Blaleigh Begister.

SPEECH OF MR. BADGER, OF NORTH CAROLINA, IN THE SENATE, THURSDAY, December 11, 1851,

On the Joint Resolution relative to Louis Kossuth.

Mr. BADGER. When the Congress of the United States is called upon to award a high honor-an honor, according to the honorable Senator from Fiorida, [Mr. Mallory,] who has just taken his seat, higher than triumphs which Rome, in her palmiest days, ever awarded to her conquering sons-it is certainly but reasonable to expect that the grounds should be clear and manifest upon which such a demand is made. In the past history of this country we have had but one example of such an honor having been awarded by the Congress of the United States. And surely, without troubling ourselves with any investigation of what is supposed to be the musty doctrine of precedent, we have a right to expect that gentlemen who ask this at our hands shall assign the reasons why we should now, for the second time, offer the contemplated honor to the individual who is named in this resolution. Gentlemen have felt that there was an obligation upon them to produce the reasons of this proceeding. My friend from Illinois, Mr. Douglas, who deemed it strange and unreasonable that this resolution should provoke the least discussion ; that gentleman himself, who seemed to suppose that any discussion of it could be accounted for only by the supposition that this Senate would always discuss any proposition-even he, with the sentence of censure upon all previous discussion upon his lips, went forward in the pursuit of that which he condemns in others, and occupied the Senate with a speech-to which I listened, of course, with pleasure, as I always do to whatever falls from that distinguished gentleman-which occupied no inconsider able portion of yesterday's sitting. He de livered a speech, of which I will say it brought no new topic before the American Senate, upon this subject. It urged no new argument, it produced no new statement, it was made in reply to no new antagonist who had appeared in the debate. It was a reitera tion for the fourth, fifth, or sixth time, of arguments-I will not say which had been as well expressed-into the arena of such criticism as that I dare not venture-but which had certainly been well and forcibly expressed by others. Now, sir, knowing, as I do, that that honorable Senator, when he speaks in this Chamber, always speaks to this body; that he seeks to enlighten and to guide our opinions, and that he has no ulterior objects and purposes before him, I have felt by these remarks of his the strongest possible conviction fixed upon my mind that the friends of this resolution thought it necessary to assign some reasons for its adoption. And I must say, that when I listened to that honorable Senator, and when I listened to some other Senators-my friend from Michigan, [Mr. Cass.] in particular-I have felt another conviction fastened upon my mind -that while they were doubly impressed with the extreme necessity of producing reasons, they found it no easy task to discover any to produce. Mr. President, I wish to say, in the commencement of what I have to offer to the Senate upon this subject, that it discussion has been produced here on this resolution, it is not to be charged to those of us who oppose its adoption When the honorable Senator from New York, [Mr. Seward,] in discharge of the high duty which he thought was imposed upon him, thought proper to introduce this resolution, he accompanied its introduction with a long, elaborate, and soul. stirring appeal, which was calculated to arouse our feelings, to excite our passions, and for the momont to suspend the calm exercise of our judgmen's When, after this storm of passion had subsided, we were at length allowed to exercise our own judgments, unimpeded by the mystic visions of gradeur and terror and glory, with which impassion ed eloquence had surrounded us-when we with kindness and hospitality; and if it be the wish were able once more to resume the exercise of these exiles to emigrate to the United States, of a calm understanding, and to take, in the and the will of the Sultan to permit them to leave language of my friend from Wisconsin, [Mr. his dominions Therefore, Walker,] a dispassionate view of this sub- Be it resolved by the Senale and House of Reprejustice to ourselves and what we believe to the employment of some one of the public vessels he the true interest of the country, fail to which may now be cruising in the Mediterranean assign our reasons to the Senate? Were to receive and convey to the United States the we not called upon, by considerations of said Louis Kossuth and his associates in captivihigh respect for the honorable and distingu- 19. ished Senator from whom this resolution | The preamble of that resolution asserts in proceeded, as well as for the honorable and the first place, a fact, and then it alleges a distinguished gentlemen who supported this contingency; upon which contingency, and resolution with their eloquence and their upon which alone, the particular direction arguments .- were we not bound, independ- of the resolution is founded and is to take ent of all other considerations, by due respect effect. The fact affirmed is the sympathy of for them, to say why we could not go with the American people for those exiles, and them when it is always a matter of such their estimate of the noble conduct of the deep felt reluctance to part from them ? say that it is a waste of time to subject this exiles desire to emigrate to the United States. subject before the Senate.

(as is plain, whether admitted or not) that they are to assign some reasons why this resolution should be adopted. The resolu-tion proposes to bid, in the name of the A-merican people, Louis Kossuth welcome to merican people, Louis Kossuth welcome to our shores. Several reasons have been as-and do what he could not do in Europe - half of those who have served faithfully and St in it at all unless I could be authorized by the and to endeavor, so far as he can, so av our shores. Several reasons have been as-signed why we should adopt this course. I proceed to offer some remarks upon them. Is in the future could not do in Europe— half of those who have served faithfully, and added another leaf to the laurels which crown proceed to offer some remarks upon them. It is said, in the first place, that by the interesting it applied, and this was all. It was whatever situation, who have participated in person. I have been very desirous of receiving whole character of the case is changed. We injoint resolution adopted at the last session of not a resolution directly for the benefit of the gallant deed. And yet here are Mr. Congress, we have taken the initiatory step Kossuth, the late Governor of Hungary, by Kossuth's associates, not, I suppose, servants which requires us, in point of consistency way of doing him an honor in the character -men, I suppose, his equal in the sense in and hover, to follow it up with what is now which he had then lavely sustained. It was which we understand equality. I presume proposed. That I deny. I know no method not a resolution that bears upon its face the they are men whom he takes by the hand. by which we can ascertain what we did at slightest allusion to the fact that, for the time whom he does not keep at a distance, comthe last session of Congress, and to what, he had been possessed of and exercised sov. pelling them to approach him in the attitude therefore, we may consider ourselves as pro- ereign power in the direction of this contest. of servile dependence. Yet when Congress perly obliged as a consequence of it, than by It was addressed to Louis Kossuth as an ex- is asked to bring Kossuth and these very aslooking at the language of the resolution .- | ile in captivity, seeking to escape from the sociates here, the first thing after that, and My honorable friend from Michigan (Mr. Inauspicious condition of European coercion, after they are brought, is, that a resolution is Cass) said that he scouted the idea of apply- to place himself, as a resident and a denizen, offered by the Senator from New York, [M:. ing philology to this investigation. Scout upon our shores. No man can successfully Seward,] to welcome Kossuth, and turn our the idea of applying philological criticism, d-ny this. There was a reason why Con-backs upon his associa er. Sir, if any reason. he withdrew it without any conference with that he withdrew it without any conference with the rule by which we ascertain the meaning gress should have desired the President to in the world can be assigned for the resoluof language, to the question of the interpre- Lansport Kossuth and his associates in cap- tion, it follows as a necessary and indispentation of language? Why, my honorable tivity here in a public ship, which has nev- sible corollary from it, that the amendment friend must have a very singular idea of the er heretofore occurred in the case of any oth- should be also adopted. I do not underoffice and purpose of philology. He seems er person desiring to emigrate. We all know stand this thing. It is not consistent with have done with the powers that be. I did consider that the Emperor of Austria considered his my notions, and what I believe to be Amer- that I was rather ungraciously treated by some to that science which was made by a very entertainment in Turkey an offence to him. ican notions, of equality. We have sent respectable but a rather testy old gentleman We all know he demanded that Kossuth a public ship, or we have authorized the of my acquaintance with regard to the science should be expelled from furkey by the au- using of a public ship, to bring Kossuth and of arithmetic, or numbers, who became ex- thority of the Sultan. We all know that he some twenty or thirty other Hungarians, who tremely offended when waggishly told by a sought to seize him and bring him within have all tought for their country, who have young man sitting at the breakfast table with his jurisdiction and authority, to subject him shared a common captivity with him him, pointing to a plate containing three bis- to such punishment as he might deem suita- When we we propose to include these men cuits, "Mr. E, you cannot tell how many ble to the occasion. It was, therefore, for in the resolution of welcome, it is opposed expected he would be received in New York, it biscuits there are in that plate without count- that reason, important that when the Sul- as interfering with the preeminent dignity of was not at all likely, from the opposition experiing them." "What ! sir," says he, "do you tan gave permission to Kossuth and his asso- the chief. Is that the American idea of etake me for a fool, that I cannot tell that there are three biscuits in that plate without counting them?" He rejected the idea that computation and arithmetic were necessary to ascertain numbers, if the number of particulars were small. I know that my hon-Austria. orable friend did not mean that; but why This being the state of the case, I desire to did he use that high term ? Why did he go know upon what authority geutlemen say, into this Anglic zed Greek word, of which that by that resolution we have invited Kos many of our constituents at home know nothsuch to our shores-have made him the guest ing, and who would naturally imagine, withof the nation ? Is there a word in that resoout an explanation, that those of us who are opposed to the resolution had brought some lution expressive of invitation? Is there a new and strange and barbarous machinery of word in it that declares that the people of the United States desire that he should come interpretation to bear-brought, perhaps, to our shores as a guest? The difficulty infrom some of those European despotisms, terposed by the word 'il" was to be solved and totally unknown to our country? Why, we cannot ascertain the meaning of anything his disposal, or used for his service, and there which depends upon words, without the apis not a word in the resolution which intiplication of the rules of phi ology to it. mates that the United States cared whether But did my friend mean to imply that there was any disposition to what is called or not he decided to come. It announced nothing but this : This man was in captivihypercriticism; that is, to bring to the construction of this resolution a reluctant dis- ty; we understood he wanted to come to position to understand its meaning, and a our country. We knew that in the existing no difficulty by asking questions of this kind. disposition to cavil with it? Why, if he did, state of things, if he left Turkey without beas was justly said by the honorable Senator ing put aboard an American ship, he might as was justive said by the honorable Senator is not be permitted to exercise his free wish to amendment. Therefore the Senator did not brought in the ship; and they were daily expected the shadow of a foundation for the sugges. come. Therefore we tendered him the op- ask the question in order to be informed.tion. Yet I may be permitted to say, that portunity to come under the national flag of For what purpose he did ask it, he is best although I would not feel myself justified in this courtry. That is the whole of it. He able to determine. although I would not teel myself justified in applying to an ordinary resolution or act of Congress any particular strictures of inter-pretation; though I am not disposed to apply of Europe and finds himself in the port of it to this, there would be nothing very unreasonable in such a process, when we re- New York. If the fact of placing that ship ecutive recommendation. I think sir, some of the subject. Of course he was bound, as Presi- tton which we received from Washington, said which their ancestors enjoyed in England and collect from whom the joint resolution proceeded. It came from my honorable friend with the duty of bringing Kossuth and his good Whigs, were rather twitted by some of had done in accordance with our desire, and to a-k now, and he asks, is adhering to that policy, pro from Mississippi, [Mr. Foote,] known to us all for his extreme exactness in the use of the was brought to our shores in that ship all for his extreme exactness in the use of he was brought to our shores in that ship language, and, therefore, it may well stand would have constituted him the guest of the out as an exception from the general legisla- nation, he did not come in that capacity.tion of this body, and we have a right to He left that vessel at Gibraltar, and made an treat it with more closeness of examination, excursion to England. He left his associand more severity of criticism than a resolu- a'es to come under our flag without him, and tion proceeding from another person. We he came here afterwards in a private packet. all know that the honorable Senstor has a How, then, is he to be distinguished in place in what he writes for every word; and, the particular to which I am referring from he will excuse me for saying, that we also any other emigrant who seeks our shores? know that he has a word for every place. - He can in no way be distinguished. Other It is impossible for us, according to my judg- men who come here are more humble .-ment, if I understand the English language, They may not have achieved the name which as it is used North and South, that there can he has acquired. They may not leave a tranbe any mistake about the understanding of sient impression in the little circle which Congress at the time the resolution was adop- surrounds them, and then be forgotten, while answer to say that even if it were the Pres- was prepared, written and printed before the arted. It says: Whereas the people of the United States sincerey sympathize with the Hungarian exiles. Kos- as the claims of an emigrant may extendsuth and his associates and fully appreciate the so far as a generous desire to give our hosmagnanimous conduct of the Turkish Govarn- pitality to those who come-so far as a wish ment in receiving and treating these noble exiles to offer a refuge to the persecuted, the oppressed, the unhappy, extends, Louis Kos suth stands no particle higher than the meanject, was it to be expected that, entertaining sentatives of the United States of America in Con deed, so far as claims to our sympathy are stood. I stated the simple facts to be, as I shall ject, was it to be expected that, entertaining different opinions from others, we could, in justice to ourselves and what we believe to the employment of some one of the public vessels. I wish it to be inflame particular porticus of the people of the states be and he hereby is requested to authorize the employment of some one of the public vessels. I was with reference to the same thing the resolution was proposed to the public vessels. I was with reference to the same thing the resolution was proposed to the public vessels. I was with reference to the same thing the resolution was proposed to the public vessels. I was with reference to the same thing the resolution was proposed to the public vessels. I was with reference to the same thing the resolution was proposed to the public vessels. I was with reference to the same thing the resolution was proposed to the public vessels. I was with reference to the same thing the resolution was proposed to the public vessels. I was with reference to the same thing the resolution was proposed to the public vessels. I was with reference to the same thing the resolution was proposed to the public vessels. should be opened and shown forth more towelcome towards him than towards those the poor, and the humble of every state and Turkish Government in giving them a refuge. Mr. President, I think it is out of place to The contingency is, whether or not these The resolution of the last Congress, then, resolution to discussion. It is a question If they desire to emigrate, the President is does not pledge us to this step; but if it did, which ought to be discussed; its intrinsic requested to authorize the use of one of our I ask, how is it possible to resist the conclumerits demand it. The cucumstances which ships crusing upon the Mediterranean sea to sion that the amendment offered by my honsurround it in this Chamber and beyond these bring them to the United States. And if orable friend from Georgia [Mr. Berrien] walls enforce the necessity and the propriety they did not mean to emigrate, it was not ought to be attached to the pending resoof it ; and if we may drop from the high and the intention of Congress that the President lution ? and that the honorable Senator from solemn topics which have been gathered should furnish them with a national ship. I New York, when he drew it, should have inaround the reception of Louis Kossuth and presume that, without any particular dex- serted in it the name-not the individual his associates in captivity, which have been terity in this dark, barbarous, Greek-derived names-but the general name, descriptive so brilliantly spread before us-arching the science of philology, we have a pretty toler- of all those persons who are embraced in the heavens, spangling the firmament, and I able understanding in this country of what original act of Congress which gave rise to know not what other magnificent and start- is meant by an emigrant and emigration. If those proceedings. The resolution of the ling figures-and look at some of the mun- an English or a French gentleman comes last Congress makes no distinction among dane operations which are immediately be- over to this country to visit it; to look at its them. The President is requested to furnish fore us in the course of our political future railroads, its steamboats, its harbors; to cor- to them, all, as Hungarian exiles in captivisoon to be history, - when we consider cer-tain disposals of certain eminent political of its people, we do not call him an emi-tain disposals of certain eminent political of its people, we do not call him an emi-and his associates in captivity." What a offices which in a short time are to be made grant. When we speak of emigrant ships strange spectacle, then, do we exhibit, when by the American people, we find an addi we think we have a clear and distinct mean- our friends on the other side of the Chamber tional reason, why, if we can allow ourselves ing attached to the term. An emigrant is resolutely refuse to permit the associates of of the Secretary of State at all except upon his introduce my resolution this session with a view my vote any man who comes here to endeavor to to subside from the torrent of excited feel- a man who leaves Europe; who comes to Kossuth to be incorporated in the resolution express authorization. It appears to me that if to providing for the reception of Kossuth as an commit the cauzens of this country to any interings into which we have been plunged, we our shores with a view of making our coun- of welcome to Kossuth. Is it to be construed a joint committee was raised, the Secretary should emigrant, he inisunderstood me. I stated no vention in foreign traisactions. In saying this I should present before the American people try his home; who comes to settle amidst us as a degradation to Kossuth to be put alongwhat we think is the calm and dispassionate and become one of our people; and to enjoy side in this resolution of those his associates? Hungary. I spoke to him to that effect; which British papers, he will find that Governor Kossuth, can understand the submisastic temper and the and deliberate common-sense view of the the privileges and protection which our laws If the association be not offensive-if he was give him; and ultimately, in due time, and willing so keep company with them, to be

ciates to leave his domininions, if they de- quality? sired to emigrate to the United States, we should put them under the protection of this contest. Some of my honorable friends

I do not understand a very great deal about race. Even if that is so, I presume these associates of Kossuth are neither Croats nor Slcavonians, but belong to the privileged see you, and are glad also to see the men you have brought with you.

Mr Dodge, of Iowa. I would ask my friend from North Carolina (Mr. Badger) if before this public ship was to be placed at he will vote for the resolution in case the amendment he has so much at heart should prevail?

Mr. Badger. The question need not have been asked by the honorable Senator, because I had answered it already. Allow me to assure the Senator that he places me in I have said, and I repeat, I am opposed to the whole resolution, with or without the

such precedent as this, because it was of Exwere opposing what they said the President Again: and now I refer to what my friend from recommended. Permit me to remark, it is Mississippi has said. It was the desire of the should be perplexed and bewildered with repeat support, with or without reason, whatever a introduced. As regards his application to the Whig President may recommend. If that Senator from Mississippi for that pupose, the indoctrine obtains among our friends on the other side with regard to a democratic President, it may be necessary they should urge some special excuse, for departing from it in any particular case, while such departure might, without such excuse, be considered I live. before I left there for the seat of Governa ground of censure, and an intima ion that ment. Before it was sent to either House of they had stepped off the Democratic Platform. But we acknowledge no such Doctrine, and therefore it would be a sufficient his name may remain and be perpetuated by ident's recommendation, we do not agree in rival of this gentleman in this country. The rehistory to succeeding generations; but so far its propriety, and therefore cannot support solution, offered by my friend from Mississippi. it. But the fact is, the President of the U- was, it I recollect aright, introduced on the very nited States has recommended no such thing? first day of the session. It was withdrawn on Mr. Foote, of Mississippi. Will my friend allow me a moment of explanation ? Mr. Badger. Certainly. Mr. Foote. If I was understood as stating that est and humblest down-trodden individual of the President of the United States recommended Europe who ever reached our shores. In- this resolution; I was certainly grossly misunder should never have moved, or thought of moving the resolution was proposed to be introduced by desires to recommend, Why is it not so? in this business, but that I received an unexpecwards the lowly and the humble. I say, ted, kind, and very complimentary written appli then, that there being nothing in the origin- cation from the Secretary of State of the United al resolution but a simple proposition to bring States, requesting an interview upon this subject ; to this country one who was supposed to be which interview was immediately held. In the authentic declaration from him of the pupose for law. We have a statute which forbids all armediately held. desirous of emigrating here, there is no more course of that interview he brought to my atten- which he came here. We may have drawn our interventio n from this country in the affairs of reason why we should pass a resolution of tion, in advance of the President's message being received in this body, the fact that the President would make substantially the recommendation thousends of humble individuals who come which is to be found in the message. He requesthere not under a particular resolution, but ed me especially, and in a manner marked with under general invitation held forth by our particular earnestness, to introduce, at the earliest Constitution and our laws to the oppressed, possible moment after the commencement of the session, a joint resolution for the purpose of raising a joint committee of the two Houses of Webster. The reception referred to and recom- What does this gentleman want these fellow Congress, to decide, in accordance with the ra- mended by Mr. Webster was based upon our re- citizens of ours to commit themselves to? Why commendation of the President contained in his solution of last session, and he suggested to me to this: that this country shall furnish the mate message, upon the most expedient mode of af- the propriety of my moving in the matter, on ac- rial and means to prevent the Emperor of Rusfording a national reception to Governor Kos count of my being, as he knew, the author of the sia from interfering in the future contest between suth. He went further, as I may now state. I original resolution. I feel bound to say, that if Hungary and Austria. What means? Paper d.slike to go into these particulars; but really, the allusion of the honorable gentleman makes pectation was entertained by Governor Ko-suth upon parchment with the seal of the United it necessary for me to do it. He requested me that an armed intervention was to take place on States attached? How much do we suppose -having a very high respect, as we all have, for the part of the United States in European affairs, they will sway the mind of the Czar? No, sa that knowledge of parliamentary precedents which | I think he would have been one of the last meni the moment we take that ground-the moment d stinguishes so highly the Secretary of this body in the world to have requested me to offer any we occupy the position he desires, (I do not sty -to go to him immediately. I went to his house resolution on the subject. I do not think now what gentlemen here contemplate,) we will without delay, at the instance of the Secretary of that anything of the sort is contemplated in any have, in my judgement, placed ourselves in suit State, for the purpose of ascertaining how, in quarter. some way consistent with Senatorial usage, such a joint resolution could be introduced and passed, if such a thing should turn out to be prac ticable, without the necessity of previous notice. so far as the action of the Administration is con- We must either abandon the policy of the count I learned from the Secretary that the mode of cerned, the President and the Secretary of State try and involve ourselves in distant and future ceed to give notice, as the Senate recollects.

Rossuth in a manner credi able to the nation, creditable to our national feeling, and in a manner required by the almost unanimous voice of the people. Knowing the feelings of some members of mong us. He says, I come in no such character, the Administration, I was an xious to give the gentlemen on the other side of the House a fair opportunity of participating in the eclat of the proceedings, and if they have declined it. I think they have made a great mistake, and that it has been one of the most serious political blunders they have ever committed.

Mr. Badger. I would ask my friend from Mississippi, whether, alter having introduced this resolution, at the instance of the Secretary of State, gentleman?

Mr. Foote, of Mississippi. I withdrew the resolution certa nly, without any conference with agitator among our countrymen. Whatever else him. I withdrew it, because I did think honora may be said, it is no diminution of the high charble gentlemen had not conferred as they might have done with the powers that be. I did consider high standing to say, that it is in exceedingly bad honorable gentlemen on the other side of the House, who seemed to misunderstand my position, and not to afford me that liberal support which they ought to have done, when the proposition was brought lorward under such auspices. I think beneficial to the cause of Hungary, w thout withdrew the resolution for the additional reason, that I saw very plainly, that if Governor Kossuth was received on the day when it was originally enced here, provided a similar opposition was pre-

sented in the other House, that we should be able to act in time to receive this distinguished stranger in the mode contemplated. I stated these reasom at the time I proposed to withdraw the resoof attempt to uphold the Magyar-or Ma- human being in the world; but with feelings of petual strength to the country, we might be their course of conduct.

that this was a measure recommended by the Executive of the United States in his annual message. So far as that is concerned, it seems to me

tinctly separate than what is contained on this subject in the President's message and this resolution. The President had been desired by Congress to cause these llungarian patriots to be brought here in a public ship. He had, in compliance with that request, caused them to be at the time the President's message was written. He could say nothing less than he has said He

ken a

here for purposes personal to himself. ed him to come here as an emigrant and live for no purposes personal to myself; I come upon very different thing to welcome him as a political taste, in my judgment, for a foreigner, who has just set his foot on our soil, who comes here to invoke our sympathies, to become a propagandist of his opinions, to endeavor to influence the people to the adoption of measures which he may

settle among us, and to mingle with our people, to enjoy the privileges of our institutions, to add energy to the industrial pursuits of our country, what he wished. It is a mistake, therefore, it our flag, which would effectually prevent here, who are much better acquainted with lution. I did it, as I stated then, without the least so that we may all together enjoy the blassings seems to me, to suppose that Kossuth, in his our flag, which would effectually prevent here, who are indice better and in as a sort the many become a per-them from being seized by the power of the case than I am, have regarded it as a sort feeling of unkinders or discuss or discus or discus or di the principle of American freedom-freedom as guire, as some of us call it-superiority of the most profound mortification, that gentlemen bid them welcome. And when emigrants come we understand it. A country may be absohad not acted up to what I had supposed would be their course of conduct. And supposed would able to minister to our assistance, and a shed Such is Russia. A country may be absolute-Mr. Badger. I gave the opportunity to the gen tleman from Mississippi with great pleasure to er sphere who are able to direct the thanger of absolutely independent and thoroughly Demorace, as well as himself. I do not suppose that Kossuth will feel his dignity insulted if we choose to say to him, We are glad to prevailed which this opportunity has enabled him to rectify. But at the time he interposed I was already done, to place them near to sy heart.— the state or sovereignty independent. I am not referring particularly to the introduction of his However it may not be in unison with the temp- willing to admit that Kossuth represents a high resolution, under the sanction of the Secretary of er of the times, I say I thank no forega emissary principle-the principle of national. indepen-State; I was alluding to a remark made by the honorable Senator from Michigan, [Mr. Cass.] that this was a measure recommended by the Ex. Whether it is a member of the Bruish Parliament will be found that the whole of it resolves itself who endeavors to provoke sectional discord, and into this: that Kossuth was expected or invited if possible to shake the fabric of this Union to here as an emigrant-he came as a political emthat no two things can be more clearly and dis- pieces, or whether it is a Hungarian exile, how- issary; and the question is, whether there is ever eminent, who comes here to persuade us anything in our past history-in our present either to make an empty boast and utter an un. condition, in our present purposes; or our fumeaning threat, and thus expose us to the derision | ture prospects, which should induce us to pass of mankind, or else to mix us up in the turmoils a res-lution of this kind in favor of one coming of European politics and cause us to expend the amongst us in that character and under such blood and treasure of our free citizens in disputes | circumstances.

with which they have no concern, and from It has been said that his proceedings in Hunwhich they can derive no benefit, terminate as gary were like those out of which sprang our they may, makes in this respect no difference to own Declaration of Independence, and our State has simply communicated to Congress the fact me. . I can agree to welcome neither the one nor constitutions-our demands, originally small,

ton, in speaking of that policy of non interven- once for all the rights of Englishmen-the rights though my friend from New Jersey | Mr. Stock. ton] seemed to suppose that Englishmen, as such, he does Lot change the road in which he travels. | have no rights, our revolutionary fathers claimed To make progress it is not necessary that a man before the Declaration of Independence no rights but the rights of Englishmen. It was an invano Whig doctrine, that a Whig is bound to Secretary of State that this resolution should be ed changes of direction, and perpetually retracing sion of their birth-right as English subjects of which they complained. For years they solicited his steps, and beating out new and devious paths in which to tread. I want progress in old princithe Crown and Parliament to maintain or restore troduction of the subject and the withdrawal of ples towards the full development of cur instituto them their ancient rights, and when these solitions-to the consolidation of our liberty. Pro | citations had proved ineffectual, then, as a last der to give a proper influence to these various gress upon old principles to make us and to keep transactions. The President's message was pre. us Americanized forever. That is the progress resort, they flew to arms and declared themselves. independent. They scarcely waited an hour after which I wish. that declaration before the several States formed Nor can I consider it estirely hantaless in a constitutions for themselves; and what do they person to come and inflame the people of the U- embody in them? The principle of English freenited States, or particular portions of the United dom-such as the habeas corpus, and the trial by States, hastily to commit themselves to measures jury; the liberty of speech and of the press; and like this. It is not only against the settled policy when they came to frame their own declarations but it is against the statue law of this country. of rights, where did they resort for the materials Our law torbidsarmed intervention in all its forms, out of which they were to be framed ? Did they by citizens or others from the shores of the United not resort to that very England ? Assuredly they States, in the affairs of other nations with whom | did. They struck off the external form of mon-

that such a course is consistent with what I own to be inat soch a country. Aile I would hold my-or im. self ready to adopt any neasure which I believed comes to be just, reasonable, far, and honorable towards ountry, this unfortunate exile, cannot, by giving my consent to this resolutior, aid to mislead him into believing that he will receive any such aid from

Again, Mr. President it has been said that we owe this testimony to Kossuth as the great we owe this testimon to Kossuth as the great impersonation of the principle of free government. It has not been my furture, though I do not pro-fess any large knowledge on this subject, to have found in the past histry of Kossuth any evi-dence that he occupier such a position. I have watched with interest he struggle between Ausfor no purposes personal to myself; I come upon a political mission, to place myself in that char-acter before the people of this country, and to in duce them to give me pledges that they will make any intervention on the part of Russia in the af fairs of Hungary, meffectual. There has been no sanction given by the Executive Department of this Government, in any of its branches, to a resolution proposing to welcome this genteman in any such character. It is one thing to welcome him as a distinguished foreigner, coming from ex-ble to extile among no and it is a proper and a tutions, according to car understanding of the term. I have no evidence of any such purpose. It was a war for national independence—a war justifiable on the part of Hungary, because the fundamental conditions of union had been violated, and because that fiolation was obstinately ted, and because that polation was costinutely persevered in-and, therefore, whether Hungary had intended to establish a despotic or free gov-ment for herself, I should have heartily wished for her success in the outflict. It was the cause of national independence, not of republican. iustitutions, which Kosuth urged. I doubt very regard either to the law or the policy of our Gov ernment; and to hint, not obscurely, that, what-ever may be the action of Congress, he will ap peal to the freemen of the United States, a our sovereigns. Now, when emigrants come to this coustry to of the Magyar race; laving the Sclavonians and seek refuge from abroad; when they come to other inferior castes to occupy the position that they had before occupied when the kingdom was connected with Austria. That I think is

I agree with what was said by the hon- at no very distant day, to be allowed to par- prisoner with them, to receive their affectionour neutral relations. Whatever may be the state of public opinion at orable Senator from Massachusetts, [Mr. ucipate equally in all the municipal privileg. ate ministrations their and affectionate sym-If I had known at first that there would have been so much discussion about this delicate sub-pectations upon this subject had not been founded join his standards. It is natural, He is wrapt as the people now are-a calmer moment will Summer,] who addressed the Senate a few es conferred by the Constitution upon the pathies, my opinion is, that, if he has the soul ject, as to the responsibility which the Adminis day ago on this subject, that his is a case which requires ratement rather than argu-ment; and would add to his proposed to Kossuth and his com-press, and proof of the second to his proposed to know the second to his proposed to his and the best model, in this one as assumed, or intered to assume to assumed, or intered to assumed, or intere days ago on this subject, that this is a case which requires statement rather than argu-which requires statement rather than argu-apply? It applied to Kossuth and his com. Cea of having compliments paid to him alone Would have been more circumstantial in the first What I more statement is the soul pet, as to the responsibility which the Adminis up in Hungary. He is devoted to Hungary, and by is prepared to die adopted. I believe that at no distant day the whole

I will state further, in explanation of my con-

one disposition or another to be made of them, or

the resolution, we must keep dates in view in or pared and printed, as we all know, before the meeting of Congress. It was in the town in which Congress it was in the possession of the postmaster, ready to be delivered when he should receive a telegraphic dispatch authorizing him to do so. Everything, therefore, in the President's message. the Thursday succeeding, being the fourth day of the session, and Kossuth did not arrive in this

country until the day afterwards-until Friday. We must bear in mind that Kossuth had been expected to come to this country as an emigrant. does not depend upon that statute, and akhyugh themselves until they acquired more strength the It was in that character that a public ship was em-ployed to bring him here. It was in that charac. has not made sedition hoporable. I say that it is at all, they asked at first. They asked the rights ter he was expected to arrive. It was with ref- not entirely innocent for my man to endeavor to of Englishmen, as they understood them-as they the Secretary of State, and that the resolution was was about to state why when the anticipative introduced. That state of things continued until genius of the Senator from Mississippi at once the resolution was withdrawn. Never, until Kos- sprang far ahead of me, and he saw in his minds such landed upon our shores, did we have any eye that bugbear of the Democracy-the sediuch conjectures from what he said in his hasty visit to any nation with which we are at peace. The England, but we had no authoritative expression statute forbids the sending forth, or setting of of his purpose in coming, and what he expected foot, of any such expedition, and it necessarily to accomplish, until after he landed in this country. condemns all preparatory steps by which such Mr. Foote, of Mississippi. In justice to the result is to be produced. If they do not fall with Secretary of State, and to the Administration, I in the provisions of the statute, so as to be put must say that the object of his visit was not spo- ishable by law, they certainly and indubitably as no political speeches that we will leave them out? ken of in the interview which I had with Mr. morally criminal in their character.

sissippt for this explicit statement, which he has which I suppose is just as certain as the future made with his usual candor. It seems, then, that conflict itself, or we must ingloriously retire. king this country his domicile. Mr. Foorz. If the gentleman understood me

duct, that I should not have mentioned the name as saying that the application was made to me to ful purposes, but I an not willing to welcome by himself deliver the address to the Governor of such thing. If the gentleman will refer to the do not mean to cast reproach on Kossuth, for I he promptly declined, from an unwillingness to stated in many speeches in England, that he was character of the man. I can understand how he do anything which might look like compromitting coming to the United States merely as a visitor in has been led, on his first landing in the United

we are at peace. Mr. Foote, of Mississippi. I believe the sediion law has been repeated.

they had enjoyed as Englishmen, but which, in Mr. Badger. It might perhaps be fortunate for consequence of the changes of time, had become some, in certain events, that the sedition law has insecure or threatened by their connection with been repealed. I am not affected by any refer- that country. They did not begin by making ence to the sedition law. There is a sediuon that small demands, and hypocritically reserving to clared themselves independent, and provided, by

a position that we must advance in the event of Mr. Badger. I am obliged to my friend from Mis- a future conflict and the interposition of Russi,

treat. I am willing to welcome foreigners who come to our shores for just and laudable and use

Shall he be selected for this honor because, instead of landing on our shores quietly, as they have done, and enjoying our hospitality, he has occupied his time in inflammatory addresses to the people? Is this a reason why he should be singled out from his fellows in captivity, and have alone this distinguished honor? Whatever we do for the one, in the way of honor and compliment, let us do for all. In my judgment, the American Congress would act wisely to do no such thing as is proposed by this resolution in respect to any of the parties; but if to one, then surely to all alike. Mr. President, I wish not to be misunderstood about this matter. I would be far from offering any indiguity to the distinguished man who has come upon our shores. Far, very far te it from me to do so. He who is the victim of oppression, he who has fallen in a contest nobly maintained for the maintenance of national independence, and seeks our shores, I would always receive with the most cordial feelings. He may forfeit them by this subsequent conduct ; he may forfeit them by showing that he brings a restless

archy, and they provided by republican forms for

the security of their rights-the civil rights which

republican constitutions, security for themselves.

There is therefore, so far as I can see, nothing

in our history, or the history and present position

of Kossuth, which should induce us to pass this

resolution. But if we do pass it, I am totally un-

able to perceive why gentlemen should object to

the amendment which my friend from Georgia

proposes, to include the associates of Kossuth in

welcome the one, why not welcome the other ?-

Is it because the associates of Kossuth have made

the same welcome with himselt, If we are to

This is what they did.

spirit with him, which is incompatible with the security of any State; but my first impressions must always be decidedly and heartily in his favor. In making these remarks, I have merely given my reasons for declining to vote for the passage of the resolution; and for deeming it emmently proper, if it passes at all, that the a-mendment proposed by the honorable Senator from Georgia should be attached to it.