

MONTPELIER, SATURDAY, JUNE 1, 1839.

American Colonization Society.

In our last, we characterized this institution as "unprincipled." It was by no means an unconsidered assertion. We repeat the charge; and now propose to offer some remarks in its support. Let us premise, however, that we are far enough from supposing that all who lend their countenance to the scheme, are unprincipled men. Time has been, when we ranged ourselves among its friends and supporters; but this was when we had very inadequate conceptions of its real character and tendency. Multitudes at the North, have honestly but ignorantly fallen into the like error. It is not too much to say that many persons have lent their aid to colonization without even examining the constitution of the society, and who, when inquired of as to its aims, are quite at a loss to give an intelligent reply.

Should one inquire after the fundamental principles of the Federal Government, it would manifestly be proper to refer him to the Constitution of the United States, as containing an authoritative statement of those principles. Our fathers well considered, that a decent respect for the opinions of mankind as well as the success of the embryo government, called for a frank and unambiguous avowal not only of the reasons of their great enterprise, but of the foundation principles on which it was proposed to conduct it to its consummation. Hence the preamble to the constitution of the United States, with its narration of objects,—the studied arrangement and avowal of principles,—the careful distribution and limitation of powers. The same remarks are applicable to all our state constitutions. With equal caution and forethought, the founders of most of the benevolent associations which have sprung up to bless the land in the last forty years, have considered it necessary as well as respectful to an inquisitive age, to pause, at the threshold of their organizations and inform the world of the reasons which impelled them to their undertakings. The Bible Society, itself, did not feel warranted in preferring its claims to the public favor, without a most explicit announcement of reasons. Its kindred sisters in the family of benevolent institutions, the Foreign and Home Missions, the Seaman's Friend, the Tract, the Temperance, the Peace, and the Anti-Slavery Societies, each and all, though clad in garments of charity, had not the presumption to come to the baptismal font without giving a reason of the faith that was in them. They all have their honest and plain-spoken *wherewithals*. Their principles are laid down in tangible shape. No man, on scanning their organic laws, need be in doubt as to their aims, nor is he liable to meet with different and conflicting interpretations in every degree of latitude.

We will now look at the American Colonization Society, in the light of its own constitution. The first two articles are the only ones affording any clue to its object. They are as follows: ART. I. This Society shall be called the American Society for colonizing the free people of color of the United States. ART. II. The object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed, is to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their consent) the free people of color residing in our country in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient. And the Society shall act to effect this object in co-operation with the general government, and such of the States as may adopt regulations on the subject.

Unlike the benevolent associations before alluded to, the colonization society was ushered before the American people without a preamble, setting forth the motives which led to its formation. A Judge Jay well remarks, its constitution "has no single principle of duty or policy recognized in it, and the members, may, without inconsistency, be christians or infidels; they may be the friends or the enemies of slavery, and may be actuated by kindness or by hatred towards 'the free people of color.'" The *exclusive* object which the society in its constitution, professes, is, wholly devoid of moral character. The removal of a class of men from one spot on the earth to another, is, for aught we can see, a purely physical act. Circumstances may, indeed, be superadded, which would attach to it a moral or an immoral complexion. If, when Sodom was threatened with a shower of fire, Lot had conceived and executed a plan for colonizing a certain portion of its inhabitants, the act of "removal" might have been set down in the category either of good, or evil deeds—whether of the first or the last, it is unimportant here to inquire. Or, if a class of men were threatened with pestilence, or famine, their "removal," even without their "consent," to a salubrious and piteous land, might properly be termed a merciful act. But, that the "removal" of 400,000 men, black, white, or yellow, from America to Africa, with no reason for the act save the hue of their skins, is either patriotic, philanthropic, or christian, is a proposition which we humbly deny. The moment so grave a "plan" is proposed to be executed, the world has a right to demand of its projectors and friends some REASONS for so vast an expenditure of time and treasure as the execution of the scheme must require. Christianity recognizes all men as made of one blood, "to dwell on all the face of the earth." She asks a reason for removing a wronged and despised people from a republican and christ-

ian, to a pagan land. The 400,000 free people of color echo the demand, in tones of startling emphasis. What is the response? 'Our *exclusive* object is REMOVAL!'

The colonization society claims a sort of copartnership with Congress! By what authority, we humbly demand? It has been supposed, that the limited powers of Congress were solely derived from the federal constitution; but who can point us to the clause giving the shadow of authority to Congress to exercise any of the powers which this strange relationship supposes? As well might Congress appropriate the people's money for the completion of the Thames Tunnel as to "co-operation" with any Society for colonizing Americans in Africa, or elsewhere. If it be replied, that the colonization society contemplates the suppression of the African slave-trade, and that such an object comes within the provisions of the constitution, we deny the proposition. So far from this, the society is prohibited by the terms of its constitution, from directing its attention to any other than the "exclusive" object of removal of free colored persons to Africa or some other place.

It is worthy of notice, that while the colonization society, in the face of its constitution, has set up its claim to be an abolisher of the foreign slave trade along the African coast, it has, from the first, manifested a most stoical indifference to the equally revolting traffic in the United States. The seat of the society's operations is in the District of Columbia, where the trade in human beings is a daily avocation, yet who ever heard of any efforts being made by the society or its managers for the suppression of this nefarious traffic? If the society is intent on abolishing the African trade, why does it spread the kindly shadow of its wing over the internal piracy at its very doors?

We have only glanced at the border-ground of a vast field. Enough has been advanced, we would hope, to justify the opinion that the American Colonization Society is an anomaly amongst the professedly benevolent institutions of the age—that it can lay no just claim to any principle, as a basis of its organization. If any of its friends think us in error, we shall be happy to afford them space in our columns for a refutation of the charge.

County Conference.

The monthly meeting of ministers and delegates from the congregational churches in this county, was held on Wednesday and Thursday of this week, at the Free Church. The time of the conference was chiefly taken up with preaching. In the afternoon of Thursday, relations were heard of the state of religion in the several churches represented, including the condition of sabbath schools and bible classes, and whatever else was supposed to have a bearing on the interests of religion. The monthly concert for the conversion of the world was generally represented as being attended by few. The concert for the enslaved, we are sorry to say, has not, as yet, been established, in more than two or three churches in the county. We were much interested in Rev. Mr. Taylor's account of the Sabbath School connected with his church and congregation in Waitsfield. The school is held between the forenoon and afternoon service, and is made up of almost the entire congregation, numbering more than four hundred. This is as it should be.

A committee was chosen to take into consideration the interests of sabbath schools in our county, and make report at the next monthly meeting of the conference, which will be at Middlesex Village, on the last Wednesday and Thursday in June.—We hope the next meeting may be fully attended.

Judge Paine's "Present."

In a circular letter, addressed by Judge Paine to the people of Vermont, in December last, that gentleman proposed to make a donation of \$1000 to the Colonization society, on condition that the friends of the cause in this state should raise for the same object, in a given time, the sum of \$5000. Considering that the colonizationists in this state had not raised the sum of two hundred dollars the last year, and that only six clergymen had been found to ask collections for that object during the year, the offer of the Judge was regarded by some as being a very safe one. It was, however, honored with laudatory notices in the pro-slavery journals, far and near.

At the late meeting of the New-York city colonization society, a letter was read from the Judge, apologizing for his absence, and making some reference, perhaps, to his thousand dollar offer. The city papers, at all events, adverted to the Judge's letter, informed their readers that he had actually forwarded his donation of \$1000, and the story, of course, has gone the rounds of the papers. But, alack! the following, from the last Woodstock Mercury, is the conclusion of the whole matter:

"Judge Paine, of Williamstown, requests us to say, that he has been much surprised and mortified at seeing it stated in the Montpelier Watchman, that he had made a present of a thousand dollars to the Colonization Society, as he can claim no such merit; but that he intends to make such a present, if the conditions of his circular letter of last December shall be complied with."

Meeting in Berlin.

Let it not be forgotten, that the quarterly county anti-slavery meeting takes place in Berlin next Wednesday. The meeting will be open at 10 o'clock at the new congregational meeting house. We shall be disappointed if the meeting does not prove to be one of uncommon interest. Our

indolent heir of another's wealth is prodigal of the treasure which he had no share in earning.

Mr. Grund, author of a very popular book on America, told me, when he returned from South Carolina, that nothing was more observable in Southern gentlemen than the indifference with which they lost money at the Whist Club. "It was beautiful," said he, to see them hand over their one hundred, or two hundred dollars, in such cool and gentlemanly style. They never play for less than one hundred dollars a corner. A friend quietly replied, 'Men may well be cool in handing over other people's earnings.'

And here I cannot but recall an incident in the course of my travels, which afforded me much amusement and edification. I spent an evening in New York, with a gentleman who dealt largely in cutlery. Speaking of his trade with the South, he said it mainly consisted of *dirks* and *bowie knives*. He mentioned the annual sum paid for these instruments. It was immense, but I am afraid to trust my memory to name it. The next day, I stopped at Hartford, on my way to Boston. At that place, three strangers entered the stage. By their conversation, I soon discovered that one of them was Deacon of a Calvinistic church in Connecticut, another a school-master from the same town, and the third from South Carolina. The Deacon soon began to speak of the intimate and friendly union between the North and the South, which he hoped would always remain undisturbed. There never has been such an active trade, or so much good feeling between Connecticut and the South, as there now is, said he.—'There is our rifle-pistol establishment—do all we can, we can't get hands enough at work to supply the Southern market.'

The schoolmaster chimed in, with praises of Southern hospitality, politeness, and generosity. I was indignant, but silent. To my surprise, the gentleman from Carolina broke out as follows:—'Sir, your estimation of Southern character differs essentially from mine. I have lived sixteen years in South Carolina; and I have now left it, with a resolution never to reside in a slave state again. You talk of generosity. I'll tell you in what it consists. The Southern gentleman drives others with the whip to toil for him. He comes to Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, and during six months spends their earnings in making a dash among the Yankees; then he goes home to starve his niggers upon ground corn and water, the other six months. You may call this generosity, but I call it meanness.' I quote his precise words.—'The Connecticut men scarcely opened their lips again till we reached Boston.'

If any reader makes use of these statements to foster sectional pride or jealousy, he will pervert the truth to a very bad purpose. My object is to prove that slavery has an inevitable tendency to make men sensual and selfish; and therefore every Christian should do his utmost to abolish that soul-destroying system. But we must not forget that the North is, and ever has been, more or less a partner in the guilt; and that Northerners become quite as much hardened as Southerners, when placed under the bad influence of a despotic institution. The system must first be changed, and then the men will change.

It is pleasant to contrast with the foregoing, the following facts, illustrative of the effect Freedom has in expanding the benevolent feelings.—The Rev. John Clark, Baptist Missionary in Jamaica, in a letter dated Jan. 9, 1838, informs us that two or three churches of emancipated negroes in his district speedily subscribed \$600 for missions to Africa; and this was done by laborers working some for 50 cents, and some for 25 cents a day, out of which they were obliged to pay for house and provision-grounds, and board themselves and families.

In the congregation of Mr. Blyth of Jamaica, about \$160 were raised by the emancipated slaves. One third was devoted to raise a small tablet in their own chapel, in commemoration of their emancipation on the 1st of August; one third was sent to the Scottish Missionary Society; and one third to the Edinburgh Society for Universal Emancipation.

From Thome and Kimball, I quote as follows:—'The receipts of the Antigua Branch (Bible) Society have greatly increased since emancipation. From receipts for the year 1836, in each of the British Islands, it appears that the contributions from Antigua and Bermuda, the only two islands which adopted entire emancipation, are about double those from any other two islands. About fifty Branch Associations have been organized among the negroes themselves.'

The superintendent of the Wesleyan mission informed us that the collection in the several Wesleyan chapels in Antigua last year for the support of the Gospel, independent of occasional contributions to Sunday Schools, Missionary objects, &c., amounted to £850 sterling, about \$5,000.

'The friendly Societies are formed to give relief in cases of sickness or infirmity, to encourage sobriety and industry, and check disorderly and immoral conduct. The Wesleyans of Antigua have four Friendly Societies. The largest, containing 650 members, was organized in August, 1834. (The month and year of emancipation.) The last year it had expended £700 currency.—Be it remembered that these Friendly Societies exist solely among the freed negroes, and that the monies are raised exclusively among them. Among a people who it is said 'cannot take care of themselves,' who 'will not work when freed from the fear of the lash,' yet, among negroes these things are done; and that too, when wages are but one shilling per day—less than sufficient, one would reasonably suppose, to provide for daily food.'

L. M. C. Northampton, May, 1839.

Annual Meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society of Eastern Pennsylvania.

We have seldom been more cheered and gratified in the progress of our cause, than in witnessing the noble array of abolitionists who gathered to the Annual Meeting at Norristown, on the 20th inst.

NATHAN STEWART, pastor of the Episcopal church in Norristown, and one of the Vice-Presidents of the State Anti-slavery Society, occupied the chair, and James Fulton, jr., Dan. Neall, jr., Secretaries.

The Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Society, an able and excellent document, was read by C. C. Burleigh, the corresponding secretary, giving an interesting account of the proceedings of the Society and its auxiliaries since the last meeting. A resolution recommending abstinence from the products of slave-labor, was introduced by the business committee, eloquently advocated by Gerrit Smith, and adopted. A resolution on colonization called forth an interesting

discussion, in which C. C. BURLEIGH, JAS. C. FULLER, of New York, HENRY B. STANTON, H. GREW, GERRIT SMITH, and T. S. CAVENDER participated. After the adoption of this resolution, and the appointment of several committees, the Society adjourned until the next morning.

On the 21st the meeting was opened at 9 o'clock. A resolution, in regard to the disfranchisement of the people of color, after some sensible remarks from Thomas Whison, Lucretia Mott, and others was adopted. The following resolution was offered by the business committee: 'Resolved, That it is as inconsistent for the friends of liberty to vote for slavery, as it is to write, speak or pray for it.'

Upon this resolution GERRIT SMITH made an impressive and powerful speech, urging the duty of abolitionists to remember the slave at the ballot-box, and carry their principles into politics—maintaining that political action was but one form of moral action, in behalf of the enslaved.

THOMAS S. CAVENDER offered the following in addition, as an amendment:—'and he who writes, speaks, or prays against slavery, and yet refuses to exercise whatever right he claims to vote and petition against it in the District of Columbia, at every suitable opportunity, thereby gives virtual sanction to the unholy system.'

In support of this the mover spoke with ability, and was followed by Samuel J. Leveick against the amendment, and denying the right of the Society to use political action for the abolition of slavery.

JAMES C. FULLER followed, in a forcible and animated manner, urging political action as a duty on the part of abolitionists. He said slavery had never been abolished in any part of the world without political action. Political action had swept the foul stain from the British West Indies. In all their movements the abolitionists of Great Britain have relied upon political action. He said a worthy colored friend had told him, that had all the Quakers of Pennsylvania gone to the ballot-box, and voted for their rights, the elective franchise could never have been wrested from himself, and forty thousand of his brethren. Friend FULLER remarked that he himself was a member of the Society of Friends, and in advocating political action for the overthrow of legal iniquity, he was but acting in accordance with the example of the illustrious founder of Pennsylvania. William Penn never surrendered his rights as a citizen. He contended for them before persecuting judges. He wrote a pamphlet to the electors of Great Britain before a Parliamentary election, urging them to come forward and support good and honest men by their suffrages, and he took by the hand England's noblest patriot—the noble and immortal Algernon Sidney, and proclaimed him a candidate for the British Parliament. He concluded by declaring that he regarded the abolition of slavery as a paramount political object, that tariffs and banks were trifling in comparison with it—inasmuch as the former related to the lives and liberties of millions, and the others were mere questions of currency; and that he would prefer to see his own property scattered to the winds by unjust legislation, than to preserve it by the perpetuity of slavery.

The resolution was laid on the table and an adjournment took place until 4 o'clock P. M., giving two hours for a public meeting. At this meeting, Gerrit Smith made an able speech in reply to the common objection, 'We shall be overrun with negroes' and closed with an earnest and solemn appeal to the abolitionists to stand fast to their principles, and follow neither sect nor party in any measure detrimental to the cause of the perishing slave.

He was followed by Henry B. Stanton, also in answer to the popular objections against anti-slavery movements, which he disposed of in a triumphant and masterly manner. The large and beautiful house was thronged with a deeply attentive audience; and a conviction of the truth of our principles was undoubtedly made upon many hearts, heretofore insensible to the claims of humanity in behalf of the slave.

We left in the afternoon of the 21st, and the proceedings of the meeting on the 22nd have not reached us in season for to-day's paper. Between two and three hundred delegates were in attendance, all animated with one spirit, a united and faithful phalanx of devoted men and women. The labors of our friends from abroad,—GERRIT SMITH, with his generous heart and manly eloquence,—JAMES C. FULLER with his good-natured bluntness and warmth of zeal,—HENRY B. STANTON, with his stirring appeals—his withering sarcasm, and vehemence of rebuke, have been well received, and have contributed in no small degree to the interest of our meetings.—Penn. Freeman.

Mob in New Haven.

The following from our tried coadjutor, Gerrit Smith, is from the last Emancipator: FARMINGTON, CON. MAY 14, 1839.

Dear Brother Leavitt,—I wrote you a brief account of the mob in Newburgh last Friday. Last evening I witnessed another similar answer to the question, 'What has the north to do with slavery?'

On reaching New Haven yesterday, a few of the friends of our cause thought it would be well for me to speak in the evening on the subject of slavery. I consented, and public notice was given of the meeting. I had not spoken a half an hour, before I was interrupted by a mob, the leaders of which were, as I was informed, southern students—mostly law students. They beat the floor with their canes—they cried aloud—they threw eggs at me, which bespattered not only myself, but Mr. Sawyer and Mr. Dutton, two clergymen, who sat by my side. It was told me, that some of the leaders occasionally flourished their dirks.

To the dear brethren, who manifested their solicitude for my personal safety, I feel under great obligations. Our beloved brother S. S. Jocelyn showed remarkable self-possession and good judgment on the occasion.

I am this evening to plead with the people of Farmington in behalf of the Savior's enslaved and crushed poor. In the morning I am to accompany John T. Norton to the Anniversary Meeting of the Connecticut State Anti-Slavery Society, which is to be held at Hartford. That well-tried friend of the slave James C. Fuller, who, in our perils last evening, showed that 'the righteous are bold as a lion,' is to accompany us.

Your friend and brother, GERRIT SMITH.

Slavery is vindicated in print, [1788] and defended in the House of Peers! Poor human reason, when wilt thou come to years of discretion?— Hannah Moore.

"In the title of the new edition, the date of the 'excursion' is modestly omitted, but the reader is not informed that the spirit of prophecy descended upon the writer, not while journeying at the South, but while witnessing in New York the operations of the predicted societies, and after the city had been convulsed by the abolition riots.

"In 1836, Mr. Paulding published his 'Slavery in the United States.' In this work both the Old and the New Testament are made to give their sanction to slavery. Great Britain, in abolishing slavery in the West Indies, is charged with having committed robbery under the cover of humanity.—(p. 51.) 'A community of free blacks rising among the ruin of States, lords of the soil, smoking with the habitations and blood of their exterminated masters and families,' would we are assuredly be fulfilling 'the wishes of the abolitionists.'—(p. 56.) The advocates of immediate emancipation recommended, it is asserted, 'indiscriminate marriages between the whites and blacks':—(p. 61) and well educated and respectable females amongst them are apparently anxious 'to become the mothers of mulattoes.'—(p. 62.) 'Slavery we are told 'is becoming gradually divested of all its harsh features, and is now only the bugbear of the imagination.'—(p. 26.) and Mr. Paulding affirms—'In a residence of several years within the District, and a pretty extensive course of travel among some of the southern States, (the excursion in the summer of 1816, we suppose,) we never saw nor heard of any such instances of cruelty.—We saw no chains, (!) and heard no stripes.'—(p. 168.)

We trust our readers are now fully convinced of this gentleman's qualifications for the office of Secretary of the Navy, and of Mr. Van Buren's consistency in appointing him.—Emancipator.

The following is evidently from the pen of Mrs. Child.

From the Liberator.

Benevolence of Slave States.

A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit.—Matt. 7: 18.

It is so common to hear eulogiums passed on the hospitality and generosity of the South, in contrast with the prudence and parsimony of the North, that even abolitionists generally take for granted the liberality of the slaveholding region. I have long doubted whether this praise were deserved;—not because I had one particle of that vile feeling called sectional pride, or because I supposed New England men were one degree better than Southern men would be under similar institutions. My doubts arose from the simple conviction that a system so bad as slavery could not produce any good results. When I see a man beating and starving his horse, the conclusion seems exceedingly natural, that he will not be a very quiet and obliging neighbor, or a very liberal friend to the poor. The vices, as well as the virtues, are linked together in close relationship. He who habitually indulges selfish and violent feelings towards one set of objects, must gradually weaken, if he does not finally destroy, all the disinterested, humane, and tender impulses of his heart. These premises would lead us to draw precisely such inferences concerning the benevolence of slaveholding States, as the following statistics will serve to prove:—

To the American Board of Foreign Missions, during the month of January, 1830.

Slave States \$ 75 77
Free States 8,733 65

To the same, during the month of November, 1837.

Slave States 1,553 00
Free States 21,626 04

To the same, during the month of December, 1837.

Slave States 190 00
Free States 19,699 10

To the same, during the month of November, 1838.

Slave States 217 25
Free States 33,186 01

To the Home Missionary Society, for the year 1831.

Slave States 700
Free States 47,000

To the American Bible Society, during twenty years.

Slave States 70,000
Free States 300,000

American Tract Society, in 1836.

Life members in Slave States 35
" " " Free States 1,128

Donations to the same, exclusive of life membership.

Slave States 8 25
Free States 11,014 06

American Temperance Society, in 1833.

Members in Slave States 26
" " " Free States 307

If Auxiliary Temperance Societies, there were the Slave States 300
Free States 1800

These items are not selected with ill-natured discrimination. They are chosen with all possible fairness; and similar results will be produced by comparing donations in any given months or years, taken just as they arise. Of those who profess Christianity at the South, it should be remembered that nearly all belong to sects zealous for tracts and missions; yet they show themselves really in earnest with regard to only one mission; and that is the 'mission' to Liberia. Either the South is very much poorer than the North, or else they are little disposed to expend wealth for benevolent purposes.

In view of these things, is it not surprising that the Northern church sells itself in the Southern market for so small a price? It is little more than Judas threw away. If the history of other benevolent projects be examined, the result will prove the same as those already mentioned. When the inhabitants of the Cape de Verd Islands were suffering so terribly from two or three successive years of famine, many cargoes of provisions were sent to them from the North, but I never heard or read of any sent from the South. When large portions of Savannah, New York and Charleston were destroyed by fire, I believe the liberality of the North, compared with the South, was as twenty to one.