

from St. Albans, it was whether a report might be expected at this session from the committee appointed to investigate the Windsor and Essex Banks? No reply was given—and Mr. Brown had leave of absence.

Mr. Sprague introduced a resolution, empowering the aforementioned committee to sit after the adjournment—adopted.

Adj.  
TUESDAY, NOV. 15.

SENATE.

Prayer by the chaplain.  
Bills.—From the House, incorporating the President, Directors and Company of the Bank of Montpelier, with a capital stock of \$100,000 twice read and referred to the Committee on Banks.— [This bill provides for the incorporation of a new Bank of Montpelier, with the same privileges, limitations and restrictions as provided for in other bills incorporating Banks the present session.] relating to the Craftsbury Rifle company, reported by Mr. Burgess, and passed; relating to trustee process, from the House, reported by Mr. Converse adverse to the passage of the bill. It provided for extending the trustee process to negotiable paper. The third reading of the bill was unanimously refused; granting a ferry to Phelps and Hazen, reported by Mr. Swift, read a third time and passed; to provide for the security of bill-holders, reported by Mr. McMillan, that the same ought to pass.— This bill repeals an act past at the present session for the security of bill holders, in the revised statutes, and makes other provisions, for the winding up of the concerns of banking institutions. Rejected upon the question of a third reading; incorporating the Caledonia County Mutual Fire Insurance Company, reported by committee that the same ought not to pass, and the bill was refused a third reading; relating to the support of paupers, reported by committee and laid upon the table; for the removal of obstructions in Paul's stream in the county of Essex, read a third time, and passed, yeas 12, nays 5; relating to militia in the town of Gosben, reported by Mr. Lawrence, facts stated, and the bill rejected upon the question of a third reading; in addition to an act "governing the militia of this state," providing for the reviving or reorganizing a company of Cavalry in Calais and adjacent towns, opposed by Messrs. Cobb, Edgerton, Pierpoint and Eaton, supported by Mr. Lawrence, and its third reading refused, yeas 8, nays 13.

HOUSE.

Bills.—Extending charter of Bank of Rutland returned to the Senate with amendments, concurred in. Chap. 11, of acts repealed, referred to Messrs. Fullam and Butler. Restoring Cavalry Co. 1st Regiment 2d brigade, to former privileges and establishing Weathersfield Light Infantry, passed; relating to pedlars, dismissed; incorporating Merchant's and Farmer's Bank, at Vergennes rejected on the second reading, 57 to 54; incorporating Freehold bank, amendments of the Senate concurred in; militia bill returned by the Senate insisting on its amendments: Mr. Fisk of W. moved a com. of conference—negatived, and the House insisting on their disagreement; incorporating the Provident Savings Institute at Brattleboro' laid on the table for amendment. Relative to Cambridge artillery company, and relating to militia dismissed. To divide the Co. of Benning, &c., dismissed. In addition to the several highway acts, (two bills,) dismissed. In favor of John S. Pettibone, laid on the table, on motion of Mr. Needham, with the understanding that it shall not again be called up. Providing for the purchase of maps, dismissed. Relating to salaries of certain officers, dismissed.

Petitions.—Of inhabitants of Elmore, of L. N. Stevens and others, and of Selectmen of Worcester, leave to withdraw granted.  
To repeal an act incorporating the village of Woodstock, the House adhered to its disagreement to the amendment of the Senate.

Reports.—By General Committee, against petition of inhabitants of Dummerston, relative to Putney poor-house, concurred in; against repealing fox bounty. By com. of Ways and Means, their estimate of probable expenses (\$74,932,) and receipts (\$78,615,) for the year ending 30th Sept 1840.

Resolutions.—Relating to small bills (introduced by Mr. Brown,) on their passage—yeas 64, noes 61. On the same subject (introduced by Mr. Partridge,) dismissed. For printing of one copy of revised statutes for each town, dismissed. On the resolutions of the state of Indiana on Slavery—passed.  
Adj.  
2 o'clock, P. M.

SENATE.

Mr. Pierpoint, of the committee of finance, reported the result of the conference with the House on the amendments to the chapter "of salaries and fees," and the Senate concurred with the recommendations of the committee of conference, in receding from a part of their objections, and adhering to the remainder.

Bills.—From the House, to pay Jos. Rollins the sum mentioned, for apprehending a felon; facts stated by Mr. Cobb, and the bill read a third time and passed; to restore the Tunbridge Cavalry company to its former privileges, reported by Mr. Burgess, the bill was refused a third reading; assessing a tax for the support of government; authorizing the Treasurer to borrow the sum mentioned; making appropriations for the support of government, severally read a third time and passed; to pay Anstin D. Arms the sum mentioned for services as Librarian, reported by Mr. Jones, facts stated, the bill was refused a third reading; laying a tax on lands in Greensboro' reported by Mr. Hemmenway, with proposals of amendment which were adopted, and the bill was read a third time and passed; incorporating the Bank of Montpelier, reported by Mr. McMillan with proposed amendments, which were adopted, and the bill was read a third time and passed, yeas 14, nays 6; in alteration of an act providing for reporting the decisions of the Supreme Court, read a third time and passed; relating to common schools, the two Houses disagreeing in proposed amendments, the Senate resolved to insist and ask a conference with the House—committee of conference Messrs. Swift, Edgerton and Eaton; relating to steamboat stock, referred to the committee on the Judiciary; relating to paupers, called up, the question being upon a proposition to amend, was decided in the negative; relating to steamboat stock, a 3d reading refused, yeas 8, nays 11; relating to Lamolille Co. Cavalry, third reading refused.

Resolutions.—Authorizing the Secretary to make out, receive and pay over the debentures of the Senate. Adopted; relating to committee of investigation, on Windsor and Essex Banks, sent up from the House, and the Senate resolved not to concur; from the House, for a committee of two from each House to report on amendments to 11th

Messrs. Pierpoint and Swift appointed on the part of the Senate.

Mr. Edgerton introduced the following resolution: Resolved, That the members of the Senate being about to close their session and separate, take the occasion to express to his Hon. David M. Camp their entire appreciation of his official conduct, as their presiding officer, the high sense they entertain of the uniform impartiality, courtesy and ability, with which he has presided over their deliberations, and their ardent desire for his uninterrupted health and happiness.

The Senate, with a hearty and spontaneous expression in the affirmative, unanimously adopted the resolution, when

The President addressed the Senate, in substance as follows:

GENTLEMEN.—The sentiments of the resolution, so kind and so commendatory, which you have just passed, call upon me in a manner not to be resisted, if I would avoid the imputation of insensibility or ingratitude, to endeavor to express my thanks and a sense of the obligations imposed. The approbation of our fellowmen is ever a stimulus to exertion and presents a legitimate object of ambition. We diligently seek and highly prize the approbation of those whom we esteem, our associates, our friends and familiar acquaintances. That I stand in these relations to you, Gentlemen, is my pride and boast. With some of you I have long labored in the service of four common constituents and though with others my acquaintance has been more brief and less intimate, yet has it been so distinguished by uniform courtesy and kindness that I forget how short has been the period of our intercourse.

Your commendation derives additional value from the circumstance that it is not the hackneyed eulogium of approving political friends, or the senseless formula of parting with a presiding officer, uniformly and periodically tendered when the connection is about to be dissolved, often conferred without discrimination and acquired without merit. You have delayed the expression of your approbation until, it may be presumed, you are able correctly to judge, and by so doing, given it a value which under less favorable circumstances, it would not possess. Much as I must admit, I am indebted to your partial kindness, no ground is left to suspect your sincerity. In return, I can only say, Gentlemen, I tender you my cordial thanks, and cheerfully acknowledge you have laid me under obligations of gratitude, which must remain until the final wreck of all my moral perceptions.

To the credit of the Senate of Vermont, I must be permitted to say, that during the four years I have had the honor and the happiness to preside over your deliberations, not an instance has occurred, in which I have found the indication of even a willingness, much less a settled purpose on the part of any senator, to obstruct the progress of business, or cast an odium upon myself as presiding officer. When laboring under the embarrassments of inexperience, or erring through want of care, I have ever found a ready resource in the sympathy, forbearance and kindness, which have been conspicuous in the conduct of every senator. My mistakes have been passed over in silence, or pointed out in the spirit of friendship, and a triumph, which sometimes might have been obtained at my expense, has been indignantly spurned as utterly worthless.

If the character of the people of this state, in regard to the practical principle of rotation in office, be preserved, or my own wishes consulted, my connection with this body will terminate with the present session. To carry with me into retirement your approbation has for sometime been my anxious desire. Being now gratified in this, I can devote the duties, responsibilities and honors of office on my successor, with the hope that a much greater fund of wisdom and experience may be obtained for the services of the state, securing for all future time a high reputation to the senate and the unwavering regard and support of the people.

HOUSE.

Resolution.—On the subject of education (Mr. Partridge's) dismissed.

Petitions.—Of R. T. Robinson, and others laid on the table, not again to be considered.

Bill.—Repealing license act of 1838—Senate bill amended and passed, and the House bill dismissed; incorporating Windham Co. Provident Savings institution, amended and the yeas and noes taken—yeas 38, noes 60—no quorum and the bill was laid on the table, not again to be considered.  
Adj.

TUESDAY EVE., NOV. 19.

SENATE.

Bills.—In addition to an act regulating and governing the militia. On motion of Mr. Bowen, a committee of conference was appointed upon the disagreements of the two Houses. Committee, Messrs. Jenness, Cobb and Converse. To pay A. D. Arms the sum therein mentioned—vote refusing to pass reconsidered, and the bill was refused a third reading.

Resolutions.—From the House, relating to the proceeds of the public lands, read from the chair, when Mr. Egerton proposed so to amend the first resolution that the public lands be sold to actual settlers, and no others, and the proceeds thereof to be distributed, &c., when Mr. McMillan moved that the resolution be laid on the table. After debate by Mr. Cobb, the question was taken and decided in the negative, yeas 10, nays 10; the President voting in the negative; and the question recurring upon the amendment offered by Mr. Egerton, it was rejected, yeas 10, nays 10, the President voting in the negative. After remarks by Mr. Cobb, opposing the resolution, the question was taken by yeas and noes, and the resolution passed, yeas 10, nays 10, the president voting in the affirmative. The 2d resolution was then adopted without a call of the yeas and nays. Providing for the publication of that portion of the revised statutes which go into operation before the first of July next, in all the newspapers in this state; laid on the table. From the House, relating to the publication of a portion of the revised statutes in all the newspapers of the state,—amended, on motion of Mr. Pierpoint, by adding, after the word "state," "not exceeding two in each county," excluding the chapters on "chancery" and on "salaries and fees," from publication in the papers, and providing that the Secretary of State do not publish the revised statutes with the other laws of the session, but deliver them to the revising committee for publication; and the resolution, as amended, passed.

Mr. Cobb called up the resolution from the House, relating to internal improvement, and offered an amendment, which was adopted. The

resolution, as amended, was then concurred in, yeas 16, nays 5.

The Senate resolved to insist on their disagreement, and ask for a conference in relation to the 25th chapter of the revised statutes on process,—committee of conference, Messrs. Swift, Pierpoint and McMillan.

Mr. Converse reported the results of the committee of conference, on the disagreements of the two Houses to the bill relating to the militia, recommending the Senate to recede from the amendments except the first and 2d, and the Senate resolved to concur in the report.

Mr. Egerton, of the committee to whom was referred resolutions from different states, reported resolutions, with the opinion that no action was necessary upon them, the subjects to which they relate having been already embraced in resolutions passed by both Houses.

Mr. Pierpoint, of the committee of conference on the disagreement of the two Houses upon the chapter of the revised statutes, relating to process, reported the result of the conference, in which the Senate resolved to concur, and amended the 63d section, relating to imprisonment for debt.

Mr. Converse was delegated to inform the governor that the Senate, on its part, had finished the business of the session, and was now prepared for an adjournment, without day.

On motion of Mr. Pierpoint, the Senate resolved that when it adjourn it adjourn without day.

The secretary was directed by the President to inform the House that the Senate had no further communications to make.

Mr. Converse, having informed the Senate that the Governor had no further communications to make to the General Assembly, the Senate adjourned without day.

HOUSE.

Militia Bill.—The Senate, by message, asked a conference on this bill, which was agreed to, and on the part of the House, Messrs. Needham, Fullam and Dean, were appointed the committee. Subsequently the committee reported, recommended the House to concur in the first and twelfth amendments (leaving the law of exemptions as heretofore, and requiring drills but once in two years,) the Senate receded from its (15) other amendments. Messrs. Rice, Fullam, Chandler and Warner of Newhaven supported concurrence in the recommendation of the committee as to the first amendment, opposed by Messrs. Thomas and Tyler; the House receded from its disagreements to both the 1st and 12th.

Resolution.—Mr. Needham offered the following:

Resolved, That the thanks of this House be presented to the Hon. Carlos Coolidge, for the able, impartial, and dignified manner, in which he has performed the unusually laborious and responsible duties of Speaker of the House during the present session; that our best wishes will ever attend him hereafter; and that we shall remember our intercourse here only with feelings of fraternal interest and regard; which was read and adopted unanimously; whereupon the Speaker responded, in handsome terms, reciprocating the kind feeling expressed by the House.

Mr. Butler offered a resolution for publication, in all the newspapers in the state, of those parts of the revised statutes which go into operation previous to the first of July next, adopted.

The House having insisted upon its amendment to chapter 28, extending the trustee process, and the Senate having insisted upon their disagreement and asked a conference, it was agreed to, and Messrs. Dillingham, Fullam and Needham, were appointed on the part of the House. The committee of conference recommended a substitute for the amendment of the House, which was agreed to.

The usual messages having passed between the Executive and both Houses, the Speaker declared the House adjourned without day.

"MR. BIRNEY GUILTY OF SLAVEHOLDING.—We are happy to record the noble act of Mr. Birney, of which the particulars are to be found on our last page. We see not, however, how it can be justified on the principles of the Anti-Slavery Society."—New Haven Record.

"It is of course not a little gratifying to us to find that, when the matter comes home in such a practical and personal case, a gentleman so identified with the movements of the Anti-Slavery Society feels himself impelled to abandon its principles and adopt ours as a rule of action."—Vermont Chronicle.

Neither the Record or the Chronicle has quoted from any anti-slavery publication of repute, a single sentence, that either expressly, or by necessary implication condemns this proceeding of Mr. B. The attempt to show that he has in any degree departed from the principles of the anti-slavery society, is a mere piece of Tracy-ism. The apologist in the North blind themselves, by the way they have of regarding the slaveholder as thrown unfortunately into a certain state. The abolitionists regard him as being guilty of a certain act. The apologists pity him. The abolitionists blame him. When the abolitionists speak of slaveholding as invariably sinful, and prove it by showing from the slave laws, what slavery is, they have respect to the voluntary act of holding slaves under those laws, and not in any involuntary state or relation into which a man may be placed without any consent of his own. The state of Alabama might by statute declare Gerrit Smith the owner of a thousand slaves, and enact that no deed of emancipation which he could make should be valid. Would Gerrit Smith thereupon be guilty of the sin of slaveholding? Certainly not, for it is a matter with which his consent or refusal has nothing at all to do. If he exercised any acts or did any thing which virtually implied consent or intention to hold slaves, then he would be guilty of this sin. In Mr. Birney's case the laws of Kentucky put it into his power, by the sacrifice of nearly all his patrimony, to set free a certain number of slaves who had served his father; and he immediately exercised that power. The whole act was one of emancipation, it was so in fact, in form and in intention. The law so regards it, conscience so regards it. God so regards it. Whether it took an hour to accomplish it through all the forms of law, or twelve hours, or a month, is nothing to the purpose; every court of justice in our country would regard it as one transaction. The attempt to weaken the influence which this single act of "justice" is calculated to exert over the slaveholding mind, in this country involves a responsibility which might make Beelzebub turn pale.

As the Vermont Chronicle has charged Mr. Birney with having adopted its principles as his

rule of action in the case, we will ask the conductor of that paper to take the trouble of showing in what single instance he has ever advanced a principle, or stated a case, or laid down a rule of action as the duty of slaveholders generally, coincident with this act of Mr. Birney's. It will be a marvel, indeed, when Mr. Birney is driven to Edwin Tracy to learn principles of moral action."—Emancipator.

THE VOICE OF FREEDOM.

MONTEPELIER SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1839.

[We are much obliged to the clerical friend who sends us the annexed letter to the President of the Vermont Colonization Society, it being a review of the last report of that notable institution. An unusual pressure of engagements, has prevented our giving some attention to the same budget of inconsistencies. We hope to hear from the reviewer again.—EDITOR.]

For the Voice of Freedom.

To E. Paine, President of the Vermont Colonization Society.

Sir: The Report of your Society, for 1839, I have just read, and have done it with more than common attention; and deem the relation you sustain to it as a sufficient apology for addressing what follows to you.

This document appears to have been written with care, and evidently not without much concern for the reception it might meet with from the public. There is, in it, a strong effort to set off the colonizationists, as the only friends of the colored man who unite liberality and discretion in their efforts; taking marked care, at the same time, to impress the slaveholder with the assurance of your purpose to do nothing without his concurrence.

Having never connected myself with the abolitionists, for reasons which imply no reflection on them; I hoped to find in the colonization society those principles, which would furnish me an opportunity of uniting with the benevolent in an effort for the liberty of the slave. With this view I read your report, where, besides the principles I was in search of, I found another set, which appeared to be their opposites. I do not intend by this remark any reflection on your consistency, but because I was strongly impressed with this fact, feel it my duty to expose it. Far be it from me to adjudge your society culpable for holding, on the slave-question, the doctrine of the slave-states; but to do so covertly, and yet study to seem uttering the language of northern humanity in reference to the oppressed, is not only disingenuous and disreputable, but deeply wicked. And that this is done in the report before me is, to me, very obvious.

The report states the object of the society to be "the extinction of slavery." And, as if not contented with this excellent avowal, it presently informs us that colonizationists "feel that the liberation of 3,000,000 of slaves is not enough to compensate for all the wrongs inflicted upon the countless millions of robbed and murdered Africans. Their sense of justice, therefore, reaches to Africa, herself." Soon after this we are informed that "many of the slave states" (who, the report says, are embraced in the "fields" of the society,) are ready to yield their property in man when it can be "done advantageously to the slave and master. And that it will be at any time advantageous to the latter is plain from the fact disclosed as a benefit, but endure it as an evil. The inference is that, as reason and experience satisfy of the safety to the slave himself of freedom, abolition is to be, ere long looked for by these states. Thus does the report contain, as colonization doctrines; that the colonization society, embracing many slave states, are deeply impressed with a sense of the guilt of slavery—that to testify that sense they are about to not only liberate our own slaves but even "elevate Africa to a rank among civilized and christian nations."

Now, sir, does the report mean so? Not at all. It means just the contrary. It maintains, substantially, that the general and immediate abolition of slavery is impracticable—that though "benevolent slave holders" may occasionally free some, yet if they be effective, "the just and natural sentiment, of compensation is to be observed, since such manumissions, without compensation would be an "unreasonable sacrifice"—that if funds be procured free Africans "may be" colonized—that this is all which the society can do—but, this it is capable of "effecting"—that in doing this it has the "blessing" of "benevolent slaveholders," and their fraternal co-operation in other respects—that for the reasons above given even the "benevolent slaveholders" and much less the others, need not be expected at any time to free, gratuitously, any effective slaves, yet they will, as just stated, aid the society in carrying off the free people of color.

What now, sir, are these admission and avowals less than positive proof of that for which I have adduced them? You not only tell us of the "impracticability" of "general abolition," but, in substance, that no "useful purpose" can be answered by asking for it—that the "abstract condition of liberty" could not much improve "the physical or moral condition of the slave." And yet, it is your society that are about to free our 3,000,000 and then enlighten Africa! And "by the success

already attained, colonization is disposed to be tested in all its objects and professions." Sir, I ask no more. You shall have the benefit of this rule. Your object is the "extinction of slavery"—at least this is your "profession." The probability of your success, ultimately, is to be determined "by the success already attained." Your society was formed in 1818. "Its object was to colonize the free people of color residing in this country." To say that this was done under the auspices of the noted slaveholders, John Randolph, Henry Clay and Judge Washington is not called for here, though true. All the slaves freed since for the purpose of colonization, your report puts at 2,500. Deduct from this, 300, who, probably, would have been freed had the society never existed, and you have 2,200 manumissions against 23 years. Thus, on your own showing, 100 manumissions a year is your success, which at the same rate for the future, (the slave-population remaining stationary,) shows that 30,000 years would be required to free the 3,000,000. But you remind me of the rapid increase of your facilities for colonizing; does this increase exceed that of the slave-population? This time is probably a truer expression of the minds of colonizationists, generally, than the 150 or 200 years named by that arch demagogue, Henry Clay. But in view of either, the poor slave may well adopt the language of afflicted Job—"Miserable comforters are you all!" Ah, yes! miserable, indeed! Poor wretched slave! They brutify you, soul and body, generation after generation, by the most cruel bondage and then mock your wish for freedom by your "unfitness to enjoy it!" "The abstract condition of liberty" would do you "but little good!"

But, sir, to return to the point: When do you say this time will come? When can we pay the slaveholders the \$1200,000,000? You have no authority to presume that even if that sum was forthcoming the time for "general abolition" had arrived. I know your report says, that masters "are ready to yield their property in man when it can be done without an unreasonable sacrifice to themselves." And why does it say so? Are you warranted by any expression of your slaveholding auxiliaries? or by any of their numerous northern friends, in their name? I cannot believe it in the face of so much evidence to the contrary. What, sir, are states ready to yield that up (when the act implies past guilt,) what is right in itself—which "constitutes the foundation of the Republican edifice?" I admit that this is the ravine of atheists and infidels; but does the rending of Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies show this question to have a less hold upon the affections of the "benevolent slaveholders themselves?" What has person, and property, and even life been in the comparison with slavery's continuance? With slavery's continuance, did I say? rather, with the most delicate discussion of the subject? Ask James G. Birney, ask—Dresser, ask Lovejoy! yes, ask Lov-joy.

Sir: Were I in your place I would hesitate before affirming the readiness of slaveholders to liberate their slaves—at least I would, when facts in the case are known as they are amongst us. But, sir, perhaps your report, like General Jackson's slanders of abolitionists, was not intended for home eyes. Be that as it may, the sentiment that "many of the slave-states are ready to yield their property in man" is flatly contradicted by every day's occurrence.

Why, sir, what slaveholder has it not in his power to free his slaves? Does he do it? Does he give your society his "blessings" and his money that you may do it? No, sir, the very mention of the thing would alienate him, from you forever. Hence, whatever your motive be in carrying off free blacks, it is plain that his is not the ultimate freedom of his slaves. Do you ask me what it is? That the example of the free black may be removed from before the eye of the bound black. This is it. Look at it! Maryland. She voted your society \$200,000 to use in carrying off her free blacks. Do you think she wished them with her when, by her laws, it is hard labor in her state-prison for twenty years to any free black who will be found reading a book favorable to his bond-brother? \* Georgia, instead of voting your society the funds for carrying off her most dangerous free blacks, as Maryland has done, has got rid of them by the more expeditious and summary method of making it perpetual slavery for those of them, who may be found in the state after a given number of months.

Allow me one word more, sir, and I close. That the abolition of slavery is not the object of your society, is now plain. Yet it is as much so now as it ever can be. It was not founded, we have seen, for that purpose. In what light then are we to view some sentences in your report? What but disgusting trifling is it to talk about not being "satisfied with freeing 3,000,000 of slaves," &c. It shows how heartlessly men can swagger over subjects the most solemn and momentous. They go to elevate Africa! O yes! see Clay, Van Buren and the Vermont Chronicle, headed by President Paine and his knot of Directors, scudding off to Guinan for the exalting of

\* This is a recent law. The first transgressor was sentenced to the minimum time, which is TEN YEARS; but the sentencing Judge declared that every one guilty after would be sentenced for the maximum time, which is TWENTY YEARS.