SECOND

ANNUAL REPORT



OF THE

VERMONT ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY;

WITH AN

ACCOUNT OF THE ANNUAL MEETING,

HOLDEN IN

MIDDLEBURY, FEBRUARY 16 & 17, 1836.

MIDDLEBURY:
KNAPP AND JEWETT, PRINTERS.
1836.

OFFICERS.

President,

ASA ALDIS, of St. Albans.

Vice Presidents,

JOHN IDE,
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JONATHAN P. MILLER,
ROWLAND T. ROBINSON,
JOSIAH W. HALE,
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E. D. BARBER,
OLIVER J. EELLS,
JONATHAN A. ALLEN,
SHERMAN KELLOGG,
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JOSIAH F. GOODHUE,
ERASTUS PARKER,
WARHAM WALKER,
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AARON McKEE,
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HARVEY F. LEAVITT,
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ORSON SKINNER.

Executive Committee.

ROWLAND T. ROBINSON, *Chairman.*
OLIVER JOHNSON, *Clerk.*

E. D. BARBER,
OLIVER J. EELLS,
JONATHAN A. ALLEN,
E. B. GODDARD,
JOSIAH W. HALE,
C. L. KNAPP, *Ex Officio.*
O. S. MURRAY, *Ex Officio.*

Corresponding Secretary,

ORSON S. MURRAY, of Brandon.

Recording Secretary,

CHAUNCEY L. KNAPP, of Montpelier.

Treasurer,

EDWARD H. PRENTISS, of Montpelier.

Auditor,

ZENAS WOOD, of Montpelier.

SECOND ANNUAL MEETING.

THE VERMONT ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY commenced its second annual meeting at the Town Room in Middlebury, February 16, 1836, the Rev. JOHN IDE, President, in the chair.

The meeting was opened with prayer by Rev. JOSIAH F. GOODHUE of Shoreham.

On motion,

The friends of the cause of immediate emancipation, who might be present without credentials, were invited to take seats and participate in the deliberations of the meeting.

Letters were read from the following gentlemen and ordered to be published with the proceedings of the Society: Rev. Dr. Hawes of Hartford, Conn.; Rev. Dr. [illegible] of Auburn, N. Y. Wm. Lloyd Garrison of Boston; James G. Birney of Cincinnati; Hon. Wm. Jay of New York; and James Ballard of Bennington.

The Annual Report of the Board of Managers was read by the Corresponding Secretary; and

On motion,

The Report was accepted and directed to be printed under the direction of the Executive Committee.

The Annual Report of the Treasurer was also presented, accepted and ordered to be printed.

Rev. BERIAH GREEN, President of the Oneida Institute, was introduced to the meeting; and

On motion of Mr. MURRAY of Brandon,

Voted, That Rev. Beriah Green of Whitesborough, N. Y., now present, be invited to sit as a corresponding member.

The following committees were appointed.

1. *Committee of Arrangements*— [illegible] Barber, Rood and Doolittle.
2. *On Resolutions*—Messrs. Johns[illegible] Barber of Middlebury, Rev. Mr. Goodhue of Shoreham, and Re[illegible] Eaton of Charlotte.
3. *To nominate Officers*—Messrs. Murray and Hale of Brandon, Robinson of Ferrisburgh, Goodhue of Shoreham, and Eells of Cornwall.
4. *On the Constitution*—Messrs. Knapp of Montpelier, Murray and Robinson.
5. *On Depositories*—Messrs. Robinson, Johnson, and Allen.

6. *To prepare a Memorial to Congress*—Messrs. Cook of Cornwall, Barber and Knapp.

7. *On Finance*—Messrs. Bingham of Cornwall, Goodhue of Shoreham, and Rogers of Ferrisburgh.

The committee appointed for that purpose reported a nomination of officers of the Society for the year ensuing, and the following persons were appointed, viz:

[For list of officers see page 2.]

The Society then adjourned to meet in the evening at the Congregational meeting house.

HALF PAST 6.

Prayer by Rev. BERIAH GREEN.

Rev. WM. EATON of Charlotte then delivered an address, in which the principles and purposes of abolitionists were clearly explained and ably vindicated.

Rev. BERIAH GREEN followed in a brief address, after which the Society adjourned to meet in the Town Room to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock.

WEDNESDAY, FEB. 17.

Prayer by Rev. BERIAH GREEN.

Mr. JOHNSON, from the committee appointed to prepare resolutions, reported the following, which were taken up separately, and after remarks by Messrs. Green of New York, Barber of Middlebury, Richards of Bennington, Battey of Starksborough, Wooster of Middlebury, Knapp of Montpelier, Robinson of Ferrisburgh, Bingham of Cornwall, Murray of Brandon, Johnson of Middlebury, Goodhue of Shoreham, and Hale of Brandon, were adopted as follows:

RESOLUTIONS.

1. *Resolved*, That American slavery is a SIN in view of God's law—an outrage upon the principles of humanity, and at war with the spirit of republican institutions; and that it should therefore meet with uncompromising opposition from the Christian, the Philanthropist and the Republican.

2. *Resolved*, That for the people of this country to sanction by their acts, their words, or even by their silence, the existence of slavery, would be to acquiesce in the subversion of the fundamental principles of all freedom—to live down the truths of the Declaration of Independence, and libel the memories of their revolutionary fathers.

3. *Resolved*, That the existence of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, is a "plague-spot" on the face of our government, and should be removed by the exercise of the powers conferred upon Congress by the constitution.

4. *Resolved*, That the only eligible and sure means of overthrowing the system of slavery is by enlightening the public mind, by free discussion, and the operation of a correct public sentiment upon the consciences and hearts of the whole nation.

5. *Resolved*, That the admission by distinguished advocates of slavery, that the people of the South do not fear insurrections among the slaves from the dissemination of Anti-Slavery publications, but that they fear the operation of those publications upon the consciences of slaveholders themselves, is proof the most convincing, not only of the efficacy of our measures, but of their expediency and propriety.

6. *Resolved*, That we consider the many recent attempts to stifle free discussion by mobs and riotous assemblies, as the most alarming evidence of the decline of public morals, public patriotism and public liberty, and as totally subversive, if acquiesced in by the community, of the principles of our government and the existence of freedom.

7. *Resolved*, That we will discountenance and withstand every effort to prevent free inquiry into the merits of every question of public interest, and will uphold the public and unfettered discussion of all subjects relating to public policy, public evils, and public and private rights; and that the more these rights are assailed, the firmer shall be the tone in which we will assert them.

8. *Resolved*, That while we speak of slavery in terms of the severest condemnation and reproof, we design not to provoke the resentment or stir up the hatred of the people of the South against those of the North; but wish, by portraying the sin, to ensure the repentance of the wrong-doer, and save both the oppressor and the oppressed from the evils which their relation never fails to bring upon them.

9. *Resolved*, That we believe the emancipation of the slaves of the South would be attended with no danger to the security of the whites, in their persons or their property—that the blacks would become, when free, if properly treated and instructed, an industrious, orderly and thriving population; and that the planters would be enriched instead of impoverished by employing them as free laborers in lieu of holding them as slaves.

10. *Resolved*, That the opinions which we have heretofore expressed in relation to the American Colonization Society remain unchanged; that we regard the doctrines which it promulgates in relation to slavery and abolition, through its official publications, as tending to obstruct the progress of emancipation; and that the example of that eminently patriotic and benevolent individual, GERRITT SMITH, in withdrawing from the Society, is worthy of imitation by all those of its patrons who are opposed to slavery.

11. *Resolved*, That we admire the intrepidity, fortitude and Christian philanthropy of JAMES G. BIRNEY, in the stand he has taken against slavery and in favor of immediate emancipation, and that we commend the Philanthropist, published by him, to the patronage of the friends of human rights.

12. *Resolved*, That instead of considering GEORGE THOMPSON and CHARLES STUART "foreign emissaries," sent to this country to stir up strife and promote discord, we deem them messengers of truth to a guilty people; and that the reproach which has been cast upon them, and particularly the relentless persecution waged against the former, are eminently disgraceful to our country.

13. *Resolved*, That whlie we combat for the principles of universal and immediate emancipation, and push the banner of our faith to new fields of trial and of triumph, we can never forget the lofty and fearless spirit—the philanthropic and noble mind—the generous and manly daring—the patient and self-devoted endurance of the calumniated, devoted, heroic WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

Mr. BARBER from the committee appointed to draft a memo-

rial to Congress, made report of a memorial, setting forth the evils of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and praying that inasmuch as great and insurmountable difficulties are alleged to lie in the way of their removal from that District, the seat of government may be removed to Pittsburgh, Pa. or such other place in the free States as Congress may deem most advisable; which was read and adopted.

The committee on Finance made a report, recommending that a circular be addressed by the Executive Committee to the several auxiliary Societies in this State, representing the importance of sustainining our cause by liberally providing for the dissemination of light and truth on the subject of slavery—and that measures be taken to raise a definite sum within this State, to be designated in the circular.—The report was accepted.

The committee to whom was referred the subject of Depositories of anti-slavery books and papers, made report that in their opinion the success of the cause requires the establishment of at least two Depositories in this State. Report accepted.

[The Executive Committee subsequently decided to establish Depositories at Brandon, Middlebury, Vergennes, and Montpelier, where publications may be found.]

On motion of Mr. HASKELL,

Resolved, That we fully endorse the decision of Judge HARRINGTON, once made in *this house*, in relation to the evidence necessary to prove property in man, that nothing short of "A BILL OF SALE FROM THE ALMIGHTY" is sufficient.

Adjourned to meet in the Congregational meeting-house.

2 o'clock, P. M.

The Society met pursuant to adjournment, and after prayer by Rev. Mr. GOODHUE, a deeply interesting address was delivered by Rev. BERIAH GREEN. After which,

On motion of Mr. KNAPP, it was

Resolved, That this Society will make a vigorous effort to raise $2000 this year for the support of the cause.

On the adoption of this resolution, a subscription was opened, and various sums were pledged by individuals, which, with the collection taken in the evening, amounted to $675,14.

On motion of Mr. KNAPP,

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be authorized to employ one or more agents as lecturers, at their discretion;—and that a circular be addressed to the friends of the cause throughout this State soliciting contributions to the funds of the Society.

Adjourned till half past 6.

HALF PAST 6.

The Society met at the meeting-house. Dr. HALE of Brandon took the chair. Prayer by Rev. Mr. IDE.

Mr. KNAPP offered the following resolution, which was supported by the mover, Mr. Barber, and Rev. Mr. Green, and adopted:

Resolved, That the spirit of defiance manifested so generally by the slaveholders of the South, in reference to the movements of abolitionists, affords no reason for the relaxation of our efforts, and no proof that those efforts have been either unwise or indiscreet.

On motion of Mr. MURRAY,

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be instructed to appoint delegates to attend the annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society in May next; also delegates to the New England Convention to be holden in Boston.

On motion of R. T. ROBINSON,

Resolved, That by consuming the produce of the labor of slaves, we are directly sustaining the iniquitous system of slavery; and that therefore, as abolitionists, we are called upon to abstain from using such articles as are believed to come to us through so polluted a channel.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society be tendered to the Rev. BERIAH GREEN for his able addresses, and that copies of the same be requested for the press.

Resolved, That 1500 copies of the Annual Report and proceedings of this meeting be printed in pamphlet form for general distribution.

Voted, To amend the constitution so as to add two more members to the Executive Committee, and make the Secretaries members *ex officio*.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Society be tendered to the committee of the Congregational Society of Middlebury for the use of the meeting-house; and to the choir of singers for their interesting performances during our meeting.

Voted, To request the editors of the Vermont Chronicle and Vermont Telegraph, and all other editors in the State, to publish the proceedings of this meeting, together with the letters of Messrs. Cox, Garrison, Birney, Hawes and Jay.

The following Hymn, written for the occasion, by OLIVER JOHNSON of Middlebury, was sung by the choir; and after prayer by the Rev. Mr. MILLER, the Society adjourned without day.

I.

Hark! a voice from heaven proclaiming,
Comfort to the bleeding slave;
God has heard him long complaining,
And extends his arm to save:
Proud oppression
Soon shall find an endless grave.

II.

See! the light of truth is breaking,
Full and clear, on every hand;
And the voice of mercy, speaking,
Now is heard through all the land:
Firm and fearless,
See the friends of freedom stand.

III.

Lo! the nation is arousing,
From its slumber, long and deep;
And the church of God is waking,
Never, never more to sleep,
While a bondman,
In his chains, remains to weep.

IV.

Long, too long, have *we* been dreaming,
O'er our country's sin and shame;
Let us now, the time redeeming,
Press the helpless captive's claim,
Till exulting,
He shall cast aside his chain!

DR. COX'S LETTER.

AUBURN, N. Y. Feb. 10, 1836.

To Doct. JONA. A. ALLEN,
Middlebury, Vermont:

DEAR SIR,—Yours of the 25th ultimo duly reached me; but my official duties have hindered this answer for several days; and at present, I feel that the time adequate to the preparation of a proper answer, is not at my control.

You especially invite my attention to the question, WHAT HAVE CHRISTIANS IN THE NON-SLAVE-HOLDING STATES TO DO WITH SLAVERY? OUGHT THEY TO HOLD COMMUNION WITH SLAVE-HOLDENS OR SLAVE-DEALERS, EVEN IF THE CASES ARE MODIFIED AS MUCH AS THAT OF THE REV. DR. ELY, FOR EXAMPLE?

There is a manifest difference between principles abstractly and absolutely viewed, and their application to particular cases: these may be qualified and even palliated, just for the same reason that they may be aggravated also, by circumstances. That slavery, the system identically of our own country, is intrinsically and pre-eminently wrong, is at variance with the everlasting righteousness of the moral empire of God, or, as the lawyers say, is *malum in se*, is a proposition of almost self-evident truth. I know that all masters are not equally cruel, covetous, or obdurate; and that all slaves are not equally abused: nay, that some are treated comparatively well and kindly, and are comparatively happy. But what of this, as it respects the conscience? It is all one system. Every owner of a slave, not even my honored friend above named excepted, upholds the system—lends it the awful sanction of his practice, his influence, and his name; and is, like a temperate drinker, (as it respects another grand moral interest of reform) a mighty obstacle to the ascendancy of correct sentiment and correct action in the community.

I am more struck with the similarities of injury, than with the seeming exceptions of favor, in the privations and degradations of the slaves. The experience of the worst treated is the liability of the best treated of them all; and every good master, who dies intestate, leaves to the machinery of the law the disposal of his whole estate—his fellow creatures included; and the hammer of the auctioneer invoked to sell them, singly or in pairs, or in lots to suit purchasers; as are the phrases of stereotyped commercial usage. But, I make these observations by the way, to show that the system is one,—that the differences are comparatively inconsiderable,—that they vary not the principle, or the casuistry of the matter,—that the system is utterly and awfully wrong,—that no Christian ought to *do evil that good may come* in favor of it; and that those who care for their souls, and for the approbation of God Almighty, ought not to be driven from the true state and nature of these matters and their involved issues.

As to the *principle*, as related to the moral code of God, I hesitate not a moment to say, that, other things being equal, a slaver of any description ought to be excluded from the communion of the church; and that, by consequence, the members of the church, individually, ought to withdraw communion from slave-holders and slave-dealers universally. Whatever in the system, or in our support of it, is morally wrong, is no small criminality. It is piacular, rather than venial. It is the moral annihilation and perdition of our fellow-creatures,—each one of them a brother of the species—an immortal—a man in body, soul and spirit. And is it OUR Judge Eternal, who condescends to wear our common nature, in the person of Jesus Christ, on his throne?

and to call every man his brother—such emphatically, if he loves the Savior? and to be represented on the earth, by the poor and the oppressed? *And the King shall answer and say unto them, Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye have done it unto* ONE OF THE LEAST OF THESE, MY BRETHREN, YE HAVE DONE IT UNTO ME.

The application of these reasonings, or of this principle of non-communion, is, as I have said, another matter. I shall view it as related to those who are actual slavers in some way, and to those who advocate and approve their cause. Of these, inversely—

1. In reference to the speculative slavers, or the pro-slavery advocates, in church and state, especially among us here at the North, I think, on the principle that light graduates guilt, our church discipline must probably begin with them. We must not be *partakers of other men's sins.* We must *have no fellowship* with evil works, *but rather reprove them.* Now, our old maxim is a sound one: THE PARTAKER IS AS BAD AS THE THIEF. I say it is sound; for so says God himself. *When thou sawest a thief, then thou consentedst with him,* declares the Holy Ghost, in the fiftieth Psalm; where the day of Judgment is described in its principles, and anticipated in its decisions; and where God condemns the castaways, on the principle that they approved the evil that others did. Thus the apostles charged a promiscuous audience, with the crimes that other hands than theirs perpetrated, against the life of Jesus Christ. *Ye denied the Holy One and the Just, and desired a murderer to be granted unto you; and killed the Prince of Life, whom God hath raised from the dead: whereof we are witnesses.* On the same principle, we have all justified his murderers, appropriated their crime, and crucified HIM ourselves. And what is their plea for doing this among us, in the matter of slavery? Whatever be its form or its ingenuity, it is all, so far as I have yet seen, an excuse framed on the principle of expediency. It is all a short-sighted, time-bounded, truth-denying plea of convenience. I should think then that it may be expedient to sin against God, in certain instances and circumstances! What fools the martyrs were! If their "noble army" could only have gone to school to certain modern casuists, they might have learned—how to fear *them that kill the body.* The millenium can never come, nor the gospel spread its genuine influences in our own country, nor missions prosper, till the total system of slavery is abolished. O, what a sin is slavery!

We must do more than not approve, or any other negative. We must wisely, but firmly, testify against it; or, calm conscience aright, for excepting, from our testimony against sin, one of the greatest of its systems. We must *let our light shine,* if we have any. We must practically interpret Heb. xiii. 3, Psalm xli. 1-3, James ii. 4-9, Matt. xxviii. 19, 20, Rom. i. 14. A very great divine in New-England, just after I was mobbed in New-York for pitying the poor—through the influence of the *pious* editor of a daily paper in that city—them and their satellites, wrote me a letter, the sum of which was, that I had nothing to do with slavery, and had better say nothing about it, as a minister of the gospel, or as a man. I replied, mainly requesting an answer to these two questions: Is the system of slavery, as it exists concretely—not in the abstract—in our country, morally wrong, or morally right, or morally characterised at all? If it is any of these, how can it be proved that a minister of the gospel, a Christian, or a man, in this country, has no moral relation to it? He sent me a verbal message of thanks for my answer—promised a reply to it—but eighteen months, nearly have passed without its reception.

2. In reference to actual slavers in our country, the application of the non-communion principle to their case, is one of solemn moment.

It will have to be discussed; and not lately have I first considered it. But my paper, I see, is too near its limits, to authorize me in this communication properly to enter on it. This I may employ an early opportunity to do in another paper. Then the magnitude of its relations —the palliating circumstances of our southern brethren in respect to it —the progress of light—the nature of sins of ignorance, and the proper season and manner of action on our part, will come to be considered in the treatment of the question. I am very far from wishing to say or do one rash thing, on this subject of thrilling and never-to-be-slighted interest.

In what remains of this paper, I would dwell on the enormity of the whole system of slavery, both as to its original sin, and as to our innumerable actual transgressions that flow from it. It is founded in man-theft, which is high felony and piracy by the laws of all civilized nations. The ancestors of all our colored brethrenwere diabolically stolen in Africa, and cruelly forced over the ocean, and sold. Because they were bought, in our country; they and their offspring with them, prospectively, to the last generaiton of time, were purchased, and confirmed to their owners and their heirs forever! Now, as to the *equity* of the title. Trace the stream to its source. Can man-theft make equity? Apropos—It is just a year on the 3d instant, since the Rev. Mr. Ludlow, of New-York, known and honored for his hearty faithfulfulness in this, and every other good cause, and myself, were taking tea in that city at the house of one of my beloved families—for I was then a pastor—when a villain or two slipt into the hall and stole our over-coats in the twinkling of an eye. The next day, we entered a description of them at the police office, in some dubious hope of their restoration. About three days after, I called alone, and had the pleasure to identify his, in their capacious wardrobe. It was strangely found. One of the thieves actually brought the other, with Mr. Ludlow's coat on him, to the office, complaining virtually, as the event showed, that his co-thief was not *equitable* in dividing the booty; when they were both taken into custody, and the coat restored to its owner. But where, said I, is my new Boston wrapper, for which I paid a round sum the previous week? These were the thieves that took it also, and at the same time. Very like, Sir, said the officer, you will never find it. They probably sold it to some equally *honest* purchaser, who encourages the trade; and there are many such in the city. But if sold from one to another a thousand times, and we find it at last, we will take it at all hazards, and restore it to you; for stealing, you know, can never make a title: and buying stolen goods, is no lawful possession.

Well, thought I, let my wrapper go—and gone it is, to this day. But let me see—*stealing can never make a title* to a surtout or wrapper. What then if I had been in it myself—if I had been stolen and sold successively to a thousand purchasers, would not my present owner have an equitable title at last? Why, no—if a man is as important as a wrapper.

I have only room to say,
Yours in love,
SAM'L. H. COX.

MR. BIRNEY'S LETTER.

CINCINNATI, Feb. 1, 1836.

Mr. E. D. BARBER:—

SIR,—Your letter of Jan. 11, was received a few days since, whilst I was at New Richmond, the place to which it was directed. I lament, that the almost constant employment of my time, in defending myself,

and the cause in which I am engaged, against the attacks of pro-slavery assailants *here*, must necessarily make my answers to your several inquiries shorter than under other circumstances they would be. If the *Philanthropist* is permitted to reach you, it will show what fierce resistance the aroused spirit of slavery in this city is already making against the assaults of its adversary.

Your first interrogatory is—"Would the immediate emancipation of the slaves of the South be attended with danger to the safety of the white population, either in their persons or property?" Answer—At present, the property of slave-holders is very much depredated upon by their slaves,—and in the planting South, the proprietors now live, and I doubt not, (independently of all Anti-Slavery operations,) from the rapidly increasing number and growing intelligence of the slaves—will continue to live, as long as slavery subsists, in great apprehension for the safety of themselves and their *own* families. I know of nothing that would so effectually arrest private and nocturnal depredations on property by slaves—or remove all apprehensions of personal security, as *immediate emancipation*. Emancipation of any kind, however gradual, would be preferable to continued slavery, in reference to the two objects embraced in the inquiry; but the nearer it could be made to approach to *immediate*, the more fully would they be attained. I would not be understood, by any means, as saying, that *no* inconveniences would be felt, if the slaves should, all, be manumitted to-morrow. But they would not be the legitimate consequences of *emancipation*. They would arise from the spirit of domination remaining in the masters. Inconvenient consequences are now showing themselves in such of the British West India islands as embraced the apprenticeship system. This remark would not apply, of course, to *immediate* emancipation brought about *from principles of duty* on the part of slave-holders—for, then, the same spirit which led to the act of justice would follow the manumitted with acts of kindness and auxiliary efforts to improve their condition in every respect. I feel well assured, that no other mode of emancipation can ever be effectual, but that which is *immediate*. None other has ever been so, in reference to the *colored* class—where they have constituted the great mass of the *laborers* in every country. The *gradual* schemes in some of the middle and eastern States do not affect the position,—inasmuch as the *slaves* in them made but a very small part of the laboring classes. In the south, *gradual* emancipation would leave the parties *inimical*—because it would have the appearance of being *wrung* from the slave holder: *immediate* would leave the parties, *friends*, because it would be *voluntary*. I should apprehend no danger to the personal security of the whites from immediate emancipation, except what might arise from the haughty and domineering temper of the latter, after they had parted with the power of coercion. Nor should I suppose that property would be by any means so insecure as it is now.

2. "Would the blacks, when emancipated, be likely to become an indolent, disorderly and vagabond population?" I have no idea that they would—provided the conduct of the whites should be just and kind to them afterward. If the laws should be partial and unjust—made to crush them and to keep them crushed, your interrogatory might well be answered in the affirmative. I have no doubt, they would, in this case become as a body, indolent, disorderly, and vagabond. But, I hesitate not to believe, that the stimulation of wages honestly paid,—and, if not, certainly collectable by law, would quicken the emancipated blacks, as it does every other people. There is I believe, no instance of an indolent laboring class, where the laws *assure* to them the rewards of their industry. Some of our most intelligent friends suppose a peculiar

system or code of laws would be required for the slaves if they should be emancipated. I must differ with them. It would not only keep alive the pride of the white man but continue a sense of degradation on the part of the black. Let the laws be made for the *offence* whether committed by white or black, and not for the *color*. Should a just and impartial system of legislation prevail, vast numbers of the blacks and colored people would start in the race of improvement. Their *success* would attach them to the friends of law and good order among the whites by a lien much stronger, than their *color* would to the idle, the ignorant and the vicious. They would thus add to the security of the whites, against the influence of such of their own color as could not be stimulated to industry and good conduct. They would, as a class in the community, be what other classes are, under a wise or unwise system of treatment and legislation.

3. "Would the emancipation of the slaves, impoverish the whites who now hold them as property?" The slave-holders are generally the land-holders. There are a few—but they constitute but a small portion of the community—who own slaves, without real estate. They hire them out, in most cases, in towns as menial servants,—sometimes they send them out to labor by the day or job, trusting to the honesty of the slave to render what he has earned through the day—and not unfrequently, (formerly) they hired the slave to *himself* by the week, month or year. This class of slave-holders would be injured in their *property*, by an immediate emancipation of the slaves, and probably, in some instances, impoverished. But I do not suppose, that the land-holders who are also slave-holders, would be injured much, if at all. I proceed upon the hypothesis, that the capital already vested in their slaves is *sunk*. The difference then between the present slave-holder and the future *hirer* of the labor of his former slaves would be the wages he would have to pay them. He would be precisely on the same footing as a large farmer in Vermont. Wages so regulates itself, in all countries as to leave the main profit to the proprietor. The planter would in a short time be exonerated from the care of the *inoperatives* belonging to each family. He would save much in overseer's wages, in doctor's bills, in the expense of recovering runaways, in the wear and tear of his cattle, in pilfering and nightly depredations, &c. &c. to say nothing of a feeling of personal security, now forever taken from him. Add to all this, the increased value, of his real estate, occasioned by the large immigration from the free States—the introduction of machinery and manufactures of every kind—the calling into life of numberless resources now (and as long as slavery endures, to remain) dormant in the South; and I doubt not, in five years time it would prove to the slave-holder a profitable speculation. Would that their prejudices would permit them to examine the subject in this light.

I have given you above, dear sir, very succinctly and in great haste, answers that might be extended to a good sized volume. The pressure under which I am for time, and the necessity of sending them off immediately prevents my even copying them in a legible hand-writing. Do not publish them, unless you think the cause of freedom will be aided by doing so.

Yours truly,

JAMES G. BIRNEY.

MR. GARRISON'S LETTER.

BROOKLIN, Ct. Feb. 10, 1836.

MY DEAR FRIEND:

I shall mingle my spirit with the brave spirits who purpose to attend the annual meeting of the Vermont Anti-Slavery Society, at Middlebury, on the 16th and 17th instant. There are many reasons why I should desire to be present with you 'in the flesh,' on that occasion. *Abolitionism is indigenous to the soil of Vermont.* Yours was the first *State* Society that was regularly organized in this country, for the immediate extirpation of American slavery, a system which Lord BROUGHAM brands as 'that most infernal scourge to humanity,' and which JOHN WESLEY described as 'that execrable villany, which is the scandal of religion and of human nature.' Almost my first efforts in the sacred cause of UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION, (for we are struggling to preserve our own rights, as well as to recover the liberties of southern bondmen, hence it is a common cause,) were made in Vermont, more than seven years ago. It was a suitable place,—of all others the best chosen,—to plant the standard of Liberty upon the summit of her Green Mountains, and to blow the trump of Liberty through all her valleys. One of our opponents tells us, the world is one great whispering gallery, whose faintest echoes reach alike the ears of the oppressed and the oppressor. No wonder, therefore, that the latter trembles when he hears the voice of humanity, and that he commands us to be silent upon peril of our lives. I remember with lively satisfaction, how readily I procured the names of TWENTY THREE HUNDRED of your free inhabitants, in the course of three or four weeks, to a petition praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia—the largest petitition on this subject, if I mistake not, that has ever been presented to Congress, and procured at a time, moreover, when the people of other States were slumbering in the arms of indifference. 'Honor to whom honor is due.' Of all the northern representatives in Congress, during its present session, who has most ably advocated the cause of insulted, down-drodden humanity, and most firmly sustained the dignity of the north? A representative from Vermont—WILLIAM SLADE. I read an anecdote, some years ago, which is probably familiar to many, but which I quote as characteristic of the spirit which animates the people of your patriotic State. A slaveholder, in pursuit of a runaway slave, finding him in one of your villages, immediately pounced upon him, and brought him before the court, presenting at the same time, what he considered indubitable evidence, that the victim was his lawful *property.* Still the judge demurred—he wanted other proof. At last, the prowling oppressor passionately desired to know of the judge, what evidence would satisfy him that the slave belonged to the claimant? *'A bill of sale from the Almighty!'* was the memorable reply.* These things make me love and honor Vermont. The anecdote I have related reminds me of the beautiful simile used by the great Bard of Nature:

> 'How far that little candle throws its beams!
> *So shines a good deed in a naughty world!'*

Henceforth, when the American oppressor attempts to convince us

* When the reading of this letter was concluded, the Hon. Dorastus Wooster of Middlebury rose and stated, that the transaction here referred to took place in THE VERY ROOM where the Society was then assembled! The memorable decision was pronounced by the late Judge HARRINGTON of Clarendon, a man remarkable for his unyielding firmness and practical good sense. The annunciation of this fact, as may well be conceived, produced a thrilling effect!

that the slaves are his property, by pointing us to the color of their skin and the texture of their hair, by showing us how large a sum he has paid for their bodies and souls, by proving that they were bequeathed to him by some defunct predecessor, we will kindle at the insult, and tell him that nothing will satisfy us but A BILL OF SALE FROM THE ALMIGHTY!

For what are we battling? It is for the dignity, the equality, and the enfranchisement of our common nature. Every sixth man, woman, child and babe, in the United States,—constituting a number as large as the whole population of New England,—is in bondage, and their cries are hourly borne to our ears by the free winds of heaven! If any of us were in their condition what would be the doctrine we should desire our advocates to preach for our deliverance? What! *expatriation* to a barbarous land as the condition of our freedom! What! a *gradual* sundering of our chains! No—no. It would be the doctrine of *immediate*, TOTAL, EVERLASTING emancipation. In the mighty conflict of 1776, between the mother country and her colonies, no other doctrine was listened to, for a moment, by our patriotic sires—least of all by the independant yeomanry of Vermont, for the mountains of the earth have always been the chosen abode of LIBERTY, and no wonder that she makes them *Green* Mountains, as her footsteps press their genial soil! Was STARKE a gradualist or an immediateist? Let the battle of Bennington answer! What voice is heard on the plains of Lexington and Concord—from the heights of Bunker Hill? 'INDEPENDENCE NOW—INDEPENDENCE FOREVER!' Tell me, ye whose blood was freely shed to make your children free—would he not have been deemed a traitor, or a madman, who should have maintained, in view of your sufferings, perils and oppression, that the mother country ought to be *compensated*, if she should cease to tread upon your necks, and to spill your blood? Your reply would be, in the conclusive language of an eminent patriot,—'Slavery is a *crime*, and crime is not a marketable commodity, to be bought and sold.' Never was the duty of compensating oppressors urged, but in the case of the oppressors of the colored race—the mose flagitious despot swho have ever sought to brutalize mankind. If one of these monsters tells me, he has given one thousand dollars for his slave, that he may hold him in bondage; my reply is this—*Jesus Christ has given his life for that slave, that he may be brought into the glorious liberty of the sons of God!* I will give you an anecdote, which puts this matter of compensation in a clear light. At one of the great anti-slavery meetings in Manchester, England, just as the audience were about to disperse, an eccentric but excellent Baptist clergyman, who was standing in one of the aisles, rushed forward to the platform, and cried out vehemently—'STOP, my friends, I've something to say to you. It's about *compensation!* Now, suppose a thief had been stealing the goods of his neighbors for days, weeks and months—and suppose he had filled his house with them—and suppose at last the sheriff should find him out—and suppose he should go to the house, and begin to pull the stolen goods out into the street—and suppose the neighbors who had been plundered should cluster around, and one woman should exclaim, "That's my cradle!" and another should say, "That's my frying-pan!" and so all the articles should be designated by their lawful owners. Suppose the thief should reply,—"I know that's your cradle, and that's your frying-pan; and I know that I have used and abused them, without your leave; but if you take them from me you must give me *compensation!*" What, my friends, would the sheriff say to the thief? Why, this—"Yes, you villain, you shall have *compensation*—you need not be uneasy on that

score—that's just what we intend to give you—and you shall get at *Botany Bay!*"' This simple illustration of a plain case electrified the vast assembly, and elicited thunders of applause. And yet how much greater is the crime of using, and abusing, and defrauding the bodies and minds of the slaves, without their leave, than of stealing and maltreating household furniture!

You remember how clamorous were the West India slaveholders for compensation, when they found that England would no longer tolerate the bloody system of slavery in any part of her dominions. This claim upon the mother country was made in full view of the fact, that, during a period of thirty years, she had added 150 millions (sterling) to her debt, in support of the colonies; that 50,000 British subjects had, during the same space of time, been sacrificed to the climate, to guard the slave system; and that the slave population was diminishing by thousands, annually, in consequence of the cruelty of their masters!

In July, 1833, I attended an anti-slavery meeting held in Exeter Hall, London, at which were present some of the most distinguished advocates of emancipation. In the course of its proceedings, the meeting was interrupted by a Mr LIGGINS, a person connected with the West Indies, who contended that emancipation would certainly ruin the planters, because it would be impossible to pay the slaves £160,000 a week for their labor, (as all that sum would be required for that purpose,) whereas there were not more than £20,000 in the whole of the colonies. Mr. O'CONNELL instantly rose and said—'He (Mr. LIGGINS) had announced an awful fact, that the colonists could not pay wages to the slaves—that it would cost them £160,000 a week. *What was this but robbing the slaves of* £160,000 *a week?* robbing them of labor worth that sum? But he told them another fact, which he (Mr. O'Connell) was rejoiced to hear, as it showed that it was inconsistent with the providence of an all great and just God, that villany should prosper; he told them that this villany was of the most beggaring description—for though the villains got £160,000 a week for nothing, yet they had not £20,000 in money! He turned to the West Indian, and asked him how he dared to rob the negro of £160,000, when instead of benefit, it was only productive of beggary? How frightful this appeared on the face of it! This £160,000 a week made £8,320,000 a year!

You can imagine the effect of a retort like this. Remember that we have three times as many slaves as there were in the British colonies; of course, according to this calculation, the southern planters are plundering their slaves of $2,133,333 a week, or $110,933,333 a year!—and yet they want compensation, should they be compelled to be honest men!

One other fact, and I have done. The New York Journal of Commerce contains a letter from a correspondent at Antigua, who says—'A clergyman remarked to me that it was pretty generally conceded, that the $100,000,000 granted as a compensation to the slaveholders here, *was equivalent to a free gift;* THE VALUE OF THE PROPERTY NOT BEING DIMINISHED BUT EVEN RISING.' This is one of the 'awful' consequences of emancipation. It seems, therefore, that the West India planters are retaining in their hands an immense sum of money, which does not belong to them, even granting that slaves are property, because they are gainers by the liberation of their victims. What, then, as honest men, ought they to do with it? Why, either to restore it to the treasury of England, or distribute it among those to whom it justly belongs—their plundered laborers.

We mean to give a rich compensation to southern slaveholders, by emancipating the slaves, viz. to substitute men for beasts, honesty for

knavery, purity for lewdness, liberty for despotism, light for darkness, holiness for heathenism.

With strong affection and high regard for you, my dear friend, as one of my early and faithful coadjutors, I remain,

Yours, truly,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

Mr. Oliver Johnson.

DR. HAWES' LETTER.

Hartford, Feb. 7, 1836.

Mr. Oliver Johnson,

Dear Sir—When two or three weeks since I received your letter, requesting, in behalf of the Executive Committee of the Vermont Anti-Slavery Society, "an expression of my views on the subject of slavery," it was my purpose to answer somewhat in detail. But pressure of duty since that time has not left me a leisure hour to fulfil my design; and now just leaving home for an absence of ten days, I can only snatch a moment to acknowledge the receipt of your communication, and express my regret that I have not been able to accomplish what I intended. I can assure you that my failure has not resulted from any lack of interest in the cause in which you are engaged, nor from any unwillingness to be known as an advocate of the principles of anti-slavery. Those principles I hold to be fundamentally true and immensely important; nor have I the least doubt of their final triumph, notwithstanding the opposition that is now made to them.

In relation to this cause, I feel all the satisfaction which can arise from a full assurance of being on the right side and on the rising side. It will surely seem wonderful to those who shall live a few years hence, that it was ever made a question at this day, among Christians, whether slavery—the holding of God's rational offspring in bondage, to be bought and sold as cattle—is a sin, and as such ought to be at once abolished. There is no principle of morality or religion which seems to me more certain than this. It may be perverted, misrepresented, denied—but triumph it will.

While I thus avow my full belief in the leading principles of the Abolitionists, I do not say that they have in no case erred in the measures they have adopted for promoting their cause. I think they have in some cases been harsh and irritating in their language, and violent in their movements; a fault which I am happy to see is fast being corrected; and when committed I find many apologies for it, in the unprincipled and reckless opposition which has been waged against them. Could I speak to every Abolitionist in the land, I would say, be firm and decided, but candid and conciliating;—rest your cause on the principles of eternal *right*; invite discussion, and let it be conducted on your part with coolness and intelligence; with calmness and kindness:—let all the irritability and ill temper, all the calling of hard names and heaping up of opprobrious epithets, be on the other side. Make your appeal to the intellect and the conscience, and let all be done in the fear of God, and with prayer to him for his blessing, and success is certain.

I sat down to write a short note, but have filled my sheet; and can only add my fervent wish that the smiles of Heaven may be upon the approaching meeting of your society, and that all things done on that occasion may be done under the guidance of that wisdom which is from above.

Affectionately yours,

J. HAWES.

JUDGE JAY'S LETTER.

NEW-YORK, Feb. 11, 1836.

SIR,—The letter of the 20th ult. with which you have honored me, did not reach me till this day. It must be my apology for the liberty I take in troubling you with the following remarks.

It seems to me that there is no reason for supposing that should Anti-Slavery Societies now suspend their opposition to slavery, they would hereafter find a more favorable period for renewing it. The increasing commercial intercourse between the north and the south is daily augmenting the number of those who are directly or indirectly interested in slave labor, and daily extending at the north the influence of slave holders, while the progression of the slave population is constantly strengthening the barriers against emancipation. What is to be gained by delay?

In the affairs of life whether private or public, duty is, I believe, the true criterion of expediency. Whatever God requires, must be beneficial to his creatures. If slavery be sinful, it is unquestionably the will of God that we should oppose it. As to the *mode* of opposition, we must consult common sense, and our civil and religious obligations. To do evil that good may come, is the device of folly, and frequently of wickedness.

The exhibition of TRUTH in christian faithfulness, appears to me the great instrument by which we are to operate. Should *political* Anti-Slavery ever be substituted for *religious* Anti-Slavery, the consequences would probably be disastrous to the cause of human rights, and to the welfare of our common country. So long as abolitionists seek only the removal of slavery in the *States* through the voluntary action of the masters, there will, in my opinion be no danger of a dissolution of the Union; but should they become a *political* party, striving for office and power, they would be joined by a corrupt and selfish herd, and losing their moral feeling and moral influence, might prove dangerous to the peace and stability of our Republic.

As abolitionists, like others, differ about men and measures, they can not honestly unite as a body on topics unconnected with emancipation, and it is earnestly to be hoped that the cause of abolition will remain uncontaminated by state politics. It is, however, a serious question, whether an abolitionist can conscientiously vote for a candidate for Congress who is known to be in favor of perpetuating the abominations of the District of Columbia. At the same time the expediency of nominating "abolition candidates" as such is certainly doubtful.

Our duty as abolitionists is, I think, independent of the obstacles which oppose our success. We must look for our reward, not in the results of our labors, but in the approbation of our Maker. In this view of the subject we may apply to ourselves the exhortation of the Apostle to the Corinthians: "My beloved brethren, be ye steadfast, immovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, for as much as ye know that your labor *is* not in vain in the Lord."

I have the honor to be, Sir,
Your very obd't serv't,
WILLIAM JAY.

JOEL DOOLITTLE, Esq'r.

MR. BALLARD'S LETTER.

BENNINGTON, Feb. 13, 1836.

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE VERMONT ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY:

DEAR SIR,—Nothing but absolute necessity, arising out of a pressure of duties which I cannot leave for a single day, prevents me from taking my seat with you at the annual meeting of the State Society. The cause in which we are engaged has my heart. Based, as our principles are, upon *eternal truth*, if we trust in God and go forward with *unflinching courage*, we shall succeed. "Through the *thick gloom* of the *present*," faith enables us to "see the *brightness of the future*." Take high ground—care not for *man*—fear only *God*. Act as you would if your fathers and mothers, your wives and daughters, your brethren and sisters, your own selves, even, were in the place of the slave.

I am, dear sir,
Your obedient servant,
JAMES BALLARD.

NOTE.

THE Committee cannot refrain from expressing their regret, that Mr. GREEN did not find time to write out the substance of his addresses for publication in this pamphlet. It is almost superfluous to say, that they were an able and powerful vindication of the great principles which lie at the foundation of the anti-slavery reformation, and that they bore the impress of a mind well cultivated and a heart expanded with benevolence and overflowing with love to the whole human family.

REPORT.

The Executive Committee of the Vermont Anti-Slavery Society present their Second Annual Report with unfeigned gratitude for the success that has thus far attended the great and holy enterprise in which this Society is engaged, as well as for the cheering hopes and encouraging prospects that are now before us. The events of the past year afford additional evidence that our cause is of God, and inspire us to "go forward." At no time since your Committee were first permitted to put their hands to the sacred standard of Immediate Emancipation, have they felt more entire confidence in the final and speedy triumph of this glorious work, than at the present moment.

At the commencement of the year, one thousand copies of the first annual report of this Society were printed, and twelve hundred of the address that was delivered at the first annual meeting. Most of these have been distributed. During the year an agent has been employed about five months, who circulated anti-slavery publications, lectured to some extent, formed several town Societies, and collected funds, in subscriptions, amounting to upwards of four hundred dollars. A generous visit of Samuel J. May, agent of the Massachasetts Anti-Slavery Society, was procured in October. Rudely and abusively as he was treated by some of the "baser sort" of our population, the cause was manifestly advanced by his labors, in some of the principal towns of our State.

At the annual meeting of the American Society, last May, very enlarged operations were devised for the future advancement of the cause, which required a very great augmentation of funds. Pledges on the spot were necessary, to warrant the Executive Committee of the parent institution in undertaking the projec ted measures, which have alreadyproduced such

mighty results. Two of your Committee—delegates, and present at that meeting—mutually pledged two hundred dollars, to be paid in the course of the current year. This they did, confidently believing that the act would be ratified by this Society, hoping too, that much more than this would be done.

The American Anti-Slavery Society during the year ending May 1835, expended about ten thousand dollars. At the last annual meeting of that Society it was resolved that efforts be made, during the present year, to raise thirty thousand dollars for the use of the Society. Nearly one half the sum was pledged at the time. A plan of publication, extended, economical and systematic, was then proposed, and has since been adopted with great efficiency and execution. The late fire in New-York must for a time limit the munificence of individuals who have heretofore contributed most largely to the funds of the institution. Providence has thus thrown great responsibility upon the friends of the cause in the country. Recent occurrences indicate that, in other States, this responsibility is felt; and it is already being nobly discharged. Let not Vermont be delinquent.

It will be recollected that the former report of your Committee took a rapid glance at the history of slavery and emancipation. Since that report was made, the subject of manumission has found its way into the French Chamber of Deputies, with the sanction of the Duke de Broglie. A Committee has been despatched to the British West Indies to collect facts for the discussion. Should the French government allow herself to be influenced by the experience she is thus consulting, we may look for immediate emancipation throughout the French dominions. Then will the *republic!* of the United States stand out alone with the *republic!* of Brazil, pre-eminent in the work of blood and human destruction, the scandal of the world, the scorn and reproach of the intelligent universe.

British emancipation is answering the most sanguine expectations of the friends of freedom. The influence on our own country is already powerful, and is daily increasing. The latest reports from Antigua and Barbadoes are of the most gratifying character. A correspondent of the New-York Journal of Commerce, who has formerly been opposed to the "schemes

of the abolitionists in our country," writing from Antigua under date of 10th January 1836, states that real estate is advancing —that "labor can be obtained at reasonable rates" is "cheaper under the free than under the slave system"—that "the sugar crop throughout ten islands," where he had been, "is remarkably promising." In relation to Barbadoes, he states that, "Whatever may be the cause, the facts are conceded, that there is, since August, 1834, [when emancipation took place,] an appreciation of real estate; that the quantity of the crop is equal, and that the cost and trouble of working estates is not increased." It was thought possible, however, that this island might not be a fair test. A Barbadian paper gives an extract from a speech in support of Mr. Otto's bill in the Antigua Legislature, for the better regulation of agricultural labor. The speaker "stated that the agricultural and commercial prosperity of the colony, were *absolutely on the advance;*" and expressed it as his opinion, that "*peace, prosperity* and *safety*" were before them. Let it be borne in mind that in Antigua immediate emancipation took place—the system of apprenticeship having been rejected by the colonial Legislature, as unjust and dangerous. "A clergyman," says the writer, "connected with the army remarked to me that it was pretty generally conceded that the $100,000,000 granted as a compensation to the slave-holders here, was equivalent to a free gift; the value of the property not being diminished."

Great light has been thrown on the system of darkness and oppression, in our own country, within the last twelve months. The people of the North had been taught, and until of late it was very generally believed by those who paid but little attention to the subject, that the South is anxious to rid herself of slavery; and oceans of generous sympathy have flowed towards our poor *unfortunate* brethren, who are carrying around on their shoulders an intolerable burden which they have no power to throw off. Abundant and satisfactory reason was fonnd in the fact that this unfortunate class were, with almost one accord, embracing a scheme which "provides and keeps open a drain for the excess of increase beyond the occasions of profitable employment." Every day developements are fast disabusing candid and inquiring minds in relation to their self-prescribed

remedy* for this onerous "*evil.*" The facts, that southern newspapers constantly teem with advertisements for runaway slaves, from all classes of men from the clergyman in the pulpit down to the most brutal kidnapper and "soul driver"—that no efforts at extrication have been manifest, when they knew that the "*difficulties*" were constantly increasing—have always been difficult for abolitionists to reconcile with the idea that the South has *really desired emancipation.* It is difficult to conceive how there can hereafter be but one mind on this point. Editors of public journals, claiming to be *religious*,† are now taxing their utmost energies to defend, from the *Bible*, a system whose legitimate and necessary results are degredation to the body and death to the soul. Churches, associations, presbyteries and synods, whose members are interested in the unholy traffic, are passing resolutions in support of this blasphemous doctrine. The Governor of the State of South Carolina, in his annual message to the Legislature declares that, in his estimation, "*no human institution is more manifestly consistent with the will of God than domestic slavery*"—that it is the "*corner stone of our republican edifice.*" A South Carolina orator declares that "*the relation between master and slave shall not be changed. We will resist,*" says he, "*and resist to the most bitter extremity, all attempts at abolition, whether present or*

* "Mr. President, I think I have fully established my first point, and have proved that our operations accord entirely with the old and cherished policy of our State. I have, I flatter myself, removed entirely from every mind, which has given me its attention, the belief, which has sometimes injured the Society, that colonizing principles are not indigenous to our soil, but exotics, planted among us by hands alien to our interests and ignorant of our institutions: in a word, Sir, that they are mere 'yankee notions.' I acknowledge, Sir, that we are indebted to New England for many good things; most of all for the excellent men whom she has furnished us, who have become identified with our interests, and imbued with our principes, [that is, have become slaveholders, or apologists for slavery] and form such valuable members of society among us. But we have never received from New England any thing so valuable as are our Colonization principles. These are a portion of the inheritance we have derived from our fathers"—[*Speech of Mr. Atkinson at the annual meeting of the Virginia Colonization Society, Jan. 8th*, 1836.]

How is the above to be reconciled with the oft-repeated declaration, that Samuel J. Mills was the originator of the colonization scheme?

† "But the Gospel is not silent; it speaks to masters as to those who control their slaves and have the right of property in them."—[*Southern Baptist, published at Charleston, S. C.*]

"*Resolved*, That the practical question of slavery, in a country where the system has obtained as a part of its stated policy, is settled in the Scriptures by Jesus Christ and his Apostles.

Resolved, That these uniformly recognized the relation of master and slave, and enjoined on both their respective duties, under a system of servitude more degrading and absolute than that which obtains in our country."—[*Resolutions of the Edgefield Baptist Association, published in the Southern Baptist.*]

future, general or partial, immediate or remote." He further proclaims: "this domestic policy shall, as far as in us lies, be *perpetual.*" Now hear this blasphemer's closing motto: "RIGHT, JUSTICE, *and* HUMANITY *is our motto!* IN GOD OUR TRUST!" The southern members of Congress, as a whole, demand that slavery be let alone, even in the District of Columbia, where Congress has the Constitutional "power of exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever."—They deny the right of the people to petition Congress on that subject. They call for a censorship of the press. Southern legislatures offer rewards for our citizens. The President of the United States recommends that Congress undertake to interfere with the operations of a moral Society, all of whose transactions are open to the scrutiny of all men, and to the application of all laws human and divine. Tell us no more that the people of the South long for the removal of the system.—Where are their petitions? Where are their remonstrances? As a people they practically say, to make a further citation of the language of their orator, "That if any man of the South makes but a movement towards emancipation—equal or *partial*—immediate or *remote*—he is faithless to the duty which he owes to his slaves—faithless to the duty which he owes to his state—faithless to the duty which he owes to his God!"* All inquiring minds must by this time be at least somewhat disabused in relation to southern feelings towards emancipation. Let the matter entirely alone, say they. Let slavery be perpetual. The removal of this delusion, from the

* In southern latitudes, where great agricultural staples are produced, and where not only a large combination of labor under the direction of one head is required, but it is also necessary that the connexion between the operatives and that head should be absolute and indissoluble, domestic slavery is indispensible. To such a country it is as natural as the clime itself—as the birds and beast to which that climate is congenial. The camel loves the desert; the reindeer seeks the everlasting snows; the wild fowl gather to the waters; and the eagle wings his flight above the mountains. It is equally the order of Providence that slavery should exist among a planting people, beneath a southern sun. There the laborer must become a fixture of the soil. His task is not from day to day, nor from month to month, but from season to season, and from year to year. He must be there to clear, to break, to plant, to till, to gather, to fallow, and to clear again; and he must be kept there by a never ceasing, unavoidable and irresistible force. * * * * * * * *

Slavery is said to be an evil; that it impoverishes the people, and destroys their morals. If it be an evil, it is one to us alone, and we are contented with it—why should others interfere? But it is no evil. On the contrary, I believe it to be the greatest of all the great blessings which a kind Providence has bestowed upon our glorious region. For without it, our fertile soil and our fructifying climate would have been given to us in vain. * * * * * * * *

Sir, I do firmly believe that domestic slavery regulated as ours is produces the highest toned, the purest, best organization of society that has ever existed on the face of the earth.'—[*Speech of Mr. Hammond of S. C. delivered in the House of Reps.*, 1836.]

eyes of the North and of the world, may be reckoned one step gained.

Again: The people of the South, since they have dared to approach the subject as inquirers, are disabusing themselves, both as to the power of their northern apologists and co-adjutors, and as to the real designs and measures of abolitionists. Vigorous efforts have been put forth, in divers places at the North, by way of getting up anti-abolition meetings, passing brave resolutions, making fustian, aristocratic speeches, and stirring up mobs, to persuade their "southern brethren" that there is no cause of alarm—that their "domestic institution" is in no danger from the "fanatics," who are but a few miscreants, scattered and peeled, without numbers or influence, without resources or power, out of countenance with the people, and rapidly declining. No calumny has been too foul—no misrepresentation to wicked—no creeping and truckling too base, in this attempted work of deception. But it has all been too shallow for the purpose. The deluded men who have been performing this thankless drudgery, are too late finding themselves taught by shameful experience, the folly of attempting to satisfy those who cry give, beyond the demands of reason and justice. After they have delivered up all in their power which they had no *right* to give, they are then called upon for what they have no *power* to give, and the demands of tyranny, iniquity and lust, menace them with increasing imperativeness. It is now that their weakness and folly are exposed, and those whom they have flattered taunt them with hypocrisy. The most grovling and loathsome servility has lately been performed by some of the northern members of Congress, but all to no purpose.—It has only served to swell the cry, give, give. Those who make the demand, finding an end to the power of their parasites, reproach them as "dough faces" and hypocrites. [Service very justly rewarded.]

Southern men are now fast learning the truth in relation to the movements of northern abolitionists, which have been so grossly misrepresented to them, by those to whom they have been listening. But although they learn that nothing of physical violence is meditated against them by abolitionists, their fears are not diminished but increased. What they most dread

is the omnipotent power of truth, which is finding its way to enlightened consciences and honest hearts in all parts of the land. A mighty moral revolution is in progress, before which their physical prowess and chivalry are powerless. They strike, but find that they have beaten the air. They call on kindred spirits for aid, but they are chained. Their contumely and threats are wasted breath. Their bribed help fails them in the time of their greatest need. Their dearest domestic institution, which brings them leisure and luxury, is in jeopardy. Unchained tongues are against them. Unfettered presses are against them. The spirit of the age is against them. But more than all else, the God of the poor is against them. The sun of truth is rising upon their kingdom of darkness, and they gnaw their tongues for pain. Let the friends of equity rejoice. Let the victims of avarice and lust exercise fortitude and possess their souls in patience.

The facts cited, showing the determination of the South to perpetuate slavery, and "entail" it on the remotest generation, are setting another matter right. It has been charged that abolitionists are throwing back the work of emancipation. It has been pretended that, before the abolitionists moved, the work was at least in a state of preparation. It was reckoned that a century* would have removed important *difficulties*, could the subject have been entirely *let alone!* But abolition has created new and insuperable difficulties—at least, it has thrown back the enterprise half a century, if it has not already hardened Pharaoh to incorrigibility, and fastened perpetual and more intolerable chains upon the Egyptians. Such have been the charges—such the assertions. They are now seen to be false. Nothing is now more apparent than that every hour of delay, for the last fifty years, has lessened the disposition to "let the people go," until this quintessence of practical wickedness is boldly and publicly declared to be "*enforced by necessity—sanctioned by religion!*"—and "*shall be perpetual.*" All the

* "Some say, the slavery question will destroy us. But I say, if we will only KEEP STILL, and try to reconcile the South, and *prudently co-operate* with our brethren there, IN TWO HUNDRED YEARS slavery will cease from among us."—[*Dr. Beecher's Thanksgiving Sermon, preached at Cincinnati in* 1835; *reported in the Liberator* Vol. vi. No. 11.]

Who that is acquainted with the history of the past and with the history of American slavery can believe for a moment, that God will wait two centuries for our repentance? What presumption!

individuals at the South have not adopted precisely this form of expression, but this is the spirit of the late general movements, in their popular assemblies, in their legislatures, and in the United States Congress. The correction of this important error will contribute materially to the formation of a public sentiment that will frown slavery out of existence, sweeping it away as with a whirlwind.

During the past year, the power of the press has been extensively turned in support of our cause. Mr. Birney has at length succeeded in starting his "Philanthropist," which, from the talents, experience and reputation of the man, from the post he has taken on the borders of slavery, must be a powerful auxiliary while he is permitted to continue it. A Methodist paper just established in New-York is "lifting up the voice like a trumpet, and showing the people their transgression." It promises to do much to "loose the bands of wickedness." A great number of religious, moral and literary papers have been unshackled in various sections of the North. Numerous others manifest that their conductors are right in *head*. These will come along as fast as they find it *expedient*. Several political presses have taken a noble stand—especially in settling questions that belong to the monarchists of the Old World, and not to republicans.

The anti-slavery ranks are now receiving important acquisitions from among the clergy. It is deplorable, however, that there are yet too many among this class of men, as among all others, who regulate their actions very much by selfishness and worldly policy—who consult public opinion more than the word of God—who fear to obey Jehovah and "open their mouths for the dumb," lest they *hurt their usefulness!* They neglect to "plead the cause of the poor and needy," and "forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto death, and those that are ready to be be slain," lest they *lower the tone of piety* around them! The action of the church will always be measured very much by that of the clergy and the religious press. There is now a constant and rapid augmentation of the number and strength of resolutions, passed by various religious bodies on this subject. Christians are fast learning the great and important truth that God has appointed just one remedy for all sin, and made it the

duty of all his servants to set their faces against sin in every form, at all times, and under all circumstances.

The disposal which Congress will make of the question in regard to slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, is, as yet, a matter of conjecture.* Whatever the decision may be, the duty of the people is plain. They will give no peace to those who have the power to "undo the heavy burdens," until the work is done, and the "oppressed go free." That the Congress of the United States should be stopped in the midst of its forty-seventh session to settle the question of the right of the people to petition that body, is most surprising. But the fact is in keeping with other matters of history of these days, all which are fruits of American slavery.

For some months past, violence and blood have been the "order of the day." Internal convulsions have sometimes threatened to resolve society into its original elements. The most fundamental principles of the American constitution and government have been violated with impunity. The authorities to whom the aggrieved had a right to look for redress, have generally been so far from affording or even attempting it, that they have shut their eyes to humanity, winked at outrage, broken their oaths of office, defied law and order, and delivered over the guiltless to merciless mobs and blood-thirsty banditti, styled Lynch clubs. And what has been the pretext? Why, the preservation of the Union! and the *sine qua non* has been the perpetuity of slavery. What is law, human or divine —what is liberty or government, when southern task masters hold a rod of iron over our heads, and threaten to lay violent hands on the Union, unless we yield implicit obedience to all their demands? Law or illegality—order or confusion—liberty or slavery—weal or wo—republicanism or despotism—government or anarchy—mercy or judgment—life or death, the Union must be preserved at any and every hazard! What, we ask, is the Union, but a mutual stipulation to abide by certain principles laid down as the basis of government? And which of these principles are more essential, or vital, than the right of free inquiry? Now we assert that they who vociferate *Union* most loudly have been the first to lay violent hands on

* The report was written before the decision in Congress was had.

the Union. They have already broken the chain repeatedly. Until they get their lawless hoofs off from the Constitution, let them say no more about Union. They must not think to drag Hector *alive* around the tomb of Patroclus.

While recording deeds of infamy, we must set down as among the most infamous the treatment of George Thompson, that moral La Fayette. Such wanton rudeness—such brutal ruffianism—such malignant slander—such lurking for blood, have been experienced by no other philanthropic stranger who has visited our country. It is alledged that he was a foreigner. This only aggravates the case, so long as he never sought to evade our laws, and no indictment was at any time brought against him. Such utter want of courtesy to a stranger charged with no crime, is a burning scandal on the American name, and will be no small count in the suit, when the just indignation of the civilized world is turned against us. The blessing of thousands ready to perish will follow George Thompson to his grave; and his memory will be cherished, while his persecutors shall be made to hide their heads in confusion.

The motives that led out the valiant hosts of aristocrats against Mr. Thompson, are somewhat disclosed in the light of the fact, that since he has left the country, the shout of victory has sounded from the camp of the enemy throughout the North. What else can be inferred, than that he was reckoned a most dangerous foe to aristocracy? These exultations are among the least of all the things that disturb us, while the good work goes on, at its present rate.

It is now about certain, that the rash, vague recommendations of the President of the United States, the vaporing of the Governor of New-York, and the obsequiousness of the Governor of Massachusetts—to say nothing about the raving of their masters at the South, who require such ignoble tasks of them—have come too late. The *people*, insulted and abused, are rising in moral majesty. The chains which have been forging for them are stubble. Discussion, the guardian spirit of liberty, is awake, not again to be pacified or put to rest, until the moral atmosphere is purified—until the strong holds of despotism are demolished—until a dog shall not be left to move his tongue against the holy cause of human rights—until every

American shall be a freeman, with free access to knowledge and Revelation. Yes—the *people* have taken the matter into their own hands, and it will now be settled, slowly perhaps, but surely. American character will yet be redeemed. The rights of opinion and discussion, "rights given to us by our God, and guarded by the laws of our country," will not be surrendered. Mobs for the suppression of discussion, will soon be spoken of as an affair that *was*. How miserably short sighted and self-deluded have they been, who have thought by such means to terrify the North or quiet the South! And with what confusion and wretchedness must they be overwhelmed, when they see their vile speeches, papers and brick-bats carried away before the indignation of the people, like the chaff of the summer threshing floor in the winds of heaven! Imprison the air—chain the light—but think not to stay the progress of discussion. Earth in league, and hell in arms cannot stand before it.

If any ask our reasons for believing that the tables are already turning, we offer the following facts: Soon after the riot in Utica, which was headed by Judges and Congress men, the young men of that place gave public notice, held a meeting publicly, and organized a powerful auxiliary Anti-Slavery Society, undisturbed.* The Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society, which was dispersed by the "gentlemanly rabble"† on the same day with the riot at Utica, has since given public notice and held its meetings in quietness. Mr. Garrison, who was at that time so barbarously dragged about the streets, immediately after wrote and published a luminous expose of the villainous conduct of the "gentlemanly rabble," and has ever since continued to issue the Liberator with wonted fearlessness and faithfulness, unmolested. The Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society lately held its annual meeting in Boston, and we have heard of no disturbance. A State Society has just been organized in Rhode Island. The convention was held in Providence, day after day, in perfect peace.

One other fact in point is here worthy of special notice. The conductors of the truckling, mob-making portion of the

* Theodore D. Weld has since given fourteen lectures in that city, during which time 600 members were added to the Anti-Slavery Society, a large proportion of whom were *men*.

† So called by the Boston Commercial Gazette.

press and all the "gentlemanly" mob leaders at the North, are at length driven to undo their own vile deeds. After encouraging and assisting the South to make the chain, they find themselves driven to the alternative of either wearing it with the "fanatics," or of assisting them in breaking it. However great the chagrin and reluctance, they are electing to do the latter. They are just finding out that censorship of the press and liberty of speech in a republic, cannot well be restricted to individuals. It is a very important discovery, and will produce very important and salutary results. Of the multitudes who have heretofore clamored so loudly with a view to wrest these rights from abolitionists, some are now maintaining an ignominious silence; others are coming to their defence.

Your Committee do not feel at liberty to close this Report, without urging the necessity of keeping our *standard elevated*. Principles are stronger than numbers. The operations of the Temperance Society afford illustration. That Society began with a pledge to abstain from the ordinary use of *ardent spirits*. She went forward bravely—but in a short time it was found that her ranks were filling up with wine-bibbers. New power was applied, the engine set in motion, and some further progress has been made—but still the wheels move heavily. The motive power is feeble and inadequate. An effort is now making to apply the only principle that can produce any effectual moral revolution. The proposal is this: To treat the whole business of making, vending, buying, and using intoxicating drinks, as a *sin*, that ought to be immediately repented of and abandoned. Here is power, that, in the hands of a single man, skilfully applied, is capable of giving the machinery a perpetual motion, that can neither be stopped nor retarded by the combined force of wicked men and devils. This is the vital principle of all moral reformation. Sin must be regarded and treated as sinful—not as a matter to be played with, or trifled with, or flattered, or yielded to, or bargained about—but as a violation of God's law, to be repented of and forsaken. The dollar and cent argument went well for a while in starting the Temperance enterprise. It went just as far as avarice will go in restraining lust. It will go no farther against slavery. The pioneers of the Anti-Slavery reformation applied the living

principle at the outset; and wo betide the hands that would put it away. It is this that makes the tyrants tremble. By setting down to the grovelling business of counting the dust, you may make out an argument very satisfactory to yourself. And you may approach those who get gain by fraud, if you will go with a lie in your mouth, calling them honest men but unfortunate. After conceding that they have an undoubted right to property in man, hold up your balance before them. Against slavery throw in reproach—wastefulness arising from a thousand causes—danger constantly increasing—collect every motive that will act upon their selfishness. You will be met by being informed that they appreciate all this—and furthermore that they think they understand the matter better than you can, who are without experience. They have only to throw in their lust of ease, of luxury, and of power, and the preponderance is at once against you—you have lost your labor. If they could have been moved by such motives alone, their own political economists, who have written with their eyes looking out of their windows on the evils spread out before them, would have set them at the work of emancipation long ago. They will meet and parry off every weapon but the arrows of the Almighty. Though they flee, these shall stick fast in them. They will close their ears against every sound but the thunderings of God's law. This fills them with trembling. How does Gen. Duff Green view this matter? Hear him:

"We believe that we have most to fear from the organized action upon the *consciences* and fears of the slaveholders themselves; from the insinuation of their dangerous heresies into our schools, our pulpits and domestic circles. It is only by alarming the consciences of the weak and feeble, [such as Birney and Thome, for instance,] and diffusing among our own people a morbid sensibility on the question of slavery, that the abolitionists can accomplish their object. Preparatory to this, they are now saturating the non-slaveholding states with the belief that slavery is a sin against God; that the 'national compact' involves the non-slaveholders in that sin; and that it is their duty to toil and suffer, that our country may be delivered from what they term its blackest stain, its foulest reproach, its deadliest curse."

It is exactly so. General Green understands the remedy for sin, and he is alarmed when he sees it applying to the sin which

he cherishes. Let our half-way reformers learn from this defender of slavery, what weapons are effectual against it.

Again: What is the complaint of Mr. Calhoun, in the United States Senate? Why, that the northern petitioners treat slavery as "*unjust, wicked, and diabolical.*" That their domestic institution should be shown to their own consciences, before the world and before heaven, to be *unjust* and *wicked*, this is what disturbs—this alone will reform them. "But," says the objector, "there is a multitude of *Christians*, ministers and deacons, devoted men, ardently pious, godly men, who are slaveholders—are all these to be set down as *sinners*, for holding slaves?" Suppose that a number of our pious, godly ministers and deacons in Vermont go to the public house statedly once a month, and take each a small glass of grog—are they all to be set down as sinners for doing such a thing? They don't get drunk. They don't abuse their families. Indeed they protest against drunkenness, as evil and wrong—but how can it be sinful in them to make so moderate a use of alcohol? Now we ask, who exert the most pernicious influence against the progress of temperance, and for so doing are the greater sinners before God, these *pious* men, so called, or an equal number of beastly drunkards? The common sense of all furnishes one answer. The drunkard in the ditch is only an object of disgust; and if the liquid fire with which he is surcharged should wrap his wretched body in flames, he stands an awful beacon—perhaps a salutary warning to some who go that way. But the example of the *godly* man goes to turn all who are under his influence, into the path that leads to the drunkard's grave. We hold that this principle is applicable to slaveholding, and we charge those professed Christians who hold slaves and excuse themselves by saying that they refrain from violence and rigor, give their slaves enough to eat and let them go to meeting, that they do more for the perpetuity of the system, than an equal number of the most bloody kidnappers in the District of Columbia, or on the coast of Africa. Abolish slavery, and where is the slave-trade? Break up the market, and what becomes of the supply. Those who furnished it must turn their hands to other employment, or be idle. It is vain for the *pious* tippler to protest against drunkenness. It is

equally vain and hypocritical for the *pious slaveholder* to protest against slavery. Both alike live down their own professions. This they must be made to see and feel, before slavery can be abolished.

Lest silence be construed into a surrendry of views, or a compromise of principles, heretofore entertained and advanced by your Committee and this Society, in relation to African Colonization, we will adopt the language of the Convention of Free People of Color, held in Philadelphia, in 1832:

"We might here repeat our protest against that institution, but it is unnecessary. Our views and sentiments have long since gone to the world—the wings of the wind have borne our disapprobation to that institution. Time itself cannot erase it."

In closing, your committee would bring forward the test, and respectfully ask, how far shall the principles of this society be put in practice this year? The purse of the parent institution is, under God, the magazine for demolishing the walls of despotism. It need not be said that the work done will be in exact proportion to the means furnished. We would ask those with whom it is a paramount object to lay up money for posterity, what their money will be worth to posterity, unless slavery be banished from this Republic? As God is omnipotent, and just, and true, it will be dust and ashes, scattered on the tempests of his wrath. Our friends in neighboring states are devising liberal things, and by liberal things they will stand. Take an instance or two, for example: At the recent formation of the State Anti-Slavery Society in the state of Rhode Island, about $2000 was subscribed on the spot. A Female Juvenile Society, in Providence, consisting of about 40 members, on an average 12 years of age, pledged $100, to be paid in the course of the year. The best warrant for punctuality, they could offer, is found in the fact that they have paid $90, during the past year, accumulated by their own industry.

It remains for this Society to manifest the part they will act in future, for the advancement of an enterprise that looks to the highest and most glorious results in the reach of human exertion; that would give liberty, and light, and life to enthralled, perishing millions; that would save this republic from convulsion, anarchy and ruin, to adorn, and bless, and illumine the

surrounding world. The word of the Almighty to us, is the word delivered to Moses at the Red Sea, when he was emancipating the enslaved Israelites—"Go forward." We are to say to the Egyptians of the nineteenth century, "let the people go." If they rebel, they rebel against the Almighty, and their overthrow is as sure as the stability of his throne. Armed with the righteousness of our cause—allied with Justice, and Mercy, and Peace, and Christianity, and Truth, and Jehovah, who shall be against us, or what shall hinder us?

TREASURER'S REPORT.

Vermont Anti-Slavery Society in account with E. H. PRENTISS, *Treasurer.*

CR.

BY CASH RECEIVED AS FOLLOWS:

Cash in Treasury,	23 36	Brought up,	135 97	Brought up,	274 86
Female Friends,	62	Cornwall A. S. S.,	25 00	Daniel Bishop,	50
Harriet H. Silsby,	5 00	Ferrisburgh A. S. S.	40 00	Benona Thompson,	25
Ithamar Smith,	75	Friends in Charlotte,	10 00	Francis Wilder,	2 55
Coll. at Worcester,	2 43	Ezra P. Butler,	5 00	Samuel Strong,	52
Collected in Jericho,	15 25	Ralph Parker,	5 00	An aged female,	25
Peacham A. S. S.	25 00	Paul Dillingham,	1 00	Stevens Woods,	1 00
Jamaica A. S. S.	4 00		3 00	Amos Clark,	3 00
A. G. Green,	2 00	Amasa Pride,	2 00	Lyman Beecher,	2 00
Daniel Green,	4 00	Joel Doty,	1 00	John Ray,	25
Erastus Parker,	10 00	Russell Butler,	3 00	Augustus McEun,	2 00
Orson Skinner,	5 00	Friends in Cornwall,	3 00	Alson Post,	1 00
Denison Skinner,	31	Publications sold,	8 00	Wm. S. Baldwin,	25
Orvis Skinner,	50	Fr'nds E. Will'mstown,	2 75	John Allen,	50
David Simonds,	2 00	A. S. Con't Montpelier,	1 50	Noble Lovely,	3 00
Seth Taylor,	1 00	Bor. of E. H. Prentiss,	11 63	Stukely Wescott,	5 00
Asaph Burdick,	50	Levi Royce,	1 00	John Abbott,	5 00
Amasa Russ,	50	Isaac Fisher,	1 00	W. Levenworth,	2 00
Joseph Russ,	2 00	David Cutting,	1 00	Charles Benns,	1 50
Rufus Barrott,	1 00	Jonathan Mason,	68	Asa Aldis,	10 00
Robert O. Stoddard,	1 00	S. H. Jenison,	1 00	John Smith,	1 00
John Leach,	1 00	Isaac D. Sweat,	50	Cyrus Leach,	2 00
Jenison Joslin,	50	Theodore Halladay,	1 00	Abner Holmes,	2 00
Stephen P. Joslin,	50	John T. Rich,	1 00	Cyrus Danforth,	1 00
Hiram Joslin,	62	Josiah Pond,	1 00	Murray Buck,	1 00
James Joslin,	50	Zimri Pond,	50	Hampton Lovegrove,	1 00
Timothy Joslin,	1 00	J. F. Goodhue,	25	Simeon Parmele,	1 00
Hooker Joslin,	1 00	Philip C. Brockins,	75	Thomas Wilkinson,	50
Rodney Smith,	3 00	Benjamin Casey,	1 00	Timothy Spaulding,	1 00
Ithamar Smith,	5 00	—— Foster,	50	Joel Prevost,	1 00
Rufus Childs,	3 00	Ephraim Moulton, jr.	1 00	D. Bicknell,	25
Jedediah Bushnell,	1 13	Augustus Munger,	1 00	Wm. H. French,	5 00
Langdon Sherman,	50	Benajah Justin,	50	John W. Little,	50
Lyman Fisk,	1 00	Jerry Adams,	1 00	Rebecca Post,	50
Anson Fisk,	50	Samuel Clark,	1 00	Hosea Squire,	1 00
Chauncey Smith,	50	Geo. W. Putnam, jr.,	8	John F. Brown,	1 00
Hezekiah Sellick,	5 00	A friend,	25	George Hibbard,	1 00
Francis Wilder,	3 00	"	25	Lot Sanford,	1 50
Lyndon S. French,	1 00	Daniel Walston,	50	Lewis Hunt,	3 00
Erastus Allen,	1 00	Abel Allen,	25	Alex. W. Perry,	3 00
Carried up,	$135 97	Carried up,	$274 86	Carried forward,	$343 86

Brought forward,	343 86	Brought up,	378 34	Bnought up,	410 59
Geo. Cutting,	3 00	James Wilcox,	50	Leonard Woods,	50
Samuel Hand,	3 00	Aaron Angier,	1 00	Zenas Woods,	1 00
John Tobias,	3 00	Zenas Robbins,	2 50	Andrew Batchelder,	25
Almond Wolcott,	3 00	Charles G. Robbins,	2 50	Leonard Beedle,	3 00
Jacob Button,	3 00	J. P. Brooks,	1 00	Samuel Hebard,	5 00
Charles Button,	2 00	Nathan Clafflin,	1 00	Leonard Fisk,	2 00
Peter Crocker	1 00	E. D. Briggs,	5 00	Obed Blowers,	1 00
Jacob Bartlet,	2 00	John Avery,	1 00	Caleb Knowlton,	2 00
Robert Wilson,	2 00	Joseph Garnsey,	1 00	Individuals, Richmond,	5 00
Geo. McWhorter,	1 00	—— Wing,	1 00	Emery Hills,	5 00
Aaron McKee,	3 00	Elisha Fowler	1 00	Geo. W. Putnam,	1 50
James H. McKee,	10	John Stuart,	1 00	Parker Pettigrew,	2 00
Charles R. McKee,	6	James Gilchrist,	2 00	Lemuel Bottom,	3 00
Ebenezer Harris,	25	Samuel Gilson,	25	John Barker,	50
Thomas Marshall,	1 00	Jas. K. Harvey,	2 00	L. P. Parks,	2 00
Noah Fuller,	25	Robert Harvey,	5 00	John Woods,	1 00
Levi Adams,	5 00	J. F. Skinner,	1 00	J. A. Ide,	50
Pettigrew & Stoddard,	1 00	Nath. Goodhue,	50	Thomas Barker,	50
Owen Spaulding,	1 00	Amos Clement,	3 00	L. P. Parks,	50
				Individ's in Brandon,	12 50
Carried up,	$378 34	Carried up,	$410 59	" in Rutland,	5 00
				Total, - - -	$464 34

Dr.

TO CASH PAID AS FOLLOWS:

Expenses of Meeting, Oct. 22, 1835, - - - - -	89
Knapp & Jewett, for printing, - - - - -	156 76
Cash sent R. T. Robinson, for the Am. A. S. S. to redeem pledge,	100 00
Paid agent, - - - - - - - -	206 49
Postage, - - - - - - - -	20
Total, - - -	$464 34

E. H. PRENTISS, *Treasurer.*

Audited and found correct,

ZENAS WOOD, *Auditor.*

NOTE.

The Agent would state that, on looking over his accounts, he finds five dollars to have been received of Luther Brown of Orwell, also eighteen dollars from the Society in Cornwall, which were accidentally omitted in communicating to the Treasurer.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1. This Society shall be called the VERMONT ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, auxiliary to the American Anti-Slavery Society.

ART. 2. The object of this Society shall be, the abolition of slavery in the United States, and the improvement of the mental, moral and political condition of our colored population.

ART. 3. In pursuing its enterprise, this Society asks no physical inteference with slavery, on the part of the free States, nor of the general government; nor will it make any appeal to excite slaves to insurrection; nor will it use any unlawful or unchristian measures:—but it will seek the overthrow of slavery by clearly and fearlessly exposing the guilt and danger of holding men as property—by rebuking sin and calling for its immediate relinquishment—by appeals to the understanding and conscience—by the power of the pulpit and the press—by petitioning Congress to use its constitutional powers for the suppression of the American slave trade, and the abolition of slavery in those Territories under its jurisdiction—by addressing considerations of interest, safety and economy to the people of the slaveholding States—by exhorting the people of the free States, in view of their confederation, and consequent participation with the South, to use all lawful and peaceable means for the removal of the common evil—and by kindly, frankly, yet boldly holding truth before the public mind, and inviting all to join in forming and expressing a public sentiment which shall be effectual in its extermination.

ART. 4. Any person, who consents to the principles of this Constitution, and contributes to the funds of this Society, may be a member, and shall be entitled to vote at its meetings.

ART. 5. The officers of this Society shall be a President, Vice President, Recording and Corresponding Secretaries, a Treasurer and Board of Managers composed of the above, and not less than ten other members. They shall be annually elcted by the members of the Society, and five shall constitute a quorum.

ART. 6. The Board of Managers shall, annually, elect an Executive Committee, to consist of not less than three, nor more than seven members, who shall have power to enact their own by-laws, fill any vacancy in their body, employ agents, determine what compensation shall be paid to them, and to the Corresponding Secretary—direct the Treasurer in the application of all moneys, appoint an Auditor of accounts, and call special meetings of the Society. They shall make arrangements for all the meetings of the Society, make an annual written report of their doings, the income, expenditures and funds of the Society—shall hold stated meetings, and adopt the most energetic measures in their power, to advance the object of the Society. The Secretaries shall be members of the Executive Committee, *Ex Officio*.

[The 7th, 8th, 9th and 10th Articles, which prescribe the usual duties of the President, &c.—empower the Board of Managers to appoint the time and place of holding the annual meeting—providing that other Societies, formed on the same principles, may become auxiliary—and regulating the mode of altering the Constitution, are omitted for want of room.]

ART. 11. This Society being composed of individuals belonging to various religious denominations, united for the purpose of abolishing a great national evil, its proceedings shall in all respects be so conducted as not to interfere with the religious views of any of its members.