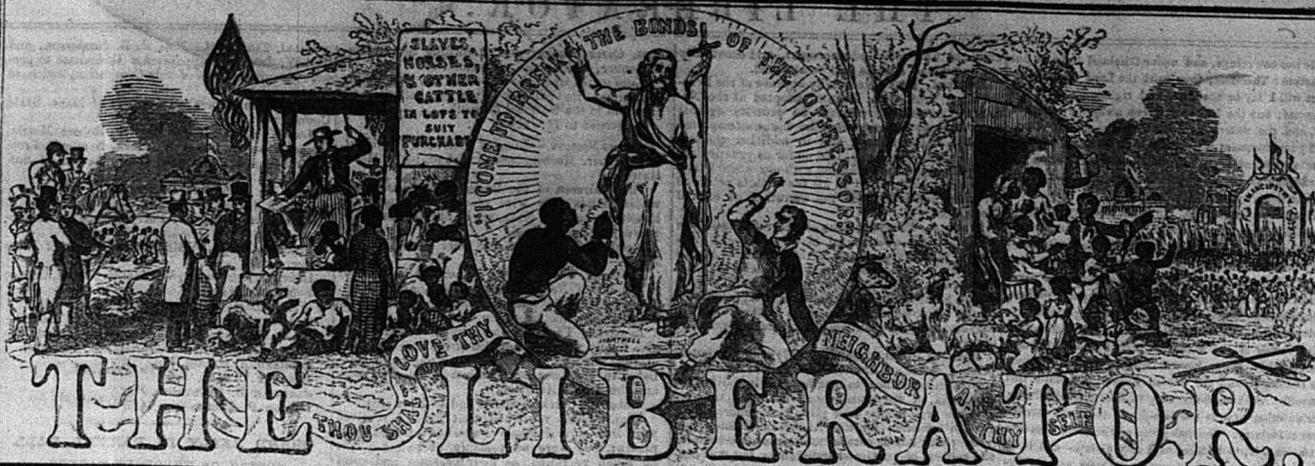


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THE LIBERATOR

Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, EDITOR.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1854.

WHOLE NUMBER 1203.

NORTHERN RESPONSIBILITY FOR SLAVERY.

AN ADDRESS,

DELIVERED IN THE BROADWAY TABERNACLE, FEB. 14, BY WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

An earnest opponent of the Anti-Slavery cause for a quarter of a century, under circumstances which have served in a special manner to identify my name and labors with it, will shield me from the charge of egotism, in assuming to be its exponent—at least for myself—on this occasion.

Representing, then, that phase of abolitionism which is the most contemned—to the suppression of which, the means and forces of the Church and the State are most actively directed—I am here to defend it against all its assailants as the highest expediency, the soundest philosophy, the noblest patriotism, the broadest philanthropy, and the best religion extant.

Let me define my positions, and at the same time challenge any one to show wherein they are untenable. I am a believer in that portion of the Declaration of American Independence, in which it is set forth, as among self-evident truths, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

When, then, are twelve reasons which are popularly urged in all parts of the country, as conclusive against the right of a man to himself. If they are valid, in any instance, what becomes of the Declaration of Independence? On what ground can the revolutionary war, can any struggle for liberty, be justified? Nay, cannot all the despotisms of the earth take shelter under them? If they are valid, then why is not the Jesuitical doctrine, that the end sanctifies the means, and that it is right to do evil that good may come, morally sound? If they are valid, then how does it appear that God is no respecter of persons? or how can he say, 'All souls are mine'?

Every British, indignant at the monstrous claim, will answer, in the emphatic words of BROTHMAN: 'Tell me out of rights; talk not of the property of the planter in his slaves! I deny the right—I acknowledge not the property! The principles, the feelings, of our nature rise in rebellion against it. Be the appeal made to the understanding or to the heart, the sentence is the same that rejects it.' And CURRAN, in words of burning eloquence, shall reply: 'I speak in the spirit of the British law, which makes liberty commensurate with, and inseparable from, the British soil;—which proclaims, even to the stranger and the sojourner, that the ground on which he treads is holy, and consecrated by the genius of universal emancipation. No matter in what language his doom may have been pronounced; no matter what complexion an Indian or an African may have burst upon him; no matter in what disastrous battle his liberty may have been closed down; no matter with what solemnities he may have been offered upon the altar of Slavery; the first moment he touches the sacred soil of Britain, the altar and the god sink together in the dust—his spirit walks abroad

in its own majesty—his body swells beyond the measure of his chains, and he stands redeemed, regenerated and disembarrassed, by the irresistible genius of universal emancipation! Again—take these slaveholding pleas to Scotland, and from the graves of the dead and the homes of the living, they shall be replied to in thunder tones, in the language of BURNS: 'A man's a man, for a' that! Who would be a traitor kneave? Who would fill a coward's grave? Who so base as be a slave? Let him turn and face!

Pass over to Ireland, and there repeat these excuses for slavery, and eight million voices shall reply, in the words of THOMAS MOORE:— 'To think that man, that just and loving God! Should stand before thee with a tyrant's rod, O'er creatures like himself, with souls from Thee, Yet dare to boast of perfect liberty! Away! away! I'd rather hold my neck In doubtful tenure from a Sultan's beak, In climes where liberty has scarce been nam'd, Nor any right but that of railing claim'd, Than thus to live where boasted Freedom waves Her fustian flag in mockery o'er slaves!

And the testimony of O'CONNELL, in behalf of all Ireland, shall pass from mouth to mouth: 'I am an Abolitionist. I am for speedy, immediate abolition. I care not what caste, creed or color, slavery may assume. Whether it be personal or political, mental or corporeal, intellectual or spiritual, I am for its instant, its total abolition. I am for justice, in the name of humanity, and according to the law of the living God.' 'Let none of the slave-owners, dealers in human flesh, dare to set a foot upon our free soil.' 'We are all children of the same Creator, heirs to the same promise, purchased by the blood of the same Redeemer—and what signifies of what caste, color or creed we may be? It is our duty to proclaim that the cause of the negro is our cause, and that we will insist upon doing away, to the best of our human ability, the stain of slavery, not only from every portion of this mighty empire, but from the whole face of the earth.' 'Let the American Abolitionists be honored in proportion as the slaveholders are execrated.'

Proceed to Austria, and there defend the practice of reducing men to slavery, and the Austrian code shall proclaim: 'Every man, by right of nature, sanctioned by reason, must be considered a free person. Every slave becomes free from the moment he touches the Austrian soil, or an Austrian ship.' Finally, enter the Tunisian dominions, and there urge the claim of property in man, and MOHAMMED AHMED BASHAW Bey shall reply: 'We declare that all slaves shall enter our kingdom, by land or by sea, shall be free; and further order, that every one born a slave in our dominions, shall be considered as free from the very instant of his birth, and that he shall neither be sold nor bought.'

Thus do I prove, that in regard to personal liberty,—the right of every man to the ownership of his own body,—even Italy, Austria and Tunis are in advance of this boasted Republic, and put it to open shame! If the abolitionism which I advocate is as absolute as the law of God, and as unyielding as his throne, it admits of no compromise. Every slave is a stolen man; every slaveholder is a man-stealer. By no precedent, no example, no law, no compact, no purchase, no bequest, no inheritance, no combination of circumstances, is slaveholding right or justifiable. While a slave remains in his fetters, the land must have no rest. Whatever sanctions his doom, must be pronounced accursed. The law that makes him a chattel is to be trampled under foot; the compact that is formed at his expense, and cemented with his blood, is null and void; the church that consents to his enslavement is horribly atheistical; the religion that receives to its communion the enslaver, is the embodiment of all criminality. Such, at least, is the verdict of my own soul, on the supposition that I am to be the slave; that my wife is to be sold from me for the vilest purposes; that my children are to be torn from my arms, and disposed of to the highest bidder, like sheep in the market. And who am I but a man? What right have I to be free, that another man cannot prove himself to possess by nature? Who or what are my wife and children, that they should not be herded with four-footed beasts, as well as others thus sacrilegiously related? If I am white, and another is black, complexionally, what follows?

Does, then, the immortal principle within, Change with the casual color of the skin? Does matter govern spirit? or is mind Degraded by the form to which 'tis joined? What if I am rich, and another is poor—strong, and he is weak—intelligent, and he is benighted—clevered, and he is depressed? 'Have we not one Father? Hath not one God created us? How rich, how poor, how abject, how august, How compliant, how wonderful is man! Distinguished link in being's endless chain, Midway from nothing to the Deity! A beam ethereal, sullied and absorbent; Though sullied and dishonored, still divine! Such is man, in every clime—above all complexions, greater than all institutions, sacred against every outrage, priceless, immortal! By this sure test, every institution, every party, every form of government, every kind of religion, is to be tried. God never made a human being either for destruction or degradation. It is plain, therefore, that whatever cannot flourish, except at the sacrifice of that being, ought not to exist. Show me the party that can obtain supremacy only by trampling upon human individuality and personal sovereignty, and you will there pronounce sentence of death upon it. Show me the form of government which can be maintained only by destroying the rights of a portion of the people, and you will indicate the duty of openly revolting against it. Show me the religion which sanctions the enslave-

ment of one man by another, and you will demonstrate it to be purely infernal in its origin and spirit. No man is to be injured in his person, mind or estate. He cannot be, with benefit to any other man, or to any state of society. Whatever would sacrifice him for any purpose is both morally and politically insane. Every man is equivalent to every other man. Destroy the equivalent, and what is left? 'So God created man in his own image—male and female created he them.' This is a death-blow to all claims of superiority, to all charges of inferiority, to all usurpation, to all oppressive dominion.

But all these declarations are truisms! Certainly; and they are all that is stigmatized as 'Garrisonian Abolitionism.' I have not, at any time, advanced an ultra sentiment, or made an extravagant demand. I have avoided fanaticism on the one hand, and folly on the other. No man can show that I have taken one step beyond the line of justice, or forgotten the welfare of the waster in my anxiety to free the slave. Why, citizens of the Empire State, did you proclaim liberty to all its bondage on your soil, in 1827, and forevermore? Certainly, not on the ground of expediency, but of principle. Why do you make slaveholding unlawful unto yourselves? Why is it not as easy to buy, breed, import, and make slaves in this State, compatible with benevolence, justice and right, as it is in Carolina or Georgia? Why do you compel the unmasked refugee from Van Dieman's Land to sigh for a plantation well stocked with healthy negroes in Alabama, and not allow him the right to own and dog slaves in your presence? If slaveholding is not wrong under all circumstances, why have you decreed it to be so, within the limits of your State jurisdiction? Nay, why do you have a judiciary, a legislative assembly, a civil code, the ballot-box, but to preserve your rights as men? On what other ground, except that you are men, do you claim a right to personal freedom, to the ties of kindred, to the means of improvement, to constant development, to labor when and for whom you choose, to make your own contracts, to read and speak and print as you please, to remain at home or travel abroad, to exercise the elective franchise, to make your own laws and elect your own rulers? What you demand for yourselves, in virtue of your manhood, I demand for the slaves at the South, on the same ground. How is it that I am a madman, and you are perfectly rational? Wherein is my ultraism apparent? If the slaves are not men; if they do not possess human instincts, passions, faculties and powers; if they are below accountability, and devoid of reason; if, in them, there is no hope of immortality, no God, no heaven, no hell; if, in short, they are, what the Slave pole declares them to be, rightly deemed, sold, taken, reputed, and adjudged in law to be chattels personal in the hands of their owners and possessors, and their executors, administrators and assigns, to all intents, constructions and purposes whatsoever; then, justly, I am mad, and can no longer discriminate between a man and a beast. But, in that case, away with the horrible incongruity of giving them oral instruction, of teaching them the catechism, of recognizing them as suitably qualified to be members of Christian churches, of extending to them the ordinance of baptism and admitting them to the communion table, and enumerating many of them as belonging to the household of faith! Let them be no more included in our religious sympathies or denominational statistics than are the dogs in our streets, the swine in our pens, or the utensils in our dwellings. It is right to own, to buy, to sell, to inherit, to breed, and to control them, in the most absolute sense. All constitutions and laws which forbid their possession ought to be so far modified or repealed as to concede the right.

But, if they are men; if they are to run the same career of immortality with ourselves; if the same law of God is over them as over all others; if they have souls to be saved or lost; if Jesus included them among those for whom he laid down his life; if Christ is within many of them 'the hope of glory'; then, when I claim for them all that we claim for ourselves, because we are created in the image of God, I am guilty of no extravagance, but am bound, by every principle of honor, by all the claims of justice, by the ties of human nature, by obedience to Almighty God, to remember them that are in bonds as bound with them, and to demand their immediate and unconditional emancipation.

I am 'ultra' and 'fanatical,' forsooth! In what direction, or affecting what parties? What has I urged should be done to the slaveholders? Their punishment as felons of the deepest dye? No. I have simply enunciated in their ear the divine message: 'Loose the bands of wickedness, undo the heavy burdens, break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free,'—accompanying it with the cheering promises, 'Then shall thy light rise in obscurity, and thy darkness be as the noon-day. And the Lord shall guide thee continually, and satisfy thy soul in drought, and make thee fat; and thou shalt be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water, whose waters fall not. And they that shall be of thee shall build the old waste places; and thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations; and thou shalt be called, The repairer of the breach, The restorer of paths to dwell in.' Yet, if I had affirmed that they ought to meet the doom of pirates, I should have been no more personal, no more negligent, than is the law of Congress, making it a piratical act to enslave a native African, under whatever pretence or circumstances; for, in the eye of reason, and by the standard of eternal justice, it is as great a crime to enslave one born on our own soil, as on the coast of Africa; and as, in the latter case, neither the plea of having fairly purchased or inherited him, nor the pretence of seeking his temporal and eternal good, by bringing him to a civilized and Christian country, would be regarded as of any weight, so, none of the excuses offered for slaveholding in this country are worthy of the least consideration. The act, in both cases, is essentially the same—equally inhuman, immoral, piratical. Oppression is not a matter of latitude or longitude; here excusable, there to be excoriated; here to elevate the oppressor to the highest station, there to hang him by the neck till he is dead; here compatible with Christianity, there to be branded and punished as piracy. 'He that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.' So reads the Mosaic code, and by it every American slaveholder is convicted of a capital crime. By the Declaration of Independence, he is pronounced a man-

stealer. As for myself, I have simply exposed his guilt, besought him to repent, and to 'go and sin no more.' What extravagant claim have I made in behalf of the slaves? Will it be replied, 'Their immediate liberation!' Then God, by his prophet, is guilty of extravagance! Then Thomas Jefferson, who wrote the Declaration of Independence, and all who signed that instrument, and all who joined in the Revolutionary struggle, were deceivers in asserting it to be a self-evident truth, that all men are endowed by their Creator with an inalienable right to liberty! The issue is not with me, but with them, and with God. What! is it going too far to ask, for those who have been outraged and plundered all their lives long, nothing but fustian, penitence, naked freedom! No compensation, whatever, for their past unrequited toil; no redress for their multitudinous wrongs; no settlement for mangled ties, bleeding backs, countless lacerations, darkened intellects, ruined souls! The truth is, complete justice has never been asked for the enslaved.

How has the slave system grown to its present enormous dimensions? Through compromise. How is it to be exterminated? Only by an uncompromising spirit. This is to be carried out in all the relations of life—social, political, religious. Put not on the list of your friends, nor allow admission to your domestic circle, the man who on principle defends slavery, but treat him as a moral leper. 'If an American addresses you,' said DANIEL O'CONNELL to his countrymen, 'find out at once if he be a slaveholder. He may have business with you, and the less you do with him, the better; but the moment that is over, turn from him as if he had the cholera or the plague—for there is a moral cholera and a political plague upon him. He belongs not to your country or your clime—he is not within the pale of civilization or Christianity.' On another occasion he said, 'An American gentleman walked upon me this morning, and I asked him, with some anxiety, "What part of America do you come from?" "I came from Boston," Do me the honor to shake hands; you came from a State that is not tainted with slavery—A State to which our ancestors fled from the tyranny of England—and the worst of all tyrannies, the attempt to interfere between a man and his God—a tyranny that I have in principle every day put down in this country, and wish to put down in every country upon the face of the globe. It is odious and insolent to interfere between a man and his God; to fetter with law the choice which the conscience makes of its mode of adoring the eternal and adorable God. I cannot talk of toleration, because it supposes that a boon has been given to a human being, in allowing him to have his conscience free. It was in that struggle, I said, that your fathers left England; and I rejoice to see an American from Boston, but I should be sorry to be contaminated by the touch of a man from those States where Slavery continues.' 'Oh,' said he, 'you are alluding to Slavery; though I am no advocate for it, yet, if you will allow me, I will discuss that question with you.' I replied, that if a man should propose to me a discussion on the propriety of picking pockets, I would turn him out of my study, for fear he should carry his theory into practice. 'And meaning no sort of offence,' I added, 'which I cannot mean to a gentleman who does me the honor of paying me a civil visit, I would as soon discuss the one question with you as the other. The one is a paltry theft.

'He that steals my purse, steals trash; 'tis something, nothing; 'Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been slave to thousands'—but he who thinks he can vindicate the possession of one human being by another—the sale of soul and body—the separation of father and mother—the taking of the mother from the infant at her breast, and selling the one to one master, and the other to another—is a man whom I will not answer with words—nor with blows, for the time for the latter has not yet come.'

If such a spirit of manly indignation and unending integrity pervaded the Northern breast, how long could Slavery stand before it? But where is it to be found? Alas! the man whose hands are red with blood, is honored and caressed in proportion to the number of his victims; while he who departs from evil, makes himself a prey. This is true, universally, in our land—Why should not the Slave Power make colossal strides over the continent? 'There is no North.' A sordid, truckling, cowardly, compromising spirit, is everywhere seen. No insult or outrage, no deed of impiety or blood, on the part of the South, can startle us into resistance, or inspire us with self-respect. We see our free colored citizens incarcerated in Southern prisons or sold on the auction-block, for no other crime than that of being found on Southern soil; and we dare not call for redress. Our commerce with the South is bound with the shackles of the plantation—Free Trade and Sailors' Rights are every day violated in Southern ports; and we tamely submit to it as the slave does to the lash. Our natural, God-given right of free speech, though constitutionally recognized as sacred in every part of the country, can be exercised in the Slaveholding States only at the peril of our lives. Slavery cannot bear one ray of light, or the slightest criticism. 'The character of Slavery,' says GOV. SWAIN, of North Carolina, 'is not to be discussed'—meaning at the South. 'But he goes beyond this, and adds, "We have an indelible right to demand of the Free States to suppress such discussion, totally and promptly." Gov. LASKELL, of Virginia, makes the same declaration. Gov. LUMPKIN, of Georgia, says: "The weapons of reason and argument are insufficient to put down discussion; we can, therefore, hear no argument upon the subject, for our opinions are unalterably fixed." And he adds, that the Slave States 'will provide for their own protection, and those who speak against Slavery will do well to keep out of their bounds, or they will perish there.' The Charleston Courier declares, "The yallows and the stake (i. e., burning alive and hanging) await the Abolitionists who shall dare to appear in person among us." The Columbia Telescope says: "Let us declare through the public journals of our country, that the question of Slavery is not and shall not be open to discussion; that the system is too deep-rooted among us, and must remain forever; that the very mention of any private individual attempts to lecture us upon its evils and immorality, and the necessity of putting means in operation to secure us from them, in the same moment his tongue shall be cut out and cast upon the dung-hill." The Missouri Argus says: "A abolitionist who visits Slave States will not dare to avow his opinions. It would be instant death to them." Finally, the

New Orleans True American says: 'We can assure those, one and all, who have embarked in the nefarious scheme of abolishing Slavery at the South, that lashes will hereafter be spared the backs of their emissaries. Let them send their men to Louisiana; they will never return to tell their suffering, but they shall expiate the crime of interfering in our domestic institutions, by being buried at the stake.' And Northern men cower at this, and consent to have their lips padlocked, and their natural right, while travelling Southward; and the lordly slaveholder traverses the length and breadth of the Free States, with open mouth and impious tongue, cursing freedom and its advocates with impunity, and choosing Plymouth Rock, and the celebration of the landing of the Pilgrims upon it, as the place and the occasion specially fitting to eulogize Slavery and the Fugitive Slave Bill!

'Now, by our fathers' ashes! where's the spirit Of the free-hearted and the unshackled gone? Sons of old freedom, do we but liberate Their names alone? 'Is the old Pilgrim spirit quenched within us, Stoops the proud manhood of our souls so low, That Passion's wife or Party's lure can win us To silence now? 'Whatever may be the guilt of the South, the North is still more responsible for the existence, growth and extension of slavery. In her hands has been the destiny of the Republic from the beginning. She could have emancipated every slave long ere this, had she been upright in heart and free in spirit. She has given respectability, security, and the means of subsistence and attack, to her deadliest foe. She has educated the whole country, and particularly the Southern portion of it, secularly, theologically, religiously; and the result is, three millions and a half of slaves, increasing at the appalling ratio of one hundred thousand a year, three hundred a day, and one every five minutes—the utter corruption of public sentiment, and general skepticism as to the rights of man—the inauguration of Mammon in the place of the living God—the loss of all self-respect, all manhood, all regard for justice—the Book styled holy, and claimed to be divinely inspired, everywhere expounded and enforced in extension or defence of slaveholding, and against the anti-slavery movement—colophonia infecting the life-blood of the people—political profligacy unparalleled—the religious and secular Press generally hostile to abolitionism as either infidel or anarchical in its spirit and purpose—the great mass of the churches with little vitality as a graveyard—the pulpits, with rare exceptions, filled with men as careful to consult the popular will as though there were no higher law—synods, presbyteries, general conferences, general assemblies, buttressing the Slave Power—the Government openly pro-slavery, and the National District the headquarters of slave speculators—and now, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the consecration of five hundred thousand square miles of free territory forever to the service of the Slave Power!

And what does all this demonstrate? That the sin of this nation is not geographical—it is not specially Southern—but deep-seated and universal. 'The whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint.' We are 'full of wounds, and bruises, and putrifying sores.' It proves, too, the folly of all plasters and palliatives. Some men are talking of preventing the spread of the cancer, but leaving it just where it is. They admit that, constitutionally, it has now a right to ravage two-thirds of the body politic—but they protest against its extension. This is moral quackery. Even some, whose zeal in the anti-slavery cause is fervent, are so infatuated as to propose no other remedy for slavery but its non-extension. Give it no more room, say they, and it may be safely left to its fate. Yes, but who shall 'bell the cat?' Besides, with fifteen slave States, and more than three millions of slaves, how can we make any moral issue with the Slave Power against its further extension? Why should there not be twenty, thirty, fifty slave States as well as fifteen? Why should not the star-spangled banner wave over ten, as well as over three millions of slaves? Why should not Nebraska be cultivated by slave labor, as well as Florida or Texas? If men, under the American Constitution, may hold slaves at discretion and without dishonor, in one half of the country, why not in the whole of it? If it would be a damning sin for us to admit another slave State into the Union, why is it not a damning sin to permit a slave State to remain in the Union? Would it not be the acme of effrontery for a man, in amicable alliance with fifteen pickpockets, to profess scruples of conscience in regard to admitting another pilfering rogue to the fraternity? 'Thou that sayest, A man should not steal, dost thou steal?' or consent, in any instance, to stealing? 'If the Lord be God, serve him; but if Baal, then serve him.' The South may well laugh to scorn the affected moral sensibility of the North against the extension of her slave system. It is nothing, in the present relations of the States, but sentimental hypocrisy. It has no stamina—no backbone. The argument for non-extension is an argument for the dissolution of the Union. With a glow of moral indignation, I protest against the promise and the pledge, by whomsoever made, that if the Slave Power will seek no more to lengthen its cords and strengthen its stakes, it may go un molested and unchallenged, and survive as long as it can within its present limits. I would as soon turn pirate on the high seas as give my consent to any such arrangement. I do not understand the moral code of those, who, screaming in agony at the thought of Nebraska becoming a slave Territory, virtually say to the South, 'Only desist from your present designs, and we will leave you to flog, and lacerate, and plunder, and destroy the millions of hapless wretches already within your grasp. If you will no longer agitate the subject, we will not.' There is no sense, no principle, no force, in such an issue. Not a solitary slaveholder will I allow to enjoy repose on any other condition than that of instantly ceasing to be one. Not a single slave will I leave in his chains on any conditions, or under any circumstances. I will not try to make good a bargain for the Lord as the Devil will let me and plead the necessity of a compromise, and regret that I cannot do any better, and be thankful that it is so much. The Scriptural injunction is to be observed: 'Resist the evil, and he will flee from you.' My motto is, 'No Union with Slaveholders, religiously or politically.' Their motto is, 'Slavery forever! No alliance with Abolitionists, either in Church or State!' The issue is

No Union with Slaveholders!

THE U. S. CONSTITUTION IS A COVENANT WITH DEATH AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL. 'Yes! IT CANNOT BE DENIED—the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to SECURE THE PERFECTIVITY OF THEIR DOMINION OVER THEIR SLAVES. The first was the immunity, for twenty years, of preserving the African slave trade; the second was an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God, delivered from Sinai; and, thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for SLAVES—by articles of merchandise, under the name of persons. . . . In fact, the oppressor representing the oppressed! . . . 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 VITAL AND ANIMATING SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.'—John Quincy Adams.

J. B. YERRINTON & SON, PRINTERS.





POETRY.

The following has the sparkle of originality. It is from the pen of Mrs. SARAH T. BORTON, of Indianapolis.

PADDLE YOUR OWN CANOE.

Voyager upon life's sea, To yourself be true, And where'er your lot may be, Paddle your own canoe.

THE SONG OF THE SNOW-SPRIT.

In the polar seas, where the wild waves freeze, Congealed in their billowy might, And the iceberg rides o'er the gleaming tides,

BEHIND THE VEIL.

The secret of man's life disclosed, Would cause him strange confusion, Should God the cloud of fear remove, Or veil of sweet illusion.

BONNET TO NATURE.

Softly reproach, and gently chasten me! If no affection Thy great heart can stir, Let pity for the sorrowful whisperer,

THE LIBERATOR.

[Reported for the Philadelphia Register.]

GREAT DEBATE ON THE BIBLE.

BETWEEN MR. JOSEPH BARKER, OF OHIO, AND REV. DR. BERG, OF PHILADELPHIA.

[CONTINUED.]

FOURTH EVENING—(concluded.)

Mr. BARKER—(Applause, and a few sounds of 'h'ah.) I once more request my friends not to give any outward signs of approbation, or the contrary. Thus far, this debate has proceeded with a considerable degree of order, and I trust that order and peace will reign to its close.

Dr. Berg thinks I have not misquoted a Methodist hymn, but made an unwarrantable use of one. I accompanied my quotation with a statement expressly designed to guard against any such construction as he has placed on it. I quoted it with reference to the verse quoted from Romans, to show that the word 'Godhead' is equivalent to the word 'Deity,' and embraces all the Divine attributes; and that it is not used, as the Doctor says, merely to denote his unity as distinguished from Polytheism. It is not the hymn, but Paul, that thinks all the attributes of God can be learned from nature.

The Doctor says my course is unphilosophical, and that I continue to deal in negations of secondary matters, without regarding the overwhelming array of positive evidence he has produced to prove the divine origin of the Bible. I am not aware of any such overwhelming array; I have not seen it. It is impossible that any evidence can be furnished of the divine character of a book which contradicts itself.

He says I cannot give him the name of the God I worship, without borrowing from the Bible. Now, it is admitted, that in the book of Job, one of the oldest, and generally admitted to be the work of a Pagan Deist, are to be found the best and noblest views of the character of God. [Explosion of laughter, hisses, and contemptuous shouts.] My opponent asks why the Jews had higher and better views of the Deity than the Pagans around them? Let him first prove the fact. Let him make a fair showing that the Jews did not borrow many of their ideas from the Pagans around them. The word 'God' is not Hebrew, but plain Saxon. There are many different names used in the Old Testament, each derived apparently from a different source. The word usually translated 'God' is rather plural than singular, and may mean many gods as well as one. And if the character of God cannot be learned from nature, then the Scriptures are false, for they say it can. He asks how we can know his glorious attributes of mercy, truth, justice, and omnipotence, except from the Bible? Why, the Bible itself answers how: it says that the heavens declare his glory. [Explosion of shouts, contemptuous laughter, hisses, groans and cries of 'Oh! oh!']

Dr. Berg—Allow me, my friends, to request you to allow the discussion to proceed. Let him say what he pleases, and do not interrupt him unnecessarily.

Mr. BARKER—I hope that those who interrupted me can justify themselves in the eyes of reason. If Dr. Berg says that we cannot learn the attributes of God, except from the pages of the Bible, and the Bible contradicts him flatly, am I not to be free to quote it? I was about to offer further proofs of the same kind, but I abstain.

The Doctor says that reason and nature cannot reveal the details of the existence beyond this world. Can he overlook the fact that, on these very points, Christian sects are as much in the dark as Infidels? The Catholic believes in three worlds beyond the grave, the Universalist in one, and though the Swedenborgians believe in two, these differ in nearly every respect from those believed in by the orthodox evangelists. The particular views of the sects differ endlessly; one believes that hell is a place of eternal torture with fire and brimstone; another, that sinners are punished only by pangs of conscience. One believes in heaven as a place of positive material enjoyment; and another, that its happiness is of a mystical and undefinable character. If the Bible tells any thing certain on these points, why are such various views entertained?

He says that there is no Savior outside of the Bible. Nothing of the kind. Each man has a Savior within himself. [Explosion of contemptuous laughter.] There is a healing and recuperative energy in all nature. Wound a tree once, and the sap will begin the healing process, the fibres will reanimate, and the bark grow over the spot. Wound the flesh once, and it will get well. And so when the soul is wounded by one sin, if the man will sin no more, he will in time recover his moral energy and happiness. But repeat frequently the wounds, and the tree will die, the flesh will be covered with ulcer and gangrene, and the soul will be debased and lost. The Doctor thinks that in this law of endurance of the natural results of our acts, there is no room for forgiveness. No, but the law cries incessantly to the sinner, Give up your transgressions, amend your ways, and live!

He asks, Will I accept the doctrine of the atonement, because the heathen do, who accept the guidance of reason? No. It is not a fair inference that I should. Will he accept the Catholic doctrine of purgatory, or the conclusions of every sect professing Christianity? Do not the orthodox differ on ten thousand subjects? The Bible may be unread, misread, or misunderstood; and so may nature. Men may hold to the Bible, and, at the same time, to many errors not taught in it; and so they may with nature. Besides, have the heathen ever taken nature as a guide? Give us proof that there were not priests who held them in spiritual bondage. Prove to us that there were not classes of persons interested to forge superstitions for the masses of the people. If the works of God had been consulted in their teachings, the heathen would have known more of him, for every year is a fresh revelation. [Applause and hisses.]

He asks whether I will deny the light and heat of the sun, because there are spots upon its surface? No; but if he says there are no spots, his assertion cannot stand against the fact. And so of the Bible; the men who wrote it had clear views on many subjects, and imperfect and erroneous ones on many others. If he tells us it is pure, and we find it not so, what then? Shall we believe it was dictated by the Supreme Being, when we find it not only full of errors, but containing flat contradictions, gross immoralities, and blasphemy? [Violent explosion of hisses, cries of 'Fair play,' 'Go on,' 'Hear both sides,' &c. &c.] He says we approach the study of the Bible with hearts full of prejudice and hostility. Can he read our hearts? Has he no prejudice? And mark you this! If the Bible was of God, would it not overcome our prejudices? Surely, those who do not believe are the ones to be converted. Is the Bible good for nothing but to persuade those who already believe? And mark you this also! Most of the unbelievers of the present day were brought up as Christians; all the prejudices of their education, and all their interests, are on the side of the Bible. If they desert the common belief, they risk all. They doubt reluctantly, struggle against their new convictions, and yield only when conquered by an irresistible mass of evidence. [Applause.] They become unbelievers in spite of reputation; they risk their pecuniary interests, they are ridiculed, scolded at, persecuted, sometimes mobbed, and, in some countries, in danger of being burnt at the stake. Generally, they are of enlightened, intelligent, and investigating minds, and are forced to their conclusions by unanswerable proofs. [Applause and hisses.]

The Doctor claims that we are blind, and that the sun is on his side. That is the matter under discussion. We claim that it is on our side. But let both sides be fully spoken, and our firm trust is, that the mightiest will prevail. [Applause.] He says that offering to Infidels internal evidence of the Divine origin of the Scriptures, is like offering light to the blind. Of what use, then, is the Bible? If it can't enlighten Infidels, who are the only ones that need it, what is it good for? Is it good only for Christians? Will he give a candle to those who have the sun already? [Slight applause.]

He speaks of the consolations, joys, peace and raptures of the Christian, in commencing with God. Is he not aware that these raptures are enjoyed by Pagans also? that they, too, can commune with God? But no Pagan believes in the black and terrible hell of the Bible. They smile when missionaries tell them of a hell of fire and brimstone, and say, 'The people of your country may deserve that, but we are sure we do not. They think it a monstrous idea that a good Father should reserve his children for so frightful a fate. And it is monstrous to say that the God of heaven would do this. The doctrine of predestination, which make God decree a few to happiness, and the rest to eternal pain and torment, cannot be matched for horror and blasphemy by any notion to be found in the Pagan world. [A storm of hisses and applause.]

The doctrine that what is wrong here will be righted in the future state, is injurious in its tendency. God rights matters here as well as there. Men reap what they sow. There are a few men who are beginning to believe that the despot has not, after all, much the advantage of his victim; that the wronged suffer less than the wronger; and that it is much better to suffer an injury than willfully to inflict one. [General applause.]

My opponent charges the Deists with borrowing from the Bible. The Bible owes more to them than they do to it. Who forced the clergy to put upon the Old Testament a higher and better meaning? The Deists. Who forced them to insert a little geological truth into their interpretation of Genesis? The Deists. And so it is always; men of science, reasoners and philosophers, gather the truths revealed by the works of nature; the priests resist them as long as possible, and when they can no longer do so, they seize the new views, cram them into the Bible, and pretend they were always there. [Mingled laughter, applause, hisses and 'h'ah's.] Do we obtain from the Bible our notions of justice, when we find God represented as destroying a nation for an offence committed 450 years before, by its ancestors? when we find seven men hung up before the Lord, for an act committed long before, by their father? Strange, indeed, that prejudice should be strong enough to maintain a position so absurd? But, we remember the day when we were equally blind, and can pity those who are under this delusion. [Laughter and hisses.]

We are told that the purity of the doctrines of the Bible proves it to be of Divine origin. Then you must first prove they are pure. The only way to do this is, first, to ascertain what is pure, and then see if the Bible harmonizes with that. But theologians tell us we cannot know what is pure, without the Bible. That is to prove it true, we must assume it to be true. And so with the narrative. If we say that geological truth impugns the Scripture account of creation, we are told that we must take that account for granted, because it was of superhuman revelation.

There is much matter in the Bible that cannot be divine. Take some of its ideas on government. They are such as can meet with the full sympathy of none but the worst of mankind. I read from the 13th chapter of Romans—

'Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Will thou then not be afraid of the power? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same: for he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, he shall be against thee, for he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil. Wherefore, ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake. For this cause, pay ye tribute also, for they are God's ministers, attending continually upon this very thing.'—Romans xiii. 1-6.

Adan Clark says, that this means that a man must obey every government under which he lives. No matter whether it be British, or Russian, or Austrian. Are despots ordained of God? Are all rulers a terror to evil works? Have not most of them persecuted every true reformer? Go into Italy, and do good, and see whether you will 'have praise of the same.' Have Kosuth and Mazzini, in their noble efforts to redeem their respective countries from thralldom—[Time up.] Mr. Barker sat down, the audience maintaining silence.

Dr. BERG—General applause, a few hisses, followed by a second round of enthusiastic applause.

Moderator (chambers)—I hope that the Doctor's friends will not occupy his time.

Dr. BERG—If those on the other side want to hiss, let them go ahead. They will not annoy me in the least. It is hardly to be expected that I should notice the speech of my opponent as though given us as sober argument. He is certainly gifted with wonderful powers of sophistry. I have heard many sophisms in my time, but I never heard any so palpable. Some parts of his speech sounded to me as if presented in joke. (Cries of 'Question, question.') In what I said about the passage in Romans, I meant to call attention to the fact, that the word 'Godhead' is only used to denote the unity of God in contradistinction to polytheism, and does not include all his attributes. In his quotation of the hymn, he left out the part which speaks of the 'whole Deity' as revealed in his word.

He spoke of the doctrine taught in Romans xiii., in regard to rulers. I do not understand that passage as sanctioning all rulers and governments, but as pointing out what rulers and governments should be. He means that Christians can rightfully obey rulers that govern right, and honor those who are a terror to evil doers. Are not such rulers entitled to respect and confidence? Why should they not be obeyed? Why should we rebel against those who execute wrath only upon him that doeth evil?

I wish to run over some of the arguments on the internal evidence, this evening, so that I may be able to present my respects to what my opponent said of Noah's ark. Every individual who believes in God, has derived that belief, directly or indirectly, from the Bible. There is nothing contrary to reason in the fact, that the Bible sometimes represents God with human organs, passions, and weaknesses. Human language must be used, and it is feasible to express the Divine essence, which is infinitely above the highest conceptions of the human mind. Infidels avail themselves of its imperfections, to abuse, tarnish, and blaspheme the character of Jehovah. When the language is too lofty for their conceptions, they denounce it as mysterious and unintelligible; when it is plain and simple, they discard it as unworthy the character of God. Oh, if unbelievers would only lay hold really on God, they would feel his gentle but mighty power draw them from darkness into light; they would feel the majesty of that Book, pervaded as it is by the Divine influence, impress their hearts; they would feel the earnestness and grandeur of its truths; they would be impressed with the fact, that it teaches with an authority not like that of the Scribes and Pharisees. The idea that it is a human production involves a credulity that is without a parallel. We find within it sixty-six separate books; every department of human knowledge is embraced—history, poetry, politics, the science of government, political economy, law, literature, religion, philosophy, art—all are treated of. The fundamental principles and the last results of science are assumed as axioms. Every subject is presented with precision, power and truth. This is wholly incompatible with any other theory than that of its Divine origin. The principal writers are about thirty persons, coming from all classes, of all temperaments, of every age, mode of education, condition, and so forth. Among them were kings, priests, scholars, artists, generals, fishermen, tax-gathers. Yes, notwithstanding all this diversity of authors, extending through a period of sixteen centuries, and in spite of the scrutinizing, searching, unsparring and bitter examination to which these books have been subjected, they have stood the ordeal in a manner without a parallel in the history of literature; not a single solecism has been found, nor a single discrepancy of morality, in statement or doctrine. [General applause.] In face of all these proofs of its Divine origin, none but infidel folly could blaspheme against this holy book.

My opponent, in his laborious search for apparent contradiction, has raked a good many of them from the gutters, where past-faded effusions have been thrown—has raked them out, and spread them before you. (Applause.) I do not wonder, my friends and my foes, that respectable papers have assailed me for taking the position I have. I admit it to be scavenger work that I am doing. (Explosion of laughter and applause. A few hisses.) I am willing to be engaged in the meanest office of dumb and servile labor, if it will promote the cause of the Redeemer. [Talking by one of the audience; cries of 'Turn him out!' 'H'ah!'] If any poor man wishes to talk, let him do so; I will out-talk him, or do my best at it.

I told you that the best evidence is where there is substantial agreement with circumstantial variety. This obviates all suspicion of collusion. One writer, in his description, will introduce a greater variety of details than another. But this does not affect the truth of any great transaction. Science has made wonderful advances since the days of Moses, but the early record is in harmony with every one of the discoveries of science. There is upon its every page the indelible stamp of its Divine origin. We see in it the sublime endowments and awful intelligence of its author. Under any theory attributing it to human invention, its character is absolutely incomprehensible. The book of Job, which is generally believed, or the book of Proverbs, merely on the ground of literary merit, would immortalize the age producing it. The book of Psalms, derided by Infidels as a collection of the religious odes of a half-barbarous people, in its large views of the Divine character, its clear enunciation of truths, and exalted religious emotion, and lyric style, has never been equalled, or even approached, by any production of mere human genius. (Applause.) Is it not wonderful that a book written in the meagre language and style of an age long past, should, for its clear insight into the workings of the human heart, find expressions much more accurate than any my opponent, the Solomon of this age, can invent? That was distinctly understood long ago, which we are now only finding out. The absolute results of modern science are assumed as axioms in those writings; not as theorems to be demonstrated, or problems to be solved. The writers of those books knew more than we can yet comprehend. The style is one of solemn gravity, in language of high intelligence, truths of high import.

If ever Infidels are put to confusion, it is when they attack the Bible on the grounds of science. Smatterers in science may think Infidels' doubt a proof of their profundity; but men of superior knowledge are aware, that every discovery of a new truth in science, is but another star in that bright galaxy which pours its flood of corroborative light upon the truth of the Divine origin of the Bible. (Applause.)

The objections made by my opponent have been successively overthrown, buried beneath the weight of their own fabric, overwhelmed in the rubbish, and consigned to the dust of infamy and merited contempt.

Another point! The belief in the superintending providence of God is almost as wide as the belief in the existence of God. The Scriptures teach this truth with plainness; history confirms it; and it is in harmony with all the truths on which Providence rests the truth of his revealed word. The general laws of the moral government of the Universe are inexplicable on any other supposition than that the Bible is from God. It commends itself to the intellect. The grand results of the world's experience are no where so well recorded as in God's book, written while the dew of the world's youth was fresh upon it.

Leaving this train of general remark, I call attention to one point. The great central object of the New Testament is Jesus of Nazareth. If any one can view his character without admiration, his mind must be clouded, and his heart hard. How can any one, after contemplating his merits and meditating upon his life, avoid exclaiming with the Roman centurion, 'Truly, this was the Son of God!'

I had hoped to complete what I had to say on this head, but it would take me twenty minutes more. I have two or three minutes, which I will devote to my opponent's account of the creation. Where he got his knowledge, I know not. If he knows all about it, he is the wisest man that I ever heard of. (Laughter.) Let us inquire what the Bible really says about it, not how this Infidel interprets its language. (Laughter.) If any one imagines that the Bible says the world is just 6500 years old, he is grievously mistaken. It says: 'In the beginning, God created the heaven and the earth.' Will he be good enough to tell us when this beginning was? (Loud applause.)

'And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep; and the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.'

Will he tell us how long the earth was without form and void? (Laughter.) Will he tell us how long darkness was upon the face of the deep? (Laughter.) 'And God said, Let there be light, and there was light.'

Will he tell us how long the light existed? And the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters! Yes; geology brings to light the fact, that the first animals on the globe were aquatic animals, thus confirming the fact asserted by the Scriptures.

[Time expired. Long and loud applause. The audience then dispersed quietly.]

THE LATE JOSIAH F. FLAGG, M. D.

At a meeting of the Directors of the New England School of Design for Women, held on Tuesday, Dec. 27, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:

Resolved, That in the sudden death of Dr. Josiah F. Flagg, we feel that our institution has received a great and irreparable loss. We recognize him as the first mover in our enterprise, and from the day when his interest in promoting the improvement and developing the resources of women led him to plan the school, up to the period of his death, his care for it has been constant and efficient. His views were broad and generous, his aims high and lofty, and he infused into them the whole genial warmth of his nature, so that the school seemed to him like a cherished child. He devoted his time and influence freely to its advancement, and his direct personal interest in both teachers and scholars endeared him to many who knew him in no other relation. His associate directors ever found him judicious and clear-sighted in regard to the management of the school, punctual in the performance of every duty of his office, and a most genial and sympathizing companion. In losing him, they lose not only a valuable member of their board, but a loved and valued friend, and can only hope that the influence of his example and his spirit will still remain, and encourage them in their work.

Resolved, That as Dr. Flagg was the original projector of the School of Design, we would gladly pay a lasting tribute to his character and services, and at the same time extend to that class, whom he labored to benefit during his life, the blessing of his benevolence even after his death. We, therefore, propose, that one pupil, desirous of earning her living by one of the professions taught in the school, be admitted gratuitously for his sake, and that the right of presentation to this place be vested in his wife during her lifetime.

An elaborate biographical sketch of the Life and Character of Dr. FLAGG, by some competent person, ought to be given to the public.—En. Lib.

PROGRESS OF LIBERAL SENTIMENTS.

We learn from the *Paritan Recorder*—excellent authority in regard to mind, sense and common-sense—that when a saint happens to be, on Sunday, in a place where no Protestant service is conducted, he may, not unjustly, walk amid the avenues of some unbraced pine forest, or the recesses of the great mountains, provided that he pines: 'Very slowly and thoughtfully than on the week day.'—If it should, begin to rain, might he venture to quiver his nose? C. R. W.

'APOSTACY'—AGAIN.

Mr. BORTON—I should, really, like to be informed as to where Mr. Edmund Quincy obtained any right to assume over the private affairs of my family? Or, who gave him any just authority for calling me to an account for what is done or not done, in my domestic circles?

As to my having receded from Fresh's cause, or from any Anti-Slavery Society of which I was ever a member, I deny that anything of the kind ever took place. I never withdrew, nor receded, nor backed. Edmund Quincy has receded from me, precisely as much as I ever did from him. And so, also, have I 'lost sight of him,' as much as he may have done of me. Nor do I acknowledge his right to call me to account for the number of Anti-Slavery addresses I make, more or less, during the space of ten years. My opinion is, that I have delivered more than one thousand public addresses during the last ten years, in which I have 'sifted in' the pure Anti-Slavery Truth; and I have done this in the slaveholding States, where Edmund Quincy has never dared to venture. Will Mr. Quincy tell us how many he has delivered for the past ten years, and how many times he has delivered his addresses in a slave State?

When my friend Garrison says, that I have 'not been visible, as a public laborer, in the Anti-Slavery cause for several years,' Mr. Quincy thinks it 'covers all the rest of the ground,' and supports his charge of 'apostacy.' Now, the truth is, I never was a public Anti-Slavery Lecturer, as this statement might seem to imply; and, as to laboring publicly for this cause, if my editorial labors (when conducting an Anti-Slavery paper in New York) be excepted, I have labored more publicly for this cause, for the last ten years, than I ever did before in all my life. That I have not been 'very visible' to my friend Garrison, is very true. But I have been visible to the public, notwithstanding—thousands and tens of thousands of whom, have heard my testimony against all oppression, in the Church and out of it. And these testimonies I have borne East, West, North and South. And, when I was mobbed, by the instigation of a Methodist minister in Norfolk, Va., I am not aware that I was 'visible,' either to Mr. Garrison or Mr. Quincy. The probability is, that the affair never came to the notice of either of them; though it was chronicled in all the papers at the South, at the time; and, to make sure against me, two ruffian slaveholders followed me from Norfolk to Washington, dogging and watching me at every step, lest I should slip away and go further South, again, with my ' incendiary doctrines.' I was 'visible' to the slaveholders, I believe; and I think I may say, without much vanity, perhaps, that I have made myself 'visible' in Louisville, Ky., Cincinnati, Philadelphia, and last, though not least, in Boston, where I made myself 'visible' sixty-four successive nights in Masonic Temple, and where I bore a testimony against slavery and prejudice against color, more severe and pointed than any I have ever heard from the lips of any other person.

But, enough of this. I am no Anti-Slavery Secularian. I give an open ring and fair play to all. I am no schism-hunter; nor do I admit that my Anti-Slavery Orthodoxy hangs upon the dictum of Mr. Edmund Quincy, or any other man.

Yours, truly,  
LAROY SUNDERLAND.  
Boston, Feb. 8th, 1854.

LUCEY STONE AT WASHINGTON.

Notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, a large audience attended the lecture of Miss Lucy Stone, at Currier's Saloon, last evening. The rain poured down incessantly, and we apprehended something like a failure in consequence; but, to our surprise and delight, the large hall was something like two-thirds filled with attentive listeners, and all felt the force of her scathing criticisms upon the tyranny of custom, which denies to the sex the exercise of the best and highest faculties of her nature.

Miss Lucey is an admirable speaker, fluent, yet forcible; her mind teems with apposite facts and illustrations of her thought, which pour forth in an uninterrupted stream of beautiful eloquence. We, in common with all who have heard her, indulge the hope that she will be induced to lecture again and again in Washington, and she may be assured of the warmest reception.

She spoke for nearly two hours, and yet gave no signs of exhaustion of fatigue. Gentlemen in Congress cannot speak for half an hour without frequently applying a glass of water to their lips; but in the long lecture of Miss Lucey, she was not reduced to this expedient for reviving her vocal powers once. Some may think it a small matter for a woman to speak two hours; but for man or woman to occupy the attention of an audience for that length of time, and be 'sensible to the last,' is an achievement. After all, the ladies will do well to ponder the fact, that the first animals on the globe were aquatic animals, thus confirming the fact asserted by the Scriptures.

[Time expired. Long and loud applause. The audience then dispersed quietly.]

JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS.

This distinguished gentleman, member of Congress, from Ohio, addressed the citizens of this place at the Old Fellows' Hall, last Friday evening, on the 'Principles and Progress of the Free Democracy.' He is a large man, about six feet in height, and heavily built—old in appearance, and hair very white. He is not fluent, and sometimes hesitates for a word. But if he hesitates, you are not more than half an hour when the words come, for there is no mistaking what he intends to convey. His style is very clear, terse and methodical. His address is in complete order, and very emphatic. Mr. G. gave a most graphic description of the scene between Marshall, of Kentucky, and John Quincy Adams, at the time when a resolution was introduced in Congress to expel Adams, on account of his presenting a petition from his constituents, asking for a dissolution of the Union. Marshall made the resolution in a strain of such lofty eloquence, and brilliancy of speech, that it was apparent the feelings of the members of the House were set on fire, and a strong tide against Mr. Adams. Many began to feel he should be expelled, so fascinating had been the flashing oratory of Marshall. But the next morning, the 'Old Man Eloquent' rose for his defence and reply. In the offset, he drew the attention of the House to Marshall, reviewed his sins and his doings, with that withering eloquence that Adams only knew how to use; and as Giddings says, he discharged an arrow of truth after another, from which he has never been resuscitated.

Mr. G. is an exceedingly pleasant speaker; at times, he is witty and sarcastic, but more generally deals in firm, solid truths and facts indisputable. He portrayed the slave system in its most revolting character, and made the blood tingle in our veins to think that such a system of cruelty and oppression was permitted to live and thrive in this favored land of ours. His denunciations of the Fugitive Slave Law were severe but just. He spoke an hour and a half to an audience that paid the closest attention, and who frequently applauded him.—Norristown Free Press.

INDEPENDENT LECTURES.

The eighth lecture of the course was delivered on Wednesday evening, by C. C. Burleigh. Subject—Grounds of allegiance and obedience to Government.' Mr. Burleigh examined the popular grounds on which obedience to government is based, and dissented from them all. He showed, that, merely because a government justly claimed, to have an ancient origin, was no reason why people should obey it. Neither was allegiance due to it because it had the power—the physical force to exact it—nor yet, because it produced no more benefit to us than to it—nor because a majority de-

clared that we ought to obey it. These several grounds on which allegiance and obedience to government are based, Mr. Burleigh examined in detail, and demonstrated, with his usual fertile and logical, their utter fallacy.

With consummate ability he then proceeded to bring up the elementary principles which underlie all true government. These principles are the Divine laws impressed into man's constitution. They are the original, innate moral obligations to do what is right and just. Government is designed for mutual protection against all wrong, and for the advancement of all right. Allegiance and obedience are due to government only, when its claims are founded in absolute and eternal justice. It is needless to say, that the performance was characterized by the most profound thought, the clearest statement, the most logical and cogent reasoning. For comprehensiveness, precision, and accuracy of statement—for depth and clearness of argument, we think Mr. Burleigh stands unrivalled among American lecturers.—Providence Freeman.

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'Dr. Rock manufactures the most splendid specimens of Artificial Teeth that we have ever beheld.'—N. Y. Tribune.

Dr. J. S. Rock performs all operations appertaining to his profession in a skillful manner, his terms and operations are easy, which speak volumes in his favor.'—Mercury.

Boston, February 10.

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A New Work for the Public.

SPIRIT INTERCOURSE, containing Incidents of Personal Experience, from notes taken while investigating the new Phenomena of Spirit Thought and Action; together with various Spirit Communications, together himself as Medium. By HERMAN SNOW, late Unitarian Minister at Montague, Mass. Boston: Crosby, Nichols & Co. New York: C. S. Francis & Co. For sale also by Partridge & Brittan, New York; by Bela Marsh, 25 Cornhill; and by the Author, at his room, 103 Court st., Boston. January 18.

Reformed Medical Practice.

DR. A. A. GIFFORD having returned to New Bedford, solicits a share of patronage in the community. Office and residence, Nos. 159 and 161 Union street. New Bedford, Nov. 24.

JUST PUBLISHED.

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