of them- slaves send back to Kossuth : - ' Recreant ! if buke to which the negro can alone trust for ultimate wide world over, why came you to this land stain-redemption? He whom tyrants hated on the other ed and polluted by our blood? What right had you side. He cats salt with the Haynaus of Washington. throw the weight of your great name into the sca It is high time that he explain to Europe the geo-of our despair? 'O, no!' said O'Connell, 'I will graphical morality that enables him to do it, and be never tread that American strand, until she removes still the Louis Kossuth whose wandering steps Russian vengeance thought it worth while to follow. It was well he did not. Hardly any man can stand Could he have filed his tongue as cunningly at home, against the temptations of our great political iniquity. why should he have ever left Pesth! Or shall we deem him a man hotly indignant at his own wrongs, and those of his own blood, but cold to those of

Kossuth has sacrificed the cause of liberty itself. He has consented to praise a nation whose freedom is a sham. He has consented to praise the nation which

in 1829, after his election to the House of Commons was called upon by the West India interestfifty or sixty strong-who said, 'O'Connell, you not as great as yours, at least as free and as happy, have been accustomed to act with Clarkson and Wilall that this loving son of Hungary can ask for his na- called the abolition cause. Mark this! If you will break to stand so near even to Austria, who compels her undivided support on Irish matters. Whenever your legislate into existence a nation of Haynaus, and au- care for Ireland; I will never shut my mouth on th thorize them to whip Magyar women ? Would he fill slave question to save her !' (Loud cheers.) He Hungarian prisons with Draytons and Sayres, the stood with eight millions, whom he loved; he stood Torreys and Fairbanks?-Hungarian graves with with a peasantry at his back meted out and trodder under foot as cruelly as the Magyar; he stood with in chains, that his brother nobles might drag back those behind him who had been trampled under the their serfs in peace? Before he repeats such a wish, horses' feet of the British soldiery in 1782 and 1801; let him go and meditate one hour more in that he knew the poverty and wretchedness, he knew the oppressions under which the Irish groaned; but nev his thoughts back again to that refuge which the Sul- whose wors, we may well suppose, rested heavily o tan gave him when he refused, at the hazard of his the heart of her greatest son, -by the sacrifice of th Crescent, to surrender to his neighbor State the Hun- interests or the freedom of any other portion of the race. 'When,' said the friend who told me this an claimed his protection. He would, if he be the man ecdote, in conclusion, 'when there were no more than two or three of us in the House of Commons, O'Concould consent to make Hungary what these United nell would leave any court or any meeting to be pres ent at the division, and vote on our side. That is the type of a man who tries by its proper standard the claims of all classes upon his sympath. He did for Ireland all that God had enabled him to do; but there was one thing which God had not called upon him t do, and that was to speak a falsehood, or to belie hi convictions. He did not undertake to serve his country by being silent when he knew he ought to speak or speak in language that should convey a false im

pression to his hearer. Kossuth is filled with overflowing love for Hunga ry, which lies under the foot of the Czar. Now, let us suppose a parallel case. Suppose that Lafay ette were now living, and that the great Frenchman had seen his idea of liberty for France go down in blood. We will suppose that, despairing of doing any thing at home, he had concluded to appeal to ome foreign nation for aid; that Fayette, with his European reputation, considered the great apostle of human liberty, and his voice the seal and stamp of republican principles, Fayette goes to Vienna for help. He goes to Austria for help for his side in French polities, as Kossuth comes here for help of his side of Hungarian politics : to Austria, with Hungary bleeding at her feet, and Kossuth in exile.

After all, it is national politics in which he asks us to interfere, at whatever hazard. What is Hungary? Twelve millions of people under the iron foot of the Russian Czar, by means of his puppet the Emperor of Austria. What says he to America in Boston at the point of the bayonet-riot, as the I do not wish to be entangled with American poli tics.' As one of our own citizens said to me the Detroit, Buffalo, Syracuse, Boston, Christiana and other day- What comes this fellow here for? I do right to bring an action in South Carolina-Georgia question of the liberty of twelve millions in Hungary setting a price on the head of a Boston printer-Sen- is as much a question of Austrian politics as the ques ators threatening to hang a brother Senator, should tion of the three millions of slaves under the United he set foot in a Southern State-the very tenants of States Constitution, and the human beings sent back the pulpit silenced, or subjected to a cost of tar as chattels under the Fugitive Slave Law of 1851, i

Do not think either that I am so far out of the way in sending Fayette to Austria. Let me turn aside before exhorted to stifle their consciences, for fear the ship I finish the illustration. What is Austria? Who is of state should sink amid the breakers—the whole Haynau? The culminating star of Austrian atroc nation at last waking to Jefferson's conviction, that ity-the General whose name recalls every thing we have the wolf by the cars ; we can neither hold that is most monstrous in Austria's treatment of down him nor safely let him go'! Yet this man, whose trodden Hungary. Haynau! What was it that the tempest-tossed life has somewhat sharpened the European press charged upon him as his greatest eyes of his soul, can see only a 'solid basis of liber- atrocity? Why, he whipped one woman, a countress ty'! 'No tyrant to throw the apple of Eros in the he whipped one woman at the public whipping post Union; 'to raise the fury of hatred in thy national The press of Europe, from the banks of the Volga to family'! What place has such fulsome and baseless the banks of the Seine, from the 'Times' up to eulogy on the lips of a truthful and honest man? Punch,' denounced him as a libel on the civilization I have a great deal more of the same tenor, but I of the ninetcenth century, as a brute who had disshall weary your patience. You will not deny that graced even the brutality of the camp, when he dared, this has been the general tenor of his addresses in in the face of Europe, in the nineteenth century, thus America. Now, he says, I do it because I love Hun- to outrage the common feeling of the world. That is Haynau; but he followed the example of half the Well, then, he is a patriotic and devoted Hungari- States of this Union. There, woman-whipping is the an-grant him that! He loves Hungary so much that law and custom of the land. There are a hundred Mis charity stops at the banks of the Danube. He is thousand men and women in this nation, who have a lover of his mother land. It is a great thing to a right by law to whip a million and a half of wo other land; but, still, it is a local men in fifteen of the Southern States patriotism. Even Webster loves the whites. It is der makes a villain; millions a hero.' To whip one woman makes a monster; but to whin millions by statute is to make a country in regard to which it is the highest ideas of the nineteenth century. We do the highest wish of Kossuth that Hungary may be

In view of this and similar facts, I'say, there is not consecrated himself as a god, he sent word to the a word of the language which he applies to Austria Lacedemonians that he had made himself a god, and that is not equally applicable to the land which imthey sent him back word- Be a god !' So if men prisons Drayton and Sayres in the jails of its capital, that pursues Shadrach without mercy-a land where women are whipped by statute-and there is not a word of all this elequent eulogy of ourselves, which

is not equally, applicable to Austria. I send Favette, therefore, to Austria, Kossuth sheltered by the Crescent, hears of the coming justice and humanity anywhere, helped the oppressed of Favette to Vienna. How his heart beats! Now the wide world through; while he who gave comfort from that voice, venerable with its age, strong in the to tyrants was the foe of all peoples. We felt that that millions that wait its tones, I shall hear the voice of lightning which melted the chain of the Hungarian a deliverer. Now the heart of every down-trodden ser, flashed a glad light into every hovel of the Caro- Hungarian is to leap for joy; now a sunbcam shall lines; and that the blow which Garrison was striking light up the dungeons of my old comrades, for Fayon the gates of the American Bastile, lent strength to ette has entered Vienna. Listen! The first note that hosts that battled on 'the banks of the Danube. is borne to him down the waters of the Danube is that So thought Kossuth once; but is it possible that his of Fayette speaking to Haynau of his 'glorious enconviction was no manly faith, but only a fairy spell try into the capital of Hungary, as Kossuth speaks which legends tell us a running stream always dis- of the entrance of the Americans into the capital of solves, and that the waves of the Atlantic have Mexico. He listens, and every word of the eloquent washed it out, and flung him upon our shores a mere Frenchman is praise of the Austrian emperor and Hungarian exile, instead of one of those great spirits Austrian institutions; and he says-words Kossuth with which God at rare intervals blesses the ages, has used to the Americans-teling to your Constitu with hearts so large that for them the world is their tion and your institutions. Cling to them! Let no country, and every man, specially every oppressed misguided citizen ever dream of tearing down the house because there is discomfort in one of the chamhouse because there is discomfort in one of the cham-Men say, 'Why criticise Kossuth, when you have bers.' And suppose he hears him say—'Let no misevery reason to believe that, in his heart, he sympa- guided Magyar ever dream of tearing asunder this thises with you?' Just for that reason we criticise beautiful empire of Austria, because there is discomhim. Because he endorses the great American lie, fort in that one chamber of Hungary.' What would that to save or benefit one class, a man may righte- have been his tone in answering Fayette! He would ously sacrifice the rights of another. Because, while have said- Recreant! What right have you to purthe American world knows him to be a hater of sla-chase safety for France, by sacrificing the people of very, they see him silent on that question-hear him Hungary, and by culogizing tyrants?' (Tremendous

selves, and weaken, by his example, that public re- you could not speak a free word for liberty the side the ocean, is the favored guest of tyrants on this to purchase with your silence aid for Hungary, or

Kossuth has come here on the glorious mission o redeeming Hungary. God speed him in every step -honest step-that he takes to lift up the Magyar, one whose skin is some few shades darker than his that he may raise the nations of Europe! But, O if he only lift her up by using for his fulcrum the chains of the slave; if he only lift her up by using language which shall strengthen the hearts of the oppressor in this land, which shall make those who love tramples Mexico under foot. He has consented to this Union lay the flattering unction to their souls-

(Kossuth is an experienced man, he un institutions, and sees nothing to blame in the perish Hungary before he succeed! ed the Fugitive Slave Bill. He knows it men who sent for the Hungarian exile; hopeless bondage hundreds, who, but for might have been saved. Why, if you had some of us have done, by the seen the uter wretchedness of the when they felt that father, or

ns they loved themselves. He would have side of Austria for the Magyat.' The European who is rent parchments to rags when they stood in there house where the men are being tried for the Chie and riots, as our press calls them, has lowered thetm of his spirit, and compromised that great time with gainst him. It is not that he does not leve Hup-

ry. It is not that he is a coward, and that his is

ica. No! We do not know that he was ever that of any thing below God. Though no coward he selfish. Just as selfish as all patriotism is. Helm his own land, and to that land he is willing to see fice the duty he owes to truth. 'An advocate,' is Lord Brougham, defending Queen Caroline, 'by t snered duty which he owes his client, knows in & discharge of that office, but one person in the work THAT CLIENT AND NONE OTHER. To save that the by all expedient means—to protect that client and hazards and costs to all others, and among others to in self-is the highest and most unquestioned of his any other. Now, that, in another form, is Keen patriotism. 'I love Hungary,' says he, 'sindad all ye other races; I will so mould my language will so pour out my eulogy, Lwill so lavish my pas that I will save her; let other races take care of the 'selves.' This, then, is the critisism of the string very reformer. Whoever strengthens the American Union, strengthens the chain of the American and Whoever praises the policy of this country seeds Constitution began, whether in Flerida or Meist strengthens the public opinion which suppose the Whoever strengthens that opinion, is a for to the slave Louis Kossuth has thrown at the let of he Union party the weight of his gigantic tant of every conscience that had begun to be treaked put to sleep: 'Kossuth is free from American principles, unbiased and disinterested. He tells are level to the Union. So I will observe the law; all will banish the slave from my thought, as Kand does. Kossuth saves Hungary by subserving the South; I will save the Ution in the same we This is the same old principle, the word round Hr. much truth may I sacrifice, in order to save sill little Zoar in which God has given me a leag? Is much silencing of the truth is permitted or her? God, in order that we may help him govern the wall How many noble instincts may we stift, how and despot hearts may we comfort, to help God and America? None! (Great cheering) No. is not send us into the world to free the slave. He al not send Kossuth into the world to sere Hangar He sent him into the world to speak his whole in for the white and the black man; to feel as a for his brother man, and to speak what he feet then i Hungary is saved, to join in the jubilee with which would celebrate her salvation. (Local chem)
O, men are so ready to take upon themsers is great responsibility of doing some great work is 30 world. I have got to save the Union, and therefore must return fugitive slaves. I have got to reform Hungary, and therefore I may be an American horp face, instead of an European patriot.
This is the verdict that history shall brine. Wist

hereafter, the historian is telling the story of some gel-man, who has done service to his kind, if he be on the loved only his own race, or color, or country, as any ped there—who loved a Frenchman because he himself born in Paris—or, born in London, warned is serve all Englishmen—if he were one who has not dered some great service to a single nation, or less dered some great service to a single nation, or lend
his own race and hated all others, he shall say, 'Ds
was a great man—he was the Kossuth, the Webz
of his day.' But when he shall dip his pen is pa
sunlight, to immortalize some greater spirit that the
sunlight, to immortalize some greater spirit that the
-one whose philanthropy, like the occan, known
bounds; the earle of whose spirit towering in input bounds; the eagle of whose spirit, towring in to pade of place, looked down upon the earth, and say the tod one for the case of place of the earth. ted out from the mighty scene, all the little iner which which man had narrowed it out, and took in em human being as a brother, and loved all raise an equal humanity; who never silenced their that the white man might longer trample on itsh or thought the safety of his own land chest it hage

por comits he small cup his pen in the gorgeous to the suning to and wrise, 'Inis was a greater and 'i be was a Garrison, an O'Connell, a Fayant (Loud and continued Cheers.)

E. (Loud and continued Cheers.)

E. (Loud and continued Which the anti-slaves is the exact difference which the anti-slaves in Kossuth. He is

for, the is the exact apperence which the anti-sla-nt said recognizes in Kossuth. He is the man the bas been content to borrow his tone from the atsafety is which he moved. He has offered social petrotism the incense of his eulogy, and is by that course, consented to do service to the is by first course, commenced to do service to the at spirit of American markey. We find no fault and similaration of the country was not neces and cold of all its institutions. A man man and the state of t Become to a land where every sixth man is a slave. Become to a state of the national banner clings to the flagad where the national condition entires to the flag das presion of the Hungarian serf have found no a de ficedam of the came to a land where as tale is prohibited by statute to three millions of tem beings, to whom, also, the marriage institution to heart, to warm, and the eminently religious Regular can find no occasion but for eulogy geome to a land where almost every village in the states has more than one trembling fugitive to die not tell his true name, and the great marty; referred liberty can find no occasion but for culo-He come to a land, of the fundamental arrange at of whose government, John Quincy Adam ment of whose governments, John Quiney Adams gues more perfect exemplification of the art of ming the lamb to the custody of the wolf,' and tall shore government a democracy would be to white understanding of mankind '; and the aposof civil liberty sees only a 'glorious republic' get glorious and free '- the pillar of freedom ' dal he prays for his own country is, that she or he as free and as happy in the establishment of essue great principles 11 By cones to a land where, according to the sam

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coutable authority, 'A KNOT OF SLAVEHOLDERS THE LAW AND PRESCRIBE THE POLICY OF THE ms, and the indignant foe of Austrian ruares sharpened by a tempest tossed life, finds no son but for eulogy! He comes to a land where, a me some renerable statesman, the presservatrat and animating spirit of the National PERSON, and where, since 1780, SLAVERY, SLAVE-ESSE SLAVE-DEERDING and SLAVE-TRADING HAVE THE WHOLE POUNDATION OF THE POLICY OF FREERIL GOVERNMENT; and the sharpened of the European patriot, whose baptism of libwas the damps of an Austrian dangeon, sees is glorious country '- great, glorious and free; condus republic; her glorious flag the proud sen of man's divine origin; the tasylum of oned humanity; her welcome the trampet of section for down-trod les humanity throughout world: her language the language of liberty, of therefore the language of the people of the and States;" his confidence of ultimate success mes from the thought, that there is a God in m, and a people like the Americans on earth." whethere to declare how easy it is to read the of this slaveholding, slave-breeding and slaveder people, because 'it is open like nature, and land like a virgin's heart; that others may but their ears to the cry of oppressed humanity, bese they regard duties but through the glass of visionate ! but this slaveholding and slave-tend. scools has that instinct of justice and generosity with is the stamp of mankind's beavenly origin ass that it has the power to restore the law of na is to the principles of justice and right, and is wilagtals as good as its power is great '!!! Does the tatesmanlike heart of Kossuth believe all this The does not, is the most devoted lover of liberty re board to lay on her altar the sacfifice of hypoc of ar was any cause ever ye strongthened by lips

In his last speech at Philaselphia, he goes, for the inttime, further, explains he plan, and pledges himof distinctly to silence. There are two words which would think Kossuth had never conquered, even his marvellous mastery of the English tonguelarrery' and 'slareholding'; and even here, while ssuily alluding to them, he cannot frame his lips a speak their syllables. Some one had forged the lowing letter to him, warring him of his nearness to the slaveholding States :-

December 23, 1851.

Reperted Sir :- It is my unpleasant duty to appeoples Nr :-11 is my unpressant that we have the fast the intervention or non-intervention sedentist that you have promulgated in your speech-sin the city of New York, are unsuitable to the retire of Pennsylvania, stuated as she is on the borders reholding States, and after a conference th my distinguished uncle, the Hon. John Sargent, e Han. Horace Kiney, and other distinguished uncel in, who concr with me in the sentiment I is not relaxated I assure you, that such sentiments assured to the sentiment. shot reactaily Lassure you, that such senti-man te incredistructure in the reacter and effect, and the conservator of the public morals and the peace the country, have sworn to compily with the Con-lation of the United States and the State of Penntama, on taking you myself the office of Attorney mera of the Courty of Philadelphia, I shall be sers of the Carty of Philadelphia, I snau or algebraic states a superstance of a Grand Inquests the country for their action and assiration. Respectfully,

W. B. REED, Att'y Gen.

Kossath thus caments on this letter f-

Now, such a ster, and yet a forgery, indeed, is a peasle trick but though it is a forgery, still as hear this which forces me to some humble trick preisy because I know not whence comes Is referring to these words :- "Your and to the gion of Pennsylvania, situated as she

said to the gior, of Pennsylvania, situated as she is a the londs of several staveholding States." I make the londs of several staveholding States." I make gift this opportunity to declare once more tall here id or will do any thing which, in the much syrrould interfere with the matter alluded a few with shatever other domestic question of your tail Repuis, or of a single State of it. I have seeing it can't several times, and on all and every specially 1 have proved to be as good as my and the series several times, and on all and every sant I have proved to be as good as my lee say that even the pledge of the word has an honest man should not be considered as maccarity in that respect. The publicly sales of my humble claims, and the unavoid-best it, would prove to be a decisive author-

What's the ground upon which I stand before mais the ground upon which I stand before may tribunal of the public opinion of the had steel it is the sovereign right of every in a dispose of its own domestic concerns, and shause. What is it I humbly ask of the best hard they may generously be see, i protect this sovereign right of every natiques in the actional state of the steel is the actionaling violence of Russia. It is that the entroaching violence of Russia. It is the concentration of the steel is sovereign right of every natiques are steel in the steel in the steel is sovereign right of every national steel in the steel is sovereign right of every national steel in the steel is sovereign right of every national steel in the steel is sovereign right of the steel in the steel in the steel is sovereign right of the steel in the steel is so that the steel is and will not meddle with any do-assion of this Republic. (Applause.) In-lated and more perceive that, to speak with there are more things in heaven and earth and there are more things in heaven and earth and there are more things in heaven and earth as we dramed of in my philosophy. (Laughter areas). But still, I will stand upright, on a superior of the superior states and the superior states are superior supe

then, is the shadowy line by which, while he asur sympathy and aid for Hungary, he separadalaye's claim from his own? Simply this, try aks for rights which ancient charters seby her; the slave has no charters, no parchan, to show :- therefore, we ought to love and aid Magne; therefore, Douglass can claim nothing of schi And can the soul of Kossuth rise no or than the level of human parchments? or can find for liberty with such bated breath and whistambleness, that to serve his purpose he can ber always to forget the self-evident rights at God gave-to which the slave has as much as the noblest Magyar of them all? More than can he find it in his heart to strengthen by his by his example and his name, the hands of violator of those rights-cry 'glorious' en, while the black is robbed of his hard toil,

of the Bible, of chastity, wife, husband, and child, the opposers of tyranny in every land—those who only to persuade slaveholders to sid in securing for would honestly exclaim against oppression under the Magyar pensight, and write, 'This was a greater mobile the right to legislate? The world thought his motions and scrutinize his conduct. The courage has a Garrison, an O'Connell, a Faying the was a Garrison, an O'Connell, a Faying the was a Garrison, and o'Connell, a Faying the was a coal from the altar of the lips had been touched by a coal from the altar of the has voluntarily offered himself to the living God-and lo! he has bargained away his very utterance, and presents himself before us thus cheaply bought and gagged !

His parallel of the non-intervention of States is no just one. No one asks England to interfere with our slave question; but, on the other hand, she pronounces no opinion on our government in general she does not expend herself in glowing, unqualified, and indiscriminate culogy of our institutions, or strengthen the hands of their friends by holding them up to the world as the first hope of redemption to oppressed nations, and the fairest model of republican perfection. The same is true of Kossuth. While at home, all the world asked of him was to stand in his lot, and do gallant battle for his land and people. When he comes here, and gives the listening world his judgment of our institutions-mingling himself thus, whether he will or no, with our great national struggle-he owes it to truth, to liberty and the slave, that such judgment should be a true, discriminating and honest one. If the opinion he has pronounced be his honest judgment, what will men say of that heart whose halting sympathies allowed him to overlook a system of oppression which Wesley called the 'vilest the sun ever saw,' and which made Jefferson 'tremble for his country, when he remembered that God was just'? If it be not his honest judgment, but only fawning words, uttered to gain an end, what will men say of the Jesuit who thought that he owed it to Hungary to serve her, or, indeed, imagined that he could serve her, by lips that clung not to the truth? When Rome's ransom was weighing out, the insolent conqueror flung his sword into the scale against it. So at the moment when the fate of the slave hangs trembling in the balance, and all he has wherewith to weigh down the brute strength of his oppressor is the sympathy of good men and the indignant protest of the world, Kossuth, with the eyes of all nations fixed upon him, throws the weight of his great name, of his lavish and unqualified approbation, into the scale of the slaveholder, crying out all the while, 'Non-intercention'!

Truly, these eyes that see no race but the Magyar, and no wrongs but those of Hungary, may be the eyes of a great Hungarian and a great patriot, but God forbid they should be the eyes of a man or a Chris-

Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori. Every hear responds to the classic patriot, and feels that it is indeed good and honorable to die for one's country but every true man feels likewise, with old Fletcher of Saltoun, that while he 'would die to serve his country, he would not do a base act to save her.

KOSSUTH IN AMERICA.

35 ECCLES ST., DUBLIN, Dec. 9, 1851. To H. C. WRIGHT!

DEAR HENRY-I find by the Liberator of the 7th November, that you, in distant Ohio, were, on the 26th October last, anxiously thinking on the miserable fate which was likely to be the portion of the great Hungarian patriot, seeing that he was about to place his future destiny within the grasp of your man-stealing and color-hating community. A few days later, on the 4th of November, my mind was occupied with similar thoughts, and my pen was engaged in warning M. Kossuth of his danger. How I performed the task. you will judge for yourself, when you read the paper which accompanies this letter, and which I will send to our friend Garrison for publication in the Liberator, I also forward copies to several other friends in America, some of whom, I trust, will take measure to inform M. Kossuth that the warnings he received when in England have accompanied and followed him to America. Others beside myself, in Ireland and in Scotland, and, for aught I know, in England also, have put him in possession,-if one so intelligent needed the instruction, -of the perils which awaited his claim, and the clouds which hung over Liberty because of his projected visit to your land; to that land wherein the wrongs of three millions of human beings are borne on every breeze to the farthest ends of the earth. I hope a copy of your letter to me will be put into Kossuth's hands. If he be a Man, and not, as Gerrit Smith says, a mere Hungarian, he will rejoice to be sustained by the sympathy of men likeminded with himself. If his soul bows down before the idol which claims the devotion of your Websters your Deweys, and all such little-minded political and theological giants of your nation, it is but right that he should be made to feel how low he has sunk himself in degradation.

universal emancipation; or by his weakness and his falsehood retard the enward progress of human liberty; our path of duty is not the less clearly marked out for us. We must proclaim the right; hoping that, in spite of human faults and human follies, truth and justice will ere long prevail, and that the dark shadow of slavery will pass away from the earth. Amid the defections, and the lukewarmness, and the opposition, of so many as impede the march of civilization, it is sometimes as much as Hope can do to keep our strength and purpose from failing; but ever and anon a little light in the distance swells into a brighter beacon, and cheers us onwards. This remark applies with equal force at home and abroad, whether it be that chattel slavery, the slavery of intemperance, the slavery of ignorance, or the slavery of oppression are the evils to be overthrown. Intemperance is the mighty sin of these lands, and prevents the fruition of useful and philanthropic efforts in all other directions. Improvements in general and local government are retarded by our drinking customs. Ignorance is perpetuated because of the degradation of character they create, and because of the large sums of money they turn into unfruitful channels; and Crime is fostered through their means, Notwithstanding which, the wealthy and the leaders of our people look on with indifference, or madly assist in this carnival of desolation. Much is being done by a few towards the arresting of this plague, and, I am happy to say, with considerable good effect. It is only to be regretted that it is still the few, and not the many, who are carnestly engaged in this good work amongst

Another sudden revolution has taken place in France. It looks as if the people there had no mighty heart beating in favor of liberty. You will know all about their present doings from the public papers; and as my sheet is now quite full, I have no room to offer speculations of my own as to their future.

Farewell, for the present. Yours, sincerely, JAMES HAUGHTON.

God bless the true-hearted, world-wide phianthropist, JAMES HAUGHTON, of Dublin, Ireland, for the following appeal to the Anti-Slavery Societies of Great Britain and Ireland, and letter to Kossuth respecting his visit to America!

TO THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Believing it to be a just and a wise principle of action on the part of anti-slavery men to hold men to their own avowed principles, especially those men who come before the world prominently as the advocates of human rights, I deemed it my duty to advocates the following letter to M. Kossuth on his pecially to your intended visit to the United States advocates of human rights, I deemed it my duty to advocates of human rights, I deemed it my duty to advocates of human rights, I deemed it my duty to advocates of human rights, I deemed it my duty to according to your intended visit to the United States of America.

We yield to none in our admiration of the free institutions of that great and growing country. But, reply to my letter.

This eminent man is not entitled to be 'let alone.'

The world—the friends of the slave everywhere—

attention at the present time, has reference more especially to your intended visit to the United States of America.

We yield to none in our admiration of the free institutions of that great and growing country. But, as the friends of universal emancipation, we deem it right to acquaint you that, in that enlightened community, whose Constitution declares that 'all men are born free and equal,' there are held in ignomin-

snd the integrity of M. Kossuth will soon be deeply tested; he has voluntarily offered himself to the trial; and if he comes off unspotted, he will be as pure gold well tried in the fire. If he shall fall beneath the pro-slavery sentiment of America, he will inflict a wound upon LIBERTY by weakening men's faith, and causing many to despair of the ultimate triumph of truth and justice in the world.

Indications of the quality of M. Kossuth's reception in America by the enemies of freedom are already abroad. That he will have the faithfulness and the moral courage to hrave their heatlifts I doubt.

seeing that he is rushing voluntarily into the lion mouth; but as I have been told that he liberated five hundred thousand serfs in his own country, I hope and pray that he may be found faithful to the col-Smith-an American, and a man dear to abolition

'My reference to Hungarian heroes reminds me of the glorious reception which this deeply hypocriti-cal nation, standing with its feet upon the throats of cal nation, standing with its feet upon the throats of oppressed millions, is preparing to give to Kossuth. It flatters itself that he will not prove himself to be the enemy of American as well as of Austrian oppression; and that his sympathies, instead of being commensurate with the whole human family, will be found to be governed by country and caste. Thrice hands will it he whole human family. happy will it be—though to the unutterable dismay and chagrin of this guilty nation—if Kossuth shall on American soil, confess bimself to be the brother of all men—if Kossuth shall, on American soil, give proof that he is a man, instead of a mere Hun-

Fellow-laborers and friends, I remain faithfully yours, JAMES HAUGHTON.

Dublin, Nov. 21, 1851.

' TO M. KOSSUTH, IN LONDON.

Sir-You are now in a land where a man may at least give utterance to the thought of his mind, in which the heart may vent itself in articulate breathings in favor of freedom. Go not, I pray you, to America—set not the sole of your foot on that soil which is trodden by three millions of slaves, and on whose behalf you, even you, dare not utter one sympathetic word. In the so-called 'free states' of merica, your deeds in favor of humrnity, if they still warm your heart, and give buth in your soul to the language of freedom, will earn for you nothing but contempt and derision from the party who will surround you. In the 'slave states,' the halter awaits the man who whispers the accents of liberty within their borders.

In the former, you may escape the insults of mean men; in the latter, you may not be subjected to the death I have indicated; but it will be on one condition only. You must be no longer Louis Kessuth— you must sink yourself to a level—and, oh! God, what a miserable condition of humanity that level is with men stealers. Your once noble nature, which all nations, will no longer shed its halo around your name. Now you are the champion of liberty, one of those men whose names are pronounced with affec-tion, because they are synonymous with human progress in the road of advancement and of civilization In that land of whips and chains, your name and your fame will be tarnished, because your tongue must be mute on the great topic of universal liberty.

Taking into consideration the advantages pos-

ed by the Americans, and the high professions they make of liberty and equality before the world here is not, and there never was, a nation so disonored; and so deep and damning is their moral clinquency on the question of human rights, that few Europeans who visit them escape pollution of soul. Few Europeans in the United States of Amerisoul. Few Europeans in the United States of America have the manliness to stand forward on behalf of the God-given rights of the colored race. All, nearly all of them, are cowards in the maintenance of truth and justice; they shrink before the base public opinion of that guilty nation.

Sir, I bog of you not to go to the United States of America, and I respectfully ask you to tell the world that con beginning the states of the state

world that you keep at a distance from that land, berapked with creeping things, and the beasts of the fields, and made merchandise of by their fellows.

If you act in this noble manner, your name will continue great before the nations; methers will teach

children to lisp it with delight. It will be a name long held in reverence by mankind.

Go to America, and listen to the blandishments of women-whippers and cradle-plunderers—of a race of Haynaus, who spare not the lash upon woman's flesh, and the brightness of your name is sullied forever Tyrants will rejoice, and the friends of freedom wil eep, because of your renunciation of those high

and noble principles of liberty with which your name and your acts are now associated in the minds of If you be the great souled man that I hope and elieve you are, and of which no doubt should rest on my mind, were it not for your intention to accept hospitality of that people, whose contact, seems to me, you ought to spurn with feelings of abhorrence similar to those which must animate you against Austrian and Russian tyranny, it would be Whatever may be the result of M. Kossuth's visit an insult to you for me to offer an apology for thus addressing you; therefore, I make none. I address his firmness and his truthfulness, speed the day of you with the freedom which one free man may use to another, upon a question involving great human rights, and I trust you will feel that I have done so

respectfully.

I am, Sir, with sincere admiration of your charac ter, respectfully yours,

JAMES HAUGHTON. 35, Eccles-street, Dublin, 4th Nov., 1851. P. S.—I send this through my friend Mr. Charles Gilpin, who can inform you who I am, if you incline to inquire into my character.

J. H.

The following additional appeal to Kossuth made before he left England, we copy from the last number of the 'British Friend' :-

LOUIS KOSSUTH, PEACE, AND AMERI-

CAN SLAVERY. Few of our readers, we apprehend, but have heard of the name, and fewer still in the sufferings of this distinguished Hungarian, in his desire for the liberty of his fellow-countrymen For the last few weeks, indeed, his has been the most prominent name before the public; and atten-tions such as rarely fall to the lot of public men have, it may truly be said, been even showered upor him. In the midst of so much admiration and ex citement, we were fearful lest some of our public spirited Peace friends should, as with the torre spirited reace friends should, as with the torrent, be led away from the consistent ground of its advocacy. This feeling appears to have impressed the Committee of the London Society, and gave occasion for the truly excellent Address to the friends of son for the truly excellent Address to the friends of the cause throughout the country. It will be found in another place; and we commend it to the care-ful perusal of our readers. It will well repay the

trouble.

The subject of American Slavery has also, we observe, through the newspapers and other channels of information, been brought under the notice of Kossuth. We rejoice that this has been the case. May he bear a faithful testimony in behalf of the Slave in America, and not copy the inglorious cours Slave in America, and not copy the inglorious course of Theobald Mathew, who turned his back on his auti-slavery principles! We had the privilege of perusing several of the addresses sent to Kossuth on this subject, and have been much pleased with them. The following was sent from this city, and was presented through our kind friend, Charles Gilpin:

To Louis Kossuth, late Governor of Hungary.

The undersigned beg respectfully to address you on behalf of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, and the Glasgow Female Anti-Slavery Society, which have for their object the abolition of slavery throughout the world.

In the Address which was lately presented to you

by our fellow-citizens, congratulating you upon your happy liberation from your recent imprisonment, and sympathizing with you in your desires for the deliverance of your oppressed countrymen, some of us not only interested ourselves, but, as lovers of liber-

ious and degrading chattel slavery nearly three and a half millions of our fellow-men—deprived of all right to their own persons, or those of their own wives and children—for no other reason than that of possessing 'a skin not colored like our own;' and to retain whom in hopeless bondage, the whole of the constituted authorities of the American people presented to Kossuth in his progress in England, and are notoriously and unmistakeably pledged—of which the enactment by their Congress last year of the 'Fugitive Slave Bill,' is a recent and most lamentable manifestation.

I have read with close attention all the addresses the constituted authorities of the American people presented to Kossuth in his progress in England, and his answers. Not one word has he yet uttered to give offence to American slaveholders. The burden of his sented on the occasion. The widest and most corbination of the constituted authorities of the constituted authorities of the American people presented to Kossuth in his progress in England, and his answers. Not one word has he yet uttered to give offence to American slaveholders. The burden of his sented on the occasion. The widest and most corbination of the course of liberty any where? As well look to liars to promote truth, or to thieves to promote honesty, as to slaveholders to aid the cause of liberty.

The Nineteenth Annual Meeting of this Society will be held in the Melophon, in Boston, on Wedness Day, Trunsday and Friday, 29th and 30th, 1852—commencing at 10 o'clock, A. M. All auxilliery Societies are solicited to be strongly represented to the course of liberty.

SETTS ANTI-SLAVERY BOCIETY.

The Nineteenth Annual Meeting of this Society will be held in the Melophon, in Boston, on Wedness Day, Trunsday and Friday. The Nineteenth Annual Meeting of this Society will be held in the Melophon, in Boston, on Wedness Day, Trunsday and Friday. The Nineteenth Annual Meeting of this society will be held in the Melophon, in Boston, on Wedness Day, Trunsday and Friday.

Figitive Slave Bill, is a recent and most lamentable manifestation.

While, therefore, we admire the noble generosity of the United States Government, in providing a refuge in that land for you and your exiled countrymen, we entreat you, as the liberator of the serfs in your own country, that whilst you may be gratefully acknowledging the benevolent conduct of the American nation, you will not fail, at the same time, to lift up your voice in behalf of the enslaved millions in their midst; and that, viewing these our degraded and oppressed sable brethren as being, equally with yourself and us of the white race, the creation of the same God, and objects of the same redemption through Jesus Christ, you will use your influence, in every proper and prudent way, for hastening the day of their entire emancipation.

Allow us, in conclusion, to assure you that we

tening the day of their entire emancipation.

Allow us, in conclusion, to assure you that we shall continue to cherish the warmest desires for your welfare; and to pray that it may please the Almighty Ruler of the Universe, not only to grant you His merciful preservation, but that your bumane and patriotic aspirations for the liberty and prosperity of your beloved Hungary may be speedily, and peace-fully, and happily fulfilled.

Signed in name and on behalf of the aforesau so-cicties, at Glasgow, this eleventh day of November, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one.

ANDREW PATON, Secretaries to the Glasgow WILLIAM SMEAL, Emancipation Society.

MARY WELSH. Secretaries to the Glasgow Female A. S. Society.

By the following paragraph, which we copy from the last number of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter, it appears that Kossuth was supplied with all needful intelligence in England on the subject of American slavery. He appears to have made no reply in any instance to the numerous antislavery addresses that were sent to him. Why did his courage and his courtesy forsake him?

In directing the attention of our readers to the In directing the attention of our readers to the Resolution of the Edinburgh Emancipation Society, which will be found in another part of the Reporter, we may mention that a deputation of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Stavery Society was favored with a personal interview with M. Kossuth, when he was presented with abundant materials whereupon to found his judgment of the character of American support of the control of the character of American slavery, as well as of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world. We may also mention that we have received information also mention that we have received information of the intention of the Executive Committee of the not unexpected by me, and the probability of which

A PLEA FOR KOSSUTH.

Boston, Dec. 20, 1851. MR. GARRISON:

DEAR SIR,-Looking anxiously for the expression that you would make in regard to Kossuth, it was with deep regret that I read your leading article in your last paper. I had supposed that, of all the people in the United States, none would welcome him with more fervor than the anti-slavery as people, they are the only ones who can listen to his anathemas against tyranny, without feeling a blush of shame in considering our own actions towards the oppressed and enslaved of our own nation. Yet I see no reason why we should change our opinions, because Kossuth chooses to attend strictly to the mission for which he came here. Let every man act well the part which God has given him to act. Did he refuse to accept any favors but from those with whom no fault can be found, the cause of liberty and progress would make slow headway indeed. Let Kossuth work out the destiny of Hungary so far as in him lies; and let us do the same by our country. One aids the other. Every blow that is struck for freedom in Europe affeets the chains of the slaves here, the same as our example has had an affect against the despotisms of Europe.

If we turn a deaf ear to the calls of buried Hungary, because we have got our own affairs to take care of, do we not repeat the same argument-or, rather, the foolish statement, I will not call it argument-that is generally brought against us by conservative ignorance, that we had better take care of the poor whites who are suffering around us, and not trouble ourselves with the niggers, who are far bet. ter off where they are? Or if we should call upon the temperance men to aid us, and they should reply, 'O, you are a trimmer and a hypocrite! You care nothing for the suffering thousands who are made wretched by this accursed traffic in alcohol.

No! but you must go off some hundreds and thou
No! but you must go off some hundreds and thou
them, that they regarded slavery as a grievous evil, and slaveholding as a great crime. They are to have a discussion on the Fugitive Slave Bill shortly. I expect to be there, and, if necessary, to take part in the discussion. The young men to whom I refer have sands of miles to expend your sympathies. We doubt your sincerity, and will have nothing to do with you.' This, it seems to me, would be just and fair and reasonable as for us to turn a cold shoulder and a deaf ear to Kossuth, because he will not identify himself with our cause. But, to my mind, he is working in the common cause, towards the general good. His is one class of philanthropy, as our cause is another. Let whoever is moved by the spirit within him, labor young, we shall soon have a liberal county. with all his might for the cause which he wishes to advance; and let us, his fellow-laborers in other causes, bid him God-speed, and not look suspiciously towards him, because he sees things differently from what we do. When we sent our ministers to France to obtain pecuniary aid during our Revolution, it would not have helped our cause much, had they commenced lecturing the French government on the oppressions which it was practising on the mass of the people. Yet who doubts but that, by the advantages that we derived from the aid rendered by them, we gence, amply illustrated with Engravings. Published have been able to exert a more powerful influence for monthly by Fowlers and Wells, No. 131 Nassau the good of the French people, than though we had street, New York. magnanimously refused to accept any aid from that government because of its tyranny? Even so will be the consequence of our aiding the cause of humanity in Europe at the present time, and I hope that every anti-slavery man and woman will give some portion of their charity in that quarter; or, at least, afford no comfort to our enemies by any inconsistent disapproval of a glorious purpose. Yours, with great respect,

A SUBSCRIBER And an ardent laborer in the anti-slavery cause.

RECREANCY OF KOSSUTH.

Behold the scenes now transpiring in New York, Philadelphia and Washington! Every influence Nassau street, New York. brought to bear on Kossuth to make him bow and worship at the shrine of slavery. Kossuth, the selfstyled "MARTYR TO THE CAUSE OF UNIVER-SAL LIBERTY," has humbled his soul before the foul demon. He cares not how many slaves are held by REPUBLICAN America, provided the slaveholders give him hospitality,' and sympathise with Hungary. Provided one nation is not in bondage to another na tion, he cares not how many individuals are held and used as chattels, as brutes, by individuals! God help him! Better for him and for the liberty of Europe's toiling millions, had he never set foot on our slaverycursed shores.

Then the treason trials! Treason against the government is refusing to be a kidnopper. O, give me lib-erty or death! Let every one utter this cry ever-

'Is it possible that Kossuth is so blinded and besotted by patriotism, by a selfish regard for Hungary, as not to see that the cause of liberty is the cause of man, bounded by no geographical lines or national interests? He who connives at the enslavement of one man, for any cause, however poor and despised he may be, that man is a tyrant in his heart, and would ent, if need be, to the enslavement of every being in the universe except himself. Can he not see

peeches has been NATIONALISM; the right of each nation and state to manage its own affairs. I do hope the abolitionists will mark his course, and make hir a text, whatever course he pursues. If he comes here to augment the Slave Power, let the world that

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

INVITATION FROM BOSTON.

has idolized him know it.

On Sunday evening, 21st ultimo, Kossuth was waited upon by the delegation from the Boston City Council, consisting of Alderman Kimball, Councilmen Henry J. Gardner, Edward S. Erving, Cyrus

Washburn, and Joseph Smith.

Upon being introduced to the illustrious Magyar by Mr. Howard, Mr. Alderman Kimball addressed him in the following terms:

Respected Sir:—My associates and myself have

the honor to be a Committee of the City Council of Boston, delegated with the pleasant duty of inviting your Excellency to visit our city. We come, sir, to ask you to the capital of the State where our pilgrim forefathers first landed, after leaving the Old World to secure religious liberty. To the city where the first blow was struck for American freedom. To the city hallowed by its immediate vicinage to Ban-ker Hill, to Concord, to Lexington, and to the house of John Hancock, [Kossuth:—Yes, oh yes, I remember, I remember,] whose bold autograph on our immortal Declaration of Independence gives so graphic and truthful an impress of the people who achieved our independence. We come from the descendants of the patriots whose glorious deeds secured the civil and religious rights we enjoy, to express their sympathy for your heroic countrymen, and their admira-tion of your patriotic efforts in their behalf. In short, sir, we come in behalf of the city, to ask you to accept of our hospitality at your earliest conto accept of our hospitality at your earliest con-venience, that each and all may tender you their per-sonal regards in our own Fancuil Hall, the Cradle of Liberty. Allow me to present you, sir, a copy of the resolves of our City Council under which we act.

Kossuth's Reply. Kossuth replied as follows:

Gentlemen, I sincerely thank you for the high honor and compliment which you have so gracefully bestowed upon me, of an invitation to the city of Boston. Gentlemen, I accept it in principle, but I am afraid that I shall be unable to do so practically.

The steamer which has just arrived from Europe has American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to pro-sent M. Kossuth with an address, as soon as may be after his arrival in the United States. news as may require my immediate presence in Europe, I must leave for Washington immediately, there to return my gratitude and thanks to the Con-gress of the United States in person. I have also had the pleasure of accepting an invitation to Cincinnati, if time permits me. Gentlemen, I propose to remain in the United States during the month o January. If the news from Europe should not require my return earlier, I will visit Boston, even it but for a day or two; and I will write from Washington, that you may know the day. Let me assure you, gentlemen, that I know of no place in the Un ed States that I should prefer visiting more than th city of Boston, distinguished as she is and occupy ing as she does so high a position in the literar world. No invitation has been felt by me mor warmly; and I feel highly honored by receiving i

(Cheers.)

Mr. Alderman Kimball. I should explain, Sir, the the cause of the tardiness, which we appear to have exhibited, arose in consequence of the time that wa occupied in getting the resolutions formally passes by the Council. I am happy to state that they pas

Gov. Kossuth bowed, and shook hands with th deputation, who thereupon withdrew.

JOSEPH BARKER.

Our sturdy English anti-slavery friend, Joseph Barker, now of Ohio, writes to us as follows :-

I am glad to inform you that we all continu vell, and that, since I wrote to you last, I have com to the knowledge of a fact tending greatly to encour age the friends and advocates of freedom in this eighborhood. I have ascertained that hatred of color and devotion to slavery in this neighborhood, are confined chiefly to the older people, and that the younger people are rapidly becoming anti-slavery On Tuesday evening last, I went to a meeting young men in this township, and I was quite delight ed to learn, from a discussion that took place amon the discussion. The young men to whom I refer have formed a society for free discussion. I asked if they would admit me as a member of their society, and al who were present said they would ; but the members that were absent had to be consulted. Those who were present invited me to give them a lecture on Education, in the course of next month, and I agreed to do so. If liberal views begin to prevail among the

I have an invitation to lecture on Slavery and th Scriptures, in a neighboring town, and I expect to have a discussion on the subject after the lecture If any thing important takes place, you shall hear from me.

FOR ONE DOLLAR A YEAR-Either of the follow

ing named Journals may be obtained :-THE AMERICAN PHEENOLOGICAL JOURNAL: a Reository of Science, Literature, and General Intelli-

THE WATER CURE JOURNAL and Herald of Reform-Devoted to Physiology, Hydropathy, and the Laws of Life. Profusely illustrated. Terms the same THE STUDENT, and Family Miscellany, designed for

children and youth, parents and teachers. Illustrated with Engravings. THE UNIVERSAL PHONOGRAPHER-Devoted to the

dissemination of Phonography and Verbatim Reporting, with Practical Instruction to Learners. Printed in Phonography.

Either of these Monthlies will be sent by mail to any Post Office in the United States, for One Dollar a year each. All letters and orders should be postpaid, and directed to Fowlers and Wells, No. 131

The hollowness of the reception of Kossura at New York, is truthfully described and satirically set forth in the poem of our friend, GEORGE W. Pur-NAM, on our last page.

Kossuth, after having received a cordial welcome at Philadelphia and Baltimore, in which cities he made long and eloquent speeches, arrived in Washington on Tuesday last, where he was received by a Committee of the Senate, and conducted to Brown's Hotel, where he soon afterward had a private interview with Mr. Webster.

The crowded state of our columns exclude various articles intended for the present numberamong them, the reply of Dr. Lord, of Portland, t Daniel Foster, and the essay of 'Sharpstick.'

The Bostonians succeeded, on Wednesday of Let The Bostonians succeeded, on Wednesday of last week, in electing a Mayor, by the famous majority of one. Whole number of votes, 7976. Necessary to a choice, 3989. Benjamin Seaver, Whig, had 3990. The three Whig Aldermen had several hundred majority.

Arrest. Eleven colored men, who arrived at New Orleans, in ship Esmeralds, from Liverpool, have been arrested for having entered the State in contravention of law.

dial 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 slave upon her consecrated soil.

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

EDMUND QUINCY, Sec'y.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTIONS. NEW SERIES

NORTH ATTLEBORO', (Bristol Co.) Saturday Evening and Sunday, Jan. 10 and 11.

This meeting will be attended by Lucy Stone and George W. Putnam.

INFORMATION WANTED.

INFORMATION WANTED.

Mr. JOSHUA F. JOSSELIYN, of Pembroke, Mass. left, the 21st day of July, for the White Mountains, and has not been heard from since. He being out of health, and his relatives expecting him to return in a few weeks, they feel anxious for him. He is in his 32d year, if living, has dark brown hair, dark eyes, and is rather short in stature; his under front teeth were very much crowded. He wore away a black suit of clothes, a black satin vest, single-breasted, and buttoned up high in the neck. If any one can give information of his whereabouts, or, if he should be living, and see this, if he or any one will write to Oris P. JOSSLIXN, Pembroke, Mass., it would deeply oblige his relatives.

oblige his relatives.

Will ne espapers, especially those in New Hampshire, please copped.

ANTI-SLAVERY LECTURES. Loring Moody will lecture on Anti-Slavery and

the Higher Law, in Mansfield. Friday, Foxboro', Sheldo ville, Sunday, Mor.day, Wednesday, " 11. Medway, Holliston, Friday, Ashland, 18. Sunday, Wednesday, Feltonville.

Berlin. Friends in the above places are carnestly requested to make all needful arrangements.

MEETING AT SAUGUS. JAMES N. BUFFUM and GEORGE W. PUTNAM will hold a meeting at the Town Hall in Saugus, on Sun-day next, Jan. 4.

PORTSMOUTH, N. H.

LUCY STONE will lecture on Slavery, on Sunday evening, Jan. 4, in Portsmouth.

LECTURES. GEORGE W. PUTNAM, an Agent of the Massachuetts Anti-Slavery Society, will lecture as follows :-

Norton, Tursday eve'g, Jan. 6. Taunton, Wednesday eve'g, " 7. Foxboro', Thursday and Frida y eve'g, " 8 and 9.

MEETINGS IN CARVER. The Plymouth County Anti-Slavery Society will hold meetings on Saturday evening and Sunday next, (day and evening,) Jan. 3d and 4th, in the new Hall, near Carver Green, in Carver. Among the speakers on the occasion will be C. C. Burleigh and Nathaniel H.-Whiting.

TO LAWYERS AND OTHERS.

A lady, who is a ready penman and copyist, is desirous of obtaining writing, which may afford her remuneration. By addressing Mrs. B., Liberator office, further particulars may be known.

MARRIED-At Grace Church, Dec. 25th, by Rev. Charles Mason, Mr. Peter Avery, of Maine, to Miss Henrietta S., daughter of Mr. William B. Kendall, of New York.

We return our thanks for a share of the wedding cake, and wish the parties a life of happiness,

greatly augmented by their union .- Ed. Lib. In Upton, November 26, by Rev. George S. Ball, HENRY A. ALDRICH, of Northbridge, to MARY M. AL-DRICH, second daughter of Clark Aldrich, of Upton.

Accompanying the marriage notice was a large loaf of wedding cake, in size beyond any thing in our editorial experience. We are certainly favored this week. If good wishes can avail aught, the wedded pair will enjoy a union of never-ending felicity.

DIED-In Hingham, on the 27th ultimo, Mr. ABEL

very worthy man.
In Roxbury, Dec. 30, Mr. WILLIAM REED, formerly of this city, aged 66 years, 9 months, and 16 days. The noblest work of God, an honest man.

WRITINGS OF W. L. GARRISON.

THIS day published. Selections from the Writ-ings and Speeches of William Lloyd Garrison, -416 pages, duodecimo. Price-In cloth, \$1.00 extra gilt, \$1.25. R. F. WALLCUT, 21 Cornhill.

'O, my brethren! I have told
Most Bitter truth, but without bitterness.
Not deem my zeal or factions or mis-fined;
For never can true courage dwell with them,
Who, playing tricks with Conscience, dare not look
At their own vices. - COLERIDGE.

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TO THE LADIES.

A MONG the many improvements of the day, the one for the better promotion of female comfort in a most critical period of life occupies a prominent part. Those ladies who regard comfort, purity and delicacy, as worthy of their attention, will be pleased to learn that their wants can be attended to by

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December 19

Phrenology. DR. N. WHEELER

WILL continue his lectures on this subject, accompanied by a public examination of heads, every Saturday evening, at Chapman Hall, Chapman Place, leading out of School street, commencing at 7 1-2 o'clock. Admittance 12 1-2 cents for a gentleman and lady. Office for professional examinations and verbal or written delineations of character, including charts, 265 Washington street, Boston. Classes formed to teach the science of Phrenology.

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

Ashburnham, Nov. 24, 1851.

When, me great one who and stopshe was resdy to has renor loved y, 'This Webster n in the han that,' knew no



For the Liberator. TO KOSSUTH. BY W. E. CHANNING.

Spurn! spurn the bribe! ford not the Southron river Death courses in its crimson tide forever; A flood of sin too strong for man's recalling, Where Slavery reigns, and breeds its crimes appalling What freezing mockery to make Slavery's speeches, And waft thy blessing o'er its bloody reaches! That soil wide streaming with the negro's anguish; Their fetters clank, in prisons still they languish.

Spurned, scorned and branded, they survive, half dy-Wives sold, child sold-the scourge, the scourge re

plying-Our brother-men-true rulers of this nation, Victims of what? but thee and thy ovation!

On thee their deathless scorn as traitor hanging, Around thy neck their chains of horror clanging, Thou dar'st not meddle with domestic duties, And will accept fell Slavery and its beauties.

Our bragging land will wreck, and Freedom perish God has some heart, nor doth Hell's statutes cherish; Soon shall the States be lashed by dread commotion-One fate to all, one flood, one vengeful ocean,

Those tortured hearts to Heaven for life are crying God's angel to their thirsty hopes replying, The day shall dawn, this terror dark abated, I am not spoused with Sin, with Satan mated."

From Dismal Swamps of Carolina's planting, From Georgia's hills, the volleyed hymn is chanting · Give back our freedom! slaves all past describing; Hungarian martyr, scorn their loathsome bribing !

· Demand our prompt deliverance : cry in thunder, And stir the torpid soul to joy and wonder! Burst off these chains, our freedom just demanding, Then ford yon stream, each heart thine own com-

For the Liberator.

#### LINES ON THE RECEPTION OF LOUIS KOSSUTH IN NEW YORK. BY GEORGE W. PUTNAM.

'Tis all a farce, Kossurn !- the very knaves Who've yelled, and drank champagne, and yelled again,

Are marked and known themselves the slaves o slaves. And for a paltry sum THYSELP would chain!

The drunken statesmen, who now strain their throats, Would sell THEE in the mart, or trade thee off for votes! Ay! bind THEE, honored Magyar!-give thee up

To Russian vengeance and to Austrian rage; Give thee to drink the dregs of that dark cup. Earth's tyrants fill unceasing, age on age : Thy children sell,-thy wife to foul pollution,-And quote Stuart's . Conscience and the Constitution

Let Nicholas but touch the wants of Trade, Make Wall-street feel, and State-street groan an quiver,

George Wood would toil, great Sandford be afraid, And all the 'patriots' round thee shake and shiver They'd haste to bind thee with a legal thong, And send thee to thy doom as they sent HENRY LONG

They'd fix a manacle upon each limb: The Press would curse thee as a guilty bandit : And swelling priest, with prayer and pious hymn, Would prove from sacred Scripture, God ha plann'd it!

Make Him appear th' oppressor's friend—and be,

For a fair bonus, matchless in blasphemy! Dost think, Kossum, that this is new to us?

This uproar-this wine-drinking-this speech We've had it many a year-'twas always thus-

A little louder now, more glasses breaking; But 'tis essentially old Barnum's game-Joice Heth, Tom Thumb, and Jenny, had the same. And when thou'rt gone from us, O Magyar brave,

Perchance some dancing harlot next will come; Round her hotel shall the same banners wave, And by her carriage wheels the same men run; Statesmen will walk with her slong Broadway, w low in open day

I mind the time when up from Mexico, The first instalment of lame corporals came : 'Twas then, as now, big talking-tears would flow : This is the same old play, changed but in name. Heavens! how the 'City Fathers' spent the money Marched round with fife and drum, all feeling sad and

But soon the game wore out-more corporals came, Expecting wine and supper-to be praised; But doomed to disappointment, lost to fame, They came too late, the 'devil had been raised The gas was low—they couldn't raise a dollar; Nought less than a dead major would make them drink or holler!

The New York clerks, those genteel puppet bands, The Broadway world knows well their untold valor They, all resplendent from the tailor's hands, With young moustache, and hair well smoothed with tallow,

Have crat been known, untrembling, after dark, To march from Battery up to Hudson Park!

They've read of moated towers and counterscarps-Seen pictures of proud forts with frowning walls-Heard bands of music-played themselves jews

Looked upon shot- heard tell of cannon balls Are willing in thy cause to toil and bleed, But searce know gunpowder from onion seed! They know the art of war, its blood and din; .

At the cheap theatres they've seen it acted; Safely 'entrenched' and 'fortified' with gin, Have heard a pistol fired, nor gone distracted; And 'counter-marches,' too, we do not doubt, They've 'done 'em' many a time when 'Boss was out. Great men to scream are they ! they always go

To scrapes like these-and War's stern ways be Break women's hearts while selling calico. And maids know well they understand 'defiling'

The 'column charge'-they've got good business tal ents: They've made it many a time-and 'struck the bal

ance' !

Mighty Plantagenet Morris! Sandford great! With new cocked hat and epaulettes complete, How will the Austrian quail, and fear his fate, When, arm in arm, they walk Vienna's street! Hapsburg shall tremble for its regal head, And Nieholas won't dare to go to bed!

Speaking of cannon balls, those trifling things Which knock the daylight out of common folks, Great Plantagenet knows of them, and sings; And Sandford, great and grand, has read the jokes They know how Death upon the red field looks-They've seen his picture drawn, and read it all in

But 'they won't go to battle'-then, Koesurn, Just get some puffy toads, with large fierce eyes, And mouths severe-and put on long spurred boot. Sword, plume, and gorgeous coat gold-laced cross

Mount them on donkeys, bid them scream and yell-They'd frighten people more-and fight as well.

The tonds come cheaper, too-though I can't say Just what they drink, but know is not champagne Nor eat they duck and oysters every day; Are very virtuous, and don't complain; They quite eschew th' intoxicating cup, And need no feather beds, for they sleep standing up. Lo! while the clerks and merchants drop their coin,

And give their 'princely' gifts to fill thy coffer, George Copway offereth to blow his horn Among the mountains-rather a windy offer; I doubt if Indian valor much arouses At sight of Indian Chief-in coat and trowsers! But, still 'twas generous in him thus to pledge The red man's valor unto Hungary's cause-Themselves poor exiles, robbed and plundered, wage

No war but for their wigwams-white men's law Have made them aliens in their native land ! A wronged and peeled, a bruised and wasted band. Yankees can fight, however; they are brave,

But only for Oppression; they will feign Great love of freedom, hunt the flying slave, And work like Vulcans for a nation's chain ! They dance attendance on the man-thief bold, And do his dirty work for dirtier gold.

The Magyar takes the man-thief's crimsoned hand, Who rules the bondmen with an iron rod; Flatters the mean and hypocritic band,

Who trample 'neath their feet the FORM OF GOD! The Hero heeds the shameless robber's beck, And Kossurn's foot is on the Negro's neck! O Magyar chief! O thou, whose mighty mind

Should read men as the pages of a book, How canst thou to deception be so blind. And suffer fools upon thy face to look : Mistake, for patriot voice, each bray of ass, And count as real the escape of gas!

Repays the recreant !- thou shalt hope in vain; Thine eyes shall never see thy native land Redeemed, and free from Austrian gyve and chain; Thou hast ignored THE SLAVE !- thy sun grows dim-Th' oppressor sports with thee-as thou playd'st false

There is a lesson which thou yet must learn-Men have one destiny-had equal birth; The fires which God hath kindled grow and burn, Not for one land alone-they span the earth :-He holds in earth and heaven eternal place, Whose love of freedom is for ALL his race.

## The Liberator.

P. DOUGLASS AND GEORGE THOMPSON

(Continuation of the Letter of WILLIAM FARMER, Esq. from the first page.)

Mr. Douglass's next blunder I am willing to regard as a clerical error; the assertion that Mr. Thompson is downward, every-thing good and great in the heart of a 'Director' of the East India Company. I presume the American people—every thing patriotic within Mr. Douglass will admit at once the vast difference between a 'director' and a 'proprietor' of that corfice world. They have been driven, from their core the world. poration. To make Mr. Thompson, in the latter capacity, responsible for the sins of that body, notwith-standing his speaking and voting against them, would be more foolish than charging the Liberty Party with tem;' 'our patriarchal institution;' and so forth. pacity, responsible for the sins of that body, notwiththe responsibility of the enactment of the Fugitive They have s Slave Law, and the continuonce of slavery, because they had had access to the ballot-box, and possessed the same control over the pro-slavery government country, and yet clothed in such language as no which Mr. Thompson had over the despots of India— Englishman, to whom its meaning was unknown. the liberty, as individuals, of speaking and voting could take offence at it. For instance, the President against them. Frederick Douglass wants to meet the of the United States is required, at all times and charge of belonging to a 'heartless body'-that is the American voters—by a 'So do you'; but there all Englishmen, upon a superficial reading. Is this essential difference between the two cases:—

Frederick Douglass subscribes to a sinful pro-slavery to the justice of the proposition involved in it; they Constitution; Mr. Thompson does nothing of the would agree at once in its perfect propriety. 'The kind for the Constitution of the East India Company and navy! what are they good for, if not to kind, for the Constitution of the East India Compay—to which Mr. Thompson is not even sworn—is nunexceptionably righteous document, which binds it is language really mean, sir? What is its signiny-to which Mr. Thompson is not even sworn-is the Directors, as rulers of India, to govern the country impartially and equitably, without favor or affection? What is the idea it conveys to the mind tion, irrespective of creed, color, or condition,

He says, 'the first stone was not thrown by us, but at the support this is again incorrect. The discussion was that the slaves of that country shall either remain slaves initiated by a challenge of Mr. Mathews, a Liberty or die. (Hear, hear.) This clause of the Constituprened and closed the debate. Mr. Douglass would indeed have denounced Mr. Thomp-Douglass would indeed have denounced Mr. Thompson as 'exceedingly unmagnanimous and ungrace-has its deadly aim at the bosom of the negro; 3,000

The side wind attempt to raise a casus belli between heels of 17,000,000 of their Mr. Thompson and Mr. Gerrit Smith is disingenuous, to say the least of it. Mr. Putnam's letter has disposed of the charge of Mr. Thompson's entertaining, before God and the universe, that the slave shall while in America, any personal disrespect to Mr. Smith. I can bear the additional testimony, that I Shame.' Then take another clause of the Americans and the state shall continue a slave, or die. [Hear, hear, and cries of Smith. I can bear the additional testimony, that I have never heard him speak of that gentleman-and can Constitution :- 'No person held to service or la we have frequently conversed about him-in any other terms but those of the greatest respect and veneration. Mr. Thompson's drawing-room table is graced bor, but shall be delivered up to the claim of the party with the daguerrectype portraits of a few of the choicest to whom such service or labor may be due.' Upor of what may be termed American Anti-Slavery Apos- the face of this clause, there is nothing of injustic Smith. Mr. Thompson employed no other language towards that gentleman at Bristol but that of warm culogy. Frederick Douglass must be a poor judge of or even were he to obtain, as a quid pro quo, the most and entitled to the rights of a man, should stea lavish patronage and profuse rewards of the whole lavish patronage and profuse rewards of the whole bound his leg, break the fetter that linked him to party to which that individual belonged. Mr. Smith, slavery, and seek refuge from the free institutions however, well knew Mr. Thompson's views respect- of a de ing the pro-Constitution course pursued by the Lib-erty Party—a subject which was freely discussed be-tween them at Peterboro', but without abating in the least degree the warm friendship which they mutual. least degree the warm friendship which they mutually entertained-and I am sure do still entertain-for

which the following is a very mild specimen, and whether the party with whom he is now acting participate in his avowed feelings of ' love, gratitude and

brought down upon himself the fierce execrations of a religious party in this land. But, sir, I do not like, upon the present occasion, even to allude to this subject; for the party who have acted in this manner is small and insignificant; so impotent for good, so well known for its recklessness of statement, so proverbial for harshness of spirit, that I will not dwell any longer on their conduct.

of it. I came here a slave. I landed upon your shores a degraded being, lying under the load of odium heaped upon my race by the American press, pilpit and people. I have gone through the wide extent of this country, and have steadily increased—you will pardon me for saying so, for I am' loath to speak of myself—steadily increased the attention of the British public to this question. Wherever I have gone, I have been treated with the utmost kindness, the greatest deference, the most assiduous attention; and I have every reason to love England.

I go back to the United States, not as I lander here. I came a slave—I go back a free man. I came here a thing—I go back a human being. I came here despised and maligned—I go back with reputation and celebrity; for I am sure that if the Americans were to believe one tithe of all that has been said in this country respecting me, they would certainly admit me to be a little better than they had hitherto supposed I was. I return, but as a human being in better circumstances than when I came. Still, I go back to toil. I do not go to America to sit still, remain quiet, and enjoy case and comfort. Since I have been in this land, I have had every inducement to stop here. The kindness of my friends in the North has been unbounded. They have offered me house, land, and every inducement to bring my family over to this country. They have even gone so far as to pay money, and give freely and liberally, that my wife and children might be brought to this land. I should have settled down here in a different position to what I should have been placed in in the United States.

There is nothing there like a doubt of Englishmen's 'clearness of mental vision.' John Bull ther was any thing but 'a stupid fellow,' and Frederick Douglass seemed the last man in the world to unite with the haters of England.'

But what were the principles, by the preaching of which, for nineteen months, Mr. Douglass gained all this popularity and unbounded kindness? That which he seeks to justify his own desertion of, by abusing Mr. Thompson for his adhesion to. Here is a specimen of the opinion which he tanght the world to form of the American Constitution, before legislatorial honors and political distinction glittered before

'I have listened to the patriotic, or, rather, re rance inscend to the patriotic, or, rather, respectful, language applied to America and Americans this evening. I confess, that, although I am going back to that country, though I have many dear friends there, though I expect to end my days apon its soil, I am, nevertheless, not here to make any profession whatever of respect for that country, of attachment to its politicians, of love for its churches or national institutions. The field is the shelf es or national institutions. The fact is, the whole system, the entire net-work of American society, is one great falsehood, from beginning to end. I might say, that the present generation of Americans have become dishonest men, from the circumstances by which they are surrounded. Seventy years ago, they went to the battle-field in defence of liberty, Sixty years ago, they framed a Constitution, over the very gateway of which they inscribed, 'To secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posteri-ty.' In their celebrated Declaration of Independ-

ence, they made the loudest and clearest assertions of the rights of man; and yet, at that very time, the identical men who drew up that Declaration of Independence, and framed the American Democratic Constitution, were trafficking in the blood and souls of their fellow-men. From the period of the first adoption of the Constitution of the United States from their very patriotism, to defend this great false-hood. How have they done it? Why, by wrapping They have spoken of it in every possible way, except the right way. In no less than three clauses of their Constitution may be found a spirit of the most deadly hostility to the liberty of the black man in that under any circumstances, to call out the army and nen, upon a superficial reading of the on, irrespective of creed, color, or condition.

Mr. Douglass is also wrong in his representation of a ballot into the American ballot-box—every man who Mr. Douglass is also wrong in his representation of pledges himself to raise his hand in support of the the circumstances attending the Bristol discussion.

\*\*Pledges himself to raise his hand in support of the American Constitution—every individual who swears\*\* enemy of the black man in that land of professed libful.' had he declined to meet the reverend gentleman. 000 of the colored race are lying there There they stand, with all their education, with all their religion, with all their moral influence, with all bor, in any State within the limits thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or reg ulation therein, be released from such service or la tles, and among them is the portrait of Mr. Gerrit or inhumanity in it. It appears perfectly in accordance with justice, and in every respect humane. I is, indeed, just what it should be, according to you English notion of things and the general words. But what does it mean in the United character, if he has formed the opinion that Mr. I will tell you what it signifies there:—that if any Thompson would sell his principles for a dinner, or the most unbounded hospitality of any individual, being the feeling his limbs and thinking himself a man, and the most unbounded hospitality of any individual, he was a supplied to the feeling his limbs and thinking himself a man, and the feeling his limbs and thinking himself a man, and the feeling his limbs and thinking himself a man, and the feeling his limbs and thinking himself a man, and the feeling his limbs and thinking himself a man, and the feeling his limbs and thinking himself a man, and the feeling his limbs and thinking himself a man, and the feeling his limbs and thinking himself a man, and the feeling his limbs and thinking himself a man, and the feeling his limbs and thinking himself a man, and the feeling his limbs and thinking himself a man, and the feeling his limbs and thinking himself a man, and the feeling his limbs and thinking himself a man, and the feeling his limbs and thinking himself a man, and the feeling his limbs and thinking himself a man, and the feeling his limbs and thinking himself a man, and the feeling his limbs and thinking himself a man, and the feeling his limbs and thinking himself a man, and the feeling his limbs and thinking himself a man, and the feeling his limbs and the feeling his limbs and the feeling his limbs are the feeling his limbs and the feeling his limbs and the feeling his limbs and the feeling his limbs are the feeling his limbs and the feeling his limbs are the feeling his limbs and the feeling his limbs are the feeling his limbs and the feeling his limbs are the feeling his limbs and the feeling his limbs are the feeling his limbs and the feeling his limbs are the feeling his limbs are the feeli away from his hovel or quarter, snap the chain that nocracy within the boundary of a monarchy dage from which he was endeavoring to escape. most effective safeguards of that slave system, o The Quixotic knight-errantry with which Mr. which we have met here this evening to express ou detestation. This clause of the American Consti Douglass rushes to the defence of the Liberty Party tution makes the whole land one vast hunting-ground amuses me, when I recollect the strong language of for men; for it gives to the slaveholder the right at for men; leave him to explain who. He still professes great leve towards yourself. I should like to know to like a wild beast, and hurl him back to the jaws of whom he alluded, when he here used language of slavery, from which he fad, for a brief space of time crates every rood of earth in that land, over which the star-spangled banner waves, as slave-huntingrespect' towards William Lloyd Garrison: —

'Because William Lloyd Garrison has, upon both sides of the Allantic, fearlessly unmasked hypocrisy, and branded impiety in language in which impiety deserves to be characterized, he has thereby brought down upon himself the fierce avoid the sides of the sides he Mosaic economy, to which reference has been made this evening by a preceding speaker, we have a command given, as it were, amid the thunders and lightnings from Sinai, 'Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant that has escaped from his master unto thee; he shall dwell with thee

slaves would run away.

Under such circumstances, I really cannot be very patriotic when speaking of their national institutions and boasted Constitution, and therefore I tutions and boasted Constitution, and therefore I hope you will not expect any very eloquent outburtss of eulogy or praise of America from me on the present occasion. [Loud cheers.] No, my friends; I am going back, determined to be honest with America. I am going to the United States in a few days, but I go there to do as I have done here, to unmask her pretensions to republicanism, and expose her hypocritical professions of Christianity; to denounce her high claims to civilization, and proclaim in her ears the wrongs of those who ery day and night to Heaven, 'How long! how long! O Lord God of Sabaoth? [Loud cheers.] I go to that land, not to foster her national pride, or utter fulsome words about her greatness. She is great in numerical strength; great in intellectual sagacity; great in her enterprise and industry. She may boast of her broad lakes and mighty rivers; but, sir, while I rebroad lakes and mighty rivers; but, sir, while I re-member that with her broadest lakes and finest rivers, the tears and blood of my brethren are mingled and forgotten, I cannot speak well of her; I canno be loud in her praise or pour forth warm eulogi-ums upon her name or institutions. [Cheers,] No; she is unworthy of the name of great or free. She stands upon the quivering heart-strings of 3,000,000

of people.

I say, when professions like these are put forth vauntingly before the world, and I remember the scenes I have witnessed in, and the facts I know, respecting that country, why, then let others do as they will, I have no word of patriotic applause for erica or her institutions. America presents to the world an anomaly such as no other nation ever did or can present before mankind. The people of the United States are the boldest in their prefession of love of liberty; yet no nation can exhibit a statute-book so full of all that is cruel, malicious and infernal, as the American code of laws. Every page is red with the blood of the American slave. O'Connell once said, speaking of Ireland—no matter for my illustration, how truly or falsely—that 'her history might be trace', like the track of a wounded man through a crowd.' If this description can be given of Ireland. world an anomaly such as no other nation ever did a crowd.' If this description can be given of Ireland how much more true is it when applied to the sons and daughters of Africa in the United States? Their history is nothing but blood! blood! blood!—blood in the morning, blood at mon, blood at night!

They have had blood to drink; they have had their own blood shed. At this moment we may exclaim,

· What, ho ! our countrymen in chains ! The whip on woman's shrinking flesh ! Our soil still redd'ning with the stains Caught from her scourging, warm and fresh!
What! mothers from their children riven!
What! God's own image bought and sold! Americans to market driven, And barter'd as the brutes for gold !'

'Sir, I am met by the objection, that to do so in this country, is to excite, irritate and disturb the slaveholder. Sir, this is just what I want. I wish the slaveholder to be irritated. I want him jealous; I desire to see him alarmed and disturbed .-Sir, by thus alarming him, you have the means of blistering his conscience, and it can have no life in it unless it is blistered. Sir, I want every Englishmen to point to the star-spangled banner, and say

· United States! your banner wears Two emblems—one of fame; Alas! the other that it bears Reminds us of your shame.
The white man's liberty in types
Stands blazoned on your stars; But what's the meaning of your stripes?

They mean your negroes' scars.' 'Oh!' it is said, 'but by so doing, you would stir up war between the two countries.' Said a learned gentleman to me, 'You will only excite angry feelings, and bring on war, which is a far greater than slavery.' Sir, you need not be afraid of with America, while they have slavery in the United States. We have 3,000,000 of peace-makers there. States. We have 3,000,000 of peace-makers there. Yes, 3,000,000, sir—3,000,000 who have never signed the pledge of the noble Burritt, but who are, nevertheless, as strong and invincible peace men as even our friend E.lihu Burritt himself. Sir, the American slaveholders can appreciate these peace-makers; 3,000,000 of them stand there on the shores of America, and when our statesman get warm, why e 3,000,000 keep cool. [Laughter.] legislators' tempers are excited, these peace-makers say, 'Keep your tempers down, brethren!' The Congress talks about going to war, but these peacemakers suggest, 'But what will you do at home?' When these slaveholders declaim about shouldering their muskets, buckling on their knapsacks, girding on their swords, and going to beat back and scourge the foreign invaders, they are told by these friendly monitors, 'Remember your wives and children are at home! Reflect that we are at home! We are very moment the British standard shall be crected upon your soil, at the first trumpet-call to freedom—millions of slaves are ready to rise and to strike for their own liberty.'

But the most vicious part of the article, and that which I can assure you is denounced in no measured of oppression, and hunt the poor and weak to their terms by those who know the native nobility of Mr Thompson's character, and the almost parental kindness and care extended by him to Frederick Douglass when in England, is the mean and utterly false insinuation of Mr. Thompson having been influenced, in his intercourse with certain members of the Liberty Party, by mercenary motives, and his charge against that gentleman of having acted towards that party in an 'ungraceful and unmagnanimous' manner. Now, Frederick Douglass well knows, that if ever there was a man in the world, who did thoroughly and completely 'despise money,' that man is Mr. George Thompson. There never was a human being wh more completely abstracted himself from all pecuniary considerations, when once he had recognized the rightcousness of a cause, and given himself to its advocacy. In charging, by insinuation, that gentleman with bartering his no-political-action anti-slavery principles for the money of the Liberty Party, Fred- only astonish, but be quite unwelcome to every erick Douglass well knew he was wounding him in the most sensitive part. Now, who is the man whom he has thus treated? To whose house, and the bo som of whose family, did Mr. Douglass first go, upon his arrival in the British metropolis? Who introduced him to the English public, and sent letters preparing the way for him through the United Kingdom Who perseveringly labored to promote his individual interest, and that of the cause he advocated? How did he get those ' friends at the North,' of whose unbounded kindness he speaks? Who promoted the subscription for his ransom from slavery, and placing him in his present position as an editor and proprietor of a newspaper? Who braved the fury of pro-slavery mobs, and again recently separated himself from wife and family to do battle for the oppressed race of Frederick Douglass? This, this very sam George Thompson, whom he so unworthily libels. He came for the money of the Liberty Party! Why when young in public life, and with the pressure of a growing family rising around him, he refused the temptation of £1000 a year for life, and a seat in Parliament, if he would advocate opinions contrary to his own. Frederick Douglass may indeed look with pride and satisfaction at his visit to England, but, with all his talents and genius, he would have been comparatively nobody, without the capital of George

so well known for its recklessness of statement, so proverbial for harshness of spirit, that I will not dwell any longer on their conduct.'

The supercilious Yankee ancer at Englishmen with which the article concludes is sufficiently 'unmagnanimous and ungraceful' to have proceeded from the pen of Bennett himself. Contrast the language of the Frederick Douglass of 1847, when upon English ground, and before he had become a Liberty Party man, with the language of the Frederick Douglass of 1847, when upon English and beyond all its other provisions, it serves to keep up that system of frand, wrong, and inhumanity, which is now crushing 3,000,000 of human beings and I have travelled through the length and breadth is the provision, and formerly large and I have travelled through the length and breadth is the provisions, and formerly large and I have travelled through the length and breadth is the provisions, and formerly large and I have travelled through the length and breadth is the provisions, and formerly large and I have travelled through the length and breadth is the provisions, it serves to keep up that system of frand, wrong, and inhumanity, which is now crushing 3,000,000 of human beings identified with me in their complexion, and formerly hope not. It would indeed be a disgrace were he to

ers of the South would be wholly unable to hold their slaves, were it not for the existence of the protection afforded by this Constitution; but for this the tines, and given himself up to the lap of his adopted Delileh, there is danger of his being shorn of his

moral strength.

When in England, he said, 'Had I stood di nected from that great and good man, [William Lloyd Garrison, then numerous and influential parties would have held out to me the right hand of fellowship, sanctioned my proceedings in England, backed me up with money and praise, and have given me a great

Beyond question, Mr. Douglass has great talent and brilliant genius; but great and brilliant as they are, he will find that he cannot afford to indulge in what are called the eccentricities of genius. Profound learning and most extensive acquirements, superadded to the most brilliant genius, failed to save Lord Brougham from public contempt and execration, when he capriciously descried and abused old friends and principles. That which he could not do, it is not likely Mr. Douglass will be able to do with impunity. One of the finest passages that ever proceeded from his pen was his magnificent description of the fallen Daniel Webster. The world, however, might see a still more awful spectacle, and that would be. Frederick Douglass Websterized!

I have trespassed at great length upon your attention. Next week, however, I will endeavor to compensate for this long letter, by making short work of Mr. John Scoble. I am, very deap oir. Yours most truly,

W. L. GARRISON.

THE SLAVE POWER AND MONEY POWER. OWER AND MONEY POWER the People, the People, Saccarappa, (Me.) Dec. 6, 1851. The Great Harmonia, vol. 2—The Teacher,

DEAR MR. GARRISON: On Tuesday evening last, we held a second meet-

filled with a most attentive audience, and Mr. Grover and myself spoke three and a half hours. On Wednesday, we left our good friends at Mechanic Falls, and went to Portland; stayed over night with the Dennett family, and Thursday morning came to Saccarappa. We hired 'Brackett's Hall,' and put out our notices, and had a fair audience in the evening. On Friday evening we held another meeting, and the audience was much larger. Mr. Grover presented the subject of the close connection of the government with slavery from the time of the formation of the Constitution to the present hour, and I followed upon the subject of the identity of the interests of the Northern laborer and the Southern slave. The audience were deeply interested in both these subjects, and the factory operatives felt the truth of the declaration, that the Northern capitalist was close akin to the Southern slaveholder, and that the design of the Slave Power and Money Power is to crush both black and white. The people stayed till within a few minutes of eleven o'clock, and gave us a hearty invita tion to come and speak to them again, which we promised to do at the first opportunity. The people of Maine are candid, and willing to hear upon the subject of human rights. There is no Boston to poison with its influence the entire country. The farmers are hard-working people, accustomed to think for themselves, in some good degree, and are independent of the mercantile class. But not so in Massachusetts. Boston, on the railroad map, looks like a huge spider in his web, and the poison flows out from his der to the utmost fibre of the railroad net. Boston espital ists own the railroads, the city banks, the factories or every stream. Every country shopkeeper is in some good degree dependent upon them, and thousands of operatives depend upon the 'fungus aristocracy' of Boston for employment. Hence, notwithstanding the immens amount of anti-slavery and temperance labor which has in past years been expended in Massachusetts yet she is little better than one vast rum-shop, and the strong-hold of slavery North, and the change now taking place in her politics may be found to be much more noisy than real. Boston capitalists control also not only all the pulpits (save one or two) in the city but hold all the pulpits in the country towns in their on the plantations. You had better stay at home, and grip; and while the pampered, bloated, God-defying look after us. True, we cat the bread of freemen; priesthood of Boston crings and bow to the rich men. priesthood of Boston cringe and bow to the rich men. we take up the room of freemen; we consume the same commodities as freemen; but still we have no interest in the state, no attachment for the country; we are slaves! You cannot fight a battle in your own land, but, at the first tap of a foreign drum—the land, but, at the first tap of a foreign drum—the follow the bidding of the city priest, and thank the rich man of Boston when he throws them, poor shivering wretches, a bone or crust. God help old Massachusetts to crush the power of the rich man and bring to the dust a priesthood who love the wage

> destruction! We returned to Massachusetts on Saturday, to work awhile in Essex county. Yours, truly,

GEO. W. PUTNAM.

SOUTH SCITUATE CHURCH. FRIEND GARRISON:

I leave from the Liberator of last week that the South Scituate Town Hall has been closed against the Plymouth County A. S. Society. This is the first instance of the kind that has occurred in the county for years; and what makes the case more remarkable is, that it is the place of all others in the county that has been distinguished for its pulpit anti-slavery ministrations for the last twelve or fifteen years. A precedent of this kind, coming from such a quester will not

friend of the slave. I noticed, also, that H. H. Brigham, our Secretary, awarded great credit to the South Scituate Church, for having opened their house for an afternoon meeting, stating that 'one instance, therefore, is record ed, in the anti-slavery struggle, in old Plymouth county, where the humanity of the church is greater than that of the world.' Now, that friend Brigham's view is not correct, I will not, at this time, assert ; for may God grant that I may be the last man in the world that shall withhold any credit from the church that is rightfully her due. But before I can award her the credit that our Secretary does, I must have better evidence that the same is due her than I now have. If I am not mistaken in the character of that society, it includes the controlling influences of the town. If this be the fact, then the hall could not have been closed, by any fair means, without the aid of the society. In the second place, if the house had never been, and was not likely to be, applied for, except for C. C. Burleigh to speak in, it is no ways likely the house would have been closed to this day. In the third place, I have no reason to suppose that if S. S. Poster or Parker Pillsbury had attended that meeting instead of C. C. Burleigh, either of them would have been invited to go into the church. In the fourth place, it looks very much to me as though that society, or a part of it, felt somewhat unpleasant in view of all the circumstances, and, fearing that the fact of the Town Hall being closed might, in the end, operate against them, (Burleigh being the speaker, opened their church in the afternoon, that they migh thereby ward off the curse and stigms which other wise they feared might rest upon them. If I have whereas he may be instantly grappled with and thrown by an antagonist near at hand. There is a anti-slavery friends in South Scituate, or the member and the scituate friends in South Scituate, or the member and the scituate friends in South Scituate, or the member and the scituate friends in South Scituate fr wrong view of the matter, I hope that some of our prevalent notion, that Mr. Douglass has passed the of the church above referred to, will set me right.

Yours for the truth, LEWIS FORD. Brockett's Bridge, N. Y., Dec. 19, 1851.

reputation, so far as they were capable; and they were men of influence.' Well, now he is among the representatives, in America, of those 'numerous influential parties.' Let him beware of the combined tempation of 'money,' 'praise,' and a 'great reputa-

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Narrative of Henry Watson, a Fugitive Save.
The Church As It 1s, by Parker Pillsbary.

Letter to the People of the United States of Slavery, by Theodore Parker,
Parker's Discourse, occasioned by the death of John Quincy Adams,

Conscience and Law; or a Discussion of ear comparative Responsibility to Human and Divine Government, by Rev Wm. W.

Patton,

W. FARMER

ing at West Minot. The Village Hall was completely

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