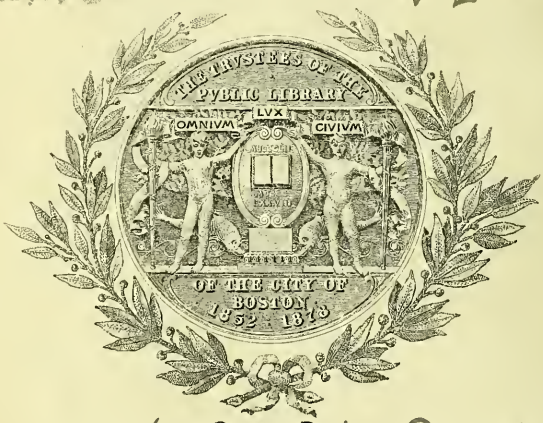

ANTI-SLAVERY

MONTHLY REPORTER.

VOLUME II.

Commencing June 1827, and ending May 1829.

LONDON:

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CONTENTS.

ANTI-SLAVERY

MONTHLY REPORTER.

No. 25.] For JUNE, 1827. [No. 1. Vol. ii.

The "Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter" will be ready for delivery on the first day of every month. Copies will be forwarded at the request of any Anti-Slavery Society, at the rate of four shillings per hundred, when not exceeding half a Sheet, and in proportion, when it exceeds that quantity. All persons wishing to receive a regular supply are requested to make application to the Secretary, at the Society's office, No. 18, Aldermanbury, and mention the conveyance by which they may be most conveniently sent. Single Copies may be had of all booksellers and newsmen, at the rate of 1*d.* per half-sheet of eight pages, or 2*d.* per sheet of sixteen pages.

CASE OF BETTO DOUGLAS, A ST. KITT'S SLAVE—UNITED STATES—SLAVE POPULATION OF WEST INDIES.

We have before us the official details, (No. 187 of 1st May, 1827,) as recently printed by order of the House of Commons, of a case from the Island of St. Kitt's, which affords some striking illustrations of the spirit and influence of slavery—not merely as it prompts the master to acts of cruelty and oppression, but as it operates to subvert and vitiate the best sympathies of our nature, to such an extent as to render slave-holders, generally speaking, unfit to discharge the functions of legislation or of judicature towards the enslaved population. The particulars of the present case are as follow :—

Betto Douglas is a Mulatto slave, about fifty-two years of age, belonging to the Earl of Romney. Some years previous to the present transactions she had requested Mr. Goldfrap, one of Lord Romney's attorneys on his estates in St. Christopher's, to solicit for her the proprietor's permission to be allowed to purchase the freedom of her two sons. The request was complied with; and this poor slave had the delight of thus securing the freedom of her offspring, probably under an impression that she might not live long enough to effect her own liberation as well as theirs. Mr. Goldfrap, in a letter to Governor Maxwell states, that he had on that occasion strongly recommended Betto Douglas to Lord Romney's favourable consideration, which recommendation his lordship seemed to construe as a wish that she should be manumitted; and, as Mr Goldfrap, who at that time ceased to be his agent, understood, had issued orders to his new attorney to that effect.

Several years however elapsed, and no steps for her enfranchisement were taken. She had been allowed to reside in a house, apart from the estate, but was obliged, by the new agent, to pay a certain sum (three dollars and a half) per month to Lord Romney. The following is her own account when interrogated before the magistrates :—" Mr Cardin told me I must go and work out for three and half dollars a month. I told him I was not able to give that price : and he would insist, and I went. And after I found it was so hard, I went to him again, and told him the times were hard—I was not able to give that price—that I sold

all I had to pay the money: and he would insist. I then said I had nothing to give him, unless I went upon the highways, and committed something bad. He would insist upon the money. I then went to Master Richard; I tell him to speak to his father, and tell him how hard the times were—and he promised to do so. I told him his father had told me that he had directions to manumit me, and I'd thank him to speak to him. The month following that, I strove and made up three dollars and a quarter, and carried that to him: and he told me if I did not give him the other quarter he would stop my allowance." "When owing two months' hire, I went to Mr. Cardin with four dollars, saying, I could pay no more. He refused to receive the four dollars, but confined me two weeks in a room; and my children went and borrowed three dollars, and made up the seven dollars for the two months' hire. I paid for the time I was in confinement, and received no allowance of any kind."

For about three years matters went on in this way. The monthly pittance of three dollars and a half was wrung from the toil, or the prostitution* of this poor creature, or supplied by the affection of her children and relatives. But in February, 1825, these resources failed; and being hard pressed for the arrears by Mr. Cardin, and having the assurance of his predecessor Mr. Goldfrap, that he believed her to have had from Lord Romney a promise of manumission, Betto Douglas, by the advice of that gentleman, presented a petition to the Governor, praying for his interposition, in order to procure for her relief and justice.

Governor Maxwell, with a promptitude highly honourable to his character, immediately instituted an inquiry into the facts of the case. But though Mr Goldfrap, in his letter already mentioned, corroborated the woman's claim for enfranchisement, so far as his recollection of Lord Romney's kind intentions went, the other persons, to whom reference was made in the petition, contradicted her allegations; and as no written evidence could be produced in support of her pretensions, the claim was rejected, and she was advised by the Governor to return to her duty on his Lordship's estate.

Whether, as the female slave alleged in her declaration, some of the persons whose evidence opposed her claim, could have supported it except for the dislike "to interfere with people's business," and to "go against Mr. Cardin," we will not undertake to determine; but it is obvious that she was herself fully persuaded that her manumission was unjustly withheld from her by Mr. Cardin, after being granted by Earl Romney; and this persuasion she continued to cherish, even after the Governor had dismissed the case for want of proof.

On returning to Earl Romney's estate, Mr. Cardin insisted on Betto Douglas going on hire, and continuing the monthly payment of three and a half dollars as formerly. This it would seem she objected to—alleging her inability to make it up. The course pursued with her is thus described in her subsequent examination: "During the time I

* The declaration that she could not make up the sum "unless she went upon the highways," &c. appears to indicate some such wretched resource as is here stated.

was last in confinement, after the petition to the Governor, I was carried before Mr. Stedman Rawlins at Miss Douglas's; and from thence I was carried to the estate, and confined in the stocks, from the 17th May to the 2d December. I then owed for three months' hire. I was put in stocks one foot night and day, except on several occasions when Dr. Rawlins gave me physic." Some rumour of this severe treatment having reached the Governor, he directed the circumstances to be inquired into by the magistrates; in consequence of which the slave was liberated from imprisonment in the stocks, after a confinement of six months: and on the 16th and 20th of January, 1826, an investigation of the treatment to which she had been subjected was gone into. The conduct of the magistrates on this occasion was very far from satisfactory. After examining the woman, and hearing Mr. Cardin's exculpatory statement, a few questions were asked of the witnesses brought forward in *his* defence; but they seem to have carefully avoided calling such witnesses or touching on such points as might lead to a confirmation of his illegal conduct; and this defective investigation having been concluded, they gave the following decision:

"The magistrates having taken into their consideration the complaint preferred against Mr. Cardin, are of opinion that the duration of Betto Douglas's confinement in the stocks not being proved, they cannot decide the question of the punishment being excessive; but they at the same time cannot refrain from remarking, that Betto Douglas's conduct has evinced great insubordination, highly injurious to the property, and recommend that the said Betto Douglas be returned to the estate, and placed at such light work as Mr. Cardin may please to direct.

"We the magistrates having reconsidered the point of Cawky Connor's evidence, are still of opinion that it is not sufficiently strong to govern them in their opinion as to the particular period of Betto Douglas's confinement."

The Cawky Connor here referred to was the person who carried the daily allowance to the prisoner; and she stated distinctly, that the period of confinement "might be about six months."

The attorney-general was so little satisfied with this decision that he resolved to prefer a bill of indictment against Mr. Cardin, for illegal treatment, at the ensuing Court of King's Bench and Grand Sessions. A bill was accordingly preferred; but here likewise the spirit of the system was triumphant: the Grand Jury unanimously threw out the bill, and made a special presentment to the Court, in the following terms:---

"In returning the bill of indictment, ignored unanimously, the Grand Jury feel themselves called upon respectfully to state to the Court their regret that a prosecution should have been founded upon so frivolous a complaint, and supported only by the slender evidence adduced before them, whereby the feelings of an honourable, humane, and respectable man have been considerably wounded unnecessarily, and his character (which from the evidence before us appeared unimpeachable) attempted to be assailed.

"The Grand Jury also beg leave to express to the Court the feelings

of indignation that this course of proceeding has excited; and they lament that the time and money of the country should have been thus sacrificed in investigating such frivolous and unfounded complaints as the present matter is founded upon."

Such was the conduct of the Magistrates and Grand Jury of St. Christopher's, in a case where very illegal and cruel conduct to a slave was as clear as day; and where, if more direct proof had been wanted, it could readily have been obtained. Instead, however, of animadverting on such gross partiality and injustice, in the strong terms which naturally suggest themselves, we turn with much satisfaction to the opinions expressed by Governor Maxwell and Earl Bathurst in the correspondence appended to this case.

The Governor, in transmitting the documents to Lord Bathurst observes: "The several inclosures will inform your Lordship of the real circumstances of the case, which contain strong evidence of the illegal treatment of the old woman; but this sort of confinement being a common usage, it is from custom considered justifiable and proper. But this opinion is strongly reprobated by the Attorney-general, and some humane thinking gentlemen in the island."

In reply Earl Bathurst remarks, that he had "read these documents with great regret and concern;"—that "the fact of Betto Douglas having been actually confined night and day in the stocks for a period of six months, appears to be established;"---that "it must also be observed, that if the magistrates considered the evidence incomplete they had ample means of procuring additional testimony. They might have put the question distinctly to Mr. Cardin, junior, who as overseer of the estate, must have known the truth, and to Mr. J. Rawlins, the attending physician on the plantation: and had any doubt remained, it was palpably their duty to send for other free persons resident on the estate, whereby the truth of this simple fact might have been substantiated or disproved. It is inexplicable why these obvious means of inquiry were neglected."

Of the extraordinary presentment of the Grand Jury his Lordship states, that he had "perused it with extreme surprise." He then goes on to remark:---"They express their regret that a prosecution should have been founded upon what they term 'so frivolous a complaint;' yet the complaint which they thus designate as 'frivolous' was expressly stated in the indictment sent up to them, as nothing less than the confinement in the stocks of a female slave for twenty hours in each day, during a period of six months and eleven days. If it be said that such punishment was sanctioned by usage, and that its severity was rather nominal than real, it is to be remarked, that the Chief Justice in his charge to the Grand Jury, uses the following expressions: 'It is due to the cause of truth and justice to inform you, that the records of this Court, and the Court below, to which the punishment of slaves is more immediately confined, do not afford an instance of such severe and protracted punishment for any offence whatever.'

"The Grand Jury state that the charge was supported only by slender evidence; and that the feelings of an honourable, humane, and respectable man have been considerably wounded unnecessarily; and his

character, which from the evidence before us appears unimpeachable, attempted to be assailed.

"I am bound to give the gentlemen of the Grand Jury credit for the conscientious discharge of their duty, especially when I remember that this presentment was made under the sanction of an oath. But it is impossible not to observe, that as it is plainly no part of the functions of a Grand Jury to examine witnesses in favour of the accused, particularly as to general character and reputation, I am at a loss to understand on what this part of their presentment was founded.

"In conclusion the Grand Jury express 'indignation' at the course of proceeding adopted, and at the use of the public money in what they again term 'a frivolous and unfounded complaint;' observing, however, that they do not mean to cast any imputation on the character of the Attorney-general.

"It is far from my wish to use any expressions which could be painful to the feelings, or injurious to the reputation of any gentleman in the colony; but I cannot withhold the expression of my deepest regret that such proceedings as those on which I have observed should have occurred.

"I have not particularly adverted to the offence with which Betto Douglas was charged by Mr. Cardin, because it is not very easy, nor perhaps very material, to discover the precise nature of it. But it would appear from the language of Mr. Cardin himself, as quoted by Mr. William Wharton Rawlins, that she was kept in confinement, 'in consequence of her refusal to continue the payment of the hire' she had been in the habit of giving her master.

"If this was really the offence, it would be superfluous to observe how utterly the punishment was disproportionate to such an offence."

Of the justice and propriety of these observations every one must cordially approve; and the discountenance shewn in this case, both by Governor Maxwell and Lord Bathurst, to the oppressive spirit of the Colonial proprietary, and to the unrighteous spirit of the Colonial judicatures is highly creditable to his Majesty's Government. But the root of the evil lies too deep to be cured by such lenitive applications.

Even if we allow that the old woman's claims for enfranchisement were illusory (though supported by Lord Romney's former agent) what a picture does not this case present to us of the meanness, as well as the misery of the slave system! A poor worn-out female (for even the bench of magistrates recommend her to be employed only in light work) is refused the freedom which the strong recommendation of a former manager, and the reply of the noble proprietor had long led her to expect; and in order at the same time to silence her pretensions, and to wring from her the paltry pittance of nine pounds a year, to augment Earl Romney's income, this poor creature is first threatened with being flogged and worked in the field, and is afterwards imprisoned, and confined in the stocks for six continuous months.

She had already meritoriously exerted herself, while health and strength were continued to her, and before the ravages of age had enfeebled her frame, to effect the redemption of her two sons—magnanimously preferring their emancipation to her own. And when this

meritorious conduct had produced an impression on the agent of Lord Romney, and on his Lordship also, leading them to use language calculated to excite a confident expectation of receiving her own gratuitous manumission from the bounty of his Lordship---she is threatened, at her advanced age, with flogging and the field, for daring to prefer such a claim: and she is required, as the only means of escape from that, or from some still worse fate, to pay to Lord Romney a sum of three dollars and a half monthly, procure it as she may. She fails to fulfil the condition: and what is the result? She is incarcerated, on the sole authority of Lord Romney's agent. She is incarcerated, her feet in the stocks, with a brief interval in each day, night and day for six long months. And when an attempt is made, by course of law, to relieve this poor creature from such a merciless infliction, the grand jury (to say nothing of the magistracy) representing, without doubt, the predominant feeling of the white population of St. Christopher's, are roused to "indignation" by the attempt; stigmatize the prosecution as if it were a public nuisance; and reconsign the wretched Betto to the tender mercies and considerate care of Mr. Cardin.

We have often been accused of unfairly dwelling on individual instances of cruelty, as if they proved any thing more than that, in every community, there were to be found cruel individuals. We have been reproached on such occasions with Mother Brownrigg, or some other inmate of the murderer's cell in England. But suppose Betto's case had occurred on Lord Romney's estate in Kent, instead of his estate in St. Christopher's, and that, invested with his Lordship's authority, his bailiff had treated her as she has been treated by Mr. Cardin; and suppose a similar indictment had been preferred against the bailiff before the grand jury at Maidstone, what would have been the fate of that indictment, and what the situation of the bailiff, as compared with that of his colonial compeer? Would he have found the charge scouted as trivial; the bill on that ground ignored, though there was not, and could not be any opposing evidence; the prosecution denounced and presented as a nuisance; the respectability of the accused affirmed in the face of positive evidence establishing the facts of the case; and the wretched complainant remanded to the custody and uncontrolled authority, and arbitrary disposal of her oppressor? So far from this, the general indignation of the community would have been roused against the bailiff; and he might have deemed himself fortunate in escaping from the rage of the multitude without the loss of life or limb. Let us only imagine such a transaction to take place in England, where the peasantry, we are told, are far worse off than the slaves in the West Indies! Only suppose an elderly woman, the mother of a family, to be treated by any nobleman in the land, or by any nobleman's bailiff, as poor Betto was treated in St. Kitt's; and what could save the conduct of either the one or the other from the vengeance of the law, and from the universal execration of the community?

Can any thing shew more strongly than this contrast, which any Englishman may realize to himself, the state of feeling which exists in Colonial communities, as to all that affects the wretched slave, when his claims are brought into competition with the authority or the pride

or the interests of the master or manager; or when a black or a brown complexion, nay, when even a single tinge of African blood stands opposed, before a jury of planters, to the unlimited power, and the not-to-be questioned superiority of the white?

Let us mark too in this transaction the real source of those revenues, which enable the owners of West Indian estates to vie with the proudest nobles of the land in every luxurious enjoyment; which enable them even to purchase those seats in parliament that give security to their uncontrolled power of exaction; and thus enable them also to maintain a system which violates with impunity every obligation of justice and humanity, every maxim of constitutional law, and every precept of the gospel. The real source of those revenues is to be found in the compelling power of the whip and the stocks and the dungeon, which may, at will, be put in operation to secure to the absent owner an income of nine pounds a year from the toil of a wretched female, who has already worn out her strength, not only by the labours of nearly half a century for her master's benefit, but by effecting besides the redemption of her two sons from the stocks and the cartwhip; and the very dregs of whose age and feebleness are to be drained in contributing to his multiplied enjoyments, by toiling under a vertical sun, and under the whip of the driver, for his sole advantage.

Is it necessary to add one word more to the facts of the case? They speak more strongly than any comment could possibly do.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The Government of the United States have abolished the African slave trade, and have manifested a very laudable zeal in effecting its entire suppression, although their squeamishness as to the concession of a mutual right of search has tended greatly to impede the attainment of that object. But there is another species of slave trade, which is carried on to a great extent in the southern parts of the Union. Not only are numbers of free persons, both black and coloured, kidnapped, and carried into those Western States where slavery is permitted, and there sold into interminable bondage; but a system has risen up, by which in those states, where the soil has become so deteriorated as no longer to allow exportable produce to be profitably cultivated, the profit of the slave-holder arises from his breeding slaves for the new and more fertile states, where the productiveness of the soil promises to repay the costly expedient of slave-labour. There is something very revolting to any mind of feeling or principle in owing the necessaries and comforts of life to the forced and uncompensated labour of slaves. But the idea of deriving one's income from the rearing of human beings for sale, in the same way and on the same principles as horses or cattle, or pigs or sheep, are reared for the shambles, involves in it something inconceivably degrading, not only to the subjects of such an employment of capital, but to those whose capital is so employed. It is even affirmed, that the income of not a few of the statesmen and senators of the United States arises from this opprobrious source. Their slaves are employed in cultivating provisions chiefly for their own use, and the

profit of the proprietor is drawn from the sale of a certain proportion of their offspring to the Western traders, a mode of increasing his wealth attended with circumstances of the most demoralizing description, which have the effect of sinking the unhappy slave still nearer to the level of absolute brutality.

There is too much true religion and right feeling in the United States to permit such a system as this to proceed without the loudest reprobation. Accordingly, societies have been formed, at different times, with a view of testifying against its abominations, and of exciting efforts for their suppression throughout the Union. Among other means of awakening the dormant consciences of the Americans, a newspaper has been established at Baltimore, the capital of Maryland, itself a slave-holding state, which appears once a fortnight, and is entitled, "The Genius of Universal Emancipation." Its motto is taken from the declaration of American Independence, and is as follows: "We hold these truths to be self-evident---that all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights---that among these are, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

From this paper we propose to insert from time to time, a few miscellaneous extracts, which will serve to throw light, both on the atrocities of the internal American slave-trade, and the state of public feeling in the United States upon the subject.

SLAVE POPULATION IN THE WEST INDIES.

We have been attacked for giving an unfair and delusive view of the state of the slave population in the West Indies, and of the extent and causes of its decrease. Our reply will consist in an abstract of the statistical returns furnished by the colonists themselves, and which will be found fully to bear out our statements. This abstract is now in a state of preparation.

This, and all other publications of the Society, may be had at their office, 18, *Aldermanbury; or at Messrs. Hatchard's,* 187, *Piccadilly, and Arch's, Cornhill, They may also be procured, through any bookseller, or at the depôts of the Anti-Slavery Society throughout the kingdom.*

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WEST INDIAN STATISTICS;—EAST AND WEST INDIA TRADE;—CHRISTIANITY IN BARBADOES;—ANTI-SLAVERY IN AMERICA;—SLAVERY IN JAMAICA.

I.—West Indian Statistics.

A bold attempt having been made of late to refute the positions we have maintained, that the slave population of the West Indies is decreasing, and that such decrease is mainly connected with sugar-cultivation, it appears to be the least exceptionable mode of arriving at the truth, to exhibit in a tabular form the statistical facts, bearing on the subject, which may be gleaned from the returns furnished by the colonial authorities, and laid before parliament, since the beginning of 1823.* With respect to the actual amount of the slave population at the two periods chosen for comparison, viz. 1818 and 1824, we have followed, as closely as possible, the abstracts obtained from the Colonial Registry Office in London. As the registrations, however, from which these abstracts have been formed, took place in the different colonies very irregularly, it has not always been easy to make the table perfectly to conform in all its parts to the above period. In the case, however, of any colony where the registration, instead of having taken place in 1818, took place in 1817 or 1819, our plan has been to make the year of comparison in the former case 1823, and in the latter 1825 so as to have in every instance an interval of six years.

It is obvious, however, that a simple comparison of the amount of the population, at these two periods, will do little towards ascertaining

* The parliamentary documents from which the various particulars are drawn, are chiefly the following:—No. 89 of 4th March, and No. 347 of 14th May, 1823; No. 421 of 14th June, and No. 439 of 18th June, 1824; No. 350 and 353 of 9th May, and No. 400 of 19th May, 1826; and No. 127 and 128 of 1st March, 1827.

the actual increase or decrease of the whole slave population, or its comparative increase or decrease in each of the colonies, without a correct return of the number of the slaves manumitted, as well as of those who have been transferred from one colony to another, during the above term. The utmost pains have accordingly been taken to fix these data, although, as will be seen in the course of our inquiry, not always with perfect success. We shall take care to notify, as we proceed, the reasons we may have for suspecting inaccuracy in the returns.

These data, assuming them to be correct, will of course give us the *real* increase or decrease of the slave population, not only in the aggregate, throughout the whole of our West Indian Colonies, but in each colony separately, during the six years in question; and thence may be deduced, by a simple process, the rate of the annual increase or decrease in each colony. This we have calculated decimally, as being the most correct and intelligible mode of exhibiting it.

To make the table as complete as possible, we have added the average amount of sugar imported into Great Britain and Ireland for five years, being the years 1822 to 1826. Our reason for limiting it to these five years, and taking them as the basis of our calculation, is, that it is only for these particular years that we have been able to obtain the importations into Ireland, as well as into Great Britain. If we could have obtained the imports of sugar into Ireland for the years which precede the above period, we should have preferred an average of the six years from 1819 to 1824 inclusive, which would have exactly corresponded in point of time with the population returns, to that of the five years from 1822 to 1826, inclusive. At the same time, we are far from apprehending that by the substitution of the one for the other the result would be materially varied.—The last column exhibits, (also in the decimal form) the number of cwts. and parts of cwts. of sugar imported, into the united kingdom, from each colony, for each slave of its population.

We are well aware that no very minute or rigorous inferences can be drawn from this kind of comparison, necessarily attended as it is with some degree of uncertainty, and liable to be affected by a variety of causes, wholly independent of the particular species of cultivation in which the slaves may be engaged.* It will nevertheless be worth while to note the general results from such a comparison; and they seem to us to lead irresistibly to the conclusion of the comparatively deathful nature of sugar-cultivation, more especially in fertile soils.

The table is as follows:—

---

* Besides sugar, some of the Colonies produce large quantities of coffee, while others as Antigua, Barbadoes, Grenada, Montserrat, Nevis, St. Kitt's, St. Vincent's, Tobago, and Tortola, produce very little or none. Demarara produces about 35,000 cwt., Dominica about 12,000, Berbice about 20,000, Jamaica about 160,000, Trinidad about 2000, and St. Lucia about 1500, in each year. In the first four of these Colonies the quantity is sufficiently large to produce a considerable effect. From Demarara, there has also been an export of sugar to Holland, of which we have no account.

View of the INCREASE or DECREASE of the Slave Population of the West India Colonies, between 1818 *and* 1824.

Name of Colony.	Slave population in 1818.	Slave population in 1824.	Apparent increase in six years.	Apparent decrease in six years.	Manumissions in six years, 1819—1824.	Imports in six years.	Exports in six years.	Real increase in six years.	Real decrease in six years.	Rate of increase per annum, expressed in decimals.	Rate of decrease per annum, expressed in decimals.	Average annual import of Sugar into Great Britain and Ireland, for the 5 years, 1822 to 1826.	Proportion of Sugar for each slave, in cwts. and decimal parts of a cwt.
Antigua	32,269	30,314	—	1955	971	66	68	—	982	—	0.52	187,027	6.03
Bahamas	11,155	9,186	—	1969	281	96	3096	1312	—	2.18	—	none	—
Barbadoes	77,493	78,816	1323	—	617	133	308	2115	—	0.45	—	285,077	3.63
Berbice	23,768	21,614	—	2154	53	444	1979	—	566	—	0.41	56,137	2.45
Bermuda	5,176	5,176	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	none	—
Demerara	77,867	74,977	—	2890	206	6087	197	—	8574	—	1.90	597,243	8.00
Dominica	17,959	15,714	—	2245	311	—	1949	15	—	0.02	—	41,337	2.50
Grenada	28,059	24,972	—	3087	523	225	620	—	2169	—	1.37	222,601	8.70
Honduras	2,700	2,450	—	250	169	22	4	—	99	—	0.68	none	—
Jamaica	346,150	336,253	—	9897	2559	1286	606	—	8018	—	0.40	1,404,193	4.13
Montserrat	6,610	6,278	—	332	70	4	69	—	197	—	0.51	26,464	4.13
Nevis	9,602	9,140	—	462	60	—	64	—	338	—	0.60	48,010	5.10
St. Kitt's	20,137	18,639	—	1498	338	66	170	—	1056	—	0.90	94,988	5.00
St. Lucia	15,662	13,717	—	1945	645	—	—	—	1345	—	1.54	82,673	5.90
St. Vincents	25,218	23,830	—	1388	344	1566	840	—	1770	—	1.20	254,497	10.40
Tobago	15,890	13,683	—	2207	—	—	—	—	2207	—	2.45	114,111	8.15
Tortola	6,899	5,448	—	1451	99	6	1128	—	230	—	0.64	19,912	3.35
Trinidad	24,037	23,110	—	927	721	3662	—	—	3868	—	2.75	270,173	11.80
	746,651	713,317	1323	34,657	7,967	13,663	11,098	3442	31,419 3,442 27,977				

From this statement it appears that the whole decrease of the slave population in our West India colonies has amounted in six years to about 28,000, being $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent., or $\frac{5}{8}$ per cent. per annum. When we compare this with the growth of the slave population in the United States of America, where the increase proceeds at the rate of nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum, it involves a destruction of life equal to 3 per cent. per annum. At the American rate of increase the slave population of the British West Indies which in 1818 was 746,651, ought in 1824 to have been 858,648. Its actual amount in that year was only 713,317, leaving a deficit of 145,331, as compared with that rate of increase, which, with all the common disadvantages of a state of bondage, marks the superiority of the United States in the physical treatment of their slaves, and especially in respect to the larger quantity of their food, and the smaller portion of labour exacted from them; for on these must the rate of increase or decrease mainly depend. Now there must be something peculiarly deleterious in the British colonial system which can produce such fearful results—results which form of themselves a complete answer to every attempt, however confidently made, and by whatever *shew* of evidence supported, which goes to exculpate that system from the charge of cruelty, or to represent its administration as humane and lenient.

But to return to the table, on which a few remarks will be necessary.—From Bermuda there is no information that can be relied upon beyond the amount of its population in 1818. In the absence of that information, we assume it to be the same in 1824, calculating that the manumissions and the exports, whatever they may be, may be equal to the probable increase during that time.—The slave population of Honduras is said to be *about* 2700 in 1818 and 2468 in 1823. We have taken it at 2450 in 1824. The manumissions are stated to have been 141 in five years. We assume them to have been 169 in six years. The rate of mortality is certainly higher than we should have expected, were it not that the male slave population is double that of the female, only one-third of the whole slave population being females.

In Jamaica we have the manumissions in an intelligible shape only for five years, namely, from 1821 to 1825 inclusive, and they amount to 2133. We assume the manumissions for six years to be a fifth more, namely, 2559.

In the case of St. Lucia the manumissions are also given only for the five years from 1821 to 1825. We have added to that number for the year preceding, 1820, the number manumitted in 1821. No account is given of the exports and imports of slaves from and to this island. Whether that omission will account for its great rate of mortality we know not, but it is very large in proportion to its produce.

From Tobago we are without any proper account either of the manumissions effected, or of the imports and exports of slaves. These, if known, might probably reduce the enormous rate of decrease in this island, which is larger than that of any other colony, excepting Trinidad.

It is obvious that the returns of the transfer of slaves from one colony to another are imperfect. The number *imported* into the different colonies is 13,663. The number *exported* ought, of course, to

correspond with the imports, but it is only 11,098. An excess of 2565 is therefore to be accounted for. These may have been exported from the colonies of Bahama, Bermuda, Berbice, Dominica, St. Lucia, Tobago, and Tortola. It would be vain, however, to speculate on the portion of that export which belonged to each of these different colonies. If it could be known, it would probably add to the rate of increase in Bahama, Bermuda, and Dominica, and lessen the rate of decrease in Berbice, St. Lucia, Tobago, and Tortola. The general result, however, is in no way affected by this uncertainty. The aggregate decrease in the whole of the Islands will remain the same, although its rate in particular colonies might be modified by a more correct return of the slaves exported from each.

Having made these general observations, we shall now advert to some further particulars respecting each of the West Indian colonies, which we think may throw additional light on their real circumstances. Most of these particulars have already appeared in the Reporter, No. 19, to which we beg to refer. It will nevertheless, be convenient, for the purpose of easier reference, to arrange some of them in a tabular form. The returns, however, of the white and the free coloured population are so very defective, that in stating it, we have been obliged for the most part, to proceed, not upon clear documentary evidence, but on the best information we have been able to procure. The dubious numbers are all marked with an asterisk to denote their being conjectural, and not the result of actual official returns.

Name of Colony.	White Population, 1824.	Free Black, and Coloured Population. 1824.	Paupers, 1821—1825.		Number of Marriages of Slaves, 1818 to 1825.	Number of Slaves sold in execution, 1818 to 1825.	Average price of Slaves sold. 1821 to 1825.	
			White.	Free Black, and Coloured.			£.	s.
Antigua	*2000	3895	no return	no return	none	no return	—	
Bahamas....	*700	2199	13	15	7	83	21	16
Barbadoes ..	*16000	*4500	1098	1	1	1773	28	0
Berbice	*600	835	17	2	none	449	90	0
Bermuda ...	*1800	*500	no return	no return	no return	no return	—	
Demarara ...	*2500	4727	51	26	none	3678	86	0
Dominica ...	*800	3102	30	10	129	854	30	0
Grenada	883	3497	none	none	14	2119	30	16
Honduras ...	*150	1750	2	5	1	†151	62	15
Jamaica ‡...	*25000	*35000	295	148	6049	5158	45	12
Montserrat..	*500	685	no return	no return	none	no return	—	
Nevis	*800	*1800	25	2	5	155	35	0
St. Kitt's....	*1800	*2500	115	14	18	611	24	3
St. Lucia ...	1105	3036	none	none	none	no return	—	
St. Vincent's	1301	2824	no return	no return	4	948	16	15
Tobago	*550	*1500	none	none	none	no return	—	
Tortola	*400	607	29	4	none	209	17	10
Trinidad	*3500	*15000	none	none	12	2148	no return	

† These sales in execution go no farther back than 1821. If the same proportion for three years more were added, it would make 241.

‡ Jamaica, it will be seen, exhibits a large number of marriages as compared

From the above statistical details, a few plain inferences seem fairly deducible.

1. It is evident that the slave-population of the West Indies continues to decrease.

This single fact we hold to establish incontrovertibly against the system of slavery prevailing in our colonies, the charge of cruelty, and to disprove the evidence which has been alleged in favour of its general lenity. The treatment of the slaves, we are confidently told, has greatly improved of late. Who are they who tell us so? They are the resident planters, the very men whose character and conduct are involved in the question, and who have not only now, but in every successive stage of this discussion, from 1787 downwards, used precisely the same language. The declarations of the colonial legislatures, of the resident planters, of naval and military officers, of medical men, and even of clergymen, were to the full as strong in favour of the lenity of the system in the early periods of the controversy as in the present day. One main cause of this unvarying eulogy, doubtless is, that, at all times, men, who are interested in upholding any system, are found very dexterous in palliating every circumstance connected with it which might endanger its stability. It is obvious that this tendency will be greatly increased, when those who have an interest in the system are actually engaged in its administration. Their reputation is then involved in its defence. Their pride and self-love impel them to support it, and to resent every attack upon it as a personal attack on themselves. But besides this, it is perfectly natural that men should mistake the growing and almost unavoidable diminution of their own sensibility to its evils for an improvement of the system itself. They can recollect the horror and disgust they felt when first introduced to the sight of the human team in the field—to the driver and his cart-whip, the stocks and the hot-house, the indecent exposures, and the merciless lacerations, which form component parts of the system. Ten or twenty years have quieted these involuntary risings of nature. The sights which originally shocked them have become familiar. At first they were mere spectators, they have since become the administrators of slavery; and they are willing to flatter themselves that the abatement of the pain they once experienced in contemplating it, is to be ascribed, not to that growing callousness of feeling which necessarily springs from familiarity, but to the amelioration of the system under their own more lenient and improved

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with all the other West India colonies. But of that number, 4640 took place in two parishes, Kingston, and St.Thomas in the East, and 405 in a third parish, St. Andrew's; in which three parishes the Wesleyan Methodists had long established their missions. In the other eighteen parishes, the marriages in 18 years were 1004; and their population being about 290,000, this amounts to about *one* annually among each 5000 slaves. For the division of these among the different parishes, see Reporter, No. 19. p. 268.

The account of sales in execution from this island has reference only to the years 1818 to 1822 inclusive. If extended, at the same ratio, to the remaining three years of the series, the number would amount to 8253. Besides the slaves sold in execution, 550 slaves were seized and sold for taxes, in Jamaica, during the years 1821—1825, the average value of each of whom, at public sale, was 45*l.* 12*s.* sterling.

management. We do not deny that in particular cases great improvements may have been intended and attempted; but we doubt whether even in these cases much has been effected. But there has been no proof exhibited hitherto, beyond the vague declarations of interested parties, to warrant the belief, that, either in law or in practice, colonial slavery has undergone any substantial amelioration. In this absence of all satisfactory affirmative evidence, the negative evidence arising from *decrease of population*, seems quite conclusive, even if we had not had given to us any of those recent instances of oppressive legislation and of cruel practice, which stand recorded in the preceding Numbers of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.* Even the population of Great Britain and Ireland, whom the West Indians represent as starving, *increase*,—while the peasantry of the West Indies, whom they describe as well-fed, and slightly worked; as living happily, and even luxuriously, are decreasing. These too decrease, while the free Maroons on the mountains of Jamaica, though unhappily strangers to the vaunted blessings enjoyed by the slaves around them, increase; nay, they have continued to decrease, while the "*wretched*" and "*oppressed*" inhabitants of Hayti have been more than doubling their numbers; and while among the slaves of the United States, the increase has been rapidly progressive.—The climate of Jamaica and that of Hayti are the same. In Jamaica, the negro population has been diminishing from year to year. In Hayti, the negro population has doubled its numbers in about twenty years, (from 1805 to 1825;) its amount being now about a million. That of Jamaica, which in the same period of time, and at the same ratio of increase, ought to have risen to upwards of 700,000; does not exceed 335,000. There is, therefore, a positive waste of life occasioned by the Jamaica system, as compared with that of Hayti, even on its limited scale of population, of 365,000 human beings in twenty years. How is this phenomenon to be explained? It can be explained only in one way. The toil of the Jamaica negro is uncompensated: it is extracted from him by the impulse of the lash: he is overworked: he is underfed.—The toil of the Haytian negro is amply rewarded: it is voluntary: his labour is suited to his strength, and his food is measured by his wants. The negro in Jamaica is an inferior animal, divested of all civil and political existence, and who dares not raise an arm, in defence of his property or even of his life, against the meanest white person in the island. The negro in Hayti is a member of the state, and is amenable only to the law which protects him, and which negroes, chosen by himself, have framed for the common good.

2. It is evident that, independently of the other evils of slavery, sugar-planting generally, as it is conducted in the British West Indies, is decidedly unfriendly to human life. This arises, in part, from the oppressive labour which attends the digging of the trenches for receiving the cane, and which is executed not by ploughs and cattle, but by men and women; and, in part, from the privation of their natural rest, to which the slaves are subjected in crop time, extending to a period of four or five months of the year, during which they are obliged to labour for half the night as well as for the whole of the day.

* See particularly No. 5, 6, 11, 16, 18, 19, and 25.

3. It is further evident that the destructive influence, on human life, of sugar-planting as it is carried on in the West Indies, is aggravated by that very circumstance of fertility of soil, which seems most to swell the gains of the planter; and, on the same principle, is further aggravated by the extent of the protection afforded to his produce against competitors, and of the bounties allowed to him upon it. It is not only that these advantages enable him to live at a distance from his slaves, who are thus left to the care of mere hirelings; but that they form a strong temptation to an increased exaction of slave labour. Accordingly we find, that where the lands are most productive, yielding the largest return for the labour of each slave, and a proportionately larger share of whatever gain arises from protection and bounty, the ratio of mortality is the highest. We do not mean to say that the advantages of the planter, and the mortality of the slave, bear such a uniform relation to each other, as may be made the subject of a very exact calculation. The general tendency of things, however, is not the less apparent. If we inspect the first of the tables inserted above, it is impossible not to be struck with the mortality which takes place in Demarara, Grenada, St. Vincent's, Tobago, and Trinidad, the very colonies which produce by far the largest quantities of sugar, in proportion to their population; as compared with any of the other colonies, and particularly with Barbadoes and Dominica, which raise comparatively little sugar, and with the Bahamas, which raise none at all. If any of our readers are desirous of investigating the principle which thus connects the gains of the planter, and the high prices of his produce, with the misery and mortality of his slaves, we would only refer them to the second Report of the Anti-Slavery Society, pp. 16—33; and to the Reporters, No. 19, pp. 283—285; No. 22, p. 321, 322; and No. 24, p. 386.—If we are correct in the view we have taken of this subject, shall we blame those, as guilty of exaggeration who affirm, though in strong language, that the sugar of our plantations is produced by the blood of the slaves; or, as unreasonably squeamish, who object to aggravate the evil, either by consuming that sugar themselves, or by acquiescing in those fiscal regulations which factitiously enhance its value? This view of the subject supplies, moreover, a satisfactory answer to the argument, on which too many repose as a justification of their supineness in this cause, namely, that it is so obviously the interest of the master to treat his slaves well, that no foreign interference is required to that end; for it shews that various adventitious circumstances may concur, as unhappily they do concur in the case of our sugar Colonies, to bring the profit of the master and the well-being of the slave into direct and immediate collision.

4. The progress of manumission in the different Colonies is another subject of curious inquiry. We will not pretend to say in what degree it has been affected by the comparative fertility of the soil, and the consequent high price of slaves; or by the taxes formerly imposed on manumission, and which of course operated in the same way as a high price; or by what other causes conjoined with these. But the following facts, connected with the subject, are worth preserving. We resort again to the tabular form for exhibiting them.

Name of the Colony.	Rate per cent., expressed in decimals, of manumissions in six years, 1819,–1825, on the whole population.	Average price of Slaves in sterling money.	Sterling amount of taxes and fees payable in 1821—1825, on each manumission.
		£. s.	£. s. d.
Antigua . . .	3.00	—	1 16 0
Bahamas . . .	2.50	21 16	0 5 0
Barbadoes. . .	0.80	28 0	34 7 6
Berbice . . .	0.25	90 0	39 5 0
Demarara . . .	0.26	86 0	30 5 0
Dominica . . .	1.75	30 0	8 15 0
Grenada . . .	1.84	30 16	1 18 0
Honduras * . .	6.00	62 15	0 10 6
Jamaica . . .	0.74	45 12	0 7 6 & 2*s.* 6*d.* per sheet.
Montserrat . .	1.06	—	
Nevis	0.65	35 0	2*s.* per sheet
St. Kitt's . . .	1.69	24 3	0 11 0
St. Lucia . . .	4.15	—	before 1824, £42
		16 15	now, £2 7s.
St. Vincent's . .	1.35	17 10	4 0 0
Tortola . . .	1.50	—	0 19 6
Trinidad . . .	3.00		no tax.

5. It is further evident, that all the alarms, respecting the effect of manumissions in producing pauperism, which formerly furnished the pretext for imposing a tax upon them, and which is still one of the reasons alleged for resisting the compulsory manumission clause, have no foundation whatever in fact. In a free black and coloured population, amounting to about 88,000, only 227 appear to have received even occasional relief as paupers, being one in each 387 individuals; while of about 63,400 whites, 1675 have received such relief, being one in 38. The whole of the manumitted slaves and their descendants, therefore, in the West Indian Colonies, are placed more above want than even the whites; and it is well known that a large proportion of them are industrious and wealthy, notwithstanding the many civil and political disabilities by which their efforts are most unjustly and injuriously repressed.

6. It is unnecessary to advert to the very low state of religious and moral feeling in the West Indies, which is evinced by the small number of marriages of slaves in the different Colonies, and by the general absence of all legal sanctions to such marriages; circumstances which incontestably establish the prevalent disregard of the colonial legislatures, and the colonial proprietary, to the best interests of the slave population. We see again in this fact a confutation of that argument, which

* In Honduras the slaves are not only fed by the master, but they have two days of the week, Saturday and Sunday to themselves. This accounts for the large proportion of manumissions in that Colony, notwithstanding the comparatively high price which slaves bear.

would lead us implicitly to rely on the master, for either clearly perceiving his own interests, or for promoting those of his slave.

7. There is only one other point, connected with the above details, to which we would now again direct the attention of our readers, and it is this singular fact already touched upon in the Reporter, No. 19;—namely, that while the mortality of the slaves seems to keep pace with the productiveness of the soil, and the consequent high profits of the master, the distress of the planter seems also to run parallel with those apparently favourable circumstances in his lot. The proportion of slaves, sold in execution, is greatest in those Colonies where their price is the highest and the quantity of produce they rear the largest. This may only prove, perhaps, that the more fortunate adventurers in the West Indian lottery, are incited, like all other gamblers, by their very success, to indulge in habits of greater profusion, and to become more careless and improvident in the management of their affairs. But even if this should be the real solution of the phenomenon, does it not still shew that the natural course of the moral government of the world is framed with a singular aptitude to disappoint the cupidity of those, whose object it is to enrich themselves by the rigorous exaction of the uncompensated labour of their fellow-creatures?

II.—East and West India Trade.

From a Paper ordered to be printed by the House of Commons on the 15th of May, 1827, No. 345, we extract the following particulars of the East and West India Trade.

Exports from the United Kingdom to the East Indies, China, &c.

Year.	Total Value. Official.	Manufactured Cottons of all kinds. Yards.	Value of manufactured Cottons. Official.
1814	£1,696,404	818,208	£88,195
1815	2,064,566	1,355,476	109,644
1816	2,185,642	1,705,758	142,811
1817	2,779,626	5,316,729	432,123
1818	3,185,751	8,842,046	698,817
1819	2,373,556	7,127,661	556,116
1820	3,272,811	14,325,276	1,138,701
1821	4,303,045	19,896,014	1,531,293
1822	3,875,934	20,741,843	1,639,001
1823	4,355,431	23,291,734	1,741,057
1824	4,394,800	24,524,573	1,765,346
1825	3,945,076	23,059,283	1,715,222
1826	4,877,133	26,225,103	2,066,596

Exports from the United Kingdom to the West Indies.

Year.	Total Value. Official.	Manufactured Cottons of all kinds. Yards.	Value of manufactured Cottons. Official.
1814	£6,622,138	32,878,565	£2,975,067
1815	7,196,081	38,338,786	3,454,549
1816	4,853,228	21,624,669	1,988,902
1817	7,015,591	42,062,402	3,724,380
1818	5,989,707	30,843,995	2,671,934
1819	4,692,414	17,936,644	1,551,203
1820	4,561,246	19,676,487	1,689,882
1821	5,311,677	27,037,914	2,341,425
1822	4,370,100	20,389,362	1,739,938
1823	4,899,271	24,787,214	2,107,376
1824	5,167,931	27,551,050	2,301,931
1825	4,997,270	27,211,696	2,346,787
1826	4,647,293	19,292,606	1,648,979

Official Value of Imports into the United Kingdom from the East and West Indies.*

Year.	East Indies.	West Indies.
1814	£6,298,386	9,022,309
1815	8,038,736	8,903,260
1816	8,310,697	7,847,895
1817	7,687,278	8,326,926
1818	7,337,689	8,608,790
1819	7,537,563	8,188,539
1820	7,562,647	8,354,512
1821	6,233,571	8,367,477
1822	5,106,400	8,019,764
1823	6,918,540	8,425,259
1824	7,312,355	9,065,546
1825	6,582,058	7,932,832
1826	8,002,838	8,283,507

* There is much uncertainty in these official values. Coffee from the West Indies, for example, is valued at 7*l.* per cwt., when its real average value is not 3*l.* per cwt. Indigo, on the other hand, from the East Indies, is valued at 2*s.* 9*d.* per lb., when its real average value is at least double that sum. The import of that article in 1826 was 7,673,110 lbs. The difference of value is 1,088,125*l.* on that article alone, which ought to be added to the East Indian valuation; whereas, for the 226,000 cwt. of coffee imported from the West Indies, there ought to be a deduction of 904,000*l.* at least, thus altering the comparative amounts to the extent of two millions in favour of the East Indies.

III.—Christianity in Barbadoes.

The Rev. W. M. Harte, the Rector of the parish of St. Lucy in this island, the same individual who dared, two years ago, to intermarry the only couple of slaves ever married in Barbadoes, has given some fresh cause of mortal offence to his parishioners. Accordingly, on the 21st day of April 1827, a meeting of the Vestry, called by public advertisement "to take into consideration the highly improper conduct of Mr. Harte in the performance of his duties," took place, Sir R. A. Alleyne in the chair; who, we are told, "in a most feeling, impressive, and eloquent manner, expressed his sentiments of the unexampled and glaring misconduct of the Rector." "His behaviour was such as to excite feelings of a very opposite nature than should be entertained for a minister of the Gospel, a disciple of that Christ who taught humility and obedience to those whose civil condition had placed them in subordinate situations." A Mr. Griffith affirmed, that though "the Rector had had every encouragement afforded him, on his first undertaking to instruct the black population, he was now sorry to say, his late conduct did not merit the confidence of their proprietors, as his doctrines were subversive of that order which should exist between master and slave." And a Mr. O'Neale expressed his "indignation at the insults offered the parishioners by the Rector."—These angry and criminatory speeches were followed by a set of resolutions, unanimously adopted by the Meeting, to this effect.

Resolved, 1*st*.—"That the inhabitants of this parish are fully impressed with the importance of imparting religious knowledge to their slaves, and are ready to afford them all safe facilities of obtaining *this kind* of instruction.

2*nd*.—"That in all communities, distinctions of rank are necessary to the safety and well-being of society, and more especially in such a one as ours, where the hand of nature has drawn a mark of distinction between the proprietor of the soil and his dependants.

3*rd*.—"That any attempts proceeding from the ministers of religion to destroy these distinctions, to amalgamate and level the two classes of our country, must tend to endanger the safety and property of the white inhabitants, and cannot be otherwise than injurious to the civil condition and religious improvement of the black population, by exciting in their minds discontent and views inconsistent with their situation; and in the proprietors a just jealousy against the designs and motives of those who are appointed to the office of the religious instruction of their slaves.

4*th*.—"That it is with deep concern that the inhabitants of this parish have observed the frequent attempts made, by the rector of the parish, to destroy the distinctions which they deem so necessary to their safety; more especially evinced by his offensive sermon on Easter Sunday, and his disgraceful conduct whilst administering the most Holy Sacrament of the Lord's supper, thereby endeavouring to alienate their slaves from a sense of their duty, by inculcating doctrines of equality inconsistent with their obedience to their masters and the policy of this island.

5th.—"That the inhabitants are therefore under the painful necessity of declaring thus unequivocally their determination to refuse the Rev. Wm. M. Harte admission into their estates, and to prevent, as much as possible, all intercourse between him and their slaves.

6th.—"That copies of these Resolutions be sent to his Excellency the Governor and the Lord Bishop of the Diocese, and that the inhabitants of this parish venture to hope that his Lordship will restore the peace and tranquillity of the parish by adopting such measures as may, in his wisdom, seem expedient to relieve them from those insults and injuries of which they so justly complain—a termination of which, can only be effected by the removal of Mr. Harte, the present incumbent, who has deservedly lost the confidence, respect, and regard of every white inhabitant in this parish."

We have read over and over again what is reported to have passed on this occasion, in order to discover, if possible, what might be the specific offence for which the Reverend Rector of St. Lucy has been thus visited with the ire of his white parishioners; but we remain wholly in the dark respecting it. Was it that the transactions so obscurely alluded to, were of a kind which it would not have been very creditable to these Barbadian Christians to have more distinctly specified? Did they feel it more convenient to deal in general abuse than to state facts? Or were the crimes which have led to these vindictive denunciations nameless? Had Mr. Harte ventured to preach to his hearers from either of these texts; "Remember the Sabbath-day to keep it holy;"—or, "Masters give unto your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that ye also have a master in heaven;" "neither is there respect of persons with him;"—or, "As ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them; for this is the law and the prophets?" Or did he endeavour to impress it on the minds of white and black alike that, whatever distinctions might exist between them on earth, none would exist in heaven except what resulted from "faith working by love" and obedience to God? Or did he invite browns and blacks, as well as whites, to approach the table of the Lord, and to eat of that bread and drink of that cup which shadows forth their common salvation? It must have been some such heinous offence as this, too horrid to be even named, which has brought down vengeance on the devoted head of Mr. Harte. Sensuality, intemperance, profaneness, neglect of pastoral duties, might have passed as venial infirmities; but such daring attempts to destroy the necessary distinctions between black and white, deserve nothing less than exclusion from all intercourse, whether with bond or free, in the island of Barbadoes.

IV.—Anti-Slavery in America.

Extracts from the Genius of Universal Emancipation.

"The following advertisement is taken from a late New Orleans paper, and is copied that our readers may have an idea of the cruelties and indignities to which the hapless African is too often subjected:—

"NINETY-EIGHT NEGROES FOR SALE.—The subscriber has just received by the brig Lady Monroe, from Baltimore, *Ninety-Eight Negroes;* amongst which are a number of prime field hands—a blacksmith—a rough carpenter—a bricklayer—carriage drivers—house servants—sempstress and washer-woman. All of which will be sold low for cash, or on short credit for good paper, by

JOHN WOOLFOLK, (of Baltimore.)
122, Chartres-st. New Orleans.

"Mr. John Woolfolk, the man whose name is attached to the foregoing advertisement, has, for a series of years, been engaged in the Domestic Slave Trade. His very appearance strikes the hapless negro with terror and dismay. He was concerned in the cargo of slaves who recently mutinied whilst on their passage from Louisville to New Orleans, and put to death the crew of the barge that was conducting them to their destined abodes of pain and misery. Recently he flourished in Baltimore during a riot, when an attempt was made to rivet the chains of legal bondage on two or three kidnapped negroes, who had, through the agency of their friends, made an effort to escape from their cruel and hard-hearted oppressor. He is a man dead to every ennobling principle; and it is hoped that he will yet pay the penalty due to every wretch who follows such an infamous vocation.

"It is time that a stop were put to the Domestic Slave Trade, and as some of the slave-holding states have already suppressed it, it is hoped that the remainder of them will follow the example, and thus for ever destroy a traffic, which is equally repugnant to every principle of humanity, and to our free institutions. By this advertisement it will be seen, that human beings, composed of like materials with ourselves, are sold at the south like merchandize—treated like brutes of creation—contemned and despised, simply because it pleased an all-wise Creator to give them a black complexion."

We give, as a proof of the interest which the subject excites at the present moment in the United States, the following further extracts:

"Within the space of about three weeks, accounts have been received, at the office of the Genius of Universal Emancipation, of the formation of TWELVE new associations, upon the plan of the Anti-Slavery Society of Maryland."

"Some of these associations are not yet completely organized, but are expected to be in a short time. Of the different religious professors, who are engaged in the good work, the Methodists and Friends are the most active. Yet there are many Presbyterians and Baptists, and a few of other denominations, who have turned their attention to it.

"It may truly be said that there never was a period mentioned in the history of the United States, when the tenth part was done (if we except the time when the 'Missouri Question' agitated the stagnant pool of the public mind,) relative to the investigation of the subject of slavery, that is now doing. The *people* are rousing from their lethargy; and as their eyes are turned towards the horrible object, they *must* perceive its barbarous, oppressive, and dangerous tendency. They will then arise in their might, and raze to the ground the towering fabric of oppression and cruelty. No half-way measures—no time-serving policy will do when the public mind becomes duly enlightened. Our great schemers, who direct public affairs, and are willing to do any thing upon this subject that sounds large, and *leaves the evil untouched*, must go to work properly in a way that will be effectual, or they will find themselves speedily shorn of their influence and permitted to frequent the walks of private life.

"In short, it is hoped that the advocates of universal emancipation will take courage and renew their labours in the holy cause. They cannot fail of success if they persevere in their undertakings."

The following is one of the rules of the Reformed Methodist Church of the United States.

"*Article 8th.* No person holding a slave, shall be admitted into society, on any condition. Any member of the society, buying a slave, shall be immediately expelled from it. All persons receiving money, as heirs, in consequence of the sale of slaves, shall be immediately expelled from the society."

We have also, in the same paper, a spirited appeal to the religious of every name, of which this is a brief extract :—

"Where are all the societies denominated christian? Where are those churches that have raised their voices in behalf of the political rights of white men? Are they invoking the constituted authorities of our country in behalf of the greatest sufferers of the race of man? are they imploring relief for the victims of oppression and avarice? Are the professed ministers of religion faithfully unveiling to their fellow men the unhallowed and abominable fruits of slavery? Do they show them in language not to be misconstrued, the absolute impossibility of being Christians and slaveholders at the same time? And do they thereby excite among their hearers the spirit of inquiry, the spirit of humanity and justice, towards this oppressed and deeply injured race? Do they show them that to live by a perpetual warfare, robbery, and plunder, is not only anti-christian but devilish; and that such as are in the daily practice of oppressing the weak and outraging their just and inalienable rights—are perverting the order of God—and that where He is, they never can appear? "They that are unjust let them be unjust still," is a denunciation most appropriate in this instance, for principles never change: the names may change. Was this the case, were the high professors of religion honestly and fearlessly to embark in the cause of peace and righteousness on earth, there would unquestionably be less profession of religion or less slavery; for it is a truth that cannot be denied, that two such heterogeneous plants as Religion and Slavery cannot subsist in the same soil."

V.—Slavery in Jamaica.

We have often called the attention of the public to the Jamaica Gazettes, and the evidence they contain of the abominations of the Slave system. The following extracts from one of the latest which has reached us, namely that of the 5th of May, 1827, will shew how little improvement has yet been effected.

Portland, May 2, 1827.
Venditionis returnable June Grand Court, 1827.

Edmund Phillips, a black, a carpenter; aged 31 years.
Charles Phillips, ditto, ditto; aged 29 years.
James Phillips, ditto, a field-negro; aged 44 years.
Jane Phillips, ditto, ditto; aged 34 years.
Frances Phillips, ditto, a drudge; aged 10 years.
Margery Phillips, ditto; aged 8 years.
Catherine Williams, ditto; aged 5 years.
William Knox, ditto; aged 2 years.
An Infant, ditto; aged 1 month.
Eleanor Thomas, ditto, a field negro; aged 37 years.
Charlotte Wilson, ditto; aged 10 years.
Robert E. Phillips, ditto; aged 7 years.
Mary Ann Phillips, ditto; aged 4 years.
William Phillips, ditto; aged 2 years.
Elizabeth Phillips, ditto, a drudge; aged 38 years.
Sarah Phillips, ditto, ditto; aged 14 years.
George Phillips, a sambo; aged 4 years.
An Infant, a black; aged 2 months.
Selina Phillips, ditto, a field negro; aged 23 years.
Harriet Phillips, ditto, ditto; aged 20 years.
Mary Fisher, ditto; aged 4 years.
Sarah Valentine, ditto; aged 2 years.
Richard Miller, ditto; aged 8 months.
Ann Phillips, ditto, a drudge; aged 49 years.

Sam, ditto, an invalid; aged 48 years.
William Allen, a black, a waiting boy; aged 14 years.
Henry, ditto, ditto; aged 11 years.
Leonard Whitehard, a sambo, ditto; aged 14 years.
Sam James, ditto, ditto; aged 10 years.
Hannah Franks, a black, a drudge; aged 15 years.

We add a few new specimens of apprehended runaways, *viz.*—

In Kingston Workhouse, May 4, 1827.

Liverpool, a Naga, 5 feet 7 inches, has a large sore on the small of the right leg, to Mr. Thomson, Morant-Bay.

William, alias John William, a young creole negro man, 5 feet 1½ inch, has lost some of his upper front teeth, and has a large scar near the small of the left leg, and wears an ear-ring in the left ear; he says that he is a Maroon of Moore-Town, which is much doubted, as he does not know the name of the Superintendent, nor has he any ticket or document to shew that he is a Maroon; now says that his mother's name was Bessy, and was a Maroon of Accompong-Town, and that he has been told he was her first child, but that she died before he could walk, since which time he has been staying with a free black man, named Clark, who lived with his mother, and resided at Santa-Cruz Park, St. Elizabeth's, at which place he was born.

John Williams, a creole negro man, 5 feet 5½ inches, lost one of his upper front teeth, says that he is free. and that he was born at Free-Town, Clarendon, that his grandmother, whose name was Old Amelia (now dead), was free, before his mother (who is now living at Free Town, and whose name is Sarah), was born; ordered by the sitting Magistrates to be detained until he produces some document of his freedom.

In St. James's Workhouse, April 27, 1827.

James Campbell, a creole, 5 feet 3 inches, marked apparently MEYLERS-FIELD on right shoulder, to Meylersfield estate.

John, a Moco, 5 feet 3 inches, to Mr. Enley, Buff-river plantation, St. Mary's.

Joe, a creole, 5 feet 6¼ inches, marked TH on right shoulder.

Betsey, a Bermudian, 5 feet 3 inches, white scars on throat and breast, to Mr. Hilton, Comfort-Hall.

In Port-Royal Workhouse, April 19, 1827.

John Hercules, a creole, 5 feet 8 inches, no mark, to Prospect, St. Thomas in the East.

Edwin Scott, a creole, 5 feet 5½ inches, says he is free, but can produce no document thereof, says that Mr. Moncrieff, of St. Ann's, is his guardian; when taken up he had a ticket for six months, signed by Wm. Davidson.

Jamaica, a creole, 5 feet 4¾ inches, marked GOE on right shoulder, has a cut over the forehead, to Mr. Rennie, Pigeon-Hill, St. John's,

In St. Thomas' in the Vale Workhouse, May 2, 1827.

John Sharp, a Mundingo, 5 feet 4 inches, has a withered arm, says he is a discharged soldier of the 5th West-India Regiment, but has no document thereof.

Tom Park, a creole, 5 feet 5 inches, says he is free, but has no document thereof.

William Thompson, an Eboe, 5 feet 6 inches, says he is free, but has no document thereof; that he is a discharged soldier from the 2d West-India Regiment by Major Wilkie, and that his papers are at Holland Bay.

London: Bagster and Thoms, 14, Bartholomew Close.

ANTI-SLAVERY
MONTHLY REPORTER.

No. 27.] For AUGUST, 1827. [No. 3. Vol. ii.

The "Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter" will be ready for delivery on the first day of every month. Copies will be forwarded at the request of any Anti-Slavery Society, at the rate of four shillings per hundred, when not exceeding half a sheet, and in proportion, when it exceeds that quantity. All persons wishing to receive a regular supply are requested to make application to the Secretary, at the Society's office, No. 18, Aldermanbury, and mention the conveyance by which they may be most conveniently sent. Single Copies may be had of all booksellers and newsmen, at the rate of 1*d.* per half-sheet of eight pages, or 2*d.* per sheet of sixteen pages.

THE PETITION AND MEMORIAL OF THE PLANTERS OF DEMARARA AND BERBICE ON THE SUBJECT OF MANUMISSION, EXAMINED.*

In pursuance of the Resolutions adopted by Parliament in May, 1823, on the subject of Slavery, his Majesty's Government introduced into Trinidad, by an Order of Council, a law to the following effect:—That in case any Slave shall be desirous to purchase the freedom of himself or herself, or of his or her wife or husband or child or brother or sister, or reputed wife or husband or child or brother or sister, it shall and may be lawful for any such Slave so to purchase the freedom of himself or of any such other person as aforesaid; and if the owner of the Slave shall be unwilling to effect his or her manumission; or shall be unable to execute a valid manumission; or shall not be known, or be disputed; or if the owner demand, as the price of freedom, a greater sum of money than may be the fair and just value of such Slave, then the Chief Judge, after issuing certain notices and summonses, shall cause the Protector of Slaves and the owner to nominate each an appraiser, the Judge himself nominating an umpire, who on their oaths, shall make a fair and impartial appraisement; and the amount of such appraised value being duly paid either to the owner, or, if the ownership be in dispute, to the Treasurer of the Colony, for the benefit of the real owner, such Slave shall be free to all intents and purposes whatsoever.—This is the substance of the law on the subject of manumission, omitting the more formal details of the enactment.

His Majesty's Government having imposed the above law on the colony of Trinidad, required that it should also be adopted in the colonies of Demarara and Berbice. With this requisition the Court of Policy of Demarara positively refused to comply; on which Lord Bathurst, on the 9th July, 1825, intimated to them, that his Majesty's Government regarded the clause respecting manumission which they had so absolutely rejected, as "a vital part of their whole measure"

* A Pamphlet, bearing this title, has just been published. As it enters on a variety of important topics connected with Slavery, the Editors cannot better promote the object of their work than by transcribing it.

which " could not be dispensed with." " No system of measures" he affirmed, " would satisfy the feelings of the country, or execute the purposes of Parliament, which did not contain some direct provision by which the termination of Slavery may be gradually accomplished." " From the final accomplishment of this object," he again assured the Court of Policy, that " this country will not be diverted." " I now," he added, " for the last time, bring these regulations under the consideration of the Court of Policy, *with no other alternative, in the event of their declining to admit them, than that of my humbly submitting to his Majesty the expediency of enacting them by direct Royal Authority.*"

With a view of averting the execution of this threat, the Planters of Demarara, and also of Berbice, have presented a Petition and Memorial to his Majesty in Council, exhibiting the grounds on which they apprehend utter ruin to themselves and their property, if the intention of Lord Bathurst shall be carried into effect. The Petitioners have been heard by Counsel in support of their petition, and the matter now remains for the consideration and final decision of his Majesty's Government.

Under these circumstances it may be useful to pass in review the leading statements and arguments of the Petitioners and their Counsel, especially as they involve almost all the great questions at issue between the West Indian Planters and the Abolitionists. But before entering on these questions, it will be proper to advert to one or two topics which have been brought forward, with the view of vindicating the Petitioners, from any unfavourable imputation to which they might be exposed, by their resistance to the wishes of his Majesty's Government, on this occasion.

They assert, in the first place, their *ready* co-operation in all the other measures of Reform proposed by his Majesty's Government.

" The Court of Policy" they say, " has evinced the most anxious desire to act up to the Resolutions of Parliament." And Mr. Adam, the leading Counsel of the Petitioners, going even beyond the Petitioners, stated, on their behalf, that it was to this single clause respecting manumission, that the Planters of Demarara had refused to give their assent; and that on every other point they had set themselves with hearty goodwill to carry into effect the wishes of Government.

This statement however is contradicted by the official correspondence.* So far were the Court of Policy from *readily* adopting all the clauses proposed by Lord Bathurst, with this one exception, that his Lordship, in his dispatch of 20th November 1824, was under the necessity of refusing his assent to their draft of the 25th of June, 1824, and of preremptorily insisting on a more exact adherence to the terms of the Trinidad Order in Council.

The omissions and alterations in that draft, as compared with the Order, were numerous and important; and Lord Bathurst distinctly stated, that if the Court of Policy did not proceed forthwith to adopt

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* Papers presented to Parliament by His Majesty's command 1825, pp. 196, 226, and additional papers 1825, p. 259, 279.

the improvements he now suggested, His Majesty's Government "would feel it to be their paramount duty to issue without further delay an Order of Council for the purpose of carrying them into effect."

This intimation was not without its effect on the Court of Policy. In a subsequent draft transmitted to Lord Bathurst on the 14th of March 1825, they introduced some important changes in compliance with his Lordship's suggestions. But even this amended draft, which has since, with a slight alteration, become the law of Demarara, falls far short of the propositions of His Majesty's Government on some other points, as well as on that of manumission. Without attempting to particularize the various defects, and injurious modifications of particular clauses, it will be sufficient to state, that Sunday markets have not been abolished, nor has Sunday labour been *effectually* prohibited; that in affecting to give a legal sanction to the marriage of slaves they have introduced provisions which go far to render it of no avail; and also that the law as to the slave's right of property is left in a very imperfect state.* Besides all this that important Clause of the Trinidad Order, the 21st, obliging the owner to account for the illegal laceration of his slave, is entirely omitted.

It cannot therefore be with truth affirmed, that the manumission clause is that alone to which the Colonists of Demarara have refused their assent; or that they have manifested any very hearty goodwill in complying with the wishes of Government.

A second topic hinted at in the Memorial, but much insisted upon by the leading counsel, was the great comfort and happiness enjoyed by the slave population of Demarara and Berbice, under the mild and benign government of their masters. On this point a full investigation was boldly challenged.

Unhappily for the credit of this part of their vindication, there is already before the public opposing evidence of a nature which would not be invalidated by the concurrent testimony of every planter in the two colonies, in favour of the mildness and lenity of their administration. The actual decrease of the slaves in Demarara, has amounted to 8,754 in the six years, from 1818 to 1824, being nearly at the rate of two per cent. per annum.† And this enormous decrease has taken place while the free negroes of Hayti, and indeed of all parts of the world besides, and the slaves in the United States, and in the Bahamas have been increasing at the rate of from 2 to 2½ per cent. per annum. There is no possibility of explaining this phenomenon on any principle which is compatible with the alleged humane treatment of the slave.

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* The slave among other things is not allowed to hold land as in Trinidad. This is a very important and injurious distinction. Few things would have more tended to make manumission a source of improvement to the slave, than his previous possession of land of his own, prepared to receive him, and which he could immediately begin to till. It is from want of such means of beneficial employment, that on his enfranchisement, he sometimes falls into idle and vicious habits. See on this point the parliamentary papers of 1826, under the head of St. Lucia, p. 76, 77.

† See Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 26, p. 11, &c., and the documents there referred to.

But in addition to this fact which, of itself is demonstrative of the deathful tendency of the Demarara system of management, there is much corroborative testimony to the same effect. The Negro Slavery Tract, No. I, contains a particular account of that system by an eye-witness highly worthy of credit, the late Missionary Smith. The returns from the Fiscal of Demarara, as they stand in the parliamentary papers ordered to be printed 1st March 1825, No. 66, may also be referred to. But above all may an appeal be made with confidence to the Report of the Fiscal of Berbice, (Parliamentary papers of 23rd of June 1825, numbered 476,) and to the attempted vindication of that report by the Fiscal himself, laid on the table of the House of Commons, May 19, 1826, (No. 401.) A full view of these two Reports will be found in the Anti-Slavery Reporters, No. 5. and 16. In the latter it is observed that "to the sickening influence on the mind of the details contained in these reports, no declamation could add force. They beggar the most intense epithets, and produce an impression which no description, however eloquent, could hope to rival in poignancy and effect. And it is the climax of these horrors that most of them are not only not judicially punished, but are not legally punishable."*

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* It was not intended to illustrate these general observations by any specific instances, but the single fact which follows, and which is only one of many, will serve to throw so much light both on the law and practice of Slavery in these Colonies, that it would be wrong to withhold it.

In the Fiscal's first Report, p. 14, is contained a statement to the following effect.

"Complaint of the woman *Minkie*, belonging to Thomas C. Jones :—Says, Mr. Jones took her out of the barracks on Tuesday ; 'after I got home he sent me to Mr. Henery ; he would not buy me. He sent me to another gentleman. I do not know his name, but he lives in town ; they both said my master asked too much money for me, and sent me back. I begged for a pass to look for an owner ; he said no, he would put me down and cut my——, and would give me more than the law gives. I was then laid down and tied to three stakes, and Chance flogged me with a cart-whip ; I got a severe flogging ; I saw Mr. Layfield at his door with another gentleman, and Mr. Kerschner, the baker, saw it from his window. Mr. Jones bought me from Mr. Logie of Demarara. I have marks of severe punishment visible on me, old and recent floggings, all inflicted by Jones.'

"Exhibits her posteriors, which are covered with a plaister, by order of the doctor, and apparently lacerated to that degree that the court judged it expedient to direct her not to uncover it." (p. 14.)

"Mr Jones said he *had* flogged her, and broke her mouth for her insolence. He had thirty-nine laid on her, and *they were well inflicted*. When he sent for her, he had no intention of flogging her ; but after sending her to three persons for sale, and not succeeding, he told her she had often deserved a flogging ; he then directed her to be flogged, and that they should be well laid on, which was done."

The result of this case is given in the Fiscal's Second Report, (p. 10.) and it is the more worthy of attention because it is actually given as a vindication of the Colonial system from the charge of cruelty ; whereas in truth it only furnishes another striking illustration of the cruel and oppressive nature of that system, and completes the picture of horror which the previous details had presented. "His Honour, the President, and the Court," we are told, "were highly indignant at the treatment of this female. No evidence, however, could be obtained to convict the proprietor (Mr. Jones) of having inflicted a severer punishment *than that prescribed by law*." It is added that, "the Court were fully satisfied that the unfortunate female slave had been flogged *in a most severe and cruel manner*, and to her sufferings, by her master's own confession"

But before we proceed to consider the main question involved in the Memorial, that of manumission, it seems necessary to advert to what is affirmed by its authors on the subject of their *right of property in their slaves. That right*, they say, "*rests on the very same foundation with every other description of property known to the law.*" And in a former statement by the Court of Policy of Demarara, it is asserted, in confirmation of their doctrine, that "Slaves in this Colony are *chattels as much as any other moveable property*," the interest of an owner in his slave being that of *fee simple absolute.*

Without meaning at all to enter on the great moral question, of the right which any man can possess of reducing his unoffending fellow creatures, and their still more unoffending offspring, to perpetual slavery, it may nevertheless be allowed us to doubt the *legal* soundness of these strange dicta of the Court of Policy, and which they ought to have proved rather than asserted. It rests with them to point out the chapter of either Dutch or English law in which such a position is to be found. Mr. Adam did not attempt it.

But even if so strange a position could be shewn to have a place under the Dutch law, it would not necessarily become law under the British rule, any more than the Spanish law of torture, which existed in Trinidad, could continue to be law subsequently to its becoming a British colony. The Dutch law would have permitted the Slave Trade in Demarara: but could a claim have been therefore preferred by that Colony to the continuance of the Slave Trade after it had capitulated to the British arms; much less after its cession to Great Britain, when of course the right of sovereignty and of legislation became fully vested in the British Crown?

(who indeed, seemed to glory in his barbarity) "was added the breaking of her mouth in a most brutal manner." In conclusion, her master was directed *to take her from the custody of the under sheriff, on payment of the fees.* She was returned, that is to say, into the power of this monster, by order of the Court.

Now let any one consider all the horrors of this clear and unambiguous case of cruelty, and the impunity which has attended it, and then say, whether the detestable system which can screen such conduct from justice, is not only to be endured by the country, but praised by the petitioners. The savage master was not proved, it seems, to have offended against the *law*,—this is true; for he had done nothing more than the law expressly authorised every master to do. At his own caprice, for no earthly crime that even he himself could specify, he lacerated "in a most severe and cruel manner," the naked body of this unprotected and unoffending female; but as it could not be *proved* that the number of stripes exceeded thirty-nine, however "well they were laid on," to use his own brutal expression of triumph; however deep they cut into the flesh, and though he broke her mouth besides;—no punishment could reach him; nay, the law actually protected and sanctioned his crime. We have been told, by no mean authority in colonial matters, as a palliation of these evils, that atrocities are perpetrated in England as well as in the West Indies; but we challenge all the advocates of the colonial system to produce any case, be it in law or practice, which will bear the remotest comparison to this transaction. It is an admirable illustration of the innate flagitiousness of that institution, which still finds so many plausible advocates among us, and which, owing to their delusive statements, is still permitted to flourish in mischievous vigour in one of the fairest portions of the British Dominions.

Supposing even a law authorising the Slave Trade had been in full force in that Colony, at the time of its capture by Great Britain, could this circumstance have been pleaded for one moment as a ground for continuing that traffic after the Colony had become British?

If it were even admitted, therefore, which it is not, that the law of property in Slaves had been such in Demarara under the Dutch rule as the Court of Policy represent it to have been, it would by no means follow that that law could continue to operate there under British rule, any more than the law of torture could continue to operate in Trinidad.

But it is not true, that, either under the Dutch or the British Government, the nature of an owner's property in his slaves is declared by law to be of that absolute and unqualified description which the Demarara planters have asserted. It does *not* rest "on *the very same* foundation with every other description of property known to the law." Slaves are *not* in law "chattels, *as much* as any other moveable property." Neither is a master's interest in his slave "that of *a fee simple absolute.*" On the contrary, in the case of slaves, the law has assumed a power of interference and control which is not assumed with respect to any other description of property. An owner may extinguish the life of his oxen, or his dogs, or his horses; he may refuse to feed them; he may allow them to perish from neglect; he cannot be restrained from working them by night or by day; he cannot be compelled to give them the rest of the Sabbath; he cannot be called upon to answer their complaints:—and with respect to his chattels generally, he may break them in pieces, destroy or consume them, without any responsibility, and without control from law, so long as he does not thereby injure the property of his neighbour. There are, therefore, very material points of distinction between all other kinds of property and a property in human beings.

But this is not all: no other description of property, no other chattel, has responsibilities inherent in it, and rights arising out of those responsibilities, similar to those which are inherent in the slave: for though he be a slave, he has been born a subject of the Divine Government, answerable, in common with every human being, for his moral conduct. Every *British* slave is also a subject of the British crown, owing allegiance to him who wears it, bound to obey the laws, and amenable to trial and punishment for the breach of them. A slave moreover may be a Christian, a husband, a wife, a parent, a child; and in each of these relations, as well as in that of an accountable moral agent, and of a British subject, may possess responsibilities of the highest order, which he may be bound to fulfil, in preference to every other obligation whatever, and which his owner therefore may lawfully be compelled to respect. It cannot be, that the British and Christian owner of a slave can, *justly and legally*, be invested with any rights of property which are inconsistent with these inalienable responsibilities. It cannot be, that, under the British crown, any such alleged rights of property can exist, without a plain and palpable violation of those fundamental principles of law which, however varied may be the form of their application, are essential to all British legislation. The assertion of such rights as these, by whomsoever made or whencesoever deduced, is an

intolerable usurpation on the laws of God and the rights of human nature—on the rights of British sovereignty, and the fundamental principles of British jurisprudence.

The Petitioners and their Advocate have therefore clearly gone too far in the assertion of their unqualified right of property in slaves; and there must, of necessity, exist certain important limitations of that right, to which there is no parallel in the case of other descriptions of property.

The principle here contended for may be illustrated by what has recently passed in respect to Trinidad. When it was first proposed by Lord Bathurst to the Planters of that Colony, that Sunday should be wholly relinquished to the slave, as his own right and property, and that equivalent time for the purposes to which his Sunday had hitherto, for the benefit of the owner, been applied, should be allowed him in its stead, the Colonists preferred a claim to compensation for what they alleged to involve a deterioration of their property, being an abduction of a portion of that labour which they had hitherto appropriated to their own use. His Lordship's reply to this claim was, that such a regulation as he proposed could give to the Planters no just claim for compensation. Whatever might be the master's right of property in the slave, the slave, his Lordship maintained, had also "*his rights*." The master was bound to feed his slave, either by an adequate allowance of provisions, or by giving him land and time to raise them. But Sunday was the *slave's* day, and could not be required by the master for *his own* purposes. That day, he therefore argued, must belong to the *slave entirely* for *his own* profit and advantage; and even where the master adopted the system of feeding his slaves, by allotting to them provision grounds, he could even then have no possible claim to the Sunday for the cultivation of such provision grounds, nor to any compensation for the requisite time during the six working days which he might appropriate to the slave in the lieu of Sunday for that purpose. And he added the expression of his hope, "that no Christian master would so far forget himself as to claim indemnity for what *his religion*" (the law of his God) "must have taught him he ought never to have required;" his Lordship, in short, thus pronouncing the practice to be a usurpation on the rights of our fellow creatures, and a violation of the divine law.

In the case of Trinidad, the British Government had not hitherto forbidden the master to require that his slave should cultivate, on the Sunday, the provisions which were to support him while at work in the cane piece during the other six days of the week; and in point of fact, he had been in the regular habit of requiring it. And yet no one will venture to say, that his Majesty's Government acted either illegally or unjustly, in forbidding the planters of Trinidad to continue to *compel* the slave to work for them on the Sunday; in obliging them, nevertheless, either to find him in food, or in time and land for its cultivation; and in rejecting, at the same time, their claim to any pecuniary indemnity whatever on account of such an arrangement.

It is obvious that this reasoning is no less applicable to every Slave Colony belonging to the British crown than to Trinidad; and the principle on which it proceeds, and on which the decision of his Majesty's

Government in this instance rests for its justification, is one which may legitimately be extended to a variety of other points connected with the right of property in slaves.

It will not be asserted, that in Demarara, any more than in Trinidad, the master's right of property extends to compelling the slave to labour for him on the Sunday. Even if such a practice had immemorially existed, it would not thereby have been rendered rightful, neither would its instant and entire abolition, by the power of the state, give the owner any just claim to compensation. It would not be enough for the Demarara Planters to apply to this case the language which on the general question of Slavery they have addressed to the mother country: "*You* encouraged us to buy slaves, and to employ them in cultivation; and now, if you interfere in their management, or deprive us of any part of their time, which we have hitherto appropriated to our own use, you must first provide compensation." To such a claim the mother country would clearly be entitled to reply, "I encouraged you, it is true, to buy slaves and to employ them in cultivation; and I therefore feel that, in forcibly putting a period to Slavery, I am bound to bear the loss in common with you. But *I* gave you no licence to deprive the slave of his Sunday. *I* gave you no authority to exact his toil on that day for your own benefit. I did not even know you had done so. Sunday is his own, by every law divine and human; and you not only have no right to claim indemnity for his being restored to the possession of it, but you ought to indemnify him for your unjust and protracted usurpation of it for your own benefit."

But may we not go still farther, and ask whether there be any thing in the right of property possessed by the Demarara Planter over his slave, which, while the mother country may lawfully interfere to secure to that slave the full enjoyment of the repose of the Sabbath, does not equally permit her to interfere to secure to him all his equally indubitable rights, and to redress all his real wrongs, whatever may be the alleged pecuniary loss arising from such interference?

Suppose, for example, it were clearly proved, that in Demarara the established hours of labour were so many, or the tasks exacted from the labourer so severe, or the food given to him so scanty, that the lives of the slaves were greatly shortened thereby; the mortality thus produced far exceeding the average rate of mortality under similar circumstances:—in that case, would not the supreme authority have a right to say to the planter, You shall increase the food of the slaves; you shall abridge their hours of labour; you shall lighten their tasks? And would it be deemed a satisfactory plea against the legality of such an interference, were the planters to say, "The slaves are *our fee simple absolute;* our *chattels:* they have hitherto yielded us, say thirteen or fourteen or fifteen hours labour in the day, and have received from us fourteen pounds of flour, or so many plantains a week. If you cut down the labour to ten hours instead of fifteen, and raise the allowance to twenty-one pounds of flour instead of fourteen, we shall be immense losers;—we shall be ruined; and must have compensation for our loss. The produce of our estates will be diminished one-third, and the charge of feeding our slaves will be increased one-half—and to this extent we

must be indemnified; for the guilt of Slavery is yours as well as ours. You must therefore bear the loss, and give us compensation." To such a claim as this also, might it not be justly said in reply, "No—you are bound, and always were bound, to act justly and humanely towards your slaves; you are bound not to wear out their lives prematurely by excessive labour; you are bound to feed the human cattle who till your grounds with food sufficient for them. All this you are bound, and have always been bound to do, independently of any specific law; and if you have not done it, you have been equally guilty of violating the rights of the slaves with those who have deprived them of their Sunday. If we gave you a licence to buy and hold slaves, we gave you no licence to overwork or underfeed them; to kill them by inches; to extinguish their procreative powers, or destroy their health, or waste their lives by severity of labour and scantiness of food. You must regulate both their food and their labour, not by your past scale of profits, nor by your past practice, but by a consideration of what is right in itself; and, for doing this, which you ought always to have done, you cannot claim, neither shall you receive any compensation, but, on the contrary, punishment, if not for your past misconduct, yet for any future failure in your duty."

Now this hypothetical case is, in some material respects, the case of Demarara and of our other Colonies. The labour exacted from the slaves, and the food given them, be they more or less than has been supposed, are proved, by the result, to be inconsistent with a healthful state of population, and to produce effects that are wasteful of human life. And will it be permitted that the right of property which the Demarara Planters claim in their slaves shall be pleaded in bar of the measures necessary for preventing this waste, whatever pecuniary loss may attend those measures? And if not, what line is to limit the right of interference? Is not the State bound to cause the Planters to adopt measures for the intellectual and moral improvement, as well as for the physical comforts of their slaves; and may they not be fairly subjected to the same obligation of providing the means of education and instruction, for the labourers who till their grounds, which attaches to the landowners of Great Britain?

Thus it is clear, therefore, that there are various and peculiar modifications which go to affect that alleged right of property in human beings, which the Demarara Planters affirm to be absolute and unconditional, and *to stand on the very same foundation with every other description of property;* and for which modifications no compensation can be claimed, on account of any loss they may cause to the master.

Subject, however, to these general qualifications, we are ready, for the purpose of the present discussion, to admit that the Planters of Demarara have a vested interest in their slaves, which the legislature is bound to respect; and that if, by any of its acts, their property in slaves should be so dealt with as to subject them to pecuniary loss, the general principles of English legislation require that a fair compensation should be awarded to them. This principle, we admit also, has been recognized in the Resolutions of May, 1823. But then its recognition there does not imply, as the Petitioners allege, that indemnity should precede, but

that it should, as in every other case, accompany or follow, the particular act by which injury may be inflicted. Admitting the slave to be *property*, it is surely enough that he should stand on the same equitable footing with every other species of property which, with a view to the public good, it may be necessary to appropriate to public purposes. If an Act of Parliament, for example, takes from an individual a portion of his land, it insures him a fair indemnity, by judicial appraisement. And, it is on this recognized principle that the Government have proceeded in framing the clause mentioned above, in the Trinidad Order in Council, respecting the manumission of Slaves. In order to prevent this measure of public policy, which the Government and the Parliament have adopted, from being attended with loss to individuals, they have provided, that no man shall be divested of his slave without an equivalent, and have fixed the mode of ascertaining by an impartial appraisement what that equivalent shall be.

It is not easy to conceive any mode by which indemnity could have been more completely secured to the owner than this; and yet the Demarara Planter bitterly complains of it as unjust. He complains, that is to say, that with a view to a great measure of State policy, his slave, who is his property, may be taken from him without his consent, and even against his consent. This may be hard; but still it is no more than is done, when any measure of public policy requires it, with respect to all those other descriptions of property to which he himself anxiously assimilates his slave. If one of his houses must be pulled down, or one of his fields taken from him, for some public purpose, he is divested of such property, without his consent, and even against his consent; and is obliged to accept in return, the price of it, not as estimated by himself, but as estimated by disinterested appraisers, who assign to him the fair marketable value of the article of which he has been so deprived. And the Demarara Planter, who maintains that his slave stands on *the very same* footing with every other species of property, cannot complain that that slave should be dealt with in the same way as his horse, or his house, or his field, which may be required for the public service.

The Demarara Planters, indeed, vehemently maintain that *the proposed system trenches upon their right of property.* But, if the same equitable mode of assessing the loss, and providing an indemnity is pursued in this as in every other instance, in which private considerations are made to give way to public interests, it is not very obvious that they can have any just ground of complaint.

It is due, however, to the Planters of Demarara and Berbice, to consider more particularly the specific objections they make to this measure, and to ascertain how far they are well or ill founded.

These objections are of two kinds:—First, objections which apply to the general policy of any measures for facilitating or quickening the enfranchisement of the slaves; and secondly, objections which respect the sufficiency of the indemnity which it is proposed to give to the master. We shall consider these in their order.

I. *Objections to the general policy of facilitating manumission.*

1. The first objection of the petitioners to the general policy of adopting the clause in the Trinidad Order on the subject of manumis-

sion, is, that it is a departure from that wise and sound maxim, pronounced, they say, to be so by Lord Bathurst, which has enounced, that "*the condition of the slave is only to be improved through the medium of his master;*" whereas, in this case, the benefit, if benefit it be, is to be conferred independently of the master and even against his will. Of this pretended maxim, however, both the wisdom and the truth may be justly questioned. That the happiness of the slave is in the *power* of the master, cannot indeed be denied. Possessed of despotic authority the master has it without doubt in his *power* to render the condition of his slave miserable. He has it also in his power, though not in the same degree (for slavery is a very intractable subject) to improve the condition of his slave, and to alleviate its hardships. But the present question refers not so much to the *power*, as to the *will* of the master. And in that view, it may without hesitation be affirmed, that if "the condition of the slave is *only* to be improved through the medium of the master," it will never be improved at all. Since the world first began, when have men been known voluntarily to divest themselves of despotic authority, or to abridge their capacity of inflicting pain? What is there which equally with despotism, corrupts the human heart, and disinclines it to the benevolent work of raising, protecting, and comforting its degraded, impotent, and wretched thralls? The history of the world, still more the history of slavery in all ages, and above all the history of West India slavery, furnish one unvarying contradiction to this unfounded maxim. The conduct of the dominant party in the West Indies, from the moment that slavery was first instituted there to the present hour, is an unequivocal demonstration of its falsehood. Its absolute refutation may be read in the barbarous and sanguinary laws, which from the first have polluted and which still pollute the colonial statue books, (all of them framed by the masters alone;)—in the cruelties nicknamed *exemplary*, with which it was customary in all the colonies to punish the slightest movement against the master's authority, or the attempt to escape from it;*—in the furious clamours raised against every effort, however temperate, to reform this nefarious system;—in the determined resistance shewn to all improvement whenever resistance was deemed safe and practicable, or in the artful evasion of it, when open resistance was hazardous;—in the reluctance with which any concession to humanity and justice, however small, has at any time been made;—and in the determined struggle still maintained, to prevent all legislative ameliorations, or, if forced to adopt them in form, to render them wholly inefficient in their spirit and operation. We believe it would be difficult to find a single instance, even of any specious though hollow and worthless semblance of improvement, which has not been forced upon the masters by a higher power, or extorted from them by the fear of that power's authoritative interference. Even in Demarara and Berbice, the only alleviations of slavery introduced there, have emanated directly, not from the masters, but from the States General of Holland.

It were easy to cite numerous authorities in confirmation of this view of the subject. But let one suffice. It is that of Mr. Canning, one of

* See Edwards's History, Book IV. Chap. iii. Negro Slavery Tract, No. vi. &c.

our most distinguished and now most lamented statesmen, who in an admirable speech on the Slave Trade in the year 1799, thus adjured the House of Commons; "*Trust not the masters of slaves,*" said this enlightened statesman, "*in what concerns legislation for slavery. However specious their laws may appear, depend upon it they must be ineffectual in their operation. It is in the nature of things that they should be so.*" "*There is something in the nature of absolute authority, in the relation between master and slave, which makes despotism, in all cases, and under all circumstances, an incompetent and unsure executor, even of its own provisions in favour of the objects of its power.*" The philosophical truth and accuracy of these sentiments are as unquestionable, as the eloquence with which they are expressed. They irresistibly carry conviction along with them. In them he "being dead, yet speaketh."

It is the more necessary to expose the unsoundness of this vaunted maxim of the Demarara planters, because some such delusive view of the subject may have unhappily been imbibed even by some of our statesmen, who, in opposition to all fact and experience, as well as to all general principle, may have permitted themselves to hope that an improvement in the condition of the slaves is to be effected through the medium of the masters. They ought at length to be aware that by the masters it will never be effected. How it may be effected without them, and even against them, is a question on which we have no objection fully to enter. At present it would lead us away from our purpose. We will only remark that, with respect to the particular measure now under discussion, namely that of securing to the slave a *legal* right to effect his redemption at a fair price, without the consent of his master, it will never, we fear, be conceded by the planters of the British West Indies, and least of all by those of Demarara. It must be made the subject of positive enactment by a superior authority. Thus it was in the Spanish and Portuguese Colonies; and thus it must be in ours, if we would not abandon the single slender hope which it affords of putting an end, at any time however distant, to the evil of Colonial Slavery.

2. A second objection may be thus stated. *In the lowlands of tropical climates, steady labour in the sun is only to be obtained by means of coercion; therefore the cultivation of the West Indies could not possibly be maintained, if the slaves were converted into freemen; as in that case they would not be induced to labour beyond what was required to sustain life.* The authority chiefly adduced by the learned counsel Mr. Adam, in support of this opinion, was that of Major Moody, on whose testimony great stress was laid. Those who wish to see that gentleman's views fully examined and refuted, may consult the Edinburgh Review, No. XC.

The proposition thus enounced, however, is contradicted by experience. The climate of Hindostan lies in the same latitude, and is as oppressively hot as that of our West India Colonies. Yet it does not prevent the natives of that country, who are not slaves, but freemen, from labouring assiduously and steadily, not only in manufactures, but in agriculture also. The inhabitants of even temperate

climates do not labour more strenuously in the cultivation of the soil than do the inhabitants of the southern provinces of China. And if it be alleged that there the great density of the population, pressing on the means of subsistence, produces all the effect of physical coercion, yet the same reasoning can neither be applied in the same degree to Hindostan, nor to two other instances which we are about to cite. The first is given to us by Baron Humboldt, and is as follows. Speaking of tropical South America, he says,

"We observed with a lively interest the great number of scattered houses in the valley inhabited by freed-men. In the Spanish colonies, the institutions and the manners are more favourable to the liberty of the Blacks than in the other European settlements. In all these excursions we were agreeably surprised, not only at the progress of agriculture, but the increase of a free, laborious population accustomed to toil, and too poor to rely on the assistance of slaves. White and Black farmers had every where small separate establishments. Our host, whose father had a revenue of 40,000 piastres, possessing more lands than he could clear, he distributed them in the valley of Aragua* among poor families who chose to apply themselves to the cultivation of cotton. He endeavoured to surround his ample plantations with freemen, who working as they chose either on their own land or in the neighbouring plantations, supplied him with day-labourers at the time of harvest. Nobly occupied on the means best adapted gradually to extinguish the slavery of the Blacks in these colonies, Count Torur flattered himself with the double hope of rendering slaves less necessary to the landholders, and furnishing the freed-men with opportunities of becoming farmers. On departing for Europe, he had parcelled out and let a part of the lands of Cura. Four years after, at his return to America, he found on this spot, finely cultivated in cotton, a little hamlet of thirty or forty houses, which is called Punta Zamuro, and which we afterwards visited with him. The inhabitants of this hamlet are nearly all Mulattoes, Zumboes, or free Blacks. This example of letting out land has been happily followed by other great proprietors. The rent is ten piastres for a vanega of ground, and is paid in money or in cotton. As the small farmers are often in want, they sell their cotton at a very moderate price. They sell it even before the harvest; and the advances thus made by rich neighbours, place the debtor in a state of dependence, which frequently obliges him to offer his services as a labourer. The price of labour is cheaper here than in France. A freeman working as a day-labourer (Peon) is paid in the valleys of Aragua and in the Llanos four or five piastres a month, not including food, which is very cheap on account of the abundance of meat and vegetables. I love to dwell on these details of colonial industry, because they prove to the inhabitants of Europe, what to the enlightened inhabitants of the colonies has long ceased to be doubtful, that the continent of Spanish America can produce sugar and indigo

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* Situated in the province of New Granada, between the latitudes of 4° and 6° North.

by free hands, and that the unhappy slaves are capable of becoming peasants, farmers, and landholders."

The second instance is of a still more decisive kind. It refers to the Island of Java, which lies between the latitudes of 6° and 9° South, and which must therefore be one of the hottest countries in the world. In what we are about to state respecting it, we quote the History of that Island by Sir Stamford Raffles. Its population according to him amounts to between four and five millions, (vol. i. p. 65.) of whom only 27,000 are slaves, and these are held by the Europeans and Chinese alone, and are not employed in agriculture, but almost exclusively for domestic purposes. The cultivation of this rich and extensive Island is wholly carried on by a free peasantry who reside in villages, and whose happy condition Sir Stamford seems to delight in describing. (Ib. p. 76 to 82.)

"In the first establishment or formation of a village on new ground, the intended settlers take care to provide themselves with sufficient garden ground round their huts for their stock, and to supply the ordinary wants of their families. The produce of this plantation is the exclusive property of the peasant, and is exempted from contribution or burden; and such is their number and extent that in some regencies they constitute a tenth part of the area of the whole district. The spot surrounding his simple habitation, the cottager considers his peculiar patrimony, and cultivates with peculiar care. He labours to plant and to rear in it those vegetables that may be most useful to his family, and those shrubs and trees which may at once yield him their fruit and their shade; nor does he waste his efforts on a thankless soil. The cottages or the assemblage of huts that compose the village, become thus completely screened from the rays of a scorching sun, and are so buried amid the foliage of a luxuriant vegetation that at a small distance no appearance of a human dwelling can be discovered, and the residence of a numerous society appears only a verdant grove or a clump of evergreens. Nothing can exceed the beauty or the interest which such detached masses of verdure, scattered over the face of the country, and indicating each the abode of a collection of happy peasantry add to scenery otherwise rich."

"Every village forms a community within itself, having each its village officers and priest. Here is found that simple form of patriarchal administration, which so forcibly strikes the imagination of the civilized inhabitants of this quarter of the world, and which has so long been the theme of interest and curiosity, to those who have visited the Indian Continent." Ib. p. 82.

"The natives of Java are, in general, better clothed than those of Western India." "It is part of the domestic economy that the women of the family should provide the men with the cloths necessary for their apparel, and from the first consort of the Sovereign to the wife of the lowest peasant, the same rule is observed. In every cottage there is a spinning wheel and loom; and in all ranks a man is accustomed to pride himself on the beauty of a cloth woven either by his wife, mistress, or daughter." Ib. p. 86.

"The island of Java is a great agricultural country: its soil is the grand source of its wealth. *In its cultivation the inhabitants exert*

their chief industry, and upon its produce they rely, not only for their subsistence, but for the articles of foreign luxury or convenience which they purchase. *The Javans are a nation of husbandmen*, and exhibit that simple structure of society incident to such a stage of its progress. To the crop, the mechanic looks immediately for his wages, the soldier for his pay, the magistrate for his salary, the priest for his stipend, and the Government for its tribute. The wealth of a province or village is measured" (not by its slaves, though it is a tropical island, but) " by the extent and fertility of its land, its facilities for rice irrigation, and the number of its buffaloes." Ib. p. 106.

Nine-tenths of the population are employed in agriculture. Ib. p. 107. Again, " Java is a great agricultural country. It has been considered as the granary of the Eastern Islands." Ib. p. 195.

" The sugar cane is extensively cultivated in this island," p. 125, " and may be grown to any extent demanded," p. 212. "There are numerous manufactories for its juice, principally owned by the Chinese, both in the vicinity of Batavia and in Jopara and Pasuruan, and partially in other districts of the Eastern provinces. Previous to the disturbances in Cheribon, sugar likewise, was manufactured in that district in considerable quantities, and furnished an important article of export." P. 125. See also p. 176. " Large quantities of Java sugar have been exported to Bombay;" p. 212; and 7000 tons of it were sold in one year to the Americans alone. P. 213.

" The land allotted to each separate cultivator is managed by himself exclusively, and the practice of labouring in common, which is usual among the inhabitants of the same village, on continental India, is here unknown. Every one, generally speaking, has his own field, his own plough, his own buffaloes or oxen, prepares his farm with his own hand, or the assistance of his family at seed time, and reaps it by the same means at harvest." P. 146.

Sir Stamford Raffles then proceeds to shew how the industry of the Javan cultivators had been repressed by the shameless exactions of the native Governments and the Dutch Company, who " employed all the machinery of despotism to squeeze from the people their utmost mite of contribution, the last dregs of their labour." P. 151.

This system of gross oppression and undefined exaction was put an end to by the British Government. The effect, we are told, exceeded the most sanguine expectations. Sir S. Raffles himself was a pleased spectator of its beneficial tendency, and of the security and satisfaction it universally diffused; promoting the prosperity, improvement, and happiness of the people, increasing the revenue, augmenting the exportable produce, and diminishing crime. If the Dutch Government did but adhere to the same just and wise policy, as it seems they profess to do, the happiest effects, he conceived, would follow. P. 160, &c.

A part, at least, of the following apology, of this truly able and excellent and lamented individual, on behalf of the Javans, will be found to apply with equal force to the charges of the Demarara Planters against the free negro of the West Indies.

" Much has been said of the indolence of the Javans by those who deprived them of all motives for industry. I enter a broad denial of the

charge. They are as industrious and laborious as any people could be expected to be in their circumstances of insecurity and oppression, or as any people would be required to be, with their advantages of soil and climate. If they do not labour during the whole day, it is because such persevering toil is unnecessary, or would bring them no additional enjoyments. The best refutation of the charge of indolence is to be found in the extent of their cultivation, the well-dressed appearance of their rice fields, and the abundant supplies of their harvests. They generally rise by day-light. At half-past six they go out to the rice fields, where they employ their buffaloes till ten; when they return home, bathe, and refresh themselves with a meal. During the violent heat of the noon they remain under the shade of their houses or village trees, making baskets, mending their implements of husbandry, or engaged in other necessary avocations, and at about four return to the sawahs (or rice fields) to labour them without buffaloes or other cattle. At six, they return to their homes, sup, and spend the remainder of their time till the hour of rest, (which is generally between eight and nine,) in little parties for amusement or conversation, when the whole village becomes a scene of quiet content, and pleasure. The same round of toil and relaxation is observed during the season for garden culture, dry field labour, or other employments. Under this system the villagers seem to enjoy a greater degree of happiness than they could derive from those increased means that would result from increased exertion. I can bear testimony to their general cheerfulness, contentedness, and good humour; for having visited their villages at all seasons, and often when least expected, or entirely unknown, I have always found them pleased and satisfied with their lot when engaged at their work, or social and festive in their hours of pleasure." P. 232.

Can it be doubted that the moderate and regular labour of this free peasantry, as described by Sir Stamford Raffles, under which they increase, by his account, very rapidly, is to be infinitely preferred, even with a view to its commercial and political advantages, to the incessant compulsory toil of the Demarara slaves, which is no less rapidly wearing them down and wasting their numbers.

The testimony of Mr. Botham, before the Privy Council in 1789, will furnish a very convenient supplement to that of Sir Stamford Raffles. He is speaking of considerable sugar estates which exist near Batavia. "The proprietor," he says, "is generally a rich Dutchman, who has built on it substantial works. He lets the estate (say of 300 or more acres) to a Chinese, who lives on and superintends it, and who relets it to free men in parcels of 50 or 60 acres, on condition that they shall plant it in canes, for so much for every *pecul* (133½ avoirdupois) of sugar produced. The superintendant collects people from the adjacent village to take off his crop. One set of taskmen, with their carts and buffaloes, cut the canes, carry them to the mill and grind them; a second set boil them; a third clay and basket them for market, at so much a *pecul.* Thus the renter knows with certainty what every *pecul* will cost him. He has no unnecessary expense; for when the crop is over, the taskmen go home; and for seven months in the year, there only remain on the estate the cane planters preparing the next crop. The price

of common labour is from 9*d.* to 10*d.* a day; but the taskmen gain considerably more, not only from extra work, but from being considered artists in their several branches." "The cane is cultivated to the utmost perfection in Batavia. The hoe, almost the only implement of the west, is there scarcely used. The lands are well ploughed by a light plough with a single buffalo." Much more is added on the culture of the cane and the manufacture of sugar and rum, which the West Indians would do well to study.

Satisfactory, however, as these examples may prove to candid and dispassionate minds, they will probably be objected to by the Demarara Planters, as not bearing a strict analogy to the case of the West Indies. Whatever may be the fact in other parts of the world, and with respect to other races of men, they are disposed to maintain, that the negro race whether slave or free, can only be excited to exertion by coercive means. No industry is to be expected from *them* beyond what may be required for the bare supply of their animal wants. In a climate which renders ease so desirable, and toil so painful, *they* will not be influenced by the motives which, in other cases, stimulate to exertion, and lead to the accumulation of wealth; and will be rather content to live in idleness, looking beyond this for no enjoyments, and aiming at no improvement.

Such is in substance the view which has been taken of this question by the Demarara planters, and which was urged with much force by their leading advocate; it deserves therefore a careful consideration.

3. Let us first consider the question as it respects *the negro in a state of slavery*, and enquire whether there be any motives besides those of coercion, or the cravings of mere animal appetite, which are capable of exciting him to industrious effort.

Here however we think it right to guard against that abuse of terms which, in the West Indian vocabulary, dignifies with the name of industry, the labour extracted from the slaves by the cartwhip. Industry implies not a forced but a willing effort; an effort made, not for the purpose merely of escaping the lash, or of satisfying hunger, but for that of attaining some desired and higher good. If therefore we are to estimate the industry of which the negroes are capable, we admit that we must take into account, not their forced services, but their voluntary sacrifices of time and ease, and those voluntary exertions that are called forth by the same moral motives which influence free agents in the other classes of mankind.

In order to refute the position respecting the incurable indolence of the negro, it would be sufficient to cite the facts brought forward, on a variety of occasions, by the West Indians themselves. They tell us, with almost one voice, that the slaves are fully fed and clothed by their masters—a circumstance which, according to the theory we are combating, would take away all motive to labour which was not the result of coercion. And yet they tell us, that, nevertheless, multitudes of them employ their small pittance of leisure time so industriously, and to such advantage, that they abound in wealth and luxuries. The slaves are restrained by the most severe laws, not only in Demarara and Berbice, but in all the other Colonies, from growing sugar, cotton, coffee, cocoa,

or any other exportable produce;* but we are told that they raise, in considerable quantities, for their own benefit, whatever they *dare* to cultivate, such as vegetable provisions, fruit, &c. besides breeding pigs and poultry, with all which they largely supply the Sunday markets. If this statement be true, and it is the statement of the West Indians themselves, then it is obvious that the negroes are susceptible of the force of moral motives; for without this, what could be the inducement for men in a tropical climate, who are exhausted by constant and hard labour to which they are driven by the cart-whip, and who are not compelled (as is asserted) by hunger, or any other physical want, to employ that fragment of leisure, which they might naturally be expected to give to the paramount enjoyment of repose, in raising those quantities of yams, plantains, oranges, pine apples, pigs and poultry, with which they so abundantly supply the markets, and for which they obtain mere superfluities and luxuries in exchange. Abundance of West India testimony has been adduced to prove that such is the case. Hosts of affidavits to that effect have been transmitted from Jamaica, Barbadoes, and even Demarara; and these affidavits are confirmed by Major Moody, who, in one of his elaborate Reports, has endeavoured, with extraordinary ingenuity and perseverance, to prove that the negro will not labour voluntarily, or for wages; and yet, as if he were fated to save his opponents the trouble of demolishing his theories, he brings forward, in the very same Report, a statement of the large property possessed by the twelve or fifteen hundred families of slaves who inhabit Tortola, which was the fruit of their own voluntary industry, during their short intervals of relaxation from their master's service, they also being fed and clothed by their masters. The statement is so curious, and so decisive of the very point at issue, that it deserves to be exhibited entire on this occasion.

STATEMENT OF VISIBLE PROPERTY POSSESSED BY THE SLAVES OF TORTOLA.

		Sterling.	
38	Horses at 7*l.* 10*s.* each . . .	£285	0
938	Head of horned cattle, at 5*l.* . .	4690	0
2125	Goats at 10*s.*	1002	10
1208	Pigs at 10*s.*	604	0
33,120	Poultry at 1*s.* 6*d.*	2484	0
23	Boats, at 5*l.*	115	0
	Fish pots and fishing tackle . . .	123	10
	Buildings, chiefly in town . . .	700	0
	Furniture, utensils, &c. . . .	4968	0
		£15,032	0

* The following is the law of Demarara on this point.—" All slaves, as well males as females, are prohibited from selling or bartering, *with any one whatever, any produce*—sugar, coffee, cocoa, indigo, rokow, syrup, rum, bottles or flasks, *or any thing else;* being permitted to sell only vegetables and ground provisions, the produce of their gardens, or stock which they are allowed to rear; on pain of being severely flogged on the plantations to which they belong, for the first offence; and for the second to be punished by sentence of the Court, according to the exigency of the case."

"In the above," it is added, "I have not estimated the disposable portion of esculents and fruits, and of cotton, raised by slaves. They cultivate on their own account, about 1,675 acres of land, which is estimated to yield annually, 3*l.* 10*s.* sterling per acre, in total, 5,862*l.* 10*s.* After supporting themselves, the surplus they dispose of at market, *which amounts to a very considerable sum.* The industrious also possess, in cash, considerable sums. I am fully satisfied they are possessed of capital, arising from the sale of stock and crop, to fully the amount of 5000*l.* sterling."—*Parliamentary papers of* 16*th of March*, 1825, *No.* 115, *p.* 152.

No one, of course, can be so absurd as to argue, that although the enslaved negroes of Tortola work, thus diligently, without the propelling power of the cart-whip, or the urgency of hunger, in order to obtain luxuries or accumulate wealth, yet that they will not work for the same wealth, if offered them in the shape of wages. It would require something more than the new "philosophy of labour," of which so much has been heard of late, to convince any man of sense in this country, that if a negro will work industriously, from moral motives, on a Sunday or half Saturday, though subjected to severe, compulsory, and uncompensated toil on all other days, he will not feel the influence of the same motives if presented to him on the days now occupied in his master's service.

We might be content to end the discussion here, our point being proved by the West Indians themselves. It may be useful, however, to shew, and particularly in reference to the present question, to what a degree the industry of the enslaved negro may be excited, when, by facilities being granted to manumission, a rational hope is held out to him of obtaining it by his own exertions.

We affirm then, that when facilities have been given them of obtaining their freedom, their voluntary industry has been thereby greatly augmented. In Demarara, indeed, every possible obstacle has been placed in the way of the slave obtaining his liberty. He has had no time allowed him as in other Colonies, all his time being occupied exclusively in his master's service. He has had no provision grounds of his own allotted to him; but, like the horse or the mule of his master, has had his daily food dealt out to him from the stores or the plantain walk of the estate. With such a destitution of all means of accumulating property, the price to be paid for his liberty has been enhanced three or four fold as compared with some other Colonies, by the value his labour acquires from the fertility of the soil he cultivates. Even if his master has desired to emancipate him, the law has obstructed his purpose, and the consent of the Governor, and the Court of Policy has been made indispensable. To the naturally high price of the slave, there has also been superadded an enormous tax, the amount of which must also have been earned by the poor slave before he could achieve his liberty. Such was the state of things in Demarara as respected manumission, prior to 1826. Can we wonder then, that under these circumstances, the whole number of manumissions which had taken place in Demarara, in a population of upwards of 75,000 slaves in the five preceding years, from 1821 to 1825, should have been only 142, (twenty-eight annually) being at the

rate of $\frac{1}{28}$ per cent. per annum, or one per cent. in twenty-eight years. And of this small number of manumissions, almost all were owing, not to the industry of the enslaved negro, but to the vices of the free white. They consist chiefly of the enslaved concubines, or of the illicit offspring of enslaved mothers by European fathers. The number of those who have redeemed themselves by the produce of their own industry, and the savings of their own frugality, out of this large mass, appears to have been, at the utmost, eleven or twelve.*

Is it surprising that, under these hopeless, not to say desperate circumstances, the Demarara Planters should have witnessed few or no proofs of industry in the negro slave? What object has he had before him, exhausted with incessant toil for his master's sole benefit, to excite his industry? Freedom seemed placed beyond his reach, and to be, in fact, unattainable. For, even if he should have been able to scrape together the means of purchasing it, at the enormous price it bore, and of paying besides the enormous tax upon it, his master might have refused to grant it; and even if his master should have agreed to give him his liberty, it might have been refused to him by the Court of Policy. It would be the very height of absurdity to affect to expect industry from persons placed under such a constitution of things as this.

Now let us contrast with Demarara, the small colony of Honduras. There, no unnecessary obstacle appears to have been raised to manumissions, excepting what might have arisen from the largeness of the price demanded for it by the cupidity of the individual owner, or from the indolence of the slave himself. No tax is imposed upon it. The slaves, besides being supplied with provisions, are allowed the use of land, and time to cultivate it. Two days in the week, Saturday and Sunday, are wholly given up to them, during which they may employ themselves in any way they may deem most advantageous, not being debarred, as in Demarara, from any of the ordinary sources of profit enjoyed by the whites. They may hire themselves to their own masters, or to any one else who will employ them; or they may cultivate the ground for their own use, or for purposes of sale; or they may rear stock.† And what is the result of these facilities of acquiring property, and of the absence of all factitious impediments to manumission? It is an annual enfranchisement of more than one per cent. of the population. In Demarara, the annual enfranchisement is one in about 2800. In Honduras, it is more than one in 100, being more than twenty-eight times as many in proportion as in Demarara.

There is another remarkable difference between Demarara and Honduras. The manumissions in Demarara are chiefly effected by white fathers, or paramours, and seldom by the labour of the slaves themselves. In Honduras the manumissions are, in many cases, the fruit of the industry and frugality of the manumitted individuals; by means of the one day in the week, exclusive of Sunday, which is appropriated to their own purposes. The value of such a privilege is incalcu-

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* Parliamentary Papers for 1827, No. 128, p. 25.

† See Parliamentary Papers, No. 433, of 10th June, 1818, p. 115, &c.

lable. It extinguishes half the difference between a state of slavery and freedom; and yet it is a privilege which, it is to be feared, neither the planters of Demarara nor of the other West India Colonies will be willing to give to their slaves, although both Mr. Canning and Lord Bathurst assured Parliament and the country, that a day in lieu of the Sunday, would be given to them.*

The extraordinary effect produced by the possession, exclusively for their own purposes, of that single day, will be better understood when we look at the prices which, through the industrious employment of it, the slaves of Honduras have been able to give for their freedom, and the enormity of which ought not to be overlooked. One man is stated to have paid 225*l.* for his freedom, another 250*l.* and another 300*l.* One man, continuing a slave himself, buys his wife's freedom for 100*l.*; and another that of a son at the same price. Several women pay for themselves 100*l.* each, and one as much as 200*l.* These prices, however, high as they are, † are brought within the reach of the slaves, simply in consequence of the scope afforded to their industry, by giving them a day in the weeek besides Sunday. The time allowed even to them, it must be admitted, is scanty enough. Five days of the week are given wholly to the master, and only one to themselves besides Sunday; and yet, other difficulties and discouragements being removed, hope is awakened; and, under its influence, such is the industry and the providence they exercise, that they are enabled not only to aim at great accumulations, but to effect them. Let it be kept in view that, under this better system, manumissions have proceeded with 28 times the rapidity at Honduras as in Demarara. And no one has ventured to allege that this comparative rapidity of manumissions has ever endangered the peace, or marred the prosperity, or aggravated the demoralization of the colony of Honduras.

This view of the subject is abundantly confirmed by what has occurred in Demarara itself since the 1st of January 1826. On that day the new Order in Council came into operation there, and although it did not contain the clause which gives to slaves the right of redeeming themselves at a fair appraisement, and without the consent of the master; yet it took away the power of preventing manumissions which had been enjoyed by the Governor and the Court of Policy, and it entirely abolished those iniquitous taxes and fees which had hitherto so greatly enhanced the cost of freedom. Even of these new facilities, limited as they are, the effect has been most remarkable. Between the 1st of January and the 31st of May 1826, a space of only five months, the number of manumissions have amounted to 243, being one hundred more than had been manumitted in the preceding five years.

Let us look at another case, that of Trinidad. In this Island out of a population of about 23,500, 631 manumissions were effected in the five years from 1821 to 1825, being at the rate of 126 annually,

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* See Speech of Mr. Canning, Debate of May 15, 1823, p. 31,—and preface to that debate, p. xxxi.

† The above sums are in Honduras currency, the proportion of which to sterling is either about 150*l.* per cent. as in Jamaica, or 200*l.* per cent. as in the other Islands, probably the former.

or more than ½ per cent. per annum, when in Demarara containing 75,000 slaves the rate during the same period was about 28 annually, or 1-28th per cent. per annum, being a rate more than fourteen times as great in Trinidad as in Demarara.

In Trinidad, however, there existed no obstacle to manumission excepting either the unwillingness of the master, in cases where manumission was to be his gift; or the indolence of the slave, when the purchase was to be effected by the fruit of his industry. Of the 631 persons thus emancipated 324 purchased their own freedom at the aggregate cost of 50,434*l.* currency, or an average of 154*l.* 14*s.* currency, or about 70*l.* sterling each. The effort of industry to which these 326 individuals were excited in order to raise this sum, they would have had little or no motive to make, but for the comparative facilities afforded to manumission in this island by the absence of all tax upon it, and for the state of the law which gives to the slave the *right* of redeeming himself and the members of his family.

In Trinidad, however, the slaves labour under some serious disadvantages as compared with the slaves in Honduras. Their labour for their masters is far more destructive of life, and consequently it must be far more adverse to the capacity of voluntary effort. It is so destructive, that in Trinidad the decrease amounts to 2¾ per cent. per annum, while in Honduras it is only ⅔ per cent. The dreadful mortality of Trinidad is obviously the effect of sugar culture on a soil peculiarly fertile; and it must necessarily tend to that exhaustion of the physical strength which takes away the power as well as lessens the inclination of voluntary exertion. The slaves in Trinidad, moreover, are not fed by the master as in Honduras, except perhaps with a little salt fish. They support themselves by food raised on land allotted to them, and which they have had Sunday, and some additional days in the year, but not a whole day in each week, to cultivate. The slaves in Honduras, besides being fed by the master, have had Sunday and another day in the week for their own purposes. Neither the Sunday however, nor the additional week days, (the number of which is not stated, but it is supposed to be sixteen) given to the slave in Trinidad, were given him for his own purposes, but to raise the food required for his whole sustentation, which whole sustentation it is in fact the master's duty to provide. His means of accumulation therefore, as compared with the slave in Honduras, have been very greatly abridged; and yet such has been the effect produced, in exciting his industry, by the removal of all other obstructions to manumission, that a sum of about £10,000 currency, a year, has been applied, by slaves in Trinidad, to their own redemption, during each of the years from 1821 to 1825.

These facts, and if we were to go through the whole of the West India islands they might be multiplied, will sufficiently shew, that when, by giving facilities to manumission, the spring of hope is once permitted to operate on the mind of the enslaved negro, such an impulse is given to his industry,—to his voluntary exertion,—as produces almost incredible results.*

* See Anti-Slavery Reporters, Nos. 19 and 26, for further facts respecting manumission.

4. But the Demarara planters will probably admit that the negro slave will make great exertions for the sake of purchasing his freedom; but that, having obtained it, he will no longer labour for any other object beyond the supply of his animal necessities, but will cease to be industrious, and relapse into absolute indolence. This seems to be what they mean, when they affirm that by giving facilities to manumission the industry of the free negro "will be impaired, he being so averse to labour in the field, that he cannot be induced to work for hire, or to carry on the cultivation of the country in a regular or effectual manner."

Here it would have been important to know, what actually had been the inducements held out to the free negro, to tempt him to labour for hire in the field; because, unless they have been of a kind equal if not superior to what were presented to him by other and easier employments, the fact that he has not been induced to labour in the field for hire proves nothing against his industry. Nay, it may be a proof of the very contrary. It may be a proof that such are his resources, and such his successful exertions, in other more profitable lines of employment, as to raise him above the necessity of submitting to the coarse and ill-paid drudgery of field labour for hire. Major Moody, who, from the coincidence of his opinions with those of the petitioners, is an unexceptionable witness on this point, states that the wages of field labour in the Virgin Islands vary from about 6½*d.* to 13*d.* a day, according to the strength and capacity of the individual. What it may be in Demarara we know not, but the Protector of slaves in Berbice having fixed at a guilder, (equal to 17½*d.* sterling,) the hire of a slave for a day, when he works voluntarily for his master, we may regard this as the extent of the inducement which would be held out to the free negro, in that colony and Demarara, for his labour in the field, from morning to night, under a tropical sun. Surely it would not be very creditable to the good sense of the free negro, if he we were to submit, on such terms, to the incessant drudgery of field labour, provided easier, and at the same time more gainful, employment was open to him. What should we say of the good sense of any man in England, who should prefer hedging and ditching at 1*s.* a day, to some lighter and pleasanter occupation which should yield him two or three shillings a day? The very supposition is absurd. Before, therefore, the Demarara Planters can urge it as a proof of the want of industry in a free negro that he refuses to labour in the field, for any hire which they may have offered to him, they ought to have shewn that he was not more profitably, as well as pleasantly, employed in some other way.

Moreover, when the planters of Demarara and Berbice state so triumphantly the fact, that, in these colonies, "the free negro cannot be induced to work in the field for hire," they ought to have told us of what materials the 5,500 persons are composed who form the whole of the enfranchised population of both the Colonies. They ought to have told us what proportion of them consists of the female concubines of white men, and what of the offspring of their illicit concubinage; how many of them also are mechanics capable of earning perhaps 5*s.* or 6*s.* a day; how many of them cultivate profitably their own allot-

ments; and how many of them are raised, by their circumstances, or by their exertions in other ways, above the necessity of field labour. They ought also to have told us how many individuals there are among them, capable of field labour, who are reduced to the necessity of resorting to that lowest and most fatiguing and least profitable species of drudgery; and who do not earn more, in some easier and less irksome way, than they could do by labouring, during 10 or 12 hours a day, in a tropical sun, for 1*s.* 5½*d.* Let the enfranchised individuals be specified who, though capable of field labour, yet prefer a state of comparative destitution to working for hire; and then there will be at least some facts to investigate in support of the theory of the petitioners.

But though, among the enfranchised population of Demarara and Berbice, there may be none who will condescend to steady labour in the field, from morning to night, for a guilder a day, yet we have this proof that industry is not absolutely extinct among them; that while 68 white individuals, in the years 1821 to 1825, received relief as paupers, only 28 enfranchised persons received such relief during the same time; the whole white population in the two Colonies being about 3000, and the whole enfranchised population about 5500. The 28 enfranchised persons also, who received relief, were almost exclusively women and children, most probably the deserted and destitute concubines or children of the pauper whites.

But supposing that in Demarara and Berbice, the pecuniary inducements to labour in the field for hire were much more tempting than they can be shewn to be, yet there are several circumstances attending agricultural labour in these Colonies, which could not fail to have had a powerful influence in deterring free persons from engaging in it. The labour of the field was conducted under the whip. And although, in associating himself to the human team so worked, the free negro might have stipulated for the integrity of his skin, yet to have taken his place among them at all would seem to imply that he had bound himself to perform the same tale of labour with them. Without such an understanding, a planter would hardly have admitted among his slaves so pernicious an example, as that of a fellow-labourer pausing on the hoe, or relieving his fatigue by a temporary cessation from his toil. Most unquestionably, the *steady* and continuous labour of the Demarara field slave is what no man would submit to, who was not either impelled by the whip in the field, or liable to be punished by its infliction in case of failing to complete his task. Neither health nor strength could long endure it without sinking; a fact abundantly proved by the waste of human life which is caused by sugar planting in that Colony. The decrease of the whole slave population in Demarara appears to amount to about 2 per cent. per annum. Of the mortality which creates this large decrease, a great proportion is said to take place on the sugar plantations; so that it would probably be found, that the decrease directly caused by field labour on these, was swelled to 4 or 5, or even to 10 per cent. per annum, while in other lines of employment there might even be an increase; which, nevertheless, left an average decrease on the whole to the enormous extent of about 2 per cent. per annum. Now, it is not pretended that any of these slaves are killed outright by the employ-

ment of sugar planting, or by the actual inflictions of the cart-whip; but the truth is, that the exaction of labour being beyond their strength, they are killed off by degrees. They are worn down by the effort to which they are incessantly stimulated; and at length they give way under it. As their strength begins to sink, the excitement of the whip is more needed; and some time may elapse before the person who administers it can satisfy himself, whether the diminished exertion of the slave be the effect of want of power, or of want of will, until at length the breaking frame leaves no room for doubt. Such has been the history of negro life and negro suffering in thousands and thousands of instances. And to such a state, who that was free would voluntarily subject himself? It would be like dooming himself to a lingering death—to death by a kind of mitigated torture. Who, indeed, would voluntarily expose himself to be the sharer, though on better terms, or even the constant spectator, of such a system; to be the witness of all the brutal violence, in language and conduct, on the part of drivers, overseers, managers, &c. which is of its very essence, as hitherto administered?

Reasons enough have now been given to shew, why the freed negroes of Demarara and the other Colonies should decline the inducements (if any were ever offered them, which we greatly doubt) to engage for hire in the labour of the field. But it by no means follows, that they may be therefore justly charged with want of industry. For what are the indications of industry which would be required of any class of men, in any part of the world? Would it not be that they were free from want, that they lived in comfort, and that they accumulated property? Now these tests of industry will be found to exist, generally, among the enfranchised population, not only of Demarara and Berbice, but of all the other West Indian Colonies.

That they are generally placed above want appears from this, that though their number amounts to about 90,000, yet of that number only 227 appear to have received even occasional relief, as paupers, during the years 1821 to 1825, and these chiefly the concubines or children of destitute whites: while, of about 65,000 whites, in the same time, 1675 received relief. The proportion, therefore, of enfranchised persons receiving any kind of aid, as paupers, in the West Indies, is one in nearly 400; whereas the proportion among the whites of the West Indies is about one in forty; and, in England generally, one in twelve or thirteen, in some counties one in eight or nine.

There can be no doubt, therefore, that the enfranchised population of the West Indies are subsisted by their own efforts; and it is no less certain, that they obtain their subsistence without the necessity of resorting to the lowest and most degrading descriptions of employment. They are placed, in short, by their own unassisted exertions, above the necessity of engaging for hire in daily agricultural labour. In whatever degree they may employ themselves, and employ themselves profitably, in cultivation on their own account, they are not driven to engage for hire in those plantation labours in which the slaves are now exclusively occupied. This fact is not only admitted by the Demarara Planters, but it is made the very ground on which they impute to the free negro a total want of industry. But may it not possibly be a proof of the elevation

consequent on freedom, and of the industry rather than the indolence of the enfranchised? They maintain themselves in independence, without submitting to the laborious, fatiguing, degrading, and deathful employment of the slave. And this is the charge against them! And not only do they subsist, but they subsist in comfort; and even accumulate wealth. And this they do, though pressed down by civil and political disabilities of the most discouraging kind; and, although the scope of their industry is narrowed, and its efforts are repressed, by cruel and invidious exclusions and distinctions. It even argues considerable energy and elasticity of character, that they should have at all surmounted the obstacles which have so sternly opposed their progress to comfort and wealth.

If any proof of this statement were wanting, it would be sufficient to cite the uncontradicted details, laid before Parliament, in the last Session, by Lord Harrowby, in the House of Lords, and by Dr. Lushington, in the House of Commons, respecting the state of the enfranchised population of Jamaica, being nearly a moiety of that of the whole of the British West Indies. Not only was no attempt made to contradict those details, but their truth was admitted by Mr. Pallmer, himself a Jamaica Planter, and who had resided for a considerable time in that island. Uncontradicted admissions to the same effect might be cited from the discussions which have taken place, even in the Assembly of Jamaica, on the claims of the enfranchised inhabitants of that island to be relieved from their civil disabilities.

The Colony of Trinidad contains a still larger proportion of enfranchised persons than Jamaica. They outnumber by four to one the whites, and are outnumbered by the slaves in the proportion of only three to two. The whites are 3500, the slaves about 23,000, and the free blacks, and people of colour, upwards of 15,000, some say 17,000. And what is the condition of these last? There is not a single pauper among them, not a single individual receiving aid from public charity. They live comfortably and independently, and nearly half of the property of the Island is said to be in their hands. There, it is admitted on all hands, that the enfranchised Africans and their descendants have long since emerged from barbarism, have become enlightened, have acquired wealth, are highly respectable in character, and are rapidly advancing in knowledge and refinement. Of these facts his Majesty's Government are fully apprized.

In St. Lucia, the enfranchised part of the population is three times the number of the whites, and more than one-fourth of the number of the slave population.* The Governor, General Mainwaring, distinctly states, that there is not a single pauper in this Colony. Mr. Jeremie, the Chief Justice of that Colony, thus expresses himself respecting them: "The emancipated negroes have been taxed with laziness; but scarcely is a road opened, in any part of the country, but the borders are occupied by free settlers." He also combats the objections urged against affording facilities to manumission; some of them the very same with those taken by the Demarara Planters. He argues strenu-

* Papers laid before Parliament in 1825, p. 233.

ously for giving to slaves a right of property in land, that when enfranchised they may possess a domicile, and land of their own to till. Much of the imputation on the industry of the free negroes, and of their alleged aversion to agricultural labour, he conceives to arise either from their not being permitted to retain and pay rent for those provision grounds which they had cultivated with care as slaves, or from the great difficulty they experience, in consequence of the prejudice existing against their holding lands, in finding another spot and obtaining a sure title to it, where they may begin cultivation on their own account. The slaves, when manumitted, lose the land which had cost them so much trouble to cultivate. The masters, either from prejudice, or from some strange and unaccountable policy, instead of encouraging them to remain on the estate to which they might thus become attached, and where they would be ready to lend their assistance when wanted, it seems, expel them from it. If, however, they were permitted to continue to hold, when free, paying a small rent for it, the same spot of land they had previously improved, or were encouraged to have another prepared to which they could remove, the ground he conceives for this charge of indolence would be taken away. He thinks it quite unlikely, in that case, that persons so shrewd as slaves are, by habit abstemious and frugal, fond of hoarding their earnings, will become less solicitous about money and wealth, when they can devote more time to amassing it, and when they hold it by a safer tenure.

In Grenada, the enfranchised population is four times the number of the whites, nor is there one pauper among them.

In June 1823, a petition was presented by this class to the Assembly of Grenada affirming their loyalty and general good conduct, the largeness of their contributions to the revenue, and their importance to the defence and security of the Colony. They distinctly stated that they possessed no small portion of the property in the Colony, and that of the capital town in it two thirds actually belonged to them. This petition was submitted to a Committee of the Assembly, and on their report the Assembly resolved "that the free coloured inhabitants of these islands are a respectable, well-behaved, class of the community, and possessed of considerable property in the Colony;" and then followed some further resolutions in favour of their claims, which resolutions however do not appear to have been as yet acted upon.

Now it might, without doubt, be said of the enfranchised negroes of Grenada as of Demarara, that not a single individual among them had ever been known to employ himself in daily agricultural labour in the field for hire; but would it be a fair inference from this fact that their industry had been extinguished, or even impaired, by their manumission? On the contrary, what more satisfactory proof of industry could possibly have been exhibited than the fact that, slaves as they or their parents had recently been, they were now living in comfort and independence, "respectable," "well-behaved," and "possessed of considerable property?" No explanation can possibly be given of this result which does not involve both their capacity and willingness of exertion, and which does not prove that the enfranchised negroes of the West Indies are not wanting in in-

dustry. The only fact which is adduced in opposition to this conclusion is, that the free negroes do not work in the field of the plantations for hire; a fact which is admitted, but which is so far from proving a want of industry, that it does not even prove that they do not employ themselves industriously, extensively, and beneficially in agricultural pursuits on their own farms, or in other ways.

But another irresistible proof of the state of comfort in which the enfranchised population of the West Indies are placed, may be found in the rapid increase of their numbers by natural propagation. And this progressive increase is rendered the more remarkable by the circumstance of the progressive decrease of every other class of the community, of the whites on the one hand, and of the slaves on the other. Even the Maroons of Jamaica increase rapidly while the slaves around them decrease.

In Berbice itself the number of enfranchised persons had increased in the five years, 1821 to 1825, from 669 to 835, although in that time there had been only 49 manumissions.* Here we have an increase by births of 117 on 669 in five years, being at the astonishing rate of 3½ per cent. per annum; while the slaves have been decreasing in Berbice, and still more in Demarara, in which last colony their decrease has been proceeding at the enormous rate of nearly 2 per cent. per annum.

5. Statements similar to this in effect might be multiplied. Every colony in the West Indies would supply materials. And yet in the face of such facts do the Demarara planters take it upon them to tell His Majesty in Council that enfranchisement instead of promoting industry, comfort, civilization and moral improvement, tends on the contrary to generate idleness, profligacy, barbarism and crime. This statement rests on no authority whatever. The point however is so important that we must beg leave, though at the risk of being tedious, to make a few farther observations on the subject.

Proofs that the enfranchised population are not wanting in industry have been already exhibited. Their reputation for *loyalty* at least is untainted. They have never been charged with conduct or with purposes adverse to the public safety. And as to crimes of another description, though it would be too much to expect that among so large a body, and especially a body so very unfavourably circumstanced with respect to the means of education and instruction, criminals should not be found, yet it is confidently believed that the proportion of enfranchised persons, convicted of crimes in the West Indies, is smaller than that of any other class, whether free or enslaved. And for the elucidation of this fact it may be sufficient to refer to the records of the West Indian judicatories generally. We have only found one actual return on this subject among the Parliamentary papers. It is from the Island of Jamaica. The enfranchised inhabitants of that island are considerably more numerous than the whites. And yet by a return from several of its parishes ordered to be printed by the House of Commons, on the 12th July 1815, (No. 478) it appears that the proportion of criminal convictions of whites, and of enfranchised persons, was as 24 of the former to

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* Parliamentary Papers, No. 53, 9th May, 1826.

8 of the latter. We have been assured that the proportions would not be found materially different in the other colonies.

As to what respects *general civilization* also, it may be equally demonstrated, that under great and numerous disadvantages, disadvantages imposed upon them by the system of oppression and degradation to which they are forced to submit, they have not only not retrograded since their enfranchisement, but have considerably advanced. Of this the comfort in which they live, the increase of their numbers, their comparative freedom from crime, their peaceable demeanour as subjects, and their accumulation of property, furnish incontestable and conclusive evidence. But in addition to these, the progress of light and knowledge among them, and their thirst for the benefits of education, for themselves and their children, are quite decisive, and do not permit a single doubt to hang upon the question.

And if we contemplate, in this view, the disadvantages and obstacles with which they have had to contend, the credit due to them for having made any advance whatever in civilization is very considerably enhanced. They have been oppressed, degraded, discountenanced and trampled upon. They have been shut out from every office of trust or emolument; from every thing which might stimulate them to acquire knowledge or to cultivate their intellectual powers. They have had the very worst moral examples exhibited to them by the whole body of their superiors, who have been, in fact, the very instruments of poisoning the sources of moral improvement, by seducing their women into a participation of their worst vices, and by thus spreading the taint of profligacy, like a moral leprosy, over the whole face of society.* They have thus been not only habituated to the spectacle, and exposed to the contaminating example of the grossest immoralities from infancy, but their women have been taught to regard a participation in them as the only path to wealth and distinction; as a subject of glory instead of a subject of reproach or shame. They have been deprived of every incentive to honourable conduct, not only by being shut out from all places of trust and emolument, but by being denied every active right of citizenship whatever, having been, for the most part, excluded, until recently, even from giving evidence in Courts of Justice, in cases where whites were concerned. Besides this, until within the last two years, no measures were even begun to be taken by the local governments to furnish them with the means of education, or with moral and religious instruction of any kind. The cultivation of their minds, or of their manners, was not only utterly neglected but actually perverted. They have had no communion with their superiors but that of vice; no control on the part of their rulers but what tended to sink them deep in debasement.

And yet notwithstanding all this, they have been emerging from their original state of incivilization with a progress which has gone beyond all reasonable anticipations. We refer to the living mass for the proof of our position. Many of them will now bear an advantageous comparison, not only in respect of wealth, the fruit of industry, but in respect of their moral qualities, and even of their intellectual acquirements, with

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* See Bryan Edwards, Stewart, Williamson, Bickell, Cooper, &c. &c.

multitudes of the whites who contemn them as an inferior race, and who would deem themselves degraded by sitting down with them at the same table.

In confirmation of this view of the subject, besides appealing to the testimonies already adduced, and particularly to Bryan Edwards's History of the West Indies, we would refer to Mr. Coleridge, who, in his "Six Months' Tour," (a work which is very far from being, in general, a safe authority,) establishes, in an unequivocal manner, the respectability of the coloured classes; and, above all, to the Commissioners of legal inquiry who have, of late, visited the West Indies,—to Mr. Henry, Mr. Coneys, and Mr. Dwarris. This last mentioned gentleman is, himself, a West Indian, and the proprietor of an estate in Jamaica, and though he has risen superior to some of the prejudices of his fellow Colonists he has, nevertheless, exhibited sufficient proof of the remaining influence of colonial feeling on his mind, to render him an invaluable witness in such a case as the present. A passage at the close of his third Report will amply confirm our general statements, respecting the growing improvement and civilization of the enfranchised classes, while it will give a striking view of the debasement to which the injustice and pride of the white class have reduced them, and which is rendered not the less striking by the very doubts and fears of Mr. Dwarris.

Mr. Dwarris thus expresses himself:

"The policy and justice of admitting the free people of colour (whose numbers are continually increasing,) to an extension of civil privileges, and, indeed, the title of some among them, to a participation in all political rights, is very clear to a dispassionate observer in this country. But so strong are the prejudices existing in the West Indies, founded chiefly on physical peculiarities of the African race, and so impossible is it to alter the habits and feelings of a people, by merely changing their laws, that, upon this subject, I am quite at a loss what to recommend."*

"That the *truly respectable, the well-educated, well-principled, and well-conducted, among the coloured inhabitants of these islands*, should be left precisely on the same footing, in respect of civil disabilities, with the newly-emancipated slave, is a conditition of society, which, without any violent shock to ancient prepossessions, might, I venture to think, admit of some alleviation.†

"There are islands, where, from the thinness of the white population, it is already felt to be desirable to admit free persons of colour upon coroner's juries. There is, in other islands, a manifest indisposition in the white inhabitants to be frequently summoned at the sittings of the Courts; and, indeed, the only objection to the institution or revival of quarter sessions, in Colonies where it was felt to be greatly wanted for the trial of petty offences, was the inconvenience apprehended, by per-

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* It is, at least, unquestionable, that a law which should admit enfranchised persons duly qualified as to property to sit on juries, and to exercise the elective franchise might easily be enforced in the Courts of the King; and also that their rights of person and property might be adequately protected by independent judges, named by the Crown.

† There has, therefore, been, according to Mr. Dwarris, a great progression in civilization among the enfranchised class.

sons engaged in commercial or agricultural pursuits, from being so frequently called upon to attend as jurors. In these inferior Courts, in the first instance, free persons of colour possessing a certain qualification in property, and never having themselves been in the condition of Slavery,* might, it does appear to me, and I state it with submission, be not only unobjectionably, but with very great advantage, admitted to act as jurymen. In process of time," and why not now? " I further expect that the white inhabitants will gladly avail themselves of their assistance on all petty juries, reserving to themselves, as possessing the greatest property and consideration in the country,† the exclusive privilege of acting upon grand and special juries. For the rest, time, improved feelings in the one class, and continued good conduct in the other, will gradually produce a salutary influence, and be much more efficacious in the result, than any forced changes in favour of a particular class.‡ As a matter of natural right, if it were insisted on, *these persons undoubtedly ought to compose half the jury when coloured people are on trial, or have their interests at stake;* but were this measure suddenly attempted, I firmly believe, under existing feelings, that no white person would sit with them in the same jury-box. The terms in which their very friends in the Colonies advocate their cause, betray the deep-rooted feelings of repugnance and disgust which too certainly exist."

" In conclusion, I can only repeat my earnest recommendation to this *deserving class,* to continue the same *unimpeachable* demeanour, they have hitherto preserved; and my conviction, that they will, in such case, not only establish, incontestably, their fitness for the situations from which they are excluded, but, eventually, conciliate the esteem and confidence of their countrymen, whose prejudices they will have insensibly subdued."

That, however, they never will do, until the law shall have authoritatively spoken on the subject. The West Indian white feels now, and while the legislature shall continue to concede to his absurd and unreasonable prejudices, will continue to feel, the same kind of repulsion to seeing a man of colour placed on the same civil or political level with himself, which, in this country, makes persons of refined habits to shrink from the contact of squalidness and rags.

Now, even Mr. Dwarris, who, with all his liberality, retains some share of Creolian prejudice, does not scruple to assert that the "justice of admitting the free people of colour, whose numbers are continually increasing, to an extension of civil privileges; and indeed the title of some among them to a participation in all political rights," are unquestionable. And he thinks it need not give any very violent shock to

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* Why should the having been a slave, if a man has, by his own good conduct, attained to freedom, and acquired the property qualifying him for the exercise of its rights, be made a bar to that exercise?

† Is this the fact? On the contrary, are not the whites in general mere adventurers, having no stake whatever in the country as compared with the enfranchised class?

‡ That is true, as far as objections to matrimonial unions, association, &c. are concerned; these must be left to time; but not so as to the enjoyment of *rights*, and the infliction of *wrongs:*—the one ought to be secured, and the other to be prevented by laws, and that forthwith.

ancient prejudices, "that the truly respectable, the well-educated, well-principled, and well-conducted among the coloured inhabitants,"—(for it seems there are such among them) should be released from their present disabilities. He proposes, therefore, that certain classes of the enfranchised should be admitted gradually to certain privileges, but under rather absurd restrictions and limitations. With these remnants of West Indian feeling we have nothing to do at present. Our object is to record the decisive testimony of Mr. Dwarris, not to the alleged progressive decline in civilization of the enfranchised classes, but to their progressive advance in civilization. Nay, of those who have been the longest emancipated, he is so far from stating them to have retrograded, that he says of them, that they are "a deserving class," who have preserved "an unimpeachable demeanour," and who he has no doubt, if tried, "will establish incontestably their fitness for the situations from which they are now excluded." After all these statements, is it possible to maintain that there is a shadow of ground for the assertion of the Demarara Petitioners, that enfranchised slaves, instead of becoming useful members of the community, would become "a burden to the public, and depraved and unhappy in themselves?"

Upon the whole, it cannot be denied that the enfranchised population of the West Indies rank infinitely higher than the enslaved population, in respectability, in wealth, in intelligence, and in all that goes to constitute the real prosperity of a community. Nor can it be questioned, that if the enslaved population were all elevated, by the same or similar means, to the condition to which the enfranchised population have attained, a great accession of individual happiness and of colonial prosperity would be the inevitable result.

It was well and ably remarked by Lord Chief Justice Best, in a recent address to the Grand Jury of Wiltshire, that a country can then only be said to be prosperous, not when there are a few rich men and the rest are in a state of dependence, but when the mass of the people are in the enjoyment of easy and comfortable circumstances. And this is most obviously the point to which the measure of giving facilities to enfranchisement tends to bring the state of society in the West Indies.

In reply therefore to the allegations of the Petitioners, we affirm, and we think we have proved by the most undeniable testimony, that the manumitted population of the West India Islands, instead of being idle and disorderly, are an industrious and orderly class; that, instead of being contented with a bare subsistence, they vie in the acquisition of comforts and luxuries with the Whites; that, instead of retrograding in wealth, their property has been rapidly accumulating, while that of the Whites, they themselves being witnesses, has been deteriorating; and that, instead of sinking in the scale of civilization, they have been fast advancing in moral and intellectual improvement. If, therefore, they have preferred other occupations to the tilling of the soil, for such hire as has been offered to them, (if indeed any offer of the kind has been made them) it must be because the occupations they have preferred have afforded them a higher profit. And it is surely more rational to refer their choice to this cause, a cause both adequate and undeniable, than to a want of industry, the existence of which is dis-

proved by such a multitude of circumstances as have been here detailed.

6. A farther ground of objection to the policy of facilitating manumission, has been drawn from *the agricultural code which was promulgated in Hayti* in the course of the last year. On this code the learned Counsel Mr. Adam, dwelt at considerable length as proving, beyond dispute, all for which his clients contended, as to the incurable indolence of the enfranchised negro, and the impossibility of obtaining from him any productive labour without severe coercion.

In order to sustain, in the slightest degree, this view of the Haytian Code, those who have adopted it, have been under the necessity of resorting to a mistranslation of one of the terms which occur in it; and on this mistranslation, in point of fact, does their whole argument rest. They have laboured, for obvious reasons, to discover if possible the existence of the driving system in that code, and in order to this they have adopted the clumsy expedient of rendering the French word "Conducteur," into the English word "Driver;" whereas all who know any thing of the French language, know that the term for what we call a "Driver" is not "Conducteur," but "Commandeur;" the word "Conducteur" as applied to *men* answering to the English term "Foreman."

A mere term, after all, proves nothing. In the English Islands, the "Driver" has various essential attributes of which the "Conducteur" in Hayti is wholly divested. This last has in the first place no driving instrument; he is without his cart-whip, that execrable engine of exaction and oppression, that "base, cruel, debasing instrument of torture," to use the energetic expressions of Mr. Barret, a planter of Jamaica, in a speech made last year in the Assembly of that island, "the fellow *of the rack* and the thumb screw"—for the abolition of which "every heart that is not callous pants," the lacerations of which, he tells us are inflicted "at the pleasure of an individual, at his sole command, as caprice or passion dictates" sometimes by whites of the lowest order; sometimes by one slave (the Driver) "*at his discretion* on another slave."

Nor let it be supposed that the absence or presence of the cart-whip constitutes a trivial difference. It is most vital. For what has been the main cause why negro life has been wasting, and still is wasting, with a fearful rapidity, in our slave colonies? It has been the presence of the cart-whip, in the hands of the driver.—And what has been the main cause that, in the last twenty-two years, while the British slave population has been mouldering away, the negro population of Hayti has more than doubled its numbers? It has been the absence of that torturing impulse. This single fact may satisfy us, and will satisfy every statesman as well as philanthropist, of the infinite distance there is between our West India system, and the system prevailing in Hayti;—that the population of Hayti is rapidly increasing, while that of our slave and sugar colonies continues, from year to year, and from day to day, to diminish.

The Learned Counsel dwelt on the extreme severity of the Haytian Code; and yet all its severities put together do not equal the cruelty,

barbarity, and reckless despotism of a single clause (the 37th) in the very latest specimen of Colonial Reform, given us by the Legislature of Jamaica, in their meliorating Act of December 1826; a clause too, which, as if in mockery of the wretched slave, professes to be framed "in order to restrain his arbitrary punishment." These are its terms.

"And IN ORDER TO RESTRAIN ARBITRARY PUNISHMENTS, be it further enacted, that no slave, on any plantation or settlement, or in any of the workhouses or gaols in this island, shall receive ANY MORE than TEN LASHES at one time and for one offence, unless the owner, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator, or overseer, of such plantation or settlement, having such slave in his care, or keeper of such workhouse, or keeper of such gaol shall be present; and that no such owner, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator, or overseer, workhouse-keeper, or gaol-keeper, shall, on any account, pnnish a slave with more than THIRTY-NINE LASHES at one time and for one offence, nor inflict, nor suffer to be inflicted, such last-mentioned punishment, nor any other number of lashes on the same day, nor until the delinquent has recovered from the effect of any former punishment, under a penalty not less than ten pounds, nor more than twenty pounds, for every offence," &c.—Such is the law passed, by the enlightened Legislature of Jamaica, in December, 1826, and which is applicable to every slave, man, woman, or child in that island. By that law the *driver* may inflict ten lashes; —and the owner and overseer, nay, the gaol-keeper and workhouse-keeper, the attorney, guardian, and administrator may, each and every one of them, inflict thirty-nine lashes on the bare posteriors of any and every slave, man, woman, or child in the island, without a trial, without the order of a magistrate, for no defined offence, but merely because he (the owner, &c.) is offended; nor can he, *by any law*, be called to answer for such conduct. Nay, the clause is framed for the express purpose of protecting him against all responsibility for so doing.

Now, what are the severities of the Haytian Code, which can for one moment be compared to this savage enactment? Its worst severities are directed against idleness and vagrancy; against those who have no visible means of subsistence; and even these worst severities are but a mitigated imitation of the English law on the same subject. We refer in proof of this to the Code itself, which is inserted entire in the 23d No. of the Anti-Slavery Reporter, in which will also be found the corresponding regulations, as given by Judge Blackstone, of that English law, which, the learned commentator tells us, "abhors and will not endure the existence of Slavery within this nation." The regulations will be found in his first book, p. 424 to 427 of the 11th edition. The following brief extracts from it will suffice for the present purpose.

"*All single men between twelve years old and sixty, and married ones under thirty years of age, and all single women between twelve and forty, not having any visible livelihood, are compellable, by two Justices, to go out to service in* HUSBANDRY, *or certain specific trades, for the promotion of honest industry; and no master can put away his servant, or servant leave his master*, after being so retained, *either before or at the end of his term*, without a quarter's warning, unless

upon reasonable cause, *to be allowed by a Justice of the Peace;* but they may part by consent, or make a special bargain." Again: "A third species of servants are *labourers,* who are only hired by the day or the week, and do not live *intra mœnia,* as part of the family; concerning whom the statutes before cited, (5 Eliz. c. 4. and 6 Geo. III. c. 26,) have made many VERY GOOD *regulations:* 1, *Directing that all persons who have no visible effects may be* COMPELLED *to work:* 2, *Defining* HOW LONG *they must continue at work in summer and in winter:* 3, *Punishing such as leave or desert their work:* 4, *Empowering the Justices at Sessions, or the Sheriff of the county to settle their wages:* and, 5, *Inflicting penalties on such as either give or exact more wages than are so settled.*"

It cannot be shewn that there is a single regulation in the Haytian Code more severe than this. Above all, there is not to be found in it a licence for any arbitrary punishment whatever, by either proprietor, manager, overseer, or "conducteur." The law, and the law alone, fixes both crime and punishment; and the penalties in no case consist of the flagellation either of men or women. That coarse, revolting, and demoralizing species of arbitrary infliction, which universally pervades our Slave Colonies, and to which they all cling with extraordinary tenacity, even in the case of the delicate female frame, is in Hayti wholly unknown. The provisions of the Haytian Code also extend alike to the master and to the labourer, both being alike the objects of its protecting and its restraining power; nor is a particle of discretion as to punishment conceded to the master, beyond what is enjoyed by his meanest labourer. Indeed, the rights and comforts of this last class seem to have been watched over with peculiar care. The Haytian, even if reduced to the necessity of agricultural labour, may choose his employment and his employer. He may engage for a shorter or a longer time, as suits his convenience. He may contract to receive a fourth part, or a half, of all the produce he raises; and in the first of these cases, which is the most frequent, he is not only lodged, but fed, on the plantation, from the produce of his own labour, not during his own time, but during five days in the week which alone he has contracted to give to his employer. Observe the force of the regulation on this point, Art. 36. "On every rural establishment they" (*viz.* the proprietors or renters) "shall be bound to cultivate *provisions, &c. sufficient for the sustenance of the persons employed there.*" This is to be the first care. (Article 19.) The labourer for a fourth is also to be furnished, gratuitously, with all his tools, (Article 62.) and with medical attendance and medicine, (Article 67.) and has the benefit, without any diminution of his share of the produce, of all the cattle and machinery on the estate, and of the expense of its management, (Articles 51, 65, and 66.) And, possessing all these advantages, he receives, besides, his fair share of the fourth part of the gross produce raised by him and his fellow labourers, (Article 52.) The proprietor is further bound to furnish the labourer with land for his own use, to be cultivated by himself, and for himself, during his frequently recurring holidays, his Sundays, and his regular day in the week of rest from plantation labour, (Art. 38, 39.) On five days of the week he works for his employer and himself in

common: he has his full subsistence from the labour of these days, besides his share of all marketable produce grown on the plantation. And he has, moreover, land, and abundant time in the week for its cultivation, whereby to increase his comforts or to add to his capital. Such also is the consideration which the law bestows on the formation and promotion of industrious habits, by their only effectual spring, a sense of self-interest, that even the infirm, and the children of early age, while fed by the provisions of the plantation, are encouraged to exertion, by shares of all the other produce of it, proportioned to the efforts, however feeble, which they are able to make. And even the women who have contracted to labour, for a term of years, in return for their provisions and their share of the other produce, are not deprived of the benefit of this contract, by the incapacities of a pregnant state, but, though relieved on that account, for a time, from their share of the labour, are still allowed to share in the proceeds of that labour.

Every Haytian parent, too, though himself attached to agriculture, has it in his power to send his children to town to be educated, or to be taught a profession or trade, on his simple request to a Justice of the Peace (Art. 5.); a regulation which of itself seems to secure the moral and intellectual progress of this people.

But the grand security of Haytian freedom and happiness is to be found in the absence of all those invidious distinctions, arising from the colour of the skin as being the livery of slavery, which proves the curse of the African and his descendants in our slave colonies. In the Haytian Courts of Justice, the evidence of no man or woman whatever is precluded. There, all, of all ranks, stand on an equal footing; and this circumstance, when superadded to the absence of the cartwhip, and to the substitution, for its stimulus, of self-interest as the spring of effort, makes a difference in the two states of being so large as scarcely to admit of calculation or comparison.

The public has been amused of late with theories respecting the effect of the smell, colour, hair, features and other peculiarities of the negro race, in preventing them from rising in the scale of civilized society. To Hayti these theories can have no application. The peculiarities to which such powerful effects have been assigned, are there the common inheritance of high and low, rich and poor. The governors and the governed, the framers of the laws and the meanest subjects of them, are of the same flesh and blood, and smell and colour. That corporeal degradation and intellectual debasement, which mark the condition of the negro slave, are not, in Hayti, as in our colonies, the adjunct either of a black skin or a negro descent. The chain which, in the latter, binds the negro to the earth, in the former is broken; and the lowest Haytian has the same prospect of seeing his son rise to distinction in his native island, as the meanest British parent has of seeing his descendant attain to eminence in the various walks of life in this great and civilized empire.

Mr. Adam indeed strongly objected to the Haytian system as servile and despotic, because the police of the plantations was chiefly administered by the military authorities. The truth is, however, that the situation of the Island requiring a military force for the preservation of its

independence, and the ablest and most intelligent persons in the island being enrolled in the army, such an arrangement was recommended both by its economy, the same machinery serving a double purpose; and by its expediency, the reponsibility of military men, and their habits of regularity being such as to afford a better security, than in present circumstances could otherwise be obtained, against either neglect of duty or abuse of power. But whatever be the evils of that arrangement, they affect equally the proprietor and the peasant, who are both alike subject to the inspection of these responsible superintendants. And there is this undeniable proof of its working well—that while the negro population of our colonies has in the same period been rapidly diminishing, the negro population of Hayti has, since 1804, more than doubled its numbers.

7. The Memorialists further object that *the proposed measure will produce complete and speedy ruin to the Colonies.*

This is obviously the language of passion and exaggeration and not of reason. Is it not a sufficient reply to such an argument to refer to the experience of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, where still greater facilities, than those now objected to, have long being given to manumission, and on terms also far more favourable to the slave and less advantageous to the master? What proof of ruin do those colonies exhibit? Nay what proof of ruin does Trinidad exhibit, as compared with any other of our slave colonies, although manumissions, in the very mode now proposed, have been multiplying there, until the number of the enfranchised is approaching to that of the enslaved population?

The apprehended ruin is to arise, we presume, from the diminution of the number of labourers on an estate, caused by the increase of manumissions. A diminution however of these labourers has long been taking place in Demarara, attended with far less advantageous circumstances, but of which the Memorialists have made no complaint as tending to their ruin;—we mean the diminution of the slave population by mortality; a diminution too, for which, unlike that occasioned by manumission, no indemnity can be claimed.

Let us suppose that, during the six years from 1818 to 1824, manumissions had taken place in Demarara, under the operation of some such law as is now objected to, to the amount of 8,574 slaves; for whose redemption an average price of £90 sterling (being about the average price of the Marshal's sales) had been paid, making a sum, on the whole, of £771,660. In this case, the capital of the Demarara planters might be somewhat changed in its nature, but it would not be diminished in its amount. The owners of the emancipated slaves, if they could not replace them from the numerous sales of the Marshal which take place in that colony, or from other sources, would still have the value of the emancipated slaves as a source of income. Even if slaves were so scarce that none were to be procured but at a high price, this would be no disadvantage to him who received, for his enfranchised slave, the full market value whatever that might be.

The fact, however, differs very widely from the supposition here made. The slave population indeed has not been diminished to the extent supposed, by *manumission,* during the years 1818 to 1824—but, during those years, it has been diminished to that extent, to the extent that is

to say of 8,574 individuals, by the excess of deaths over births.* And this excess of mortality therefore has actually occasioned a loss to the Demarara planters of about £771,660, for which they can obviously claim no indemnity whatever. It is somewhat strange then that these gentlemen should complain so vehemently of what they call the *compulsory* manumissions of the British government, though it provides a full indemnity for each; and yet should make no complaint of the far more extensive manumissions, also *compulsory*, effected by that unceremonious and irresistible emancipator, *Death;* who however gives himself no trouble in appraising the value of those whom he enfranchises, or in compensating the owner for his loss.

Now let us only suppose another possible case; (one indeed we grieve to say, which is wholly contrary to the fact;) that the mild administration of Slavery, of which the Demarara planters boast so loudly, had spared that waste of life which the six years in question have witnessed; but that the numbers of their slaves had still been diminished to the same extent, though not by *death*, yet by *manumission;* would they in that case have had any cause to complain of ruin? They would have been richer by £771,660 than they now are; while humanity would have had more in which to rejoice, and less over which to mourn.

The apprehensions of ruin, from the measures in question, may still be *professed* by the planters of Demarara and Berbice, but surely they cannot be seriously entertained by any rational being.

8. The Memorialists express their fear lest the proposed measure should "*endanger the lives of the white inhabitants of Demarara and Berbice.*"

What but the blindness and unreasonableness of prejudice can account for such a groundless fear? What instance can be adduced of danger to the public peace from the most liberal extension of the right of redemption to slaves? What danger has ever followed the very measure so strongly deprecated? It has always been the law of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, and yet the internal peace of those colonies has been more stable than that of any others; nay to this very law have they been indebted for their security. Experience therefore is decidedly opposed to this objection. Even in Trinidad, although the enfranchised part of the community have had much to complain of in the conduct of the whites; and though in number they exceed the whites in the proportion of five to one, yet in 1816, and afterwards in 1823, while every other colony in the West Indies was agitated by alarms, in Trinidad they enjoyed a state of perfect tranquillity. The colonies which experienced any real agitation, were the very two colonies where hindrances to manumission had been multiplied with the most jealous care, Barbadoes and Demarara.

In Barbadoes, the tax on manumissions had been raised to 200*l.* on men, and 300*l.* on women. In Demarara, not only were heavy imposts arbitrarily imposed on each act of manumission as it occurred, by the Governor and Court of Policy, but without *their* formal licence, no slave could be manumitted at all. An owner was actually deprived

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* See Anti-Slavery Reporters, Nos. 19 and 26, and the Parliamentary documents there referred to.

of the power of giving freedom to his slave, without the consent of the Court of Policy, lest he should thereby endanger the public peace. In this single opprobrious fact we see the proof and also the cause of the absurd prejudice, and of the idle and unfounded alarms, which prevail in Demarara respecting manumission. The law has strengthened the prejudice, and the prejudice has increased the alarm.—The Demarara law is remarkable. It enacts, that "As the power of granting manumissions to slaves, is solely vested in the Governor and Court of Policy, all acts and deeds of whatsoever nature, executed by unauthorized individuals, and pretending to convey the right of freedom to slaves, are illegal, and the same are hereby declared to be null and void, and of no effect whatever; and any person who shall presume to infringe this sole and undoubted power, by granting or executing a release from servitude to any slave, &c., shall be subjected to a fine of 1000 guilders."

Can any thing be conceived more monstrous than such a law? And it is the members of the very Court that framed it, who pretend to instruct the King's Privy Council, and the Ministers of the Crown, in sound views of policy. We may dismiss this futile objection without any further observation. It is wholly unsupported by facts; it is contrary to all experience; and it is clearly and decidedly opposed to every sound principle of general policy.

9. Still more unfounded, if possible, are the anticipations of *moral evil* which the Demarara Planters deduce from the increased facility of enfranchisement. The moral benefits of Slavery, and the moral evils of freedom, are topics reserved for the Planters of Demarara and Berbice, and for the new school of moral and political philosophy which some of their friends have laboured so assiduously to establish for their advantage.* Their newborn solicitudes for the interests of morality, are, however, somewhat suspicious, especially when we call to mind the entire absence, for so many years, of all attempts on their part to improve the moral condition of their slaves; their marked dislike of religious instruction; their utter neglect of the institution of marriage; and the universal concubinage of all classes which has been substituted for it.

The Demarara Planters not only profess to think that Slavery is more favourable to the improvement of the moral character than freedom; (their avowed plan being to keep their slaves, slaves still, for the very purpose of improving their moral character, and thus fitting them for freedom) but they seem to hold that even the hope of obtaining freedom, though by a long course of industry and frugality, is pregnant with moral mischiefs. To state the proposition would be to refute it, even if our whole experience of the effect of enfranchisement, not only in the West Indies, but in all parts of the world, did not force upon us an opposite conclusion. It may be affirmed that there is no instance, in history, of a body of slaves, remaining in slavery, being raised in morals and civilization to a level with freemen. The change has either been effected, as in England, by giving ready facilities to individual manu-

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* See the writings of Major Moody and Mr. M'Donnel, some articles in the Quarterly Review, &c. &c.

mission; or as in Hayti, by a revolutionary convulsion; or as in Lithuania, by a decree of the State, at once conferring freedom on the whole body of the slaves.

The Memorialists profess to have at heart the objects of civilizing the slave, and of improving his mind and morals, as introductory to emancipation. This sounds well, but it is a mere delusion. The objects they thus propose to effect we believe to be utterly unattainable, except by some general legislative measure of emancipation, or by some plan, like what they now so vehemently resist, which places a slave's enfranchisement within the reach of his own exertions.

10. The zeal of the Memorialists, in the cause of morality, is further evinced by their objecting to the slave's right of redemption, on account of *its tendency to encourage the prostitution of the enslaved females to white men.* Unfortunately, however, for this argument, the prostitution of female slaves already exists to the full demand of the white population. And, as for the "check to illicit connexion, which" it is most untruly asserted, "at present subsists, in the dread of bringing into existence an offspring whose lot is Slavery," we do not believe that such a consideration has had the very slightest effect, as a "check," on the licentiousness of the whites; licentiousness being, with very rare exceptions, universal among them. And if it really possessed any force, it must operate in a still greater degree against marriage with slaves.

The Court of Policy must have felt the extreme ridiculousness of such an argument as this, and they must have relied for its effect on the utter ignorance prevailing in the Privy Council of the real state of West Indian society. Could they have named a single individual on whom this alleged check had operated?

11. The Memorialists further object to the proposed plan, as *tending to diminish the number of voluntary and gratuitous manumissions.* Such manumissions, however, proceed, for the most part from considerations which are not likely to be permanently affected by the slave's possessing a right of self-redemption. A keeper will still be equally desirous, as he now is, of enfranchising his concubine, or a father his child, or a master a faithful and attached servant, if neither the concubine, the child, or the servant, should have the *power* as well as the *right* of self-redemption. If the proposed plan, indeed, by bringing additional purchasers into the market, should raise the market value of a slave, it will, of course, add to the master's reluctance to part with him. But voluntary manumissions, if they proceed to the same extent with redemptions by the slave himself, must equally affect the value of slaves generally, and tend equally in this way to abate the rapidity of manumissions. With their usual inconclusiveness of reasoning, however, the Memorialists seem to imagine, that though the system of self-redemption will liberate a smaller number of slaves than the system of voluntary manumission, yet that it will produce a greater effect in enhancing their market value!

12. The plan of self-redemption, we are further told, *offers a premium to idleness, and must produce discontent; for it affixes a higher price to the industrious than to the idle and profligate.*

It offers, however, a far higher premium to industry and fru-

gality, than it does to idleness and waste. The industrious and well-behaved may indeed expect to pay a high price for their freedom; but the idle and dissolute must know that they have no chance of obtaining it at all. An industrious slave will sooner raise 120*l.* for his redemption, than an idle slave will raise 20*l.* Undoubtedly it is a hardship on any man that he should have to pay for his good conduct, and some consideration ought to be given by Government to this subject. Still the most deserving slaves will, under the operation of the proposed plan, be much better off than heretofore, and therefore can hardly be discontented with so favourable a change in their lot. The objections, on this account, to the measure, fade into nothing, when that is compared with the existing system, and with its stern exclusion of the slave from all hope of freedom by his own exertions.

13. The proposed plan we are further told, would be *an encouragement to theft on the part of the slave, in order to acquire the means of effecting his enfranchisment.*

This, however, has not been found to be the case in the colonies where the largest facilities have been given to manumission; as in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, and in Trinidad. If facts of this kind could have been produced, they would not have been kept back: our ears would have been stunned with them. Besides, is there no police in the West Indies? Do thefts meet with impunity there? And if they do not, is it to be apprehended that those negroes, who seriously set themselves to obtain their freedom, will risk all their past progress, and all their future hopes, by the commission of felony? Such are not in general the men who commit felonies.

14. *The slave,* it is also argued, *will be obliged to deny himself comforts in order to accumulate his price. He will thus have acquired habits of parsimony, but not habits of enjoyment, and to these last alone can we trust for correcting his natural indolence.*

In opposition to this dogma of the new "philosophy of labour," we maintain that habits of industry, frugality, and providence, are far more to be trusted for correcting the slave's disposition to indolence, and for raising him in the scale of civilization, than habits of enjoyment, as they are called, which are in fact habits of prodigality. The real prosperity of the individual, as well as of the state, can only arise from accumulation, which is also the true path, politically speaking, to solid enjoyment, in the case of black as well as white.

15. A further objection to the proposed plan, is, that *the young and able, and especially young females, will be redeemed, while the old and infirm will be left.*

If, however, the compensation is adequate, this can be no injury to the planter, who will be able to purchase other young persons with the money. The market price must always accurately measure the real loss to the planter. It cannot be alleged that slaves are not to be bought in Demarara. During the five years from 1821 to 1825, there were sold in that colony, by the marshal alone, 2,705 slaves. The man who had received the full and fair value of a slave, would surely

have no difficulty in replacing him, if he went to a sale with the money which he had just received for him in his hand.

16. *The security of the mortgagee*, it is further asserted, *will be lessened, if not destroyed by this plan.*

This plan, however, neither lessens nor destroys the security of the mortgagee. It only substitutes one security, and that a more stable one, for another. It tends indeed to increase, instead of to lessen, the value of the security arising from property in slaves, because it admits into the market fresh parties as purchasers, which must inevitably raise the market price of slaves, and therefore be in favour of the security.

17. *The plan is dangerous by the excitement it will produce among the slaves.*

This objection has been already answered under a former head. But are there no other dangers to be apprehended than those which proceed from a hope in the slaves of being able to redeem themselves? Is there then no danger in shutting out all such hope?

18. *The proposed plan is likewise objected to as discouraging taskwork.*

If however the use of the whip in the field be effectually and practically abolished, as the Memorialists take credit to themselves for having done, it is so obviously their interest to adopt taskwork, that no fears need be entertained on that point. Accordingly, Sir Ralph Woodford tells us that, in Trinidad, since the abolition of the driving whip, "Taskwork is becoming general."—Besides, if the compensation awarded to the master, in the appraised value of his slave, be, as has been shewn, an adequate compensation, why should the master discourage taskwork, especially if that method affords to the slave, as is asserted, the means of sooner accumulating his price? In that case we can conceive no motive but pure spite against freedom which should lead to such a result.

Our fear with respect to taskwork is of a very different description from that expressed by the Memorialists; it is the imminent danger that the tasks will be excessive. Let it be remembered that the master is constituted the sole judge of the quantum of labour to be required from the slave, under the penalty of such corporal punishment as the master may inflict. Let it be remembered also that there is not, in the West Indies as in the United States, an obvious and easy method of checking the tendency in the master to undue exaction. Multitudes of the agricultural labourers in the United States are white. It would be too gross and palpable a violation of justice, to be often attempted, that tasks should be imposed on the black man, which the white man of equal strength, labouring on the same or an adjoining plantation, was unable to execute. This circumstance it is which in America has made taskwork such a benefit to the slave, that, notwithstanding his slavery, he multiplies his numbers rapidly. If we could discover any such natural check to undue exaction in the West Indies, we should entertain fewer apprehensions of the abuse of taskwork to purposes of oppression; but in the existing state of things there, it is impossible to contemplate the subject without earnestly hoping that the government would turn its

anxious attention to the means of guarding against the evils which may arise from that system, recommended as it undoubtedly is by many considerations, but yet liable as it also is to the most serious abuses.

19. Lastly, the proposed plan is objected to because, *by the emancipation of the slaves, the West India colonies will cease to be of any value to Great Britain.*

At present it must be admitted that the value of these colonies, as to what respects the slaves belonging to them, is now constantly deteriorating, and tends gradually to annihilation. Their rapid decrease by *death* cannot be made the subject of indemnity. But supposing them to decrease, however rapidly, by *manumission*, their value will in that case be refunded to the master, and to the empire, by the hand of the slaves themselves; who, by the very process, will also have become an increasing population of active and industrious freemen, each of them of far greater value, in a national point of view, than when he remained in bondage. Can any one doubt for a single moment, that, whether as the creators of wealth, or as the consumers of merchandize, the 35,000 enfranchised individuals of Jamaica, and the 15,000 of Trinidad, are not at this moment of more importance to the mother country, (and if the disabilities under which they labour were removed, would not become infinitely more important still) than twice or thrice the number of miserable slaves? What country in the world has ever lost ground by the exchange of slavery for freedom, especially when brought about by the tranquil operation of legal facilities afforded to its acquisition?

We have now gone through the whole of the objections made by the Planters of Demarara and Berbice to the general policy of the proposed plan for facilitating manumission. We have done this in order to expose their fallacy, although we might have fairly declined to enter upon the subject at all. The *policy* of the measure is no longer a point *sub judice*, having been already decided upon not only by His Majesty's Government, but by the unanimous voice of Parliament, who have stamped with their entire approbation those very principles of policy to which the Memorialists so strenuously object. Indeed without adhering to this course of policy, as Lord Bathurst, himself has justly remarked, "no system of measures would satisfy the feelings of the country, or execute the purposes of Parliament." To recede from it also would be to violate every pledge which has been given to the country both by the Crown and by the legislature, who have solemnly announced it as their determination that the slave shall have the right of redeeming himself or his family; and that the master shall be bound to receive, in lieu of the persons so redeemed, their fairly appraised value. The planters of Demarara and Berbice, however, deny that the appraised value of the slave is an adequate indemnity to the master; and this denial raises the only question which, in fact, is now really open for discussion. The question of policy has been already decided, and there can be no hope of changing that decision.*

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* We say nothing at present, though much might be said, on the impolicy of trifling with the hopes and fears of the slaves, and of the danger to the masters of arraying themselves against the universal wish of the nation, as well as against the excited expectations of the slave population. Such conduct seems like absolute infatuation.

II. We come now therefore to the second main point which, at setting out,(see p. 13)we proposed to consider, namely, *the alleged insufficiency of the indemnity proposed to be given to the Master for the manumission of his slave.* And this which is in truth, the only point really at issue, need not occupy us long, for it lies in a narrow compass.

The Memorialists allege that the market value of the slave will not indemnify the master for the loss of that slave's labour; and they fortify this view of the subject by referring to a statement of Lord Bathurst in an *Instruction* to the Governor of Demarara, in which after intimating that he considers the master entitled to have the loss he may sustain by the act of manumission fairly estimated with a view to his adequate compensation, he adds, "But if in the process of time it should unfortunately be found that the slaves, thus manumitted, altogether abandon their owners, and refuse to work as free persons, the owner not having the means to supply the loss of his slaves, and not being able to engage any free labourers for his *sugar plantations*, the price, which must *then* be assigned to the loss of each slave, must have a direct reference to that state in which the plantation will be placed by the progressive reduction of the means of conducting it."

It might have been easily foreseen that a statement so vaguely and obscurely expressed, on a subject also which so very deeply affected the prejudices and feelings of the West India planters, would have been liable to misconstruction. On that account its appearance in such a form is greatly to be deplored.

At the same time, it must be admitted, that Lord Bathurst has been very unfairly dealt with by the West Indians. They have represented him as maintaining that the value of the slave is not to be estimated by the market price, but by a calculation both of the present and prospective gain which the master may make of him. If this indeed were his Lordship's meaning, nothing could have been said in his defence, as such a mode of valuation would be both impracticable in itself, and unfair and iniquitous towards the slaves. The market price can be the only sure criterion of the value of the slave, and must always measure with sufficient accuracy the average gains of the master. And this, it now appears, was the precise and deliberate view of the case taken by his Lordship. For the construction to which we have adverted having been recently reduced to practice in Trinidad, in a case to which we shall presently refer, his Lordship, in a letter to Sir Ralph Woodford, dated Oct. 30, 1826, has explained his real meaning, which the parties, he says, proceeding "on an entire misapprehension and misapplication of the instruction by which they profess to have been guided, had wholly misconstrued." That instruction, he states, was not at all intended to affect present existing valuations, but to refer to a state wholly future, prospective and contingent, and which, even in that remote and, at most, possible event, was applicable to no slaves but those engaged in "the field labour of *sugar* plantations." "Generally speaking," his Lordship adds, "*the market price of slaves is the fairest criterion of their value, and it is that by which appraisers should principally regulate their valuations.** The various considerations mentioned in my dis-

* It is not obvious on what ground it is that his Lordship introduces the

patch *were not brought forward to supersede this criterion*, but as those which *might progressively* affect the market price, and thereby make the fixing *now* a uniform price objectionable. By the term market price, it is not intended to refer to special sales which may have taken place under special circumstances, but to *that price for which a slave bona fida equivalent could be purchased at the time of the appraisement*, and in that case, whether the proprietor receives an actual substitution of an equivalent slave, or a sum of money, for which, at his option, an equivalent slave can be equally procured, his interests are equally preserved. Even on the supposition that no equivalent slave could be procured, the principle of appraisement would in no degree be changed. The price of the manumission in that case would be a sum which would be either an equivalent for the increased expense which the Proprietor would incur from employing a free person, in services in which it is known by experience that free people can be employed; or as a compensation, whatever may be the loss of the slave's labour in those services for which it may be found that free labour will not be available; or in those for which free labour may be only partially or inadequately substituted."*

Little need be added with a view of supporting this unanswerable reasoning of his Lordship. Conceding, for the sake of the argument, the Planter's right to complete indemnity, we would remark, that it is perfectly obvious, that if free labour could be obtained at the same expense and with the same profit as slave labour, no compensation whatever would be due to the Planter for the liberation of his slaves. If, on the contrary, free labour were not obtainable at all, an equitable compensation would include the value of such property as would be made valueless by his emancipation. Between these extremes there is a variety of gradations, for which it would be difficult previously to provide. But the market price of the slave, and that alone, solves the difficulty. And if, in the progress of emancipation, the Planters find it impossible to obtain free labour at all, the market price of the slaves must rise, so as to cover even the value of the estate, so far as that may be unaffected by other extrinsic circumstances. But, on the other hand, in proportion as it becomes more easy to obtain free labour, must the price of slaves decrease in the market, till at last it may fall to nothing.

It is obvious, therefore, that the market price of slaves is the only just criterion by which the completeness of the indemnity to the owner can be measured; and the moment we admit of a departure from this criterion, we open a door for the grossest injustice and oppression. It is by this rule that the valuation of an English Jury, sworn to decide justly between litigant parties, is guided; and it is by the same rule that, in the West Indies, the sworn appraisers ought to be guided in

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qualifying phrases, "generally" "principally." We can perceive no adequate reasons for such qualifications.

* What are those kinds of employment for which free labour may not be made available?

their estimate of the slave's value. They cannot, indeed, depart from this rule on either side of the Atlantic, without incurring the guilt of gross injustice, if not of perjury.

A most striking illustration of the view now given of this subject has just been furnished in Trinidad, and has appeared in papers recently laid before Parliament by his Majesty's command. (Part II. 1827.)

Pamela Monro, a female slave, eighteen years of age, whose mother was desirous of manumitting her, was ordered to be appraised in the usual way, by two appraisers, Thomas Le Gendre and William H. Burnley, Esqs. These appraisers, not attending simply to the plain terms of the oath they had taken, but having recourse to sophistical inferences from the misinterpreted instruction of Lord Bathurst, declare their judgment to be, that "Pamela Monro *is fully worth* the sum of 1200 Mexican dollars perfect (viz. 260*l.* sterling), *and they do place that value upon her.*" That is to say, instead of giving, according to the tenor of the law, the fair and real value of this young woman in the market, which might be about 80*l.* or 85*l.* sterling, they form an imaginary and constructive valuation, which amounts to more than three times her fair and real value; a decision which has of course doomed the wretched Pamela to remain a slave.

The Protector of Slaves, Mr. Gloster, having been applied to on this occasion, has stated, that the appraisement of this poor girl far exceeded any other since the promulgation of the Order in Council. The very highest appraisement of any slave, even of the most valuable class, had been 169*l.*, and he was a head boiler, and a tolerable mason, carpenter, and blacksmith, whom his owner considered it impossible to replace. Another slave, who acted as a store-keeper and out-door collecting clerk, and who was in every respect a confidential servant, had been sold for 162*l.* 10*s.* sterling. Four head drivers had been also appraised, all very intelligent and confidential persons; one of them, capable of conducting a Cocoa Estate, at 150*l.* sterling; another at 140*l.*; another at 120*l.*; and a fourth *(whom his former master at this very time employs as an overseer for daily wages)* at 97*l.* 10*s.* sterling.

The observations of the Protector of Slaves on this whole transaction are invaluable; and they amply confirm our views of the subject, while they prove the utter fallacy of those advanced by the Memorialists and their Learned Counsel. They are as follows:

"The appraised value of slaves manumitted, under the provisions of the Order in Council, for the first eighteen months after it came into operation, does not average much more than one-half of the general average for the last twelve months."—(That is to say, since the above quoted and unhappily misconstrued dispatch of Lord Bathurst became public.) "The selling or market price of slaves, however, has not experienced a commensurate rise; and therefore it is evident, that the magnitude of the appraisements *lately made* are not occasioned by the increased value of slaves.

"While the market price of slaves continues as at present, I would consider the application of other principles of appraisement to any common case, as *an injustice to the slave, and an encroachment on the rights conferred upon him by the law.*

"To my apprehension, *the only fair criterion by which the value of a slave can be ascertained*, is *the usual market price;* and although that price has risen considerably within the last twelve months, the criterion afforded by it is far exceeded by the generality of appraisements.

"It is also certain that the market price will rise in proportion to the decrease of the number of, or difficulty of procuring, *plantation* slaves. It is, therefore, UNJUST *to add to the real value, or market price, of the slave purchasing his freedom, a portion of the value of the estate to which the slave is attached*, until it becomes impracticable to continue the cultivation of the estate, in consequence of the impossibility of procuring a substitute for the slave who is to be enfranchised.*

"The opposite opinions are very generally diffused, and, however controvertible they may be by argument, *I cannot indulge even the hope that they will be easily eradicated, or prevented from operating very seriously to the disadvantage of the slaves desirous of becoming free.*"

"The principle," (which principle was assumed and avowed by the appraisers of Pamela Monro) "that the value of the slave should be estimated at the amount of the capital required to yield a revenue equal to the hire which could be obtained for the slave, is evidently fallacious, from the fact that, every day, instances occur of slaves being bought for four hundred dollars," (a third of the appraised value of Pamela Monro) "who, as Mr. Burnley mentions," (of Pamela) "may be immediately hired at the rate of six dollars, or 1*l.* 6*s.* sterling per month, fed, clothed, and the capital guaranteed; the corresponding capital to which, at six per cent., (the ordinary rate of interest in Trinidad) is 1200 dollars, or 260*l.* sterling, the appraised value of Pamela Monro. Yet surely, it could not be pretended that the latter sum was the real value of a slave that was bought for one third of the sum, (400 dollars) and that could not be resold at an advanced price. This, I submit, PROVES *that the market price is the only just and fair criterion for determining the value of a slave.*"

This luminous and convincing exposition of the case is highly creditable to its author, Mr. Gloster; and the more so, because, being himself a West Indian, he was likely to be powerfully influenced by opinions which he states to be so widely diffused around him, and so interwoven with the interests and the prejudices of his brethren.

So undeniably just and reasonable in itself is the proposed method of ascertaining the indemnity due to the planter for the loss of his slave, that it is precisely the method which has been prescribed, by every legislature in the West Indies, whenever a slave is taken from his master for any public purpose, or is executed, or banished for a criminal offence. The value, in such case, is assessed by a Jury according to the fair market price. Had Pamela Monro, instead of being a claimant for freedom, been condemned to the gallows, she would have been equally lost to her owner; but in that case, would Messrs. Le Gendre

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* And not even then, for even in that case the market price would still be the criterion of value.

and Burnley, or any other appraisers, have awarded to him, on their oaths, 1,200 Mexican dollars, as her fair and just appraisement?

On the whole, we think it has been clearly demonstrated, that the allegations and complaints of the memorialists have no just foundation; that the prayer founded upon them ought not to be listened to; and that His Majesty's Government are bound, not only by their own pledges, but by the most forcible reasons of state policy, as well as of humanity and justice, to persevere in their proposed plan of manumission.

It no less clearly appears, however, from what has passed in Trinidad, that even the binding solemnity of an oath, may not secure, in the execution of that plan, a fair measure of justice to the slave; and that if the Government and Parliament wish to fulfil their pledges, steps must forthwith be taken to obviate the effects of such open and deliberate deviations from fairness and impartiality. And if even the sanctions interposed, in such a case as this, are unequal to resist the influence of that sympathy, which the holders of slaves feel in favour of the master, and against the slave; how can the Government and the Parliament continue to entrust to the conscience and feeling of such men, the more difficult and delicate and complicated task of legislating for their wretched dependants? Do not such transactions as these, as well as such petitions and memorials as we have been considering, add irresistible force to the conclusion at which the country at large has long since arrived—that "It would be the height of fatuity to continue to look for any useful reforms from the masters of slaves. The work must be undertaken and executed by the British Parliament. They alone are competent to the task. And in no other way can the slightest hope be entertained, either of effectually mitigating the rigours of colonial bondage, or of finally abolishing that opprobrious state of society."

Notwithstanding the pains we have taken to confute the objections of the Memorialists to the proposed plan of Manumission, *it is necessary we should guard against being considered as acquiescing in the justice of the principle of the measure itself.* We deem it, indeed, an infinite improvement on the former system. But the obligation to indemnify the planter, for the liberation of his slaves, does not justly attach to *them,* but to the public in common with the planter. Indeed, if there be any one of the parties more clearly entitled to indemnity than another, it is the slave himself, who, by the present arrangement, has this injury added to all his other wrongs, that he is condemned to pay the penalty of the criminal conduct of his oppressors.

This, and all other publications of the Society, may be had at their office 18, *Aldermanbury; or at Messrs. Hatchards,* 187, *Piccadilly, and Arch's, Cornhill. They may also be procured, through any bookseller, or at the depots of the Anti-Slavery Society throughout the kingdom.*

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The "Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter" will be ready for delivery on the first day of every month. Copies will be forwarded at the request of any Anti-Slavery Society, at the rate of four shillings per hundred, when not exceeding half a sheet, and in proportion, when it exceeds that quantity. All persons wishing to receive a regular supply are requested to make application to the Secretary, at the Society's office, No. 18, Aldermanbury, and mention the conveyance by which they may be most conveniently sent. Single Copies may be had of all booksellers and newsmen, at the rate of 1*d.* per half-sheet of eight pages, or 2*d.* per sheet of sixteen pages.

FURTHER PROGRESS OF COLONIAL REFORM;—BRAZILIAN MINING COMPANY;—CASE OF BETTO DOUGLAS CORRECTED;—REV. M. W. HARTE, BARBADOES.

It will be recollected that in the House of Commons on the 1st of March 1826, and afterwards at the close of the session, Mr. Canning, after stating in strong terms his disapprobation of the past conduct of the colonial legislatures,* expressed a hope that, if a little more space were given them for a fair trial, the best effects might follow. "If, however," he added, "due advantage is not taken by them of that space which shall be allowed them, it may then become the duty, if not of Parliament to take the matter out of the hands of Government, at least of Government to call upon the Parliament to arm them with additional power. It is, therefore, the purpose of the Government at home, to take such steps as shall bring the intentions of the colonial legislatures to a fair trial. It is their purpose to direct the introduction of a bill into each of the legislatures, in its next session, embodying the Trinidad Order in Council, so as to ensure the acceptance, rejection, or modification of the recommendations which it contains. I should much regret that Parliament should take any step to intercept the course of a plan which, if it succeeds, will be more acceptable than any forcible measure; and if it should fail, Parliament will at least have the consolation of not having resorted to the ultimate measures, until they had exhausted the expectation of any thing being done by the colonies themselves. Coercion must be applied to confirmed obstinacy; but the degree of contumacy has not yet arisen to call for its exercise." †

To the same effect, on the 7th of March 1826, Earl Bathurst, in the House of Lords, observed that—"Bills embodying the various provisions of the Trinidad Order in Council, would now be sent to the Governors of the several West India Colonies, by whom they would

* Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. X. p. 100. † Ibid, p. 101, and 102.

be proposed to the consideration of their legislative assemblies, and the Government would soon be in possession of their decisions upon them. From the earnest manner in which the subject would be recommended to their attention, he did hope that it would have a successful result. But should it prove otherwise, it would then be for their Lordships to consider what course it would be expedient to adopt, to carry their measures into effect." *

The result of this new effort of the Government was made known to Parliament, not at the beginning of the session of 1827, as was expected, but at its very close, when it was impossible to make any use of the communication. This circumstance, together with the unsettled state of His Majesty's Government, which had rendered vain the hope of any beneficial discussion of the subject in Parliament, obliged the friends of Colonial Reform, though most reluctantly, to postpone to a future session any parliamentary movements for the promotion of that object.

The information which has at length been laid before Parliament and the public, on this great question, is contained in 600 closely-printed folio pages, under the following title,

"Papers presented to Parliament by His Majesty's Command, in explanation of the measures adopted by His Majesty's Government, for the melioration of the condition of the slave population in His Majesty's possessions; in continuation of the papers presented in the year 1826—Part I. and Part II. 1827."

The proceedings in each of the colonial legislatures are introduced by certain circular communications from Lord Bathurst to the Governor of each colony. These circulars exhibit slight variations from each other, arising from the somewhat varying circumstances of the different colonies, but as in all *essential* points they are identical, it will be sufficient to state the substance of any one of them, in order to show the nature and bearing of the instructions which have been issued by His Majesty's Government, in fulfilment of the above pledge to Parliament.

These circular despatches bear date the 19th of March, and the 21st of May, 1826.

In the former, Lord Bathurst recapitulates the steps he had already taken to bring the subject before the colonial legislatures, and having adverted to the continued non-fulfilment of his hopes of amelioration, goes on to observe, that he has now to communicate to them the unanimous concurrence of the House of Lords, in the Resolutions of the House of Commons, of the 15th of May, 1823.

"In order to enable you," his Lordship proceeds, "to bring the whole subject under the consideration of the assembly, in a more distinct shape, I shall take an early opportunity of sending out to you all the measures contained in the Trinidad Order of Council, classed under separate heads, and accompanied with such explanations as may be necessary, with a view of placing in a clearer light the effect of some of those provisions which I have reason to believe have been mis-

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* Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 10. p. 109.

understood. On the receipt of this communication you will be able to take the proper steps for having bills drawn up for carrying these measures severally into effect, in such manner as may be most conformable to the existing laws. When these bills have been duly prepared, you will cause them to be brought under the consideration of the assembly, so that the assembly may have them separately before them, and either pass them in the shape in which they will be introduced, or make such amendments, or modifications of their provisions as the assembly may deem expedient, unless (what I anxiously deprecate) they should come to the decision of rejecting them.

"The assembly will then be placed in full possession of all which His Majesty's Government contemplate for carrying into effect the resolutions of the two houses of Parliament; and the result of their deliberations will enable His Majesty's Government to judge whether it will be necessary to take any other course for the attainment of that object. If you should have it in your power to announce to me, that the Council and Assembly have agreed to bills substantially carrying into effect all the measures which have been brought under their consideration, it will only remain for me, in communicating to you His Majesty's allowance of these bills, to congratulate you and the legislature on the establishment of a system, both for the improvement of the condition of the slave population, and for providing for the manumission of the slaves or their families on a principle of equitable appraisement:—which system will then have fully carried into effect the resolutions of the two Houses of Parliament. Nothing will then remain but to provide for the improvement of the judicial system, and for its accommodation to the present wants of the whole community, including the slave popuulation."

The circular despatch of the 21st of May 1826, announces the transmission of the promised bills.

"These enclosures," Lord Bathurst says, "relate to the eight following subjects: 1st, the office of Protector or Guardian of Slaves; 2nd, the admission of the evidence of slaves in civil and criminal cases; 3rd, the manumission of slaves; 4th, the intermarriage of slaves; 5th, the observance of Sunday, and the abolition of Sunday markets on that day; 6th, the acquisition of property by slaves, and the establishment of saving banks for the better protection of it; 7th, the separation of families under judicial process; and 8th, the punishment of slaves, with the record to be kept of such punishments, when inflicted by the authority of the owner."

These drafts of bills, his Lordship states, are accompanied by explanatory notes, and by copies of his official correspondence on this subject with the Governors of Trinidad and Demarara, from which, he adds, will be learnt the views taken, by Government, of the various objections urged against the provisions of the Order in Council, and of the points in that order which are of primary and essential importance. His Lordship then proceeds thus—

"I am perfectly aware of the difficulty, if not impossibility, of framing in this country, on so comprehensive a subject, enactments which are to have their operation in ———. I am aware also, that

upon some of the topics comprised in these enclosures, the wishes of His Majesty's Government have already, to a certain extent, been anticipated by the existing laws, and that, without a very intimate and practical acquaintance with those laws, it may, perhaps, be impracticable to frame, with safety, new legislative provisions on the same or similar subjects.

"In transmitting, therefore, to you, the enclosed papers, I do not propose them as drafts which could be passed without a careful revision, nor probably, without some material alterations. My object in this communication has rather been to explain anew, under separate heads, and in the fullest manner, the measures which His Majesty's Government desire to introduce; and I have for this purpose adopted the form and language of legislative acts, because in no other way could those views be explained with equal accuracy and precision. His Majesty will, however, be ready to confirm any laws in which the legislature of ——— may effectually imbody these principles, and give effect to those intentions, however much such laws may depart from the enclosed papers in arrangement, language, or minor details."

The Governors are further directed to consult the law officers of the Crown, as to the form and structure of the proposed laws, and then to introduce them to the legislatures, "with such discretion, and with such a regard to their constitutional privileges, as to afford no reasonable cause for any jealousy or complaint on their part."

They are likewise instructed to report fully, and with as little delay as possible, the progress which may have been made, and also the reasons which may have prevented the adoption of any of the clauses, distinguishing what may have been enacted and what rejected; and in cases where former acts may be thought to have rendered further legislation unnecessary, copies of such previous acts are to be sent.

"I have thus once more," observes his Lordship in conclusion, "directed your attention to this most important subject; and I cannot close the present despatch without again reminding you, that His Majesty's Government will feel the most lively interest in the result of the deliberations of the legislative council and assembly in the ensuing session. I am not disposed to anticipate the continued rejection of enactments so earnestly and anxiously looked for by both Houses of Parliament, and by every class of society in this kingdom. On the contrary, I must still hope that it will shortly be in my power to lay, before His Majesty, Acts fully carrying into effect the spirit of the various provisions, which, by His Majesty's commands, I have now the honour to transmit to you."

Before we proceed to state the effect produced by this communication, it will be necessary to make a few remarks on the communication itself.

Lord Bathurst directs that the bills, for carrying his propositions into effect, be drawn up in such a manner as shall be "most conformable to the existing laws." This instruction may possibly mean no more than that the terms used, or the forms prescribed, in the new acts, shall be in conformity with existing usage. But if it is to be understood as implying the necessity of conforming to the principles and the spirit of the existing slave laws, we should greatly question its expe-

diency. No one who has formed an adequate conception of the unjust and barbarous character of those laws can hope for improvement in such a course; on the contrary, he will feel that it is only by a wide departure from their principles, and a general counteraction of their spirit, that any real amelioration is to be effected.

Lord Bathurst informs the Assemblies, that the eight Bills which he has sent to them will put them "in *full* possession of *all* which His Majesty's Government contemplate for carrying into effect the resolutions of the two Houses of Parliament." This is certainly a startling statement. Are we to understand it as a renunciation, on the part of His Majesty's Government, of any progressive measures of improvement (judicial reforms excepted) beyond those provided for in these Bills? If so, it appears to be a manifest departure from the Resolutions of 1823, and from the assurances given to Parliament and the public on the subject by His Majesty's Government. On the 16th of March, 1824, when Mr. Canning detailed to the House of Commons the particulars of the Trinidad Order in Council, which he represented as the intended model of reform for all the Colonies, and which, though with material drawbacks, now forms the very *corpus* of Lord Bathurst's eight Bills, he was strongly urged by Mr. Baring, Mr. Manning, Mr. Blair, and other West Indians, to draw there the line, and fix at once where concession was to stop, so as to settle the question for ever. Mr. Canning repelled this proposition with considerable warmth. There were persons, he said, connected with the West Indies, who wished to force Government to give a pledge that no more should be done than was now proposed; but he would not commit himself on the subject. He would not consent to be fettered by any engagements express or implied. He would not be led by either side, or in either sense, to declarations from which it might be impossible to advance and dangerous to retreat. It would be improper either to declare an intention of stopping at the present point, or to hold out pledges of ulterior and accelerated measures. We must proceed with extreme circumspection, watching the signs of the times, and taking advantage of every occurrence; but we must reserve to ourselves a discretion and a freedom of action, which it would be madness to throw away.*

But does not this despatch of Lord Bathurst commit the very error which Mr. Canning so energetically deprecated? His Lordship says that he has put the Governors in *full* possession of *all* the measures contemplated by his Majesty's Government; and he afterwards adds, still more unequivocally, that the system embraced by the eight Bills, (the Bills themselves falling short of the original Order in Council for Trinidad,) is considered by him as *fully* carrying into effect the resolutions of Parliament; and that when it is adopted, *nothing* will remain to be done but to improve the judicial administration. If we are right in apprehending that, in thus fettering himself, Lord Bathurst has incurred the very evil against which Mr. Canning was careful to guard, and has abandoned the ground which the Government engaged to maintain; then it would seem expedient, that when the subject is next

* Debate of 16th of March, 1824, p. 71.

brought before Parliament, care should be taken to obtain a disavowal of so questionable a proceeding.

Lord Bathurst's compliment to the Colonial Assemblies, as if in their existing statutes they had anticipated, to a certain extent, the wishes of His Majesty's Government, though wholly unmerited, may be passed over in silence; but when he speaks of the *difficulty*, if not *impossibility*, of framing, in this country, enactments which are to operate in the West Indies; and of the *impracticability* of framing new legislative provisions on the subject of slavery; we cannot suppress our astonishment. Is not this virtually to abandon the *moral* right, at least, of legislative interference, on the part of this country, in the concerns of the West Indies? And what possible ground can there be for such a proposition? If it were true, Lord Bathurst himself has incurred a heavy responsibility; for, in fact, the general tenor of his official conduct has been in contradiction to it. The Trinidad Order in Council, which contained an entire new slave code, was framed, not in that island, but in his Lordship's office in Downing Street. What extraordinary revolution then has taken place to render that work of legislation so difficult, impossible, impracticable, in 1826, which, in 1824, was so easily executed, and also, in the estimation of his Lordship, so wisely and skilfully executed, as to serve for the future and finished exemplar of all colonial slave legislation? The despatch seems wholly to have overlooked the fact that this code, so framed in Downing Street, was imposed on the colony of Trinidad without qualification or reserve. His Majesty's Government, therefore, must have been convinced of the wisdom, safety, and practicability of this legislative act, and of its adaptation to the circumstances of the Colonies, or they never would have adopted it as their own measure, and peremptorily enforced its reception in Trinidad, even in direct opposition to the opinions of the whole body of the Planters. Nor does this conviction of its wisdom seem to have been altered by a more matured experience, for its adoption is still urged on all the Colonial Legislatures, as the only means of escape from the direct interference of Parliament. The language of the despatch, therefore, on this subject, seems altogether inexplicable; or if the despatch really expresses his Lordship's sentiments, it is difficult to imagine how he could have been induced first to issue a finished enactment on this impracticable subject in the island of Trinidad, and, after the lapse of two years, again to recommend that enactment, divided into eight Bills, to the adoption of the local legislature of every Slave Colony belonging to His Majesty. But independently of this circumstance, it seems not very reasonable to plead incompetency, in the Councils of this country, considering the aid they may command, for that task of legislation which is delegated so unhesitatingly to the Planters of the Bahamas, Bermuda, Tortola, &c. &c.

Before we quit the consideration of this despatch, it is necessary to re-state the points in which the Trinidad Order in Council itself, and consequently the Bills framed according to the latest modification of it, fall below the expectations originally held out to Parliament and the public, by His Majesty's Government, on the subject of Colonial Reform.

1. Though entitled an Order for "*promoting the religious instruction,*" as well as "improving the condition of the slaves," it nevertheless comprises no provisions whatever either for their education or for their religious instruction.

2. It does not abolish Sunday markets, but, on the most unsatisfactory grounds, continues still to sanction them. It proposes, indeed, at some undefined future time, to abolish them; but three years have passed, and not only are Sunday markets still legal, but they are so regulated by law as to produce great additional hardship and inconvenience to the slaves, whom the Order was expressly intended to benefit.*

3. Equivalent time was to have been allowed the slave, in lieu of Sunday, for raising food and for marketing. This stipulation has not been fulfilled, either in the Trinidad Order or in any of the Bills founded upon it. †

4. The evidence of slaves is admitted, but with such exceptions as greatly detract from the utility of the measure. ‡

5. The slave, in obtaining rights of property, continues debarred, under heavy penalties, from raising or vending any article of exportable produce. §

6. The separation of families by sale is only prohibited in the single case of *judicial* sales. ||

7. Slaves may still be sold detached from the estate to which they belong.

8. No record, as respects arbitrary punishments by the master, is required, except in the case of *plantation* slaves. ¶

9. The Protector of Slaves, though he may not be a proprietor of slave plantations, in the particular colony in which he acts as Protector, may hold *personal slaves* there to any amount, and may hold slave plantations in every other colony. **

10. The Assistant Protectors of Slaves may possess slaves, whether predial or domestic, without any limitation. ††

But besides these deviations from the course which it was originally proposed to pursue, there are some other points materially affecting the happiness of the slave which are wholly omitted. One is, that the hours of labour are not fixed. ‡‡ Another, that in all questions of slave or free, the *onus probandi* is still made to rest on the slave, and not on the claimant of his services. It is a further most serious blemish in the Order of Council, that it sanctions the cruel and unjust principle of authorizing the infliction of severe corporal chastisement on the complaining slave, who, under all his disadvantages as a witness, shall not have proved the truth of his complaint. §§

However excellent may have been the intention of the framers of the regulations in the Trinidad Order, respecting manumission, they have

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* See for a more detailed view of this subject the Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter, No. XI. p. 132—135.

† Ibid. p. 134. ‡ Ibid. p. 136—138. § Ibid. p. 139, 147.
|| Ibid. p. 139. ¶ Ibid. p. 140, 141. ** Ibid. p. 142.
†† Ibid. p. 143. ‡‡ Ibid. p. 143. §§ Ibid. p. 144.

failed in guarding them from most enormous abuse. We need only refer, in proof of this, to the case of Pamela Monro, in our preceding number. *

Having thus given as succinct an account, as is consistent with clearness, of the proceedings of His Majesty's Government, in carrying into effect the promise made to Parliament, in the session of 1826, on the subject of Colonial Reform; we shall now shew the effects which have resulted from these proceedings in each of the Slave Colonies respectively, taking them, for the sake of convenience, in their alphabetical order.

I. Antigua.

The circular communications of Lord Bathurst, as above described, having been submitted to the Assembly of Antigua, were received in such a manner as induced Sir Patrick Ross, the Governor, to signify to his Lordship, in a letter of the 8th August, 1826, that he entertained "the strongest doubts of the deliberations of the Assembly of Antigua, on this important subject, terminating in a manner at all answerable to the expectations of His Majesty's Government and of the British Parliament." This unfavourable anticipation of the Governor has proved to be correct. The legislature of Antigua have done nothing.†

II. Bahamas.

On the 8th of January, 1827, Mr. Munnings, the acting Governor, informed Lord Bathurst, that the eight Bills transmitted by his Lordship, having been first adapted to the circumstances of the Colony by the law officers of the crown, were brought by the Attorney General before the Assembly, and, after having undergone the investigation of a Select Committee, were rejected by the House.‡ The Report of the Select Committee exhibits the reasons which led to this rejection. They are in substance as follows:

1. The office of Guardian and Protector of Slaves is uncalled for, while it would burden the Colony with an expense which it is unable to bear. And as it is thus impracticable to establish in these islands any system of slave guardianship, none of the enactments connected with that system can of course be carried into effect there. §

2. To keep on plantations a record of punishments, to be periodically transmitted to England, is, from local circumstances, particularly the illiterate state of the planters, wholly impracticable. ||

3. With respect to the punishment of female slaves also, the Committee deem it impracticable to substitute any other mode in the place of flogging. Indeed, all intelligent slave owners hold, they say, that females generally require more frequent corporal correction than males, for with them originate a large proportion of the crimes for which males suffer. They question whether confinement would be any punish-

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* See Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter, No. XXVII. p. 70.

† Papers printed by His Majesty's command, 1827, Part II. p. 27—47.

‡ Ibid. Part I. p. 132. § Ibid. p. 157, 158. || Ibid. p. 158.

ment at all to a negro slave;* nay, by being confined, females would enjoy at their ease an exemption from labour, while their husbands and children and aged parents would be the real sufferers. †

4. The Committee have no objection to abolish the *driving* whip, local circumstances rendering it less requisite in the Bahamas than in the other islands. But the use of the whip as a punishment for crime, they gravely plead for, on the ground of its being a scriptural ordinance. And they tell the Government, that the proposed reform should have begun at home, in the army and navy, "it being idle to expect efficacy from a naked precept, at such open variance with their own example." ‡

5. They decidedly object to the interval of twenty-four hours between the perpetration of an offence and its punishment. They approve the principle, but cannot admit the practice on account of its inconvenience. §

6. They also decidedly object to the clause which decrees the forfeiture, to the Crown, of slaves cruelly and illegally punished. They have no objection that the suffering slave should be sold to a better master, but they cannot understand why the injured party should be made free.|| Then follows a striking specimen of West Indian logic, which, while it proceeds as usual on false assumptions, incautiously betrays that state of ungoverned feeling, among the planters, which imperiously calls for the very restraints which they deprecate. "So long," they say, "as any considerable portion of the slave population would, if free, be unable or unwilling to subsist otherwise than by rapine, theft, or other crimes,¶ the Committee consider all emancipations but those on the score of character, or merit of some kind, as a public injury:" and, they add, "if freedom be the reward of insolence or other provocation on the part of the slave, *sufficient to transport every choleric owner beyond the bounds of discretion*, it would, of course, be the very worst class of slaves that would be likely to become first free." **

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* Ibid, p. 159. What a debased and brutalized state of society does this argument indicate! When, however, it is the object of these gentlemen to shew that a *Protector* of Slaves is unnecessary, they tell us (p. 157.) of "the superior moral condition and intelligence of the Bahama slaves, in comparison with those in the sugar colonies generally." And yet they must go on flogging women! And to these highly moral slaves confinement is no punishment!

† Are negroes then wholly destitute of natural affection? The Planters know too well the contrary. What more common or more effective expedient are they in the habit of adopting, for bringing back to all the horrors of a cart-whipping a runaway son or husband, than that of placing a mother or a wife in the stocks till his return? And what influence could such an expedient have, if to these females confinement were no punishment?

‡ Ibid, p. 159. § Ibid.

|| Is no compensation then due to the maimed or mutilated slave?

¶ This assumption is proved to be untrue by that part of this very Report, which affirms the great progress made by "the negro race generally," in "their taste for the comforts of civilized life," and "the means of acquiring them;" and in "the improvement of their physical condition," with which "their advancement in morals and religion has happily kept pace." (p. 156.) What reliance can be placed on the statements of men, who, in the compass of two pages, can so grossly stultify and falsify themselves?

** Ibid, p. 159. Are there then no laws in the Bahamas to punish delinquency,

The Committee, however, recommend, that the consolidated slave law of 1824, of which an account has been already given,* should be amended in several specified particulars. An act to that effect was accordingly passed in December, 1826, which it will be now necessary to examine. We would premise, however, that this is a most inconvenient mode of legislation in the case of enactments which are to regulate the conduct of masters and slaves, and in which every thing should be as clear and simple as possible. An act of seventy-seven clauses was passed in 1824; and, in 1826, another act of fifty-seven clauses more is framed to alter, explain, and amend the first, thus perplexing and involving instead of smoothing and simplifying the avenues to justice.

This course is the more to be lamented, because one of the very reasons which the legislature of the Bahamas assigns for rejecting the proposed record of punishments on plantations is, that "*few planters*, or at least *few of the persons in charge of plantations in the Bahamas, are capable of keeping records of any kind;*" and that they "are seldom in a situation to get literal (quere literate?) assistance," to supply their own lack of learning; in plain and correct English they cannot, generally speaking, read or write.† Now, what will those learned persons, to say nothing of their slaves, make of the 137 clauses which have been framed, certainly with much technical amplification and ambiguity, to regulate the ordinary duties of masters and slaves? It is *literally* throwing dust in the eyes of the Parliament and people of England. We can say, with truth, they have puzzled us most completely, and yet the Assembly gravely assure us that the colony has no need of an official protector of slaves, and they actually refuse to appoint such an officer. We should have supposed that, in proportion to the admitted extent of their own woful ignorance, would have been the desire of obtaining, in the shape of an officer selected by the crown, some *literal* assistance. But to proceed to this bill of amendments.‡

Section 1, does not *repeal*, but merely *suspends* all the former barbarous enactments of the negro code, excepting the single consolidated act of 1824, which, however, retains in full and undiminished action no small part of these barbarities.‖

Sect. 2, invalidates all future manumissions unless effected by will, nuncupative or written, or by deed; or which may have been executed in fraud of creditors. This is narrowing, not enlarging the right of manumission.

Sect. 3, enacts that so much of a particular section of the Act of 1824, as declares void all manumissions of slaves who are incapable of labour by sickness, age, or infirmity, should be *suspended* during the continuance of this Act.

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that masters must be thus allowed to wreak their uncontrolled fury on their slaves, in the very moment of exasperation? By the same criterion of merit, which the Bahama legislature would make the sole condition on which freedom should be given to the slave, ought these choleric owners themselves to be doomed to slavery as unfit to enjoy freedom.

* See the "Slave Colonies of Great Britain," p. 4; and the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 11, p. 151.

† Papers by Command, 1827, Part I, p. 158. ‡ Ibid, p. 161—180.

‖ See the Slave Colonies of Great Britain, p. 4—11.

This clause curiously illustrates the indifference to negro feeling and negro comfort, which prevails among the white legislators of the Bahamas. In 1824, they make void a certain class of manumissions by a stroke of their pen. Persons already in possession of that best earthly boon, freedom, are suddenly divested of it without any more ceremony than would be employed in altering the merest matter of form. No inquiry is instituted as to the rights affected by it, no measure of compensation (about which they can clamour so loudly in their own case,) thought of for the suffering parties; but a stern, unqualified decree of disfranchisement issues forth from those petty despots, and at once strips a number of his Majesty's liege subjects of all the rights they had acquired by enfranchisement, and reduces them a second time to the level of brute beasts. After two years, however, this sentence, at the suggestion of Lord Bathurst, is reversed, and these disfranchised individuals are restored to such freedom as the inheritors of negro blood are permitted to enjoy in the Bahamas. But, even this freedom is to last only " during the continuance of this Act," an act which perhaps may have been already disallowed, or if not, the duration of which is actually limited by one of its clauses to the month of January, 1829. What a strange style of legislation is this! What an outrage on all the feelings of its subjects, or rather its victims! What a violation of every principle of the commonest humanity and justice!

Sect. 4, is also an amendment of a part only of a former clause; and its object is to deprive the keepers of jails or workhouses of the power of inflicting corporal punishments, on slaves committed to their custody, without the authority of the owner or manager, or of some court or magistrate. But this is no very material improvement, jail floggings having been generally inflicted by the jailors, only at the desire of the owners or managers, or of a magistrate or court.

Sect. 5, slaves alleged, or suspected to be runaways, may, *by a single magistrate*, be committed to jail for one year, or " otherwise disposed of by him according to law;" and at the end of the year, if not claimed, shall, by the magistrate, be either discharged from custody, or " otherwise dealt with according to law." The clause, however, in the Act of 1824, ordering them to be sold as slaves, if not claimed within the year, is to be *suspended* " during the continuance of this Act." How very vague and uncertain, as well as cruel and unjust, are such enactments as these?

Sect. 6, is equally vague and confused, referring to parts of no less than three sections of the former act, which it suspends or modifies. It inflicts fine, banishment, and even imprisonment for life, on persons of free condition; and as much as 200 lashes on slaves, who " should knowingly aid, abet, harbour, or conceal a runaway slave."

Sect. 7, contains such an unjust provision, that even the Acting Governor, Mr. Munnings, himself a planter, is ashamed of it.* It enacts

* " I could have wished," he says, " that this clause had been left out of the Act; but, as punishment by flogging was not insisted on, and as free persons of colour have got rid of some old obnoxious Acts, which were in force against them, I do not deem this clause an objection sufficiently strong to prevent my assenting to the Act." Papers, &c. 1827, Part I. p. 133.

that "*any* free negro, mulatto, mustee, Indian, or other person of colour," who "shall use *any* threats of unlawful violence, or *any* scandalous or other abusive language, to *any* white person or persons," he "shall and may, on complaint, *under oath of the party menaced or insulted*, be lawfully tried for the same" by *two magistrates*, or by *one magistrate, and two white freeholders*, and, on conviction, be fined £20. or confined for non-payment, for six months.

Sect. 8, makes it a misdemeanour to employ the driving whip to compel labour, a practice, which from local circumstances, was little, if at all, in use in the Bahamas; as there, the Assembly tells us, from the smallness of the properties, the slaves on plantations are domesticated with their owners, while numbers are employed in navigation.—In point of fact, their labours are of a kind which precludes their being driven. To this necessary peculiarity in the condition of the Bahama slaves, may be attributed their rapid increase.

Sect. 9, preserves to the master or overseer the power of inflicting thirty-nine lashes on any slave, without specifying the offence, provided the slave's former lacerations shall be healed, and provided the owner or overseer himself be present to witness the infliction. He need not, however, be present when the jailer or workhouse-keeper inflicts such punishment by his authority.

Sect. 10, provides, that henceforward women are not to be *stripped* and *flogged*, in the presence of any males, *except* the *person or persons ordering the punishment, and the person or persons inflicting the same!!*

Sect. 11 and 12, make it lawful for an owner to commute flogging for other modes of punishment, (a power he could, of course, always lawfully exercise,) under certain regulations; among others, that if pregnant women are so punished as to cause the risk of abortion, the person inflicting the punishment shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanour.

Sect. 13—20, form a most complicated series of provisions on the subject of Slave Evidence, so complicated as to render the pretended concessions which they involve, an utter nullity. All slaves, not natives of Africa,* who have been five years in the colony, who have been *sufficiently* instructed in religion to understand the nature of an oath, and are certified to be so by any clergyman of the Church of England or minister of the kirk of Scotland,† shall, during the continuance of this Act, be admitted as witnesses in all civil and criminal causes.—But then follow the exceptions, that is to say, the cases in which even the slaves who may come under the above rigorous description, are debarred from giving evidence. 1. All prosecutions of free persons, by way of libel, plaint, or otherwise, in cases of penalty, or forfeiture, or otherwise, when the facts are tried, or liable to be tried, otherwise than by a jury at common law. 2. All prosecutions of free persons, by way of

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* Thus shutting out at once all Christian slaves, who may have been introduced into the colony from Africa, even in infancy.

† Mr. Munnings complains that the power of giving these certificates is restricted to *clergymen*, in consequence of which no slaves can obtain them, but those living at New Providence and Turks Islands. p. 133.

ex-officio information or otherwise, in any court of law or equity, even when parts of the case may be tried by a jury. 3. All prosecutions against the owner of the slave offered as a witness. 4. All prosecutions of white persons charged with offences punishable by death. 5. All facts which may have occurred prior to the date of the certificate of competency. 6. All cases, whether civil or criminal, involving either directly, or indirectly, or by implication, incidentally, or in any manner whatsoever, any facts touching any right or claim, or supposed right or claim of any slave, to be, or become free or in any manner exempt from servitude, or in any manner to affect the full and complete title, claim, &c. of any owner of such slave. 7. All cases of wills, or deeds, or other instruments manumitting slaves, or relating to the manumission of slaves. 8. All examinations *de bene esse*, or otherwise than *viva voce*, and in open court.

Besides these sweeping exceptions, which seem to comprise all that had previously been conceded in favour of the slave, the clergyman's certificate is not to preclude any magistrate, or jury, from examining the witness as to competency, on his *voir dire* or otherwise; or as to the degree of his religious knowledge. And, moreover, a clause (the 20th) is framed for the express purpose of tranquillizing the over-tender and too scrupulous consciences of the Bahama Planters. Lest any of them should be disturbed by an apprehension whether the evidence of any one or more witnesses, when not contradicted, is not legally entitled to full faith and credit, though the court and jury may have cause to question their veracity, and in order "*to remove the objections to the admission of slave evidence*," it is therefore enacted that it shall be competent for all courts, magistrates, inquests, juries grand, special, or petty, to discredit or reject, wholly or in part, the evidence of all witnesses examined before them, although not contradicted or impugned by other evidence, if only there be any fair ground of improbability, or of bad character, or of presumption of wrong motives, on which they may conscientiously refuse credence to the evidence in question.—We have here a new chapter in the law of evidence.

Sect. 21, restrains certain classes of enfranchised persons from being admitted to prove any facts bearing, directly or indirectly, on the freedom of any alleged slave, or affecting the life of any white person, or affecting the person, liberty, or property, of their late owners.

Sect. 22—25, contain regulations respecting the manner of proceeding by subpœna, or by writ of Habeas Corpus, to obtain the evidence of slaves.

Sect. 26—31, contain regulations of a complicated and ineffective kind as to the marriages of slaves. Parts of the Act of 1824, are first *suspended*. Then slaves are permitted to intermarry, with consent of their owner; and the marriage may be performed by any licensed free white public teacher, or by a magistrate; and is to be registered. But such marriage is not to convey any rights inconsistent with the slaves' duties to his owner, or to the Government.

Sect. 32, makes void all separate sales of husbands and wives, or reputed husbands and wives, and their children under fourteen years of

age. This is done, however, not by a direct enactment, but by a reference to the former Act.

Sect. 33—35. Sunday labour is not expressly forbidden, but Sunday markets are restricted to the hour of nine in the morning—a mode of proceeding which both continues the desecration of the Sabbath, and is most onerous and inconvenient to the slave.

Sect. 36. Slaves are permitted to possess all kinds of property real and personal, except arms and ammunition, and to bring and defend actions by their *prochain ami*, who must, however, be a *free* person appointed by the court.

Sect. 37—42, respect a bank of deposit for the slaves, with rules for disposing of and judicially attaching their property; and contain some restraining clauses which go far to defeat the whole scheme.

Sect. 43, enables owners to prevent their slaves from growing, raising, or dealing in the same articles with their masters, as salt, corn, cattle, live stock of any kind for market, cotton wool, &c., but not to prevent them from growing sugar cane, or raising fruit or vegetables, or ground provisions.*

Sect. 44—51, regulate the manumission of slaves.—All fees and taxes are abolished, except 4*s*. sterling for recording the manumission. Slaves may purchase their own freedom, and that of wives and children, at such price as may be agreed between the parties interested. If they differ as to price, two magistrates may name a referee for each of the parties, who, if they disagree, may name an umpire. These are to swear that they will fairly, justly, and equitably estimate the compensation, "not merely according to their views of the probable market price of such slave, if exposed to sale as such, but with due regard also to such further remuneration as the owner may shew himself entitled to, in consequence of any loss or damage he may sustain by reason of his being deprived of the services of such slave." This novel principle of appreciation obviously goes to destroy the beneficial effect of the other regulations respecting manumission. (See the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 27, p. 68, &c.) But it is scarcely less destructive of it than the provision in the 51st clause, that no children under fourteen years of age shall be manumitted, under any circumstances whatsoever, without the consent of their owner; and further, that no slave shall obtain his freedom without his owner's consent, unless he shall shew that the funds for his redemption have been *honestly* acquired.—It is perfect mockery to call such laws, laws for facilitating manumission.

Sect. 52—56, are provisions of mere form.

Sect. 57, limits the duration of the Act to the 28th of January, 1829, or to the end of the then next session of Assembly.

We have gone into a great length of detail in analysing this law, because it is really one of the best, perhaps the very best, of the ameliorating acts, which have been passed in the West Indies. And yet, what is it, when carefully examined, but mere unmeaning verbiage; enact-

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* And yet planters vehemently complain of the want of industry in the negro. Why then these prohibitions?

ments which enact nothing; apparent concessions which are drawn back by the multiplicity and largeness of the exceptions; and pretended reforms which leave every evil of slavery untouched? And let it not be forgotten that, besides all this idle and useless parade of legislation, calculated for no purpose but to blind the eyes of the people of this country, there still stands in full and stern authority the whole code of 1824, of which we have already given a detailed account in "The Slave Colonies of Great Britain, or a picture of Negro Slavery, drawn by the Colonists themselves," p. 4—11.

III. Barbadoes.

In the pamphlet entitled, "The Slave Colonies of Great Britain," (p. 11—20.) was given, in considerable detail, the provisions of the Consolidated Slave Law of Barbadoes, passed in March, 1825. The law itself, of which the Barbadians boasted, as an effort of liberal and humane legislation, which, "in the night-fall of their existence," would endear to posterity the remembrance of those who had given life to that splendid code, was nevertheless, as Mr. Brougham well characterized it in the House of Commons, little better than a mass of the most revolting enormities. Lord Bathurst appears to have entertained a similar opinion of it. His Lordship regrets to say, that he finds in it "*none of the recommended reforms*," while it contains some provisions which oblige him to submit it to the legislature for revision.* By way of aiding them in that revision, he transmits a copy of his circular communication and of the eight Bills accompanying it. These Bills, however, were not submitted to the Barbadoes legislature by the Governor, Sir Henry Ward, who, apparently under some unaccountable feeling of alarm, withheld them, lest he should give offence to the Assembly. The Assembly, however, were evidently fully apprized of their tenor, and with that knowledge, a new consolidated slave law was passed by them in October, 1826, embracing all the reforms they thought it right to adopt. To this act, we are sorry to say, the Governor has affixed his signature.

The first thing we have to remark in this new code is the omission of two clauses in that of 1825, which seemed to favour the slave. The Assembly probably thought that the concessions extracted from them by the alarm of the moment were too large, and that it became necessary therefore to retract them. These clauses are the 4th, and the 64th; the first securing a right of appeal to the Governor for a writ of error in the case of capital convictions of slaves; the second providing that capital executions shall be *solemn* and by hanging *only*. These provisions, salutary as far as they went, are repealed by the present Act. The various horrors, therefore, which Mr. Dwarris so forcibly describes as attending the conviction and execution of slaves in Barbadoes, are again in operation.

There is only one omission *in favour* of the slave. It is the 47th

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* Papers presented by His Majesty's command, 1827, Part I. p. 197.

clause, which inflicted the punishment of death on slaves who should hear other slaves speak any words *tending* to mutiny or rebellion, without revealing them.

The only additions which even in sound are of any importance are the following :

1. The Governor, the Senior Member of Council, the Speaker of the Assembly, the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and the Attorney General, are appointed a Committee of Protection for Slaves, " for the full and effectual securing to slaves the rights and privileges afforded to them by this Act," (an Act which in fact affords them scarcely any right or privilege;) and this Committee are empowered to appoint a Secretary, cognizant of law, with a salary of 400*l.* currency a-year, or 260*l.* sterling, who is to be the legal adviser and advocate of slaves, and to assist with his legal advice, and without fee or reward, all slaves accused of any heinous offences or felonies, or claiming to be free, or complaining of cruelty or injustice; and who is also to prosecute for the maim or murder of a slave. And this " Acting Protector of Slaves," whose functions are limited to these points, is to report from time to time his proceedings to the Committee of Protection.

This provision cannot be considered as in any measure a substitute for the regulations of the Trinidad Order in Council respecting a Protector. It is little more than a substitution, in a more convenient form, for the third clause of the Act of 1825, which allowed to slaves the aid of a solicitor at the public expense. But then no means are provided for enforcing the due performance of the duties of this officer; nor is any penalty attached to their neglect. We may therefore assume how they will be performed, for a population of 80,000 slaves, by a legal practitioner, probably in high practice, whose only remuneration amounts to 400*l.* currency a-year.

2. It is enacted, that the evidence of slaves shall be admitted in all cases of civil action for trespass or assault; and in all cases of misdemeanour, felony, murder, or any other offence, except forgery; provided they shall produce a certificate of baptism from the resident clergyman of the parish, and also a clergyman's certificate of competent religious knowledge; and provided too, in every case, the owner of the slaves, or any other persons, may be summoned and examined as to their character; and provided further, that *no white or free person shall be convicted on the testimony of slaves unsupported by other evidence.* The testimony of slaves may, however, be taken against any person of free condition, who shall be proved to have associated with slaves in cock-fighting, gambling, getting drunk, or in any crime.

3. Owners of diseased slaves, suffering them to go at large, *to infest the highways*, are to forfeit £10. for each offence.

4. Owners depriving slaves of personal property, *honestly acquired*, shall forfeit double the value ; but they may (not impound but) *destroy* any hogs, sheep, goats, or poultry belonging to slaves trespassing on the plantations.

5. By the former law, all runaways, not claimed, were to be sold for slaves at the end of a year. Now, if a person committed as a runaway claims to be free, the marshal is to advertise for proof, and, if at the end

of three months, none is produced, the Governor and Council shall examine the matter, and unless it is proved that the person claiming to be free, is *bona fide* a slave, he shall be set at liberty as free; but if not a native of the Island he may be forthwith deported.

6. A tread-mill is to be erected, and to be used in certain cases as a commutation for other modes of punishment.

7. In cases of cruelty, to which only £25 currency had been attached as a penalty, it is now made not less than £25 nor more than £100 currency.

8. The only remaining changes consist in a few new penal inflictions on the slave. He is to be flogged, if he conceals a slave guilty of any offence, or sends him off the island, or if he tempts a slave to leave his master's service. It is also provided, that if a slave, possessed of personal property, shall be convicted of a theft, his property may be taken to defray the expenses of prosecution, and to indemnify the party injured.

Besides this principal Act, there is a supplemental one passed on the same day, entitled "an Act for encouraging the baptisms and marriages of slaves, and for the due observance of the Lord's Day," and which enacts, though without any sanctions or penalties, that "owners" (adopting the ineffective language of the legislature of Jamaica for 130 successive years,) "shall, as much as in them lies, endeavour to instruct their slaves in the principles of the Christian religion," and shall cause to be baptized, by a clergyman of the established church, all slaves hereafter to be born, and all, already born, "who shall be made sensible of the duties of the Christian faith;" and *permitting* "any clergyman of the established church" to solemnize the marriage of any slaves, "being the property of the same owner," "producing the consent, in writing, of the owner,"—it being provided that such marriage shall confer on slaves no rights inconsistent with the rights of their owners. Of such baptisms and marriages so solemnized, a register is to be kept.—By the same Act, all Sunday markets are declared unlawful, on pain of forfeiture of the goods exposed to sale, and of a fine of £5 to free persons, and of a whipping to slaves. And yet no other day is appointed for marketing, nor any other day given to the slave for that purpose. It is well that it is provided that this Act shall not be in force till his Majesty's pleasure is known; being obviously one of oppression and cruelty to the slave, who is to be flogged if he comes to market on a Sunday, and who has, nevertheless, no other time allowed him for coming to market.* Inducing or compelling Sunday labour is also forbidden, with certain exceptions.

A Bill for abolishing the tax on manumission, and for giving to persons who have been heretofore manumitted without paying that tax, the right, of which they had been debarred by an Act passed in 1817, of giving testimony in Courts of Justice, has not passed into a law.†

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* Sir Henry Warde seems almost to think (p. 204.) that it is some reparation for this act of injustice that a certain Dr. Maycock made a speech at a public meeting, in which he expressed a hope that time would be given to the slave in lieu of Sunday, by the considerate humanity of the masters. And yet, in expressing that hope, Dr. Maycock admits, that had it been required to give other time in lieu of Sunday, as a condition of abolishing the Sunday market, it would have long continued a disgrace to the island.

† Papers presented by Command, 1827. Part 1, p. 204.

With these trivial modifications the Slave law of Barbadoes remains in the opprobrious state in which it was left by the Act of 1825; and if any one wishes to see what are the barbarities of that Act, he has only to turn to the publication already referred to, "The Slave Colonies of Great Britain," p. 11 to 19.

The Assembly have attempted to vindicate their conduct in having thus disappointed the wishes of his Majesty's Government, and of the nation.*

1. "The safety of the inhabitants, the interest of their property, and the welfare of the slaves themselves," have prevented their yielding "to Earl Bathurst's recommendations to prohibit the punishment of women by flogging, and the use of the whip in the field. To forbid, by legislative enactment, the flogging of female slaves, would, in the judgment of the Assembly, be productive of the most injurious consequences;" especially in the case of owners possessed of only one or two female slaves, domestics.

2. "Considerations no less powerful prevailed respecting the disuse of the whip in the field." The power of summary punishment by flogging, "the Assembly considers to be inseparable from a state of slavery."

3. The recording of punishment by whipping, limited to a given number of stripes, they think unadvisable; because, in the hands of a relentless executioner, a small number of stripes might be so inflicted as to amount to cruelty; and the ends of humanity are best consulted by leaving it to the justices to decide whether a punishment, whatever be its mode or quantity, be cruel.†

4. "Compulsory manumission is such a direct invasion of the right of property," that the Assembly felt they could not, without "violating the sacred trust reposed in them, contemplate a measure absolutely destructive of that right, by investing slaves with the power, at their own will, and against the will of their owners, of purchasing their freedom."‡

5. The Assembly, though they have not established Savings' Banks, yet have, "in the spirit of true sincerity, provided for slaves the full security and enjoyment of their property."‖

6. They excuse their not taking any new measures to prevent the separation of families by judicial sale, by alleging that a law to that effect was passed in 1688. The law, however, has been absolutely a dead letter, witness, among many facts of recent occurrence, the transaction inserted in the margin, and taken from the Parliamentary papers of 1826, No. 353.§

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* Papers presented by Command, p. 271—274.

† Surely the tender mercies of these legislators are cruel.

‡ See in reply to the whole of this argument, the Reporter, No. 27, *passim.*

‖ There is no such provision in the Act. The Council framed a clause to that effect, but it was rejected by the Assembly.

§ On the 7th of August, 1823, nineteen individuals became escheats of the Crown; and in eleven days from that time, namely, on the 18th of August, 1823, they were all sold by public auction, with the exception of two who effected their escape, and the net proceeds of their sale were paid into the Treasury of Great Britain. The transaction, bad enough in itself, is in no small degree aggravated, when we consider all the circumstances of it, and especially the cruel separation of families which was sanctioned by the agents of the Crown.

7. They also claim credit for the miserable and inefficient substitution of their "acting protector," for the system of protection proposed by Lord Bathurst.

8. And they boast of their provisions respecting the testimony of slaves (see above) as going beyond those of his Lordship.

The Speaker of the Assembly concludes his labours with lauding "the honest and conscientious feeling" of its members, which had led them "to go the utmost lengths that prudence would allow, in giving effect to the wishes of his Majesty's Ministers, to whom they now look with confidence, that the time they have so anxiously passed in maturing the measure, will, through their advice, receive the high reward which his Majesty's most gracious confirmation of the Bill would confer." p. 274.

And yet the very next proceeding of this Assembly is to reject a Bill sent to them from the Council for abolishing the whip in the field, and the flogging of females; and for conferring on slaves a right of property.

The following are the particulars of this opprobrious sale, as they are given under the official signature of "Lionel Parke, Receiver General of his Majesty's Casual Revenue."

1. Quow, aged 55, father of Cæsar, sold to Thomas Louis, for £45.
2. Cæsar, aged 27, son of Quow, to Samuel Henery, for £90.
3. Orange, aged 67, mother of October, to B. T. Young, for £5.
4. October, aged 44, son of Orange, to C. Crouch, for £46.
5. Abel, aged 49, husband of Lubbah, and father of Thomas, Kitty, and Becky, sold to Henry Tudor, for £32. 10*s*.
6. Lubbah, aged 40, wife of Abel, and mother of his children, sold also to Henry Tudor, for £38. She appears to have been put up separately, and Mr. Tudor appears to have bid high in order to obtain her.
7. Thomas, aged 16, son of Abel and Lubbah, sold to H. Mozely, for £51.
8. Kitty, aged 13, daughter of Abel and Lubbah, to Joshua Levi, for £46. 10*s*.
9. Becky, aged 6, daughter of Abel and Lubbah, to Mr. Alsup, for £28.

Again, Deborah, Sukey, Betsey, Polly, and Thomas, are brothers and sisters. Sukey has one child, Betsey three, and Polly one. They are thus disposed of,

10. Deborah, aged 28, is sold to W. Straker, for £15.
11. Sukey, aged 26, mother of James William, } are sold, in one lot, to
12. James William, aged 1½, son of Sukey, } Thos. Howell, for £51.
13. Betsey, aged 34, mother of Caroline, Grace, and Medorah, ... } are sold, in one lot, to
14. Caroline, aged 4, daughter of Betsey, . . } James Lealted, for £50.
15. Grace, aged 2½, daughter of Betsey, . .
16. Medorah, aged 9, daughter of Betsey, is sold to William Austin, for £51. 10*s*.
17. Thomas, aged 15, brother of Deborah, Sukey, &c. is sold to John Straker, for £52. 10*s*.

The fate of the remaining two is the only part of the detail which is at all satisfactory.

18. Polly, aged 39, mother of Richard, . . . } absconded, and cannot
19. Richard, aged 11, son of Polly, . . . } be found.

The price at which these persons were sold is stated in Barbadoes currency, and amounts to £602, or about £401, sterling. How much of this money, after passing through the hands of Escheators, Receivers, Marshals, Counsel, Attorneys, &c. came into the Royal Treasury of Great Britain, we should be curious to know. It is the price of blood, and we trust will not rest there without inquisition. What is it but a Slave Trade, more disgraceful than even that of Africa, by which the king of Great Britain has been made to enrich himself by the sale into perpetual slavery of seventeen of his liege subjects, whose dearest ties have been burst asunder by the process?

IV.—Berbice.

A new slave code, on the general model of the order in council for Trinidad, though widely departing from it in some respects, has been in operation in Berbice since the 1st of November, 1826.*

Besides the defects which are common to this law and that of Trinidad, as they are specified above, p. 79, there are in the former, the following material variations from the latter.

1. The Trinidad Order requires that the Protector should be empowered to act for and defend the slave in all suits, *criminal* as well as *civil*. The Berbice Order confines his interference to *civil* cases, and gives to the court of criminal justice the power of appointing and paying an advocate, for the slave, in each special case of criminal charge.

2. In Berbice, even on Sunday, the slaves cannot leave the estates without leave, and are made subject in that respect to "such regulations as are established by law." But what are those regulations, and why do they not appear in this new code which ought to comprehend all the laws to guide the conduct of master and slave? It may be that regulations may exist which, not being specified, but having the force of law, may go far to defeat the provisions of the code. It is obvious that all the slaves on an estate may, by a refusal of leave to quit the estate on Sunday, be shut out from all religious worship and instruction. This case at least should be excepted from restraint, as at the Cape of Good Hope. (See below.)

3. Masters are permitted to occupy the morning hours of the Sunday, until eight o'clock, in distributing their allowances to the slaves. The three best hours of the day are thus unjustly taken from the slave and given to his master, while the day itself is desecrated by this unnecessary secular employment.

4. The Sunday markets (which ought clearly not to exist at all in any colony) are prolonged in Berbice to eleven o'clock, being an hour later than in Trinidad.

5. The clause forbidding the use of the driving-whip, in the field, is greatly wanting in precision as compared with the Trinidad Order. Its framers seem to hurry over this tender ground.

6. The interval between the commission of a crime and its punishment is shortened in Berbice; and six slaves are admitted as witnesses of the infliction, instead of the presence of a free person being absolutely required as in Trinidad.

7. With respect to the *record* of punishments, the Berbice Order does not confine it to plantations, but extends it to all persons having gangs of more than six slaves. There ought however to be no limitation. Either the magistrate alone should punish; or the master should be obliged to record and report the punishments he inflicts.

8. That most important clause of the Trinidad Order, the 21st, obliging the owner to prove that fresh traces of laceration in his slave have not been unlawfully inflicted by him is entirely omitted. It forms a part of the Cape of Good Hope Order.

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* See Papers presented by Command, 1827, Part ii. p. 189—229.

9. Marriages are confined in Berbice to slaves belonging to the same owner. In Trinidad there is no such limitation, nor at the Cape.

10. The time of *field* work is confined between the hours of six in the morning, and six in the evening, with an interval of two hours. In Trinidad the law fixes no limit. But neither in Trinidad nor in Berbice is any limit placed on any other than *field* work, such, for example, as carrying fodder for the cattle, after *field* labour is over, which is one of the most galling aggravations of the harsh lot of the field slave; also the wearing and exhausting night labours of crop. It is a mockery to frame a limitation of this nature in terms so ambiguous as to open the door to the worst oppressions, without any direct breach of the law.

11. A regulation is introduced to secure the non-separation of families by judicial sale, which is of great importance and ought to be universally adopted; namely the keeping, on each estate, of an accurate and complete record of married persons or reputedly married persons and their children, a copy of it to be transmitted to the office of the Protector, and there registered with a view to facilitate investigation.

12. A most unwarrantable power is given to owners of plantations to *destroy*, in case of their non-removal from the estate on the owner's requisition, of the live stock of slaves; just as if it were too much for the owner to cause them to be sold, for the benefit of the slave, rather than wantonly destroyed.

13. In the case of what is called *compulsory manumission*, the appraisers, appointed to value the slave, are absurdly made to swear not only that they will make a fair and impartial appraisement of the slave, with a reference to his strength, acquirements, &c., but with a reference also "to the absolute value of such slave to his owner, and the loss which such owner would sustain by the loss of the services of such slave;" just as if the market price were not the true and only criterion of a slave's value. This, however, is a mere trifle compared with the iniquity of a subsequent clause, which provides that *no slave shall be allowed to purchase his freedom without the consent of his owner, unless he can prove that the money for the purpose has been honestly acquired, either by his own earnings, or by bequest or succession; and that he has conducted himself honestly and faithfully for the five preceding years, and that he shall not have been convicted of any crime, or punished by any court or magistrate, for seven years preceding.*—It is quite impossible that the Government and Parliament of England can tolerate such a monstrous enactment, which goes to nullify their own recorded purposes, and which would put it out of the power of an angel, in a state of slavery, to avoid incurring the fatal disqualification of the Berbice code. Suppose a man had been treasuring up his earnings for many years, adding to it any little gifts he might have received, the *gifts* would vitiate the whole mass and doom him to perpetual slavery. He must bring nothing to aid the purchase which has not been obtained by *bequest* or *succession*, or by his own *honest* industry. And what is the legal definition of "honest industry," or of "honest and faithful conduct," any failure in which is to be followed by such tremendous consequences? The

man is to be retained in slavery, not because he has committed some specific criminal or fraudulent acts, which disqualify him for the possession of freedom, but because he cannot *sufficiently prove* that his conduct has been *honest* and *faithful*, (that he has never told a lie, or broke and sucked one of his master's sugar canes!) during five years, and that his accumulated earnings, of perhaps 20 or 30 years, have not been tainted with fraud, or contaminated by a gift!

The new code was read to the slaves on the several estates in Berbice, and explained to them by the magistrates of districts, before it came into operation. The colony, the Governor assures us, was perfectly tranquil, "and the new code appeared, every where, to have produced the most beneficial effects." p. 222. The testimony of the different civil magistrates is, generally speaking, to the same effect.

The Protector has fixed the wages to be paid to slaves, labouring on Sundays for the preservation of the crops, at a guilder, or about 17½d, sterling, for a day, estimated at ten hours of labour, and in the same proportion for a shorter or longer period.

In three weeks from the first day of the operation of this code, which was on the 1st of November, 1826, 500 guilders had already been deposited in the Saving's bank by a few slaves.

V.—Bermuda.

There is no return whatever from this Colony.

VI.—Cape of Good Hope.

An Ordinance resembling very closely that of Trinidad, was promulgated at the Cape of Good Hope, in June, 1816. It will be only necessary to notice its deviations from the Trinidad model.

1. Sunday markets are declared to be absolutely abolished, prohibited and unlawful; and yet, strange to say, the sale of vegetables, meat, and other articles of provision, is permitted on that day except during Divine service. This is building up with one hand and pulling down with another.—A part of the enactment, and one which we should be glad to see imitated in every colony is, "that no slave shall be deprived by their masters of the right of attending at church, or other place of religious worship, on Sundays, under a penalty of 20*s*. for each offence, unless justifiable cause can be shown."—But here again, no time in lieu of Sunday is given to the slave.

2. The time of labour, not of *field* labour merely, as in the West Indies, but of labour generally, is fixed at not more than ten hours, from the 1st of April to the 30th of September, nor more than twelve from the 1st of October to the 31st of March, except during seasons of extraordinary pressure, when a fair remuneration must be made the slave for extra labour.

3. The flogging of adult females, we are sorry to say, may still be practised *privately*.

4. Corporal punishment must be inflicted, except in some special cases, by the hand of the owner, employer, or overseer himself.

5. In Trinidad sixteen years of age is the limit under which children are not to be sold separate from their parents. But at the Cape

the limit is only ten years, and even under that age they may be separated by sale, if it can be *shewn that it is for the wellbeing of the children to be so sold.*

6. Slave owners are required, but not under any penalty, not only to have slave children baptized but to send them to school.

7. The property of slaves, dying intestate, is to go to a fund for redeeming female slave children by fair appraisement.

8. No slave is to be rejected as a witness, by reason of slavery, if sufficiently instructed to understand the nature of an oath, except only in civil suits in which his owner is concerned.—This is by far the most liberal provision yet made in any slave colony on this subject.

[*Further progress of Colonial Reform to be continued in the next Number.*]

BRAZILIAN MINING COMPANY.

We have been heavily charged by the West India Reporter, in its last Number, with a wish to suppress, from some sinister motive, the alleged criminal, nay, if true, felonious conduct of the above Company in purchasing, from the slave ships in Brazil, new negroes for working their mines. We certainly have felt no wish to screen that body from any part of the obloquy, or of the penalties, which appropriately attach to such conduct;—and what conduct can be worse than for a body of Englishmen, to involve themselves consciously, and deliberately, in the guilt and infamy of such a transaction, which the justice of our laws now ranks with piracy? But we confess that we have been less anxious to declaim against the alleged crime, than to attain the means of insuring its conviction.

CASE OF BETTO DOUGLAS.

We have been informed that our statement of this case involves a mistake. This woman is there represented to have purchased, of Lord Romney, the freedom of her two sons; whereas the fact is now stated to be that these two sons are still the slaves of Lord Romney. The mistake, however, assuming it to be one, originates wholly with Mr. Goldfrap, the agent of Lord Romney, who in his letter to Governor Maxwell, inserted in the papers laid before the House of Commons,* says, "I wrote to his Lordship, at the request of Elizabeth Douglas, to beg that he would permit *her* to purchase her two sons. In the same letter, I gave that woman an excellent character as well deserving his Lordship's consideration. His Lordship wrote me that he had written to Mr. Davis," (his new attorney) "to carry into execution all my wishes." But be the fact in question misapprehended or not, it does not affect the enormity of the case, of which it is merely an incident. It does not diminish, for example, the cruelty of the man who confined this poor wretched creature, for six months, in the stocks, for failing to pay him fifteen shillings a month; neither does it palliate the conduct of the grand jury who presented, as a nuisance, the Governor's reference of that atrocity to a court of justice.

* Of 1st May, 1827, No. 287, not 187, as erroneously printed in No. 25.

REV. W. M. HARTE, OF BARBADOES.

In the Reporter, No. 26, p. 20, are inserted the proceedings of the Vestry of St. Lucy, severely condemning the conduct of their Rector Mr. Harte, for attempting to destroy the necessary distinctions of society, both "by his offensive sermon on Easter Sunday, and his disgraceful conduct in administering the Lord's supper." Mr. Harte has since published his defence in a letter to the Bishop, and the Bishop's judgment upon it is no less creditable to himself and to Mr. Harte, than it is discreditable to the vestry of St. Lucy's parish. "I have no hesitation," observes his Lordship, "in saying, that I can perceive nothing in your conduct, which either deserves my censure, or justifies the very strong language used against you by certain of the inhabitants of your parish. The Sermon preached by you on Easter day, I have read. It is a plain and powerful denunciation against sin, but contains nothing in my opinion, in matter or in language, that can be called offensive, save to an offending conscience. And with respect to the mode of administering the holy communion, as detailed by yourself, and confirmed by the testimony of your curate, I feel myself called upon to state that the same mode has been pursued under my own eye in the Cathedral, as most suitable to the nature and dignity of the sacrament, and to the spirit of that Gospel which knows no distinctions in matters of grace."

The testimony of the curate is, that he was present at the administration of the Lord's supper, on Easter Sunday, and administered the cup, and that he never saw more decorum and solemnity than was observed by Mr. Harte, on that and every similar occasion. "*In no instance whatever were the consecrated elements ever administered to a black or coloured person before a white.*" (We rightly conjectured that some such allegation as this must have constituted the unpardonable crime of Mr. Harte, against which Sir R. A. Alleyne inveighed with such bitterness.) "I recollect that on the day alluded to, the table was once filled with white communicants; but as there was not a sufficient number to fill it a second time, the negroes and coloured people knelt at the south end of the table, *some of whom might have received, and I believe did receive the bread, from Mr. Harte, at the same time that I was administering the wine to the remainder of the white communicants.*"

The defence of Mr. Harte, which is an able and lucid statement of facts, drawn up in a mild and truly christian-like spirit, may hereafter furnish some curious illustrations of the semi-savage manners, and the hostility to religion, prevailing in this island.

This, and all other publications of the Society, may be had at their office, 18, *Aldermanbury; or at Messrs. Hatchards,* 187, *Piccadilly, and Arch's, Cornhill. They may also be procured, through any bookseller, or at the depots of the Anti-Slavery Society throughout the kingdom.*

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The "ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER" will be ready for delivery on the first day of every month. Copies will be forwarded at the request of any Anti-Slavery Society, at the rate of four shillings per hundred, when not exceeding half a sheet, and in proportion, when it exceeds that quantity. All persons wishing to receive a regular supply are requested to make application to the Secretary, at the Society's office, No. 18, Aldermanbury, and mention the conveyance by which they may be most conveniently sent. Single Copies may be had of all booksellers and newsmen, at the rate of 1*d.* per half-sheet of eight pages, or 2*d.* per sheet of sixteen pages.

FURTHER PROGRESS OF COLONIAL REFORM, PART II. *(Continued from No. 28, page 95.)*—WEST INDIAN REPORTER.

IN the last number we exhibited a succinct view of the measures of His Majesty's Government, with respect to Colonial Reform, accompanied by some observations on the tenor of Lord Bathurst's Instructions to the Governors of the Colonies. We then proceeded, after briefly specifying the defects in the Trinidad Order in Council, to shew whether in any, and in what respects, that model had been followed in the following Colonies, *viz.* 1. Antigua, 2. Bahamas, 3. Barbadoes, 4. Berbice, 5. Bermuda, 6. The Cape of Good Hope. We now propose to give a similar view of the reforms which have been effected, or rather which have not been effected, in the remaining Slave Colonies.

VII. DEMERARA.

Such copious details respecting the Demerara Slave Code may be found in "The Slave Colonies of Great Britain," p. 21 to 33; in the 11th Number of the Anti-Slavery Reporter, p. 145 to 151, and in the 27th Number of the same work, that little need now be said upon it. The papers recently laid before Parliament contain little more than prolonged discussions of the Court of Policy on the same points of objection, particularly that of manumission, which are treated of in the above-mentioned publications, and in the last of them at considerable length. In those discussions Mr. President Wray, well known for the part he bore in the trial of the Missionary Smith, takes a prominent but not a very useful share. Professing, for example, to be a friend to the principle of manumission as proposed by the Government, he contrives, with great adroitness, to propose modifications of it, which, if adopted, would effectually destroy its efficacy.* With him, indeed, appear to have originated those monstrous provisions respecting manumission adopted into the Berbice Code, on which we have already remarked,† and which make the manumission clause in that Code almost a nullity. They are, in fact, little more than a transcript from his speeches, which, it must be acknowledged, display much ingenuity in

* Papers, &c. of 1827, Part ii. p. 171 and 183. † See No. 28. p. 93.

embarrassing a plain question, and in frustrating the very principle he professes to advocate.

The Court of Policy persist in refusing to pay the slaves for their Sunday labour in potting sugar, and drying cotton and coffee; or to permit them to hold property in land;* and they re-assert their opinion that the principle of manumission against the will of the master is a direct violation of the sacred right of property.† But this point can require no farther discussion, after what it has already received:‡ it is now in issue before his Majesty's Government, the Parliament, and the country.

VIII. Dominica.

The usual circular communications were sent to the Governor of Dominica by Earl Bathurst, but were not brought before the Assembly until the 13th of February, 1827. The eight Bills were then proposed, but were all rejected. The Assembly expressed an intention to bring in a law of their own for further meliorating the condition of the slaves, but it was postponed, on the pretence of waiting till they knew whether the Acts they had already passed would be confirmed by his Majesty. "After all," says the Governor, General Nicolay, "I must confess that, although several of the amendments recommended might very likely be acceded to, I much doubt whether the Assembly will, *in any shape*, effectually embody in their laws, a provision for the appointment of a Protector and Guardian of slaves; *a measure of primary importance, and on which many of the other suggested improvements depend.*"§

The Assembly have not been left long in doubt as to the fate of their former Bills, for in a despatch which bears date the 3rd of April, 1827, Lord Bathurst informs the Governor that "*His Majesty is graciously pleased to acknowledge with commendation the disposition which the legislature of Dominica have manifested in many of the provisions of these acts to improve the condition of the slave population; and considering that they are in general framed in such a manner as to promote the well-being of that class of society, his Majesty has, with the advice of his Privy Council, been pleased to confirm them.*" "His Majesty's Government will, however, anxiously expect a revision of these Acts, with a view to the remedy of the various defects and omissions which I have pointed out."‖

The Acts spoken of, are an Act of November, 1825, for abolishing all fees and taxes on manumission, to which, of course, no objection could be made; and "an Act for the further encouragement, protection, and better government of slaves, and for the general amelioration of their condition," passed in January, 1826. It is only on this last Act that it will be necessary to make any observations.

Lord Bathurst himself states the following long list of defects in this

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* Papers of 1827. Part ii. p. 173, 174. † Ibid. p. 186. ‡ See No. 27. *passim.*

§ Papers, &c. 1827, Part ii. p. 5. The *importance* of the measure sufficiently accounts for the universal and vehement opposition it meets with in the colonies.

‖ Ibid. p. 8.

very Act which, with a strong expression of commendation, he had advised his Majesty to confirm.

1. It is silent on the important subject of Marriage.*
2. It is silent on the important subject of a Protector of Slaves.
3. Sunday Markets are there contemplated as permanent.
4. Compulsory labour, on the Sunday, seems to be allowed.
5. The use of the whip in the field, is not only not prohibited, but indirectly sanctioned.
6. The owner, &c. may still arbitrarily inflict thirty-nine lashes on any slave; and ten of these may be inflicted without any of the delay required in the case of a greater number.
7. The presence of a free witness at punishments is not required.
8. The flogging of females, instead of being prohibited, is expressly allowed.
9. No limit is fixed to the severity of any punishment, except that of whipping.
10. No record of punishment is required to be kept.
11. A slave's exhibiting recent traces of illegal punishment is not made to raise any presumption of guilt against the owner or manager.
12. No penalty is attached to a slave, who inflicts on another slave, an illegal punishment.
13. However repeatedly persons may inflict illegal punishments, they are not liable to any forfeiture of their slaves, nor to any incapacity of holding them, on account of such conduct.
14. Even in cases of atrocious cruelty and mutilation, where a jury may order the slave to be taken from his master, he is not to be made free, but sold, and the offender is to receive his price.†
15. A slave is expressly authorized to punish his fellow slaves by whipping.
16. A slave may be condemned to work in chains by a *single* magistrate, if convicted before him, as he may be on the evidence of a fellow slave, *of habitual bad conduct.*
17. The rules for the non-separation of the same family, "are destitute of all sanctions for securing the observance of them."‡ The separation of husbands and wives, and of children from their father, and even from their mother after twelve years of age, is not forbidden.
18. The taking property from slaves is not made penal, unless it is taken *forcibly;* and the only property which it is penal even thus to take away, is such only as the slave may possess both *by law and custom;* but there being no positive law on the subject, of course no penalty can ever be enforced.
19. No provision is made for securing or recovering debts or bequests

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* And this is the more remarkable, because in the preceding Acts of Dominica, annulled by this Act, provisions for the marriage of slaves, and for punishing the violation of their marriage bed, used to hold a conspicuous place, although, as might be expected, they were uniformly a dead letter.

† This also is the course pursued in almost all the other Colonies.

‡ The same may be predicated of ninety-nine out of one hundred, of all the meliorating laws, so called, enacted in the Slave Colonies. They are utterly destitute, as Mr. Burke well observed, of all executory principle.

owing to slaves; nor, in short, is any remedy provided for any civil wrongs they may sustain either from their owners or others.

20. No provision is made for the manumission of slaves without the owner's consent, or in cases where the property in them is settled, tied up, or litigated.

21. As to the evidence of slaves, no registry is ordered to be kept of witnesses declared to be competent. The slave is not permitted to give evidence for or against his owner in any *criminal* case. The evidence of a *single* slave, even if supported by *free* evidence, is not received; the confirmation of it must come from a fellow slave.

22. Baptism is made indispensable to giving evidence; whereas, an unbaptized slave, understanding the nature of an oath, appears to be an unobjectionable witness.

23. The rejection of slaves' evidence, if not offered within twelve months after the offence, is a rule which may be productive of extreme injustice.

24. The rules as to food, clothing, &c. are not expressed in sufficiently precise and definite terms.

25. The Act appears to authorize the employing slaves fourteen hours and a half every day in crop, and eleven hours and a half daily at all other times; and this is in addition to many indispensable minor and domestic offices; so that it is difficult to understand how such exertion can be compatible with the health of the slaves.*

26. The Act confounds crimes of very different degrees of malignity, —burglary, for instance, with breaking into *any* house, and robbing therefrom.

27. The *attempt* to commit a crime is often punished, in this Act, with the same severity as if the crime had been committed.

28. The amount and nature of punishment is generally not fixed, but left to the discretion of the Court.

29. Some terms are used to describe capital crimes which have no fixed meaning, as "mutiny," "mutinous," "ringleaders," &c.

30. Whenever a slave is executed, an indemnity is provided for the owner by the public; a regulation, in many cases, unjust, in many more inexpedient.†

31. The Act denounces heavy punishments, in language most obscure and indefinite, on *the use of certain words.* But banishment, unlimited fine and imprisonment, at the discretion of the Court, do not appear appropriate punishments for any words not treasonable or seditious.

Now, these thirty-one distinct and heavy heads of charge are brought

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* Lord Bathurst's statement of the case is below the truth. The prescribed hours of field labour in the Dominica and Jamaica Acts, are from five in the morning to seven in the evening, all the year round, with an interval of half an hour for breakfast, and two hours at noon. Besides this, there is the collecting of grass for cattle when the field work is over. After which, their own minor and domestic occupations are to be attended to. And during crop, half the night must be added to this enormous sum and continuity of labour. Well may the negro race decrease!

† This most unjust principle of colonial law is to be found in all the colonial slave codes; but it appears to have hitherto escaped the vigilance of the colonial department.

against this Act by Lord Bathurst himself.* No one who reads them can fail to wonder at the commendation bestowed upon it by his Lordship, and will look in vain for those provisions which entitled it to His Majesty's approbation, as manifesting "the disposition of the legislature" to "improve the condition of the slave population," and as being so framed "as to promote the well-being of that class of society." In truth, the Act contains, in the whole, only forty-one clauses, to almost every one of which, that does not respect mere matter of form, his Lordship has preferred the most vital and fundamental objections. And yet he confirms the Act with marks of the royal favour. It will certainly require some explanation to satisfy any common understanding that the name of His Majesty has not been unadvisedly employed, in this instance. And to refer again to the statement in his Lordship's Circular, there surely would have been no impracticability, nor even any difficulty, to have framed in Downing-street an Act which should have less flagrantly violated every principle of justice than this latest edition of the consolidated slave law of Dominica, which His Majesty's name has been brought forward to confirm, and to put in operation.

It is to be apprehended that the Assembly of Dominica have completely imposed on Lord Bathurst by the plausibility of their pretensions. They have long signalized themselves by a sort of legislative legerdemain. In 1788, they outdid all the other assemblies in their pretended measures of reform. But in 1804, sixteen years after, when Lord Camden required General Prevost, then Governor of Dominica, to inform him what had been done in consequence of the meliorating law of 1788, the honest soldier bluntly answered that it had not at all been carried into effect. Nay, the Act itself, he said, "appears to have been considered, from the day it was passed until this hour, as a *political* measure to avert the interference of the mother country in the management of slaves." (House of Commons papers of 1805, No. 39, pages 34 and 36.)

But though the Act of 1788 was, to all intents and purposes, a dead letter, it was thought unsafe to retain it. It was accordingly repealed, with all its fair sounding provisions, by a new slave Act passed in 1821, into which a summary, and most unobtrusive clause was introduced, (the 35th,) repealing the whole without a single word of preamble or remark, of reservation or exception. And yet, when the House of Commons, in 1825, called upon the Dominica authorities to state what were the laws of that island by which "the marriage of slaves is authorized and sanctioned, and their connubial rights recognized and secured," they had the effrontery to produce the repealed law of 1788 on the subject, confiding in the prevailing ignorance on this side of the Atlantic;—thus taking credit to themselves for provisions, which, while they existed, were a dead letter, and which they themselves had deliberately annulled five years before.† This, however, is only one of the

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* Papers, &c. 1827, Part ii. p. 6—8.

† See Papers ordered to be printed by the House of Commons, 9th May, 1826, No. 353; and Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 19, p. 266, 267.

many attempts which are daily made to blind the eyes of the parliament and people of England with respect to colonial matters.

IX. Grenada.

In the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 11. p. 155 to 162, will be found a full account of the defective, or more properly speaking, the opprobrious nature of the new slave law of Grenada, passed in May, 1825, and also of the strange arguments by which the acting Governor, Mr. Paterson, endeavoured to vindicate its provisions. Of this Act, however, as of that of Dominica, already referred to, Lord Bathurst informs the Governor, that "the many beneficial provisions have entitled it to His Majesty's approbation." He hoped, doubtless, that this flattering commendation would dispose them to receive with more deference and courtesy the eight Bills he had sent them. But the gentlemen of Grenada seem quite as inaccessible to the voice of flattery, as they are to the claims of justice and humanity, in what respects the law of slavery. In the month of September, 1826, the eight Bills were submitted to the Assembly, and leave being asked to bring them in, they were, one and all, rejected by considerable majorities.

The praise of His Majesty's Government is too easily obtainable, if it may be earned by such miserably ineffective and evasive provisions, as form the latest edition of the Slave Code of Grenada. To lavish praise on such a performance, is to confound the distinctions of right and wrong, of justice and injustice. And it is a grievous disappointment of the just expectations of Parliament and the public, when colonial legislatures receive gracious acknowledgments from His Majesty, while pursuing a conduct which is directly opposed to the reiterated recommendations of the Crown itself, to the recorded resolutions of Parliament, and to the universal prayer of the British nation.

X. Honduras.

There is no report from this Colony.

XI. Jamaica.

The Assembly of Jamaica rejected, without any reserve, the whole of the eight Bills transmitted to them by Lord Bathurst. They profess, however, to have adopted into a new consolidated slave law* all that was essential in these bills in the way of reform. It will now be seen how that professed purpose has been carried into effect.

1. No Protector of slaves has been appointed, but the Justices and Vestry of each parish, (in other words, the owners and managers against whom it is the object of the office to protect the slaves) are, in the terms of the Act of 1816, appointed a council of protection. (Clause 34.) This is like constituting the wolf the guardian of the fold.

2. Slave evidence is admitted in certain *criminal* cases, *provided* the slave produce a certificate of baptism, and the magistrate or court is satisfied of his knowledge of an oath, and of his competency and credibility. But no free person shall be convicted on slave testimony, un-

* Papers, &c. for 1827, Part i. p. 69—102.

less two slaves, examined apart, testify to the same circumstances; and unless the complaint be made within twelve months of the commission of the crime; and in no case of conviction, on slave testimony, for cruelty, shall the Court be at liberty to declare any slave free. (Clauses 130—135.)

3. No right is given to slaves to purchase their freedom, except with the owner's consent; but when the owner is consenting, facilities are afforded for effecting the manumission, notwithstanding incumbrances or disputed claims. (Clauses 67—76.)

4. No legal validity or effect is given to the marriage of slaves; only *clergymen* are *permitted* (but without any fee) to celebrate the marriage of slaves *who have been baptized, and who present a written permission from their owner*, provided the clergyman shall be satisfied, on examination, that they have an adequate knowledge of the obligations of the marriage contract; (Clause 4;) but no record of such marriages is ordered.

5. Sunday markets are to cease at eleven o'clock. Slaves are protected from being levied upon on Saturday, but that day is not given to them. Slaves are not to be hired on Sunday without the owner's consent. Sugar mills, as by the old law, are not to work between seven o'clock on Saturday night and five on Monday morning. (Clauses 6—10.)

6. No right of property is conferred on the slave, although it is declared, (Clause 16) that it is expedient to do so; (the declaration of the expediency of a law to that effect being substituted for the law itself.) The only *enactment* on the subject is, that, if any one deprives a slave of property *lawfully possessed by him*, (and how can any property be lawfully possessed by him to whom the law gives no right of property?) he shall forfeit £10, over and above the value of the property taken, (thus commuting an act of robbery into a mere civil trespass, which no means are afforded the slave of obtaining a remedy for, as he cannot sue for the penalty.) An executor *may* pay to a slave a legacy left to him, but the slave is expressly debarred from any action at law or equity for the same. (Clause 17.) Indeed no means of civil suit are allowed him in any case. What then becomes of his alleged right of property?—No Savings' Banks are instituted.

7. That when families are taken together in execution, they shall be sold together, is no new law, but the old law of the island. (Clause 5.) It is unnecessary to shew that this is no guarantee whatever against the separation of families by judicial sale.

8. Neither the driving whip, nor the flogging of females, is abolished; nor is any record of punishments required. *Workhouse* punishments, unauthorized by a magistrate, are limited to ten days' confinement, and twenty lashes. Every driver may still inflict ten lashes, and every owner or overseer thirty-nine lashes at his discretion, on any slave, of any sex or age, without specification of offence, or legal responsibility of any kind. Branding a slave is now made punishable. (Clauses 34—38.)

It is obvious from this statement that not one of Lord Bathurst's propositions has been adopted by the Jamaica legislature. In fact, on

comparing this new Act with the Act of 1816, it will be found, that with the exception of the few changes already noted, there has been no substantial improvement of the legal condition of the slave, nor any substantial alleviation of the penal rigours of his state. The new Act consists of 139 clauses, 28 of which are occupied with the points which have been already adverted to, and upwards of 90 are either repetitions of the clauses of former Acts, with such slight alterations, as are chiefly verbal, or have respect merely to matters of form or legal process. Of the remaining clauses, four consist of improved regulations for the arraignment and trial of slaves; two respect the food and clothing of the slaves, and are merely revived clauses of former Acts that had been dropped because of their inefficiency; five are framed for the more effectual recovery and punishment of runaways; two are against the unlawful assembling and gambling of slaves; two provide for the better disposal of convicts condemned to labour; and one authorizes the parochial magistracy to employ either a barrister or attorney to attend the trial of slaves for capital offences, with a view to their defence.

In one of the clauses regulating the trial of slaves, (113) it is provided that the Governor's warrant shall be required for the execution of all capital sentences on slaves, except in the very case where such an interposition is most imperiously called for, namely, in cases of rebellion or rebellious conspiracy, in which the warrant of the Justices is made sufficient, without any reference to the Governor.

One point still remains. The old and cruel law is now renewed (85) which enacts that "any slaves *found guilty of preaching or teaching as Anabaptists or* OTHERWISE, without a permission from their owner and the Quarter-Sessions," shall be punished *at the discretion of any three magistrates, by whipping or hard labour in the workhouse.** To this disgraceful clause two new ones are now added. The 86th enacts, that "whereas the assembling of slaves and other persons after dark at places of meeting belonging to dissenters from the established religion, and other persons professing to be teachers of religion, has been found extremely dangerous; and great facilities are thereby given to the formation of plots and conspiracies; † and the health of slaves and other persons has been injured in travelling to and from such places at late hours in the night,"‡ "all such meetings between sunset and

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* What is this but bloody persecution? A negro is not to teach his fellow to fear God, or to turn from his sins to his Saviour, but at the risk of having his flesh torn by the cart-whip, or being subjected to hard labour in chains, *at the discretion* of the magistrates. Such is the benign spirit of the legislators of Jamaica towards a population, whom they have kept, for ages, in the darkness of heathenism!

† Nothing can be more untrue than the whole of the above preamble. It has not even a shred of evidence on which to rest.

‡ The health which suffers nothing from toiling in the field till night-fall, and then collecting and carrying fodder, and besides this, *working hard* half of every night during crop, is to be ruined by sitting for half an hour, or an hour, in a house or chapel, to receive religious instruction, or to join in religious worship!

sunrise shall be held and deemed unlawful."* The penalty on the *sectarian* minister, acting contrary to this Act, is from £20 to £50, or a month's confinement in gaol. This, however, is not to prevent any *licensed* minister from performing divine worship at any time before eight in the evening at any *licensed* place, or to interfere with the celebration of the rites of the Jewish and Catholic religions.†

The 87th clause is a still more outrageous infringement of the rights of conscience, and the principles of toleration. It is to this effect, "And whereas, under pretence of offerings and contributions, large sums of money and other chattels have been *extorted by designing men professing to be teachers of religion, practising on the ignorance and superstition of the negroes in this Island, to their great loss and impoverishment;* ‡ and whereas, an ample provision is already made by the public and by private means for the religious instruction of the slaves;" § Be it enacted that, "*it shall not be lawful for any dissenting minister, religious teacher, or other person whatsoever, to demand or receive any money or other chattel whatsoever, from any slave for affording such slave religious instruction, by way of offering, contribution, or on any other pretence whatsoever," under a penalty, on conviction before three Justices, of £20 for each offence, half to be paid to the informer, who is hereby declared a competent witness,* || *or, in default of payment, imprisonment in the common gaol for not more than one month.*

It might not be expedient to express all the indignation which such an atrocious enactment as this is calculated to excite. Nor is it necessary. Such an enactment no Bristish minister would advise His Majesty to confirm. It must, as a matter of course, be disallowed.

The above review of the proceedings of the Jamaica legislature, unavoidably leads the mind to the consideration of a petition which the Assembly of that island addressed to His Majesty in their last Session, and which has been blazoned in every newspaper in the kingdom, as a conclusive vindication of their conduct, and a triumphant refutation of every adverse statement. It cannot be denied that if the statements of

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* The hours of field labour in Jamaica are fixed by law, from five in the morning to seven in the evening. How then can religious meetings be held, except during the proscribed hours, that is to say, between sunset and sunrise?

† The reader will observe the superior favour and indulgence shewn to the Catholic and the Jew over the Protestant Christian.

‡ This heavy charge has an evident reference to the Methodist and Baptist Missionaries in the island of Jamaica, and it is incumbent on them to repel the calumny, and to vindicate the labour of love in which they are engaged, and the means they employ to promote it, from such false and foul aspersions.

§ This assertion must have been known to be utterly untrue. It is proved to be so by the Bishop's report of last year, wherein he states, that for a population of 400,000, which Jamaica contains, there are places of worship only for 11,500; and "*that the parishes in the interior are absolutely without the semblance of the forms of religious worship.*"

|| This must mean that slaves, who are excluded from giving testimony in all other civil suits, shall be admitted as informers and witnesses against a Missionary, if he shall dare to permit a slave to contribute to the expense of his own instruction, or of the chapel erected for his use, or to testify by a small contribution, his desire of communicating to others, still more wretched than himself, the light of the gospel with which he has been blessed.

that petition be true, the view now given of the nature and tendency of the recent legislation of Jamaica must be false.

It is not meant here to allude to the extravagant and rhodomontade delineations of the content and happiness in which Jamaica, "rich in the produce of her soil and the extent of her trade" once flourished; because, during the last sixty years, there have issued periodically from this Assembly, in the shape either of petitions, or reports, or addresses, the very same complaints which fill the present petition,—of dilapidated resources, decayed commerce, productions overburdened with imposts, universal gloom, inevitable ruin in its most dreadful forms, advancing with rapid strides,—and the English vocabulary ransacked for terms to depict the depth and intensity of their poverty and distress. This is the natural tone of the mendicant who thrives by the loudness of his wailings, combined with a certain air of sturdiness and menace which frightens the timid into granting the relief they fear might be extorted, if entreaty should prove fruitless.—The Assembly remind the King of the imposts paid on their produce, imposts, however, which they forget to tell him that the country, not they, have paid. They also forget to count up the sums which, in the shape of bounties and protecting duties, have been enabling the planters, for whom they are acting, to raise in this country splendid palaces, to maintain sumptuous establishments, and to purchase seats in Parliament, while these their agents in Jamaica are exacting from the whip-galled and wasting population, the sugar for which we are made to pay so dearly.

Then follows the usual vehement vituperation of Mr. Canning, and of the House of Commons, and of the erring philanthropists, and of the interested and designing calumniators, who have combined in a foul conspiracy to extinguish slavery, and thus to effect the ruin of the West Indians. All this may be passed over in silence. It must have lost its effect on the public mind. The threatened ruin so often declared to be impending, nay, to have actually arrived, can now no longer alarm. Even insurrections and conspiracies, so often got up and played off to serve a temporary purpose, have lost their terrors. They find it necessary to occupy new ground, and to plead not their *dangers*, but their *merits*, their merits too as zealous philanthropists, and liberal and enlightened legislators, from whose "humane and benevolent disposition," (such are the terms in which they extol themselves,) "enactments have emanated spontaneously," which have rendered "our slave code" "as perfect as circumstances will permit."—That their movements in the way of reform have been *spontaneous*, those who have watched the progress of events, since the commencement of the slave-trade controversy in 1787, will feel to be about as true as that their slave code has now reached to the highest pitch of attainable perfection. But let us examine their claims on their own shewing.

1. "*The consolidated slave law passed in* 1816," they affirm, "*received an unqualified approbation from many of your Majesty's Ministers, as containing many salutary and humane provisions.*"

If such praise were ever bestowed upon it by any but West Indians, it must have been bestowed in gross ignorance of its contents. Many of its provisions, instead of being salutary and humane, were most

noxious and inhuman, and those which bore a contrary aspect were devoid of all sanction and of all efficiency; witness the clause which has stood on their statute book since 1696, requiring all owners, &c., to endeavour, as much as in them lies, the instruction of their slaves in Christianity; while they have continued to deny to them both the marriage tie, and the Christian sabbath, and have never dreamt of communicating to them the slightest particle of religious instruction, till driven to it by public clamour. Those who wish to appreciate the merits of that boasted code, may consult with advantage Stephens' Delineation of the *Law* of West India Slavery, and the Appendix E, to the published Debate on Slavery of the 15th of May, 1823. They will also find a luminous comment upon it, in a Letter of Lord Bathurst to the Governor of St. Vincent's, dated the 3rd of April, 1827, (Papers of 1827, Part ii. p. 110—114,*) containing Observations on the Law of that Island, of 1825, which is actually an *improved* version of the law of Jamaica of 1816.

2. "*Since that period, the persons of females have been protected by legal enactments in conformity with the spirit of the Act of Elizabeth.*"

There is a very convenient ambiguity in this statement. The real meaning of it is, that female children, under ten, and female slaves generally, are now protected from *rape*, (clauses 32, 33,) there having been no law to that effect before 1823, and the Jamaica legislature having then been called upon by General Conran and Lord Bathurst to pass such a law. But let it not be supposed that the persons of females are protected either from indecent exposure or from the lacerations of the cart-whip. On the contrary, they are still liable, equally with the men, to the same 39 lashes of that torturing instrument, inflicted on their bared bodies, at the bidding of any free ruffian in the island, who, as owner or overseer, may be in authority over them. (Clause 37.) The Assembly, when called upon in the last session, refused not only to exempt them from this savage infliction, but even to prohibit the exposure of their naked limbs during the process of punishment, the place on which it is inflicted being the most fleshy part of the thighs, which they are stretched prone on the earth in order to present more fully, uncovered, both to the gaze of the spectator, and to the incisions of the driver.

3. "*Sentence of death, by judicial authority, cannot be enforced without the sanction of the Governor.*"

Deception lurks even in so plain a statement; for if the Act, (clause 99,) is consulted, it will be found that that very case is exempted from any necessity of reference to the Governor, which, of all others, most requires to be under his control, and where the inflamed passions of the planters are most likely to operate in causing unjust and precipitate executions, namely, "*the case of slaves convicted of rebellion and rebellious conspiracy,*" in which case it is enacted, that "the Court shall, and may proceed to pass sentence, and to carry the same into execution as heretofore," provided only the occasion be not pressing,

* An abstract of this letter will be found under the head St. Vincent's, below.

when the Court may, if it thinks proper, refer the matter to the Governor.

4. "*Manumissions have been encouraged and facilitated.*"

That has not been done, which can alone give due facilities to manumission, namely, compelling the master to accept a fair price for the liberty of his slave.

5. "*The slave has been exempt from the effect of legal process on Saturday, that he may dispose of the produce of his labour on that day, and devote his Sunday to religious worship.*"

The circumstance that the slave is exempt, on Saturday, from legal seizure for the debts of his master, enables the *master* to employ him off the estate on that day, without the risk of losing him. But it does not enable the slave to employ it either in going to market, or in cultivating his own provision grounds. The law saves the master from having his slave wrested from him on that day; but that this may be of any use whatever to the slave, he must not only be saved from legal process for his master's debts on that day, but he must have the day allotted to him by law, which it is not. Without this appropriation of it, it is positively of little or no benefit to the slave; and therefore the measure, vaunted as it has been, is only a fresh attempt to throw dust in the eyes of the people of England.

6. "*Curates, throughout the several parishes of the island, have been appointed for the special purpose of instructing our slave population in the tenets of the Christian faith.*"

The Curates' Act was passed in 1816. In October, 1825, the Bishop reports to Lord Bathurst that "*the parishes in the interior are absolutely without the semblance of the forms of religious worship.*" The testimony of Mr. Stewart also, himself a West Indian, is, in this respect, equally decisive. The Curates' Act made the permission of the planters necessary to the instruction of their slaves. Probably from this cause,—but if not, yet, "*from whatever cause,*" says Mr. Stewart, writing in 1823, the Act "has been rendered, in a great measure, abortive." Either the lukewarmness of the curates, or the unwillingness of the planters, has "operated to render the intentions of the legislature nugatory." In truth, he adds, "*very few of the slaves have it in their power to attend Church,*" "*for Sunday is not a day of rest and relaxation to the plantation slave, he must work on that day or starve.*" (*Stewart's View of Jamaica*, p. 157.)

7. "*Fees on baptism and marriage have been abolished.*"

That is true.

8. "*The slave has been made capable of receiving bequests of personal property to any amount.*"

Yet the very clause (17) which authorizes an executor to pay a bequest to a slave, provides "*that nothing herein contained shall be deemed to authorize the institution of any action or suit at law or in equity, for the recovery of such legacy, or to make it necessary to make any slave a defendant to a suit in equity.*" In a colony where it is notoriously difficult to recover debts at all, and where executors are proverbially unfaithful, what chance has the poor slave, under such

circumstances, of reaping any benefit from such an enactment? It is altogether a mockery.

9. "*In the present session we have expunged all those enactments which the policy of a remote period rendered imperative, but which, in the present day, are no longer called for, and appear harsh.*"

This is certainly a great misrepresentation. The only provision of the Act of 1816, which might appear harsh towards a slave, and which has been expunged from the Act of 1826, is that, in clauses 39 and 40, which prohibited any master, under a penalty of £30, from permitting a slave to possess either horse or mule. And even this concession was no spontaneous act on the part of the Assembly. Lord Bathurst had refused to sanction their deficiency Law, if this harsh restriction were retained.

The only other clauses of the Act of 1816, which have been expunged from that of 1826, are clauses not harsh, but favourable to the slave, namely the 9th, requiring, under a penalty of £50, an annual return, on oath, of the births and deaths of slaves on plantations; the 10th authorizing the owner to deduct the penalty of £50 from the Overseer's salary, if the neglect were his; the 11th giving a reward of £3, to be divided to mothers, midwives, and nurses, for every child born on a plantation; and the 73rd, which directed magistrates to commit runaways to workhouses only, and not to gaols.

Is not the statement of the Assembly, then, utterly untrue, which says, that "during the present session, they have expunged *all* those enactments" of former times, which appear harsh?

10. "*We have afforded still greater protection to the slave by imposing further restrictions on the mode of punishment.*"

Loudly called to it by the public voice at home, they have made it penal to *brand* a slave; but no other new restriction whatever has been imposed on the arbitrary power of punishment by the master, overseer, or driver. The power to *flog, to incarcerate in the stocks,* and to *drive in the field,* all men, women, and children, is just the same as under the former Act. The master, however, cannot now, as formerly, by his own authority, commit his slaves to *gaol* for more than ten days, or give them *there* more than twenty lashes.

It is true, there are some modifications of the trials and public punishments of slaves; that is to say, in a few cases two magistrates are now required to convict where one was before sufficient or three where only two were before necessary. In some cases the extreme severity of capital punishment is mitigated to transportation or hard labour for life; and in a few, the discretion formerly allowed, is somewhat limited.

11. "*They have extended to him, in common with every British subject, the benefit of a Grand Jury.*"

This is the first fruits of Mr. Denman's motion, in March, 1826, on the disgraceful trials which took place in Jamaica in 1823 and 1824. But this benefit of a Grand Jury is expressly limited to crimes which subject slaves to death, transportation, or confinement to hard labour for life, or for a longer period than a year.

12 "*An advantage has also been conferred, which no British subject in the United Kingdom enjoys, of having counsel assigned, with*

liberty to address the jury in behalf of the slave who may be put on his trial for any capital offence."

The case is overstated. The magistrates in every parish "are empowered and required" (but without being liable to any penalty for not doing it) to employ either a barrister or attorney, at such rate of remuneration as they may see fit, to be paid by the parish, to attend the trial of all slaves for capital offences, and to take their defence. (Clause 102.)—But to say that this confers on the poor slave advantages which no British subject enjoys, is surely rather an extravagant position. It ought to be remarked, that in the West Indian courts all free criminals may have the benefit of counsel to plead for them.

13. "*The Sunday market has been abolished after the hour of eleven.*"

This is no abolition of the Sunday market; on the contrary, it legalizes and sanctions it. (Clause 6.) The six best hours, nearly one-half of the sacred day, are consumed in the most secular and distracting of all employments, independently of travelling to the market and back, five, ten, fifteen, or twenty miles; to which, *by law,* are now superadded all the temptations to dissipation and debauchery, and to the neglect of religious worship, which Sunday markets must bring with them.

14. "*Marriage among our slaves has been encouraged.*"

Never was any assertion less true than this. It is actually rather discouraged. The first recognition of such a thing among slaves as marriage, that fundamental institution of society, by the legislature of Jamaica, is in this Act of 1826; and even there, *no legal sanction is given to it,* no connubial rights are conferred by it. There is merely a permission to clergymen to perform the ceremony, in the case of slaves who have been baptized, and who, on examination, being found to understand the nature of the marriage contract, produce the written consent of their owner. No means are prescribed for preserving a record of such marriages; or for controlling the owner's refusal of his consent.

15. "*The separation of families, under judicial or other process, has been prohibited.*"

What other process is here meant it is impossible to divine. The only provision on the subject is to be found in the fifth clause, and that refers exclusively to sales under levies by the marshal, or the collecting constable; no mention whatever being made of any other kind of sale. Now the Assembly actually rejected a clause proposed to them, to prohibit the separation of families by private sale. Besides, this is no new clause. It only renews what has long been the law, that when a family is seized together it shall be sold together. Nay, it is so far from effectually preventing separations, that it expressly bars against its being understood to interfere with levies *on individual slaves.* And in point of fact, the levies by the collecting constables are almost always on individual slaves, who, of course, are sold singly; and it often, nay generally happens, that even on the occasion of seizures by the marshal, it is not the whole family, but an individual or two of it, who are taken.

16. "*The maintenance of infirm slaves has been enforced.*"

This is no new law, but the mere repetition, *totidem verbis,* of what

has always stood in the statute book. The 19th clause of 1826 corresponds to the 13th of 1816.

17. "*The acquisition of personal property has been sanctioned and secured by law.*"

The clause here alluded to, the 16th, gives neither sanction nor security to the property of slaves.—See above, p. 103.

18. "*We have declared slaves competent to give evidence in criminal cases.*"

Slaves are not allowed to give evidence in any civil cases, and only in certain specified criminal cases, and even then under very material restrictions, which will be found above, p. 102.

Is it not a most indecorous proceeding, to use the mildest term which befits the occasion, in a body like the Assembly of Jamaica, to approach the throne with an official representation so full of misstatements, and in some instances so directly at variance with the truth, as many parts of this Petition? And while they have thus exaggerated and misrepresented what has actually been done, they have entirely omitted to notice what has been left undone. They have omitted to state their general rejection of the reforms recommended by his Majesty. They have omitted also to mention the many harsh, not to say barbarous enactments, which have been retained on their statute book; such as the number of hours in the day assigned to the slaves for field labour, independently of night work, grass collecting, and other minor labours of their own; the power given to a single magistrate to punish at his discretion a slave complaining of his master, who does not prove his complaint; the sale into slavery of persons apprehended as runaways, who affirm they are free, but fail in proving their freedom, although claimed by no one; the punishment of slaves "offering any violence to or towards any white or free person," with death, &c.; the punishment also with death of pretenders to witchcraft; the punishment of teaching or preaching by flogging, &c.; the debarring of slaves from contributing to any religious or charitable object; the punishment of slaves having less than 20lb. of meat of any kind in their possession with 39 lashes, and above 20lb. with any infliction short of death; the indemnifying of owners for the value of slaves executed or transported; the authorizing of the execution of slaves convicted of rebellion, or rebellious conspiracy, without any reference to the Governor; the prohibiting of any slave, however atrocious may be the cruelty with which he has been treated, from being set at liberty, if any slave shall have been a witness at the trial; with other enactments of the same kind.

XII. Mauritius.

There is no return whatever from this island. In the next session of parliament there will probably, however, be a full developement of the peculiarly cruel character of the slavery which exists there.

XIII. Montserrat.

From this island, also, there is no return.

XIV. Nevis.

About twenty folio pages are devoted to Nevis, which do not, however, furnish the slightest official information.* They contain some merely inchoate measures, which have not been in any instance carried into effect; and even these notices are furnished not through the regular official channel of the Governor, but through the private and unofficial channel of the agent for Nevis, Mr. Colquhoun. But whatever may be the correctness of Mr. Colquhoun's information, it serves no purpose, except uselessly to fill up twenty folio pages of printing with an unfinished and abortive Bill.† We should have been sorry, indeed, had that of Nevis proved otherwise than abortive, as it went to legalize Sunday markets, the flogging of women, driving in the field, with many more of the well-known abominations of the slave system, and as it made no real and efficient improvement, even where it *seemed* to touch upon the reforms recommended by Lord Bathurst. The following ingenious method of complying with his Lordship's wish to abolish driving in the field, may be taken as a specimen of the legislative dexterity of the Nevis Assembly. "And be it further enacted, that it shall be henceforth utterly unlawful to carry, use, exercise, or employ the whip, commonly called the cart-whip, either as an emblem of authority, or as an instrument of punishment, or of driving or coercing of slaves to their labour, and the same is hereby abolished. But nothing herein contained shall extend, or be construed to extend, to prevent any master, or manager of slaves within this island, from permitting, or causing to be carried and exercised or employed, such emblem of authority, *and moderate and innoxious means of stimulating the idle or the lazy to due exertion, as he in his discretion may think fit, so as that such emblem of authority, or means of stimulating exertion, be not repugnant to the rational and acknowledged principles of humanity.*"

It were curious to inquire what those rational and acknowledged principles of humanity are, which are recognized in the colony which witnessed, and nevertheless refused to punish, the atrocities of a Huggins.

XV. St. Christophers.

On the 7th of October 1826, Governor Maxwell informed Lord Bathurst that he had laid the bills recommended by his Lordship before the legislature, and that he feared the greatest objection would be felt to the appointment of a Protector of slaves. This, he adds, "I must regret, as I feel convinced that without some provision of this kind, the slaves will not have the protection and support to which their forlorn situation so justly entitles them."‡ The whole of the recommended measures, however, appear to have been as unpalatable to the Assembly of St. Kitt's as that of a Protector. They have as yet adopted none of them. On the 5th of May, 1827, no progress whatever had been made.§

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* Papers, &c. 1827, Part ii. p. 73—92.

† Ibid. p. 309.

‡ Ibid. p. 69.

§ Ibid. p. 309.

XVI. St. Lucia.

By referring to the pamphlet entitled the "Slave Colonies of Great Britain," p. 73—76, it will be seen with what earnestness the Governors of St. Lucia, General Mainwaring, and Colonel Blackwall, making common cause with the planters, struggled to preserve entire some of the worst abominations of the slave system. Much has nevertheless been done since that time to improve the state of the law in this island, though it has not been without many opposing efforts; as if, in parting with one abuse after another, their very heartstrings had been torn asunder. And yet, on the 15th of August 1826, General Mainwaring writes that "since the promulgation of the slave law, now three months in operation, the greatest harmony and good feeling exist in the colony."—Nay, "the happiness, quiet, and good order of the plantations have been fully proved to me by the reports of the Commandant, and of a commission," who had made the tour of the island, and inspected every estate.* The General, however, can hardly forgive the abolitionists, for having interfered to produce this state of things (taking it to be a real and not an imaginary picture,) for on having been forced reluctantly by Lord Bathurst to make a few material improvements in the code, which he had at first promulgated in a somewhat imperfect state, he tells his Lordship that the members of the council who have acceded to these improvements are slave holders; and he hopes, that having done so, they "will be met by a corresponding feeling on the part of the anti-colonists at home; when I trust the West India question will be set at rest in a manner which I hope will be satisfactory to your Lordship."†

We fear that the gallant General, who has kindly volunteered this remark, may still have to experience some annoyance from the troublesome interference of these *anti-colonists*, as he calls them, within the bounds of his government.

It is not a very easy matter to give a clear view of the present state of the law in St. Lucia, as the text of the new code is so broken into parts, and so overloaded with notes, and so interrupted with arguments and observations, as to bear to the cursory reader a very perplexed aspect. The original Ordinance has also been largely amended since its first promulgation, so that a revised and compacted edition of the whole is necessary before its real drift can be properly appreciated. Certainly great pains appear to have been bestowed upon it by Mr. Jeremie, the President of the Royal Court, who nevertheless shews a disposition to defer too readily to the unreasonable apprehensions of the planters around him.‡

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* Papers, &c. of 1827, Part ii. p. 139. † Ibid. p. 157.

‡ This gentleman occasionally gives way to prejudices which are unworthy of him. He accuses the abolitionists (going quite out of his way for the purpose) of contradicting themselves, and of distorting facts to serve their present object; but the instances he gives have really no foundation whatever in truth. Who, for example, among them has ever alleged as a reason for giving rights to the slaves, that they are "well informed," "absolutely learned,"—or as an excuse for the Demerara insurrection, "What could be expected from

The following are the points in which the St. Lucia Ordinance now differs from that of Trinidad, and, for the most part, as will be seen, very greatly to the advantage of the former. The authorities for what follows will be found in the papers for 1826, p. 1 to 104, and in those for 1827, Part ii. p. 157 to 160.

1. The law with respect to the non-separation of families, by judicial sales, is more effectually guarded from violation than even in Trinidad. If the creditor shall seize one of a family, the owner shall be bound, on pain of forfeiting them, to produce the rest, that they may be sold in one lot. The prohibition to separate families extends also to sales by private and voluntary agreement. The transfer of part of the family shall be taken and considered as a transfer of the whole, and that without any increase of price being paid to the person who had unduly retained them.

2. Slaves cannot be separated by seizure and sale from the plantations to which they belong.

3. Sunday markets are continued till eleven in the forenoon.

4. The rules respecting labour, which at Lord Bathurst's suggestion have since been somewhat though very inadequately modified, shew clearly the intensity of the toil exacted from the slaves, and account, in some measure, for the extraordinary mortality which occurs in St. Lucia. "Masters are expressly enjoined not to work their slaves on Sundays *from midnight to midnight.*" Slaves shall not be worked before day-break, nor after night-fall, "*except when employed at the sugar-mills and in other manufactories, or extraordinary occasions of forced crops absolutely requiring continued labour.*" But even then "*the same slaves shall not be worked during two nights consecutively*, except when the gang shall have been divided into watches, and then, *the same watch shall not be worked more than half the night.*" This rigorous exaction has since been qualified by an amendment which says, that eight consecutive hours of rest shall be secured to the slave in the 24 hours.

5. The clothing fixed for the slaves for each six months is, for the men, one shirt and trowsers;—for the women, one chemise and petticoat.

6. The master is exempted from feeding his slaves, except with cod fish, if he gives them a day every week out of crop, and half a day in crop, besides Sunday, for working their provision grounds. If he gives them an additional day in the week, over and above the day out of crop and half a day in crop, he is exempted from feeding them at all.

7. Once in each year Commissioners shall inspect the plantations. The three owners whose gangs have most increased shall have prizes of 4000, 2000, and 1000 livres, provided their plantations have been ad-

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a benighted negro?" The abolitionists know too well the deplorable ignorance of the slaves ever to have asserted the extent of their learning. And with respect to the Demerara insurrection, their surprise certainly was that benighted negroes should have acted so well under such strong excitement, rather than that their conduct required a disparaging apology. This gentleman has, nevertheless, rendered most essential services to the interests of humanity.

ministered according to law, and provided there has been no well-founded complaint against them on the part of any of the slaves. The mother in these three gangs having the largest number of living children shall be manumitted together with one of her children, at the public expense.

8. The barbarous principle of paying to the owner the value of his slave who is condemned to death and executed, or who being a runaway, is killed in flight, is retained in this code.

9. The slave's right of property is better secured to him in St. Lucia than elsewhere; and he has this further advantage conceded to him, that he may have "an action in his own name when he claims his freedom as a right."

10. "Slave evidence is admissible in all cases, civil and criminal, except against the slave's master."

11. The penal laws against slaves are dreadfully severe; and it is much to be lamented that they should have been confirmed by Lord Bathurst; we trust they will be revised. A fugitive slave for a second offence suffers *a month's solitary confinement and* 100 *lashes;* for a third 200 *lashes and three years hard labour in the chain gang;* for the fourth *death.* A slave assisting another in escaping, or attempting to escape from the colony, shall suffer 200 lashes and three years hard labour.—A slave carrying steel arms of any description shall be deemed a felon.—A slave striking his owner, or his owner's wife or child, is guilty of felony, and in cases of aggravation shall suffer death. Slaves taken up masked, or trading, or selling sugar cane, coffee, &c. without their master's permission, or found straggling without a passport, &c. &c., shall be subject to penalties not exceeding 150 lashes and three years hard labour in the chain gang.

12. A slave marrying a free owner becomes free, and the issue though born before marriage is free also.

13. Persons in holy orders may baptize as free, children under the age of one year, though born of mothers in a state of slavery, the owner consenting thereto.

14. In all cases, he who affirms that a person is his slave is bound, except he be in actual possession, to prove his allegation; the presumption being in favour of natural liberty.

15. No authority whatever shall reduce to slavery a person free by birth or manumission, or by 15 years prescription.

16. Notwithstanding all Mr. Jeremie says in favour of the measure, we think it a most mischievous law which constitutes the owner, instead of the crown, the heir of an intestate slave.*

17. No less objectionable seems the power which Mr. Jeremie would give to the Commissaries of quarters, of inflicting forty lashes on the female slave. We trust that his reasoning on the subject will not induce Government to depart from their principle.†

An account is given in these papers of an enquiry into some cases of cruelty, one of which appears to have been very satisfactorily established. It is that of Maria Rose, who had been handcuffed by the

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* Papers, &c. 1827, Part ii. p. 163. † Ibid. p. 155.

order of a Mr. M'Gowan, and her feet being tied, her arms were raised above her head, and hung by the handcuffs to a nail, in such a manner that her heels were elevated considerably above the ground; the whole of her weight resting either upon the handcuffs, which were hung upon the nail, or upon her toes; in which position she remained for nearly two hours.* The Attorney General was ordered to prosecute M'Gowan, who was found guilty, and sentenced to pay £50; but the punishment being thought inadequate, there had been an appeal from the sentence.

XVII. St. Vincent's.

The legislature of this Island threw out the eight Bills, proposed to them by Lord Bathurst, without a division,† conceiving that they had already gone as far with their ameliorations as prudence would allow, in the Act of December, 1825, of which a brief sketch will be found in the 11th number of the Anti-Slavery Reporter, p. 163. Its imperfections, however, will be still more clearly seen by referring to a despatch of Earl Bathurst, of April 3rd, 1827, in which, while he leaves the Act to its operation, he takes occasion to make a variety of observations upon it to the following effect.‡

Several of the measures, he observes, recommended by the Government, and approved by Parliament, are either wholly omitted, or imperfectly accomplished.—No protector of slaves is appointed; Female flogging is not prohibited; No presumption against the master is made to arise from traces of recent punishment; The separation of families, by judicial process, is not prevented; Saving banks are not instituted; No incapacity of holding slaves is made to follow cruelty, however frequent; The provisions respecting the property of slaves, are most defective and inadequate; So are the regulations respecting marriage, the observance of the Sunday, the prevention of compulsory labour on that day, and the abolition of Sunday markets; Equally imperfect and inefficient are the provisions respecting manumission; Men and women are punished alike, while the master's power of punishing them extends to 39 instead of 25 lashes; No time is interposed between the offence and the infliction; The presence of a free witness is not required; The record of punishments proposed is wholly inadequate to its purpose; The *whip in the field* may still be used by a *free* person, or the cat by a *slave*.

His Lordship further points out many defects in their criminal laws, such as punishing the *intent* to commit a crime in the same manner as the crime itself; also punishing *capitally* the superstition of Obeah, *any* personal "injury" done by a slave to a free person, the "imagining the death of a white person," and the holding meetings "for *any* unlawful and dangerous purpose;" and he complains, generally, of the vague and indefinite expressions which are used to describe even capital offences. To two other points we were glad to find his Lordship, at length, strongly objecting. One is, the practice of indemnifying the owner for the loss of his slave, in cases of capital conviction; a mea-

* Ibid. p. 141. † Ibid. p. 312. ‡ Ibid. p. 110—114.

sure which, as a general rule, he conceives "may be productive of great mischief and injustice, depriving the master of a strong motive for preventing the commission of crime by his negroes, and depriving the slave of the protection which the self-interest of the master might otherwise afford him." "His own neglect of domestic discipline and instruction, may have occasioned the offence for which the slave has suffered."

The other point to which he objects is the system of punishing slaves who complain against their masters, but fail in proving the truth of their complaints. "Unless punishments of this kind," he remarks, "are administered with extreme caution, they will have a direct tendency to prevent the most just and reasonable complaints. The law ought not to authorize the punishment of a complaint, simply because no conclusive proof is adduced to justify it." It should be *proved* to be "groundless or frivolous, if not malicious, before the party complaining is punished for preferring it."

And yet this very principle, against which Lord Bathurst here so justly and forcibly remonstrates, now forms a part of the Trinidad Order, having been added to it by proclamation, on the 23rd of June, 1824.

His Lordship further exposes the total inefficiency of the law of slave evidence as it now stands. No slave can give evidence who is not baptized by a *clergyman*, or whom a *clergyman* does not certify to be of good character, and to understand the nature of an oath; thus disqualifying the unbaptized, and the disciples of all other religious teachers than those of the established church. "What is still more objectionable, is the necessity imposed of obtaining another certificate, to the same effect, from the proprietor, or manager of the slave," who may have a motive to prevent the slave from being heard as a witness. A slave, moreover, cannot be a witness in any *civil* case; or, in any criminal case, against his owner, manager, &c. His evidence is besides clogged with many other difficulties.

Lord Bathurst has rendered a most essential service to the cause of humanity, by recording these observations, which are, almost all, just as applicable to Jamaica, and indeed to the other slave colonies, as to St. Vincent's. It is a most painful consideration that laws, of which such things can with truth be asserted, should now be in operation under the deliberate sanction of His Majesty's Government.

XVIII. Tobago.

Nothing has been done by the legislature of this colony, in consequence of the recommendations of His Majesty's Government, in March and May, 1826. There has arisen, however, much interesting discussion on the part both of the Council and of the Assembly, between whom there exists a difference of opinion on most of the topics embraced by Lord Bathurst's eight Bills. Of those Bills, however, it is due to his Lordship to state the sentiments entertained by Mr. Macbean, the enlightened lawyer who fills the office of Attorney-General in Tobago. "To me," he says, "they appear throughout framed with the most anxious care to prevent any serious injury to the proprietor, while they certainly contain *many enactments which, if carried judiciously into effect,*

would confer lasting benefits on the slave." His Lordship might, therefore, have confided more implicitly in the capacity which exists in this country, of legislating more justly and beneficially for all parties concerned, than the colonial legislators, in general, have shewn themselves qualified or disposed to do. And not only does Mr. Macbean, but the legislative Council of Tobago, seem to be of the opinion that the Bills which have emanated from Downing Street, are quite as well calculated for the meridian of the West Indies, as if they had proceeded from an assembly of planters. The Council express a most decided opinion, that " many of the proposed new regulations may be adopted *with perfect safety, and some prospect of advantage to the slave;* and none of them are so objectionable, but that, under proper modifications, their principles may not be, in some measure, adopted." They approve of the appointment of a Protector armed with suitable powers. Slave evidence they wish to be received in all criminal courts, without any restraints which do not apply universally. They have some reserves, but of a somewhat unreasonable kind, on the subject of manumission.* *They have no objection to legalize the marriage of slaves.* Sunday markets are already abolished, and they approve of enforcing the observance of that day. They accede to the conferring of rights of property on slaves, and to the establishing of saving's banks. They recommend the non-separation of families by judicial sale, but, (somewhat squeamishly, considering all things,) they object to the admission of *reputed* wives and husbands within the pale of the immunity; although it is a fact quite notorious, and recorded by the very authorities of Tobago themselves, that no marriage of slaves has ever taken place there.†

On the only remaining point, the mode and degree of punishments, the Council approve of putting down the driving whip; but they do not approve of postponing punishments for 24 hours, or of ceasing to flog females. Females, however, they observe, with a commendable tenderness, might be flogged with a cat instead of a whip, and indecently exposed to no male eye, but those of the person ordering the infliction, the driver, and another witness; that is, three men at least. They do not object to a record of punishments, but they decidedly object to allowing fresh lacerations, unaccounted for, to raise a presumption of illegal punishment against the master; or to allowing either atrocious cruelty to produce the forfeiture of the sufferer to the Crown, or a repetition of such cruelties to disqualify the perpetrator of them to hold slaves.

They decidedly object also to some of the more prominent barbarities of the former code, retained in the improved Act of 1823, such as making the wounding of any free person, and the compassing of the death of

* They would permit no female to be freed who gained money by concubinage; that is to say, in other words, they would have *no* female slave freed, for all the female slaves in Tobago live, and have always lived, in concubinage. There is even now no law authorizing the marriage of slaves in Tobago, and the report made thence to Parliament is, that in that colony no marriage of slaves has ever been celebrated. And yet they gravely propose, that no female shall be freed who lives in concubinage! And why is not the same principle applied to the men? They equally live in concubinage.

† The effect, therefore, of such an exception, would be that the law would be a dead letter. It would apply to no one husband or wife in Tobago!

a free person, capital offences; and also to the monstrous inconsistency, "that two or more slaves who could give evidence to convict of murder a fellow slave, should be counted as nothing, in the scale of legal demonstration, should the accused happen to be a person of free condition." "This glaring absurdity of rejecting or receiving testimony, according to the colour or condition of the individual, ought immediately to be remedied." *

To these opinions of the Council, those of the Assembly form a frequent contrast. The Assembly are of opinion that the Act of 1823 "embraced almost every measure which could tend to the happiness and comfort of the slave." The appointment of a Protector they regard as wholly uncalled for. Compulsory manumission they conceive would be the entire destruction of slavery, root and branch. They see, however, no evil likely to ensue from admitting the evidence of slaves in all cases. They evidently prefer the present state of concubinage among the slaves to marriage.† They do not object to preventing *unnecessary* labour on Sunday, and to giving rights of property to slaves, or forming saving banks; but they hesitate as to not separating *reputed* husbands and wives. To the whole system of reform, in respect to the whip, flogging females, keeping a record of punishments, visiting cruelty with the forfeiture of the slave, &c., they most strenuously object.‡

Thus stands the matter in Tobago, while with all their professions of humanity, their slave population decreases at the rate of 2 per cent. per annum.

XIX. Tortola.

There is no return from this island.

The remainder of this analysis, which refers only to the proceedings in the island of Trinidad; and to the Reports of the Bishops of Jamaica and Barbadoes, is deferred to the succeeding Number. In the mean time, we beg to make a few very brief observations on the last Number of the West Indian Reporter.

West Indian Reporter, No. VIII.

1. This Reporter charges us with having neglected, since the commencement of our labours, to notice the proceedings of the Clergy in the colonies. He does us great wrong. We have devoted a whole Number, the 13th, to the Bishops and Clergy, besides various incidental notices respecting them, as for example, in our very last Number. We mean also to appropriate to them a part of our next Number; and shall be most happy, on all occasions, to record any effective service they may render to the slaves.

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* Papers of 1827, Part ii. p. 128.

† What nation in the earth is so savage as not to understand the nature and duties of marriage? And yet the legislators of Tobago wish their slaves to serve a long apprenticeship of cohabitation, before they are allowed to be man and wife. What is marriage, but cohabitation legalized, and rendered permanent and exclusive?

‡ Papers, &c. 1827, part ii. p. 115—138.

2. The Act of St. Vincent's, which this Reporter tells us Lord Bathurst has highly eulogized, he will find, by turning back four pages, contains, in the estimation of his Lordship, many very serious subjects of reprehension.

3. All the efforts of this Reporter will not suffice to varnish over the outrage on the Methodist chapel in St. Ann's, Jamaica. The main attack on Dr. Lushington's speech proceeds, too, on a misrepresentation of it. Dr. Lushington did not say, though he is stated to have said, that the Assembly voted to the Rev. Mr. Bridges £500 *a year*, but merely £500; and that they did vote that sum is admitted.

4. It is adduced as evidence of calumny, that we should have affirmed, that to the slave population in the West Indies, the cultivation of sugar has proved a deathful employment. The facts which shew it to have been so were not invented by us, but furnished by the West Indians themselves.

5. It is given as a farther proof of calumny, that we have represented the toil of the Jamaica slave as "uncompensated," and as "extracted from him by the impulse of the lash." The next Number of the West Indian Reporter will, probably, inform us of the rate of the Jamaica slave's wages, and of the impulse which has been substituted for that of the lash.

6. We are charged with having denied, in our 27th Number, the claim of the West Indians to compensation for the loss of the labour of their slaves. And yet, it is certain, that the main object of that Number is to shew that, by the very regulations to which the West Indians have objected, they *are most amply compensated.* They, however, are not satisfied, unless we admit it to be just, that that compensation should come to them from the sweat and blood of the oppressed and injured party.

This, and all other publications of the Society, may be had at their office, 18, *Aldermanbury; or at Messrs. Hatchards,* 187, *Piccadilly, and Arch's, Cornhill. They may also be procured, through any bookseller, or at the depots of the Anti-Slavery Society throughout the kingdom.*

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ANTI-SLAVERY
MONTHLY REPORTER.

No. 30.] For NOVEMBER, 1827. [No. 6. Vol. ii.

The "Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter" will be ready for delivery on the first day of every month. Copies will be forwarded at the request of any Anti-Slavery Society, at the rate of four shillings per hundred, when not exceeding half a sheet, and in proportion, when it exceeds that quantity. All persons wishing to receive a regular supply are requested to make application to the Secretary, at the Society's office, No. 18, Aldermanbury, and mention the conveyance by which they may be most conveniently sent. Single Copies may be had of all booksellers and newsmen, at the rate of 1*d.* per half-sheet of eight pages, or 2*d.* per sheet of sixteen pages.

THE FURTHER PROGRESS OF COLONIAL REFORM, Part III. *(Continued from page* 119.*)*—REPORT OF AFRICAN INSTITUTION—SURREY AND DUBLIN ANTI-SLAVERY MEETINGS; THE SLAVE GRACE, &c.

In the two preceding Numbers we have shewn the precise amount (partaking of the character of a negative quantity) of the improvements adopted in nineteen of the slave colonies belonging to the British Crown. The case of the twentieth, and that by no means the least important, remains to be considered.

XX. Trinidad.

The returns from this Island contain a variety of miscellaneous information. We will take it in its order.

I. The Council on the motion of Mr. Burnley have requested Earl Bathurst to permit the publication, in the Gazette of the Island, of all complaints of master and slave against each other, and of the decisions upon them, with the view of silencing calumny, and shewing that no reforms were necessary in a colony where slaves are already so well protected by law. Lord Bathurst has complied with the request. Let the apparent inference however from this publication be ever so favourable to the planter, in a colony where a slave, making a complaint which he fails to prove, is liable to punishment for having made it, it is surprising that it should not have occurred to Mr. Burnley and the council, that that inference will weigh but as a mere feather in the scale against the fact of an annual decrease of the slave population, by the excess of deaths over births, to the enormous extent of $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. per annum. This circumstance being lately mentioned to a planter of Trinidad, who has resided in that colony for twenty-five years, he remarked very emphatically, "You need not wonder at that mortality: it is the sugar which kills them: more of it is made in proportion in Trinidad, than anywhere else." This is literally the case. More sugar is made in Trinidad per negro than in any other British colony. It amounts to about twelve cwt. for each slave.

II. A further proof of the necessity of interference in the government of the slaves in Trinidad is furnished by a recent occurrence detailed in

the papers before us, pp. 265—271, and in which Mr. Burnley himself acted a prominent part.

Pamela Monro, a female slave, eighteen years of age, whose mother was desirous of manumitting her, was ordered to be appraised in the usual way, by two appraisers, Thomas Le Gendre and William H. Burnley, esqs. These appraisers not attending simply to the plain terms of the oath they had taken, to make "a fair and impartial appraisement;" but having recourse to sophistical and constructive inferences from a misinterpreted instruction of Lord Bathurst, declare their judgment to be, that "Pamela Monro *is fully worth* the sum of 1200 Mexican dollars perfect (viz. 260*l.* sterling), *and they do place that value upon her.*" The fair and real value of this young woman in the market, might be about 80*l.* or 85*l.* sterling: the appraisers form an imaginary valuation of her, which amounts to three times this sum; a decision which has of course doomed the wretched Pamela to remain a slave.

The Protector of Slaves, Mr. Gloster, having been applied to on this occasion, stated that the appraisement of this poor girl far exceeded any other since the promulgation of the Order in Council. The very highest appraisement of any Slave, even of the most valuable class, had been 169*l.*, and this man was a head boiler, and a tolerable mason, carpenter, and blacksmith, whom his owner considered it impossible to replace. Another slave, who acted as a store-keeper and out-door collecting clerk, and who was in every respect a confidential servant, had been sold for 162*l.* 10*s.* sterling. Four head drivers had been also appraised, all very intelligent and confidential persons; one of them, capable of conducting a cocoa estate, at 150*l.* sterling; another at 140*l.*; another at 120*l.*; and a fourth *(whom his former master at this very time employs as an overseer for daily wages)* at 97*l.* 10*s.* sterling.

The observations of the Protector of Slaves on this transaction are invaluable. They are as follows:

"The appraised value of slaves manumitted, under the provisions of the Order in Council, for the first eighteen months after it came into operation, does not average much more than one-half of the general average for the last twelve months."—(That is to say, since the unhappily misconstrued despatch of Lord Bathurst became public.) "The selling or market price of slaves, however, has not experienced a commensurate rise; and therefore it is evident, that the magnitude of the appraisements *lately made* are not occasioned by the increased value of slaves.

"While the market price of slaves continues as at present, I would consider the application of other principles of appraisement to any common case, as *an injustice to the slave, and an encroachment on the rights conferred upon him by the law.*

"To my apprehension, *the only fair criterion by which the value of a slave can be ascertained*, is *the usual market price*; and although that price has risen considerably within the last twelve months, the criterion afforded by it is far exceeded by the generality of appraisements.

"It is also certain that the market price will rise in proportion to the

decrease of the number of, or difficulty of procuring, *plantation* slaves. It is, therefore, UNJUST *to add to the real value, or market price, of the slave purchasing his freedom, a portion of the value of the estate to which the slave is attached*, until it becomes impracticable to continue the cultivation of the estate, in consequence of the impossibility of procuring a substitute for the slave who is to be enfranchised.*

"The opposite opinions are very generally diffused, and, however controvertible they may be by argument, *I cannot indulge even the hope that they will be easily eradicated, or prevented from operating very seriously to the disadvantage of the slaves desirous of becoming free.*"

"The principle," (which principle was assumed and avowed by the appraisers of Pamela Monro) "that the value of the slave should be estimated at the amount of the capital required to yield a revenue equal to the hire which could be obtained for the slave, is evidently fallacious, from the fact that, every day, instances occur of slaves being bought for four hundred dollars," (a third of the appraised value of Pamela Monro) "who, as Mr. Burnley mentions," (of Pamela) "may be immediately hired at the rate of six dollars, or 1*l.* 6*s.* sterling per month, fed, clothed, and the capital guaranteed; the corresponding capital to which, at six per cent., (the ordinary rate of interest in Trinidad) is 1200 dollars, or 260*l.* sterling, the appraised value of Pamela Monro. Yet surely, it could not be pretended that the latter sum was the real value of a slave that was bought for one third of the sum (400 dollars) and that could not be resold at an advanced price. This, I submit, PROVES *that the market price is the only just and fair criterion for determining the value of a slave.*"

This luminous and convincing exposition of the case is highly creditable to its author, Mr. Gloster; and so undeniably just and reasonable in itself is this method of ascertaining the indemnity due to the planter for the loss of his slave, that it is precisely the method which has been prescribed, by every legislature in the West Indies, whenever a slave is taken from his master for any public purpose, or is executed, or banished for a criminal offence. The value, in such case, is assessed by a Jury according to the fair market price, and they are not allowed to go beyond it. Had Pamela Monro, instead of being a claimant for freedom, been condemned to the gallows, she would have been equally lost to her owner; but in that case, Messrs. Le Gendre and Burnley would not have been permitted to award, even on their oaths, more than a third part of 1,200 Mexican dollars, as her fair and just appraisement.

It appears from what has passed in Trinidad on this occasion, that even the binding solemnity of an oath does not secure a fair measure of justice to the slave; and that if the Government and Parliament wish to fulfil their pledges, steps must forthwith be taken to obviate the effects of such deviations from fairness and impartiality. And if even the sanctions interposed, in such a case as this, are unequal to resist the

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* And not even then, for even in that case the market price would still be the criterion of the value.

influence of that sympathy, which the holders of slaves feel in favour of the master, and against the slave; how can the Government and the Parliament continue to intrust, to the conscience and feeling of such men, the more difficult and delicate and complicated task of legislating for their wretched dependants?

III. From the first promulgation of the Trinidad Order, we have not failed to insist strongly on the injustice of that part of it which regulates the evidence of slaves, as being at war with every sound principle of jurisprudence, and as being a deterioration instead of an improvement of the condition of the slaves of Trinidad. On the 9th of July, 1823, the Council of that island declared that it was already the law there, that the testimony of slaves should be received *quantum valeat*. Notwithstanding this previous state of the law, the Order in Council promulgated in March, 1824, lays the right of slaves to give evidence under many grievous restraints. First, the certificate of a teacher of religion is required. Such certificates, however, have not been obtainable in Trinidad, where teachers of religion are still more rare, it would seem, than in our other colonies. Accordingly, only one such certificate has been produced in Court since the promulgation of the Order. That is to say, only one slave has become competent, according to the new law, to do that which all slaves might have done before its enactment. It is true, that the Order contains a proviso, that the regulation, as to certificates, should not "take away or diminish any power which any criminal court has now to admit, in any case, the evidence of persons in a state of slavery." This proviso, however, has appeared to the colonial Courts to do no more than to authorize them to exercise a discretion as to receiving or rejecting slave evidence, and, under this impression, they have thought that they best used that discretion, and best fulfilled the intentions of His Majesty's Government by rejecting the evidence of all slaves, as incompetent, who are not fortified with the required certificate. The Chief Judge distinctly says, that he regarded the general principle inculcated in the Order to be that slaves are, in themselves, incompetent witnesses. He should therefore have thought that he was counteracting His Majesty's intentions, had he substituted his own views of competency for what the Order seemed to regard as alone indicative of competency, namely, the certificate of a teacher of religion. Lord Bathurst expresses himself greatly dissatisfied with this interpretation of the law, and yet it seems the fair and natural construction: and therefore, to us, the terms of the Order have always appeared most unjust and illiberal.

It is quite obvious that all attempts to modify the established rules of evidence, so as to meet the unreasonable prejudices of the planters, can only issue, like the attempt in Trinidad, in complete failure. There is but one principle which, in regulating this subject, can be safely acted upon, and that is, for tribunals to admit freely all witnesses, of whatever class or colour, judging of their competency and credibility by the ordinary rules of evidence. The arguments of Mr. Peel on this subject, in his Speech of the 1st of March, 1826, are quite unanswerable.* And we

* See Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 10. p. 103.

trust that when the Trinidad Order is revised, as is stated to be the intention of Government, they will attend to Mr. Peel's just and luminous suggestions on this point. Would any man in his senses propose to confine the right of giving testimony, in the courts of British India, to baptized persons, or to persons instructed in Christianity, as is done in Trinidad? The religious pretence on which this strange restriction is founded, is, without doubt, a very convenient plea for getting rid of an obnoxious measure, on the part of those too whose own total neglect of religious instruction, and even whose hostility to it have alone produced the ground for that plea. When the Order is revised, we trust that this, and the many other defects in the evidence clauses, as well as in the Order generally, will not be overlooked.* Among those defects the hitherto total absence of the means of religious instruction, the authorized and protracted continuance of Sunday markets, and the withholding of the promised day, in lieu of Sunday, from the slaves, are points particularly worthy of early attention, All the local authorities combine in representing the destitution of the means of religious instruction as most deplorable.

IV. Sir Ralph Woodford having been called upon, with a view to the proposed revision, to forward suggestions on the subject, has addressed a letter to Mr. W. Horton, in which will be perceived, with no small regret, a strong leaning in favour of the master's convenience as against the slave's comfort. The following instances will serve to illustrate this feeling.

1. He proposes that work should cease at eight on Saturday night, instead of sunset, and that it should commence at four on Monday morning, instead of sunrise.

2. He proposes that only the night, and not twenty-four hours, should elapse before a crime is punished.

3. He proposes that returns of punishment should not be made oftener than twice or even once a year.

4. He wishes the regulations respecting returns of punishment to be relaxed.

5. He objects to the 21st clause, (the most valuable clause in the whole code,) which raises a presumption against the master on the exhibition of recent lacerations on the body of the slave.

6. He doubts the propriety of the marriages of slaves, and thinks the people averse to them.†

7. He proposes that slaves, having money in the Savings' Banks, might commute their corporal punishments for money.

8. He would compel slaves to account for the manner in which they earn the sums carried to the Savings' Banks.

9. He even wishes the rules respecting Manumission to be modified, so as to meet the views of the planters.

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* See Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. XI. p. 132.

† In what other country in the world, civilized or savage, is marriage not cherished? Its absence in Trinidad, in conjunction with the heavy sugar culture, and the cruel exaction of labour caused by it, sufficiently accounts for the mortality there.

10. The clause requiring a bond to be given on the manumission of young children, to prevent their being hereafter burdensome, he says is avoided by having infants registered, *as free*, in the Church register, when baptized; meaning, of course, to intimate his wish, (a most revolting wish!) that this humane proceeding should be prevented by law; in this respect, directly opposing the more merciful course adopted by Mr. Jeremie in St. Lucia.

11. He objects to the fines and forfeitures for cruelty as too heavy, and as unreasonably menacing.

12. He objects to the restriction on slaves working for hire on Sundays, and says, it is easily and generally evaded. They pot sugar on Sundays, for which they get a good lump of sugar. All industrious slaves work in their grounds on Sunday, and some hire others on that day, and even *free people*, to work their grounds during the week.*

13. There seems to remain a strong hankering after the flogging of women. "It requires," says the Governor, "great patience to bear with the provoking tongues and noise of the women;" and yet he admits that those who were most averse to the Order have confessed that their fears on the subject had not been realized.

The Governor states, that the negroes were generally conducting themselves well, and that task work was becoming general. The women, he says, are every where complained of as unmanageable. The planters, doubtless, wish to resume the practice of flogging them.

He is very anxious that there should be no fresh discussions in this country respecting slavery. In that case he thinks that things would go on quietly.—No doubt they would, and the slaves would go on quietly to die off at the rate of nearly three per cent. per annum. But Sir Ralph is greatly mistaken, if he supposes that this is a state of things which can, in deference to his wishes or those of the Planters of Trinidad, be suffered to proceed *quietly*.

V. Sir Ralph Woodford has addressed a letter to Mr. Wilmot Horton, on the subject of free labour.† Having had, he says, "an opportunity afforded him of obtaining accurate information of the comparative disposition of the Spanish peons (or free labourers) to *labour* and *idleness*, and that upon an extensive number, and a work on which they were certain of their pay in cash," he sends a statement of the days they worked in 1825, being somewhat more than half the working days in the year. Now this statement, pretending to accuracy of in-

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* We have no doubt that the principle on which the Order of Council has proceeded, in respect to the observance of Sunday, is altogether vicious, and that it requires a complete change. Sunday markets should have been wholly abolished, and a day in lieu of Sunday given to the slave, and then all that the law had to do was to prevent the master from compelling the slaves to work for his benefit on the Sunday, except when the occasion was pressing; and then to pay them a liberal sum (not in "lumps of sugar," but in money) for their labour. All the other useless and unavailing restrictions, as to slaves working voluntarily, might then have been done away, only providing, as in this country, for the decent external observance of the Sabbath. See this subject fully discussed in the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 11. p. 132—135.

† Papers, &c. 1827, Part ii. p. 258.

formation, really affords no information at all. It does not tell us what were the wages afforded to the peons in this particular work, nor the proportion which these wages bear to the profit of other and easier employments. It does not tell us whether they had grounds of their own, which it was their interest to cultivate, and for which it was necessary to detach a portion of their time. But we are drily told that they worked only fourteen or fifteen days in the month at this particular employment, and are left to infer that it was their *idleness* which prevented them from working more. This is clearly not the fairest method that could have been adopted of elucidating the subject of free labour. If the weight of official authority is to be brought to bear against freedom, care at least should be taken that the materials for forming a correct judgment should be given, and that the decision of so grave a question should not be left at the mercy of the *italics* in a letter of Sir Ralph Woodford.

VI. These illustrations of the subject of free labour are followed by a communication, disclosing some important facts made known to Sir Ralph Woodford by a Mr. Peschier, who is employed under him in managing an estate and a gang of slaves sequestered to His Majesty in Trinidad.* The Crown, it thence appears, is the owner of slaves who are worked for its profit, in the same way as are the slaves of the planters generally, and so worked as to produce exertion beyond their physical strength; and this last fact is as coolly spoken of as if it involved nothing opprobrious. The tasks set the slaves, we are distinctly told by Mr. Peschier, were such that, in order to execute them so as to redeem a small portion of the day for their own objects, they were led to work beyond their strength. Now, in this country, it is well known that men who undertake task work are often induced to work beyond their strength; but that is because they are paid in proportion to the work they perform. If the negroes of Carapechaima Hall (for such is the name of the king's slave plantation) were paid in proportion to their labour, there would be found, in the natural desire of accumulation, a sufficient motive for a degree of exertion which might tend to impair their physical strength. But the case of these royal slaves is different. They receive no remuneration for their labour. Their exertions are for His Majesty's profit, not for their own; and they are not voluntary, but compulsory. The tasks they had to perform were tasks imposed on them by the manager appointed by the representative of the king, and which they were bound to fulfil, in the course of the day, on pain of being flogged. These tasks, it seems, were such as to require a degree of exertion beyond their physical strength, in order to gain a little time for their own use. In this case one would have expected that Mr. Peschier would have thought of lessening the tasks which were productive of these injurious effects. Such however was not his policy. He adopted the expedient, not of lightening the labour of the slaves, but of dividing their day's task into three portions, and obliging them to perform one portion

* Papers, &c. 1827, Part ii. p. 259.

of it before breakfast, about half past eight in the morning; another by noon; and the third after two o'clock.

The whole of this detail will be found to throw much light on several controverted topics.

1. It has been maintained that in the low lands of tropical climates, the negro will not work without compulsion. But compulsion was not the motive which stimulated the negroes in this instance to the extraordinary exertion of which Mr. Peschier complains. The dread of the stocks in the evening, and of the cart-whip in the morning was sufficient, without doubt, to induce them to finish the task allotted them in the course of the day, if it were practicable to do so; and Mr. Peschier must have supposed that they could do this with ease, and without over-exertion, otherwise he would have diminished the task. Why then did they over exert themselves? Why did they impose on themselves the pain of a more intense degree of labour in a tropical sun, when a less intense degree of it might have sufficed? It was obviously to gain for themselves time which they thought they could usefully or pleasantly employ for their own benefit or gratification. The inducement they had to work so much harder than was necessary, was obviously the prospective advantage resulting from it; in short the wages, of some kind or other, derivable from the use of the hour or two hours which they might be able to redeem, by increased exertion, from the king's cane piece. And is not this an affirmative solution of the whole question, whether the negroes are or are not susceptible of any other stimulus to industry than coercion?

2. One would have expected that such promising indications of a susceptibility of higher motives than those of brute force, would have induced Mr. Peschier not to have checked, but rather to have encouraged the feeling. Instead of this, a plan is adopted which at once extinguishes every effort of industry on the part of the slave; leaves him no motive but the whip for completing his task; and frustrates every rising hope he might have indulged, of eventual benefit to himself, from increased exertion in the service of the king. The proceeding is of a character both harsh and sordid, and its effect is both degrading and demoralizing. To have lessened the too oppressive task, and thus to have given fresh vigour to the nascent elation of hope, would have been the course which humanity and sound philosophy would have dictated. But this would have ill suited the meridian of Trinidad. There, the negro, like the galley slave at his oar, must be fixed to the hoe and to the cane piece from morning to night. He must not be allowed the luxury of purchasing, by quickened exertion, a consecutive hour or two in the day, to cultivate his own garden, or to visit a friend, or to enjoy his own domestic circle, or to fulfil any other object on which he may have set his heart. The elasticity of mind which such new facilities of enjoyment would produce, could not fail to redound to the master's advantage as well as to that of the slave. But it seems to be utterly beyond the contemplation of men habituated to West Indian feelings and principles, to regard the negro as a being to be operated upon by moral motives; and when the influence of such motives begins to be developed by circumstances, as in the present instance,

the object of the master is not to foster, encourage, and direct, but to crush and destroy them.

3. And if on an estate belonging to the King, and superintended by the King's representative, we witness such oppressive proceedings, such excessive tasks, such disregard of the feelings of the slaves, such indifference to their moral elevation, such an exclusive anxiety to convert the whole capabilities of their bodily frame to the profit of the owner; what may be expected from the planters in general? Can we hope that *they* should not act still more entirely on the same selfish and sordid principles; and that they should not still more sternly exclude every consideration but that of their own profit? And when we see such a scene laid open to us as that which is exhibited on the King's plantation of Carapechaima Hall, can we any longer wonder that the excess of deaths over births, among the slaves in Trinidad, should amount to $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. per annum?

4. We are led in the last place, by this communication, to recur to a position which was insisted upon on a former occasion,* namely, that the master, being the sole judge of the quantum of labour to be required from the slave, under the penalty of such corporal punishment as he may choose to inflict, the danger to be guarded against, in the introduction of task work, is the excessiveness of the tasks. Interwoven as this subject is with the happiness and life of the slave, it is impossible to contemplate it without expressing an earnest hope that Government would turn its anxious attention to the means of guarding against the evils which may arise from the system of taskwork; for, though it possesses many advantages, it is nevertheless liable to many most serious abuses.

VII. Another topic in the communications from Trinidad respects the state of crime among the slave population. The whole number of slaves is about 22,000. Of these there were committed to gaol in two years, from June 1824 to June 1826, 616 males, and 249 females. But of this number, 148 men, and 103 women, were committed merely for insubordination to their masters, and 319 men, and 116 women for absenting themselves, probably from fear of punishment, or to escape the severe exaction of labour or other ill-treatment. The whole number, besides, of committals for crimes, as assaults, petty thefts, &c., was 148 men, and 30 women,—being at the rate of 89 committals in a year. The rest, amounting to 686 in two years, or 343 in one year, appear to have proceeded entirely from the effects of plantation discipline.

This, however, is but a very insignificant branch of the history of crime in Trinidad. On examining the general result of the record, kept in the Protector's office, of offences committed and punished on the plantations, during the same two years, they are found to amount to the enormous number of 11,131. Now the returns, made to the Protector, are not of the whole slave population, but only of that on *plantations;* and if the slaves, not belonging to plantations, are reckoned at a fourth of the whole, there will then only remain a population of 16,500, by whom this amount of crime has been committed. It is, however, only

* Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. XXVII. p. 66.

the adult, or rather the working population who should be taken into this account. Estimating these at the large rate of two-thirds of the whole, the number of those will be reduced to 11,000, who can, with any propriety, be viewed as the offending mass to whom the record of the Protector can have any reference. In two years, therefore, we have 11,131 offences recorded of 11,000 individuals. That is to say, (taking the average,) it is as if every individual plantation slave in Trinidad, capable of offending, had, in the course of two years, been guilty of some offence, and had been punished for it by the sole authority, and at the sole discretion of the master or manager. Here we seem to have a picture either of extraordinary viciousness on the part of the slave, or of reckless and unmeasured oppression and tyranny on the part of the master. The great mass of delinquencies, however, and of consequent punishments, seem to arise, not out of any peculiar depravity on the part either of the master or slave, but out of the very institution of slavery itself, and out of its cruel and irremediable tendencies to evil. Take as an example, some of the items of this black catalogue.

Refusing to work, and disobedience	1,825
Insolence, insubordination, &c.	1,423
Absconding	1,181
Neglecting duty, neglecting to throw grass, coming too late to work, &c. &c.	3,215
	7,644

The acts of stealing and theft amount to 773. Among the remaining offences are some of a very singular character. We shall instance a few of them.

Biting overseer	1
Biting driver	1
Holding and tearing driver's shirt	4
Seducing other men's wives	10
Infidelity to husbands	15
Neglecting prayers	121
Refusing to keep the sabbath	1
Idleness and laziness	34
Refusing to take medicine	9
Setting a bad example to children	3
Practising obeah	4
Lying	42
False complaints	109
Indecent language, &c.	40
False pretence of sickness	30

Of late, and since it has been proposed to abolish female flogging, the public has been deafened with loud complaints of the superior viciousness of the female slaves. An opportunity is now given of examining their truth. Those, indeed, who have watched the course of the West Indian controversy from its commencement, must have perceived how constantly the most material facts have been grossly mis-

represented, either from ignorance or design, by those who alone had access to know them, that is to say, the resident colonists. For a great length of time they made the people of England believe that the decrease on their plantations arose from the excess of the men, as compared with the women. When, by means of registration, correct returns were at length obtained, it was found that, not in the aggregate only, but in almost every colony, the females exceeded the males.—So now, it is repeated to satiety that the women slaves are worse than the men, more frequent offenders, more insubordinate, and more liable to punishment. It has been already seen how this assertion is met by the gaol returns. In these, the number of female prisoners amounts to a little more than a third of the men. So in the Protector's return, the number of male offenders is 6,223, of women 4,908. There are indeed some particular delinquencies, in which the women outnumber the men; and these, it must be admitted with regret, for the credit of the sex, are—refusing to work, insolence, quarrelling and fighting with one another, lying too long in the morning, neglecting their prayers, and indecent language and behaviour.

VIII. Subsequently to the appearance of the papers laid before Parliament by his Majesty's command, another document connected with the Island of Trinidad, has been printed by order of the House of Commons, entitled, "Copy of all Laws and Regulations which prescribe the time to be allowed to Slaves in Trinidad, for the cultivation of their provision grounds." It was ordered to be printed June 12, 1827, and is numbered 465. The Guardian of Slaves states it to be the only regulation existing in the island of Trinidad on that subject, and to be part of an ordinance issued by General Picton on the 30th of June, 1800, soon after the colony came into the possession of Great Britain. It is as follows:—

"Exclusive of the allowance of salt meat or fish, (in which there can be no exemption,) every working negro of fourteen years and upwards, shall have a portion of land allotted to him adequate to produce, by cultivating it, a sufficiency of ground provisions for himself and his family; and to furnish him the more effectual means of doing so, he shall be allowed the Saturday, from noon, to work in his grounds, from the first day of July to the first day of January, if he belongs to a sugar plantation; and from the first day of January until the first day of July, if he belongs to a coffee, cocoa, or magnioc plantation. He will have also his Sundays, and the four great annual holidays of Christmas-day, New-Year's-day, Good-Friday, and Corpus-Christi."

By the existing law of Trinidad, therefore, a part only of 26 days in the year, besides Sunday, and four holidays, is given to the slave for the purpose of maintaining "himself and his family." After working in the cane or coffee field from five in the morning till noon, on Saturday, he is then dismissed to his grounds. And if the usual interval of two hours' rest at noon is allowed him, which, after seven hours continuous labour in the sun, seems indispensable, the time which he can employ in his grounds will not exceed five hours at the utmost. So that, with the exception of a little salt fish, the whole amount of what is allowed to the slave in order to obtain food for himself and his family,

is 130 hours' labour in the year, being not equal to more than ten or twelve of those days which he gives to his master.

When the Trinidad Order in Council was first promulgated, a strong suspicion was entertained that the slave had been unfairly dealt with on this point, and the total silence of the Order respecting it, did not tend to dissipate that feeling. Accordingly, in the Second Report of the Anti-Slavery Society, published in 1825, (p. 72,) the subject was thus adverted to. "By the Trinidad Order, no day in lieu of Sunday is given to the slave. If there exist, therefore, no other order to that effect, the slave will be as much compelled by the necessity of the case to labour for his subsistence on that day, which is, in fact, labouring for his master's benefit, as if the master stood over him with the whip. He must work on that day or starve. But what is actually, according to the law of Trinidad, the number of week-days in the year allowed to the slaves for labouring in their provision grounds? The number is *said* to be 26. It is obvious, however, that if 26 days be the time really allowed to the slave in Trinidad, besides Sunday, then they have 56 days less in the year than the Spanish law is understood to allow them. By that law, as well as by the law of Brazil, slaves are allowed a day in every week, besides Sundays, and 30 holidays in the year; and it merits inquiry how it is that, under the British Government, they should have been deprived of the full time to which the Spanish law, which is the law of the island of Trinidad, entitles them. In any case, now that Sunday has ceased to be a day of compulsory labour, it seems no more than strict justice, in addition to the number of week days hitherto enjoyed by the slaves, that a full and fair equivalent should be allowed them for the Sunday, otherwise they will either be much worse off for the means of subsistence than they were before, or they will still be driven to the necessity of employing the day of rest in labouring for their subsistence;—which is, in fact, doing that which the Order in Council, in terms, prohibits, *labouring for their master's benefit* on that day."

The subject has since been repeatedly and earnestly pressed on the attention of the public. But nothing has been done, and when after much delay, information has at length been obtained, as to the real state of the law, it appears that the Anti-Slavery Society had been too liberal in their estimate of its humanity, and that instead of 26, only 13 short days in the year are allowed the slave to cultivate provisions for himself and his family.

Can any thing be conceived more oppressive than the conduct of Great Britain has been, in this particular, towards the slaves of Trinidad,—an island which it was one of Mr. Canning's early objects in life to make the scene of an experiment in free labour? The Spanish law, as well as that of Brazil, gave to the slaves 134 days in the year which he could call his own, namely a day in the week, besides the Sundays, and 30 holidays. It had scarcely come into British possession when a proclamation from General Picton reduced that time to 69 days in the year, namely 52 Sundays, 4 holidays, and 13 days besides.

In 1824, however, came forward, in the shape of the Trinidad Order in Council, those grand measures of negro amelioration, which were

thoroughly to reform the abuses of the slave system. But by this Order, the slave, instead of being benefited by the grant of additional time, is deprived of the 52 Sundays as days of labour, and no other days are given to him in their stead. He is thus left with only his 13 common days and four holidays,—so that even if Christmas-day, Good-Friday, &c., are devoted to toiling in his grounds, he has only 17 days which he can lawfully employ in raising food for himself and his family, instead of 134 in the first instance, and 69 in the second.

Well might Sir Ralph Woodford specify as one of the first practical difficulties attending the Order in Council, "the prohibition of Sunday labour."* And, as might be expected, under the circumstances of the case, he states, that "working in their grounds is common to all industrious negroes on the Sunday;" and that even "the restriction on slaves working on Sundays for hire" is "generally evaded." He therefore proposes that the restriction should be wholly done away. To these frank admissions, Sir Ralph Woodford ought, in fairness, to have added another;—that, under the existing regulations, if the slave did not employ the Sunday in his grounds, he must starve; and that nothing could have been more absurd than to assume, as the Order in Council seems to have done, that labour on the Sunday (from which labour the slave had hitherto principally derived his subsistence) could be abolished, unless equivalent time were given in lieu of it.

The appearance of this document has thrown new light on the lengthened communications which have taken place, during the last three years, between Lord Bathurst and Sir Ralph Woodford on the subject of Sunday labour. The whole of these communications wear now something like the air of a piece of grave irony played off upon his Lordship; the planters of Trinidad stickling on one side for their right to the slaves' labour in his grounds on the Sunday; Lord Bathurst, on the other, proving most irrefragably, that they have no right to it; and yet, all the while, the slaves, according to Sir Ralph Woodford, adopting, *ex necessitate rei*, a practical conclusion in favour of the planter, and against his Lordship. His Lordship's reasons against Sunday labour are unanswerable; but as the slave has no other time allowed him, he must labour on that day or starve. Accordingly, he is compelled to labour on that day, if not, as formerly, by the flogging which awaited his neglect, yet by the gnawings of hunger, and the cries of his famished children.

Having now given an abstract of the proceedings with respect to reform which have occurred in the different colonies, it only remains to notice the reports which have been laid before Parliament from the two West Indian Bishops.

Report of the Bishop of Jamaica.

With a single exception, all that is interesting in the communications of this prelate has respect to the parish of St. Thomas in the East: for

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* Papers of 1827, Part ii. p. 254.—See also above, p. 126.

we make no account of mere *projects* for erecting chapels and founding schools, which are, as yet, only in prospect, and not in actual existence and operation. What we desiderate from the Bishop is not so much a report of "the growing disposition" of the colonists "for instructing the slave and coloured population," nor even of the numbers baptized and married, (for all this involves no sacrifice on the part of the planters,) but of the actual number of slaves, and also of free coloured persons, who are really enjoying the benefits of instruction; distinguishing those who attend the Sunday schools, and also the week-day schools; stating the frequency, and length, and hours of their attendance; the nature of the instruction they receive; and whether it be *oral* only; the time and means bestowed upon it; the progress made in acquiring the rudiments of knowledge, &c.;—also the numbers who attend religious worship, and the beneficial effects produced by the lessons of Christianity on their hearts and lives, together with an account of the obstacles which impede the progress both of education and religious instruction. On these points we have nothing which is specific and satisfactory—all is vague and indistinct. We hear of three deacons and five priests being ordained; of *oral* instruction on a Sunday in one parish, St. Thomas in the East, of which alone we seem to hear; of a Church missionary, who, on a single estate, is exerting himself laudably; and of a second parish, in which there is a beginning of effort on the part of a curate. With these exceptions, all seems future and contingent. In a state of things like this, where there prevails so universal a destitution of religious light, it is almost ludicrous to observe the style of the Bishop's official communications with the Secretary of State. He seems to announce it as a triumph of religion that he has excluded from schools all books but those of the Society for promoting Christian knowledge. At the very moment that he is admitting the deplorable want of Christian instruction in the Bahamas, he speaks, with a kind of horror, of a layman who had been appointed a *preacher* by the local authorities, and who, officiating in a place of worship that was *unconsecrated* and *private property*, read every part of the Church service, including the absolution! to a large congregation, and expounded the Scriptures. "*I* can, of course," says the Bishop, "have no jurisdiction over this layman, but I cannot help observing on the *irregularity of a person not in holy orders, thus ministering publicly in the congregation.*" And was this not better than having no ministrations at all? And was it not a subject of rejoicing instead of censure, that a christian congregation had been formed, and the prayers of the Church devoutly used, and the Scriptures expounded, even by a layman, rather than that the worship of God should have fallen into utter neglect? At the same time the Bishop candidly confesses that this layman, who, by the way, is a FREE BLACK, of the name of Joseph Watkins, is a person, to the excellence of whose character it is his duty to bear testimony, and whose disciples, for he examined them himself, he found strictly brought up in the principles of the Established Church. And yet, instead of at once obviating all difficulty, and preventing all future irregularity, by at once ordaining this excellent and useful individual as a Minister of the Church of England, he propounds

it as matter of grave consideration to Lord Bathurst, whether *Catechist* would not be a more appropriate title for Joseph Watkins, than that of *Preacher*, which the Bahamas' legislature have bestowed on him with a salary of £50 currency a year. The Bishop ought to have at once laid his hands on him, thanking God for having unexpectedly raised up such an instrument of good in that land of spiritual darkness.

Report of the Bishop of Barbadoes.

The Report of the Bishop of Barbadoes is still more meagre than that of his brother bishop, consisting of little more than proposals for building churches and parsonage houses, and memorials to the Secretary of State for public money to aid in defraying the cost of their erection. Schools and places of worship are spoken of, as *about* to be established; but we hear of scarcely any actually in operation, excepting one erected, on his estate in St. Vincent's, by Mr. Wilson the member for York, who, it seems, is a planter of that island. The legislatures of several of the islands, have also been voting sums of money in aid of the funds for erecting places of worship, parsonages, &c.

It seems to be the policy of the bishops to say nothing of the people of their diocese but what is favourable: we hear much of their good *dispositions*, their liberal *intentions*, their *kindnesses*, and *courtesies;* but not a word of opposition or counteraction. In pursuance of this policy, a strict silence has been observed as to what passed during the bishop's visit to Demerara, and his rude reception there; and not one syllable has been allowed to transpire of the difficulties experienced in Barbadoes, where the instruction, of which so hopeful a promise was given in the report of last year, has been retrograding, instead of advancing. In that report, the bishop spoke, in high terms of satisfaction, of the efforts making by the Rector of St. Lucy's parish, the Rev. Mr. Harte, for the improvement of the slaves, all of whom, with scarcely an exception, were then stated to be under religious instruction. Since that time, however, these fair appearances have vanished; and Mr. Harte, for no cause but his zeal in the performance of his duty, has become a proscribed man, the only planter in the parish who continued to admit him to his estate, Mr. Leacock, having, on that account, been in a manner excluded from society. It may be unfair to blame the bishops for their silence on such points; but then let us at least understand the principles on which their reports are framed. For, of course, it is only by knowing the whole of the case, that a just estimate can be formed of the real progress which is making; and it is clear, that if only the favourable side of things be exhibited, and the unfavourable be systematically withheld, Parliament, and the public, will, in fact, though not in intention, be widely misled.

It appears that it must have been on some such principle as this, that the bishop's relation composed his "Six Months' Tour in the West Indies;" and the effect of which, therefore, (whatever may have been the writer's purpose and motive, which we mean not to arraign,) has been, undoubtedly, greatly to deceive and mislead the public.

Nothing can be clearly and satisfactorily known, respecting the progress of education and instruction, until the bishops shall require from all their clergy, catechists, and teachers, periodical returns, detailing all the particulars necessary to be known; such as will admit of it being ranged in a regular, prescribed, tabular form, so as to obviate the vagueness, and indistinctness, which attach to the present mode of communication. And such returns are due to parliament, and the public, who are defraying much of the expence of the ecclesiastical establishment, and of the plans formed for the diffusion of religious knowledge among the slaves.

What, then, is the result of all the hopes and promises held out to us in the Session of 1826? Bitter disappointment.—The contemptuous and contumacious rejection on the part of the slave-holders of every overture of mercy.—The fatal prolongation, for an indefinite period, of that murderous system which has so long been desolating one of the fairest portions of the globe.—Can we remain satisfied with this result? It is impossible. At least, if our fellow-men must continue miserably to perish by inches, under the scourge, to glut the cupidity of those whose gains, drawn from our pockets, enable them to control the councils of the empire;—if we cannot induce Parliament to protect 820,000 of the King's subjects from the cruelty and rapacity of which they are the admitted and innocent victims;—if we cannot succeed in our efforts to abolish those fiscal regulations by which we are made to indemnify the slave-holder for his merciless and lavish waste of life,* and to save him from the effect of all those outrages on law and justice, on religion and humanity, which render colonial slavery, if not the greatest curse which has ever afflicted mankind, at least the greatest stain which has ever disgraced the deliberate choice of a nation calling itself Christian:—if this is so to be, then must those, who have united to abolish this evil, bethink themselves of the means to which they may most promptly and concurrently resort.—But this grave question must be reserved for another occasion. In the mean time, let us be vigilant.

African Institution.

The Twenty-first Annual Report of this Society has recently been given to the public. It contains much that is of a highly interesting nature, and we earnestly recommend it to general attention. We must be satisfied, at present, with a single extract, which bears more directly than any other part of it on the main object of the Anti-Slavery Society. It refers to the Trial of a Captain Young.

"The first trial which has occurred under the Act of Parliament which constitutes Slave-trading a capital crime, took place at the Admiralty Sessions, held at the Old Bailey, on the 24th of October, 1826. The facts of the case were these. Thomas Young sailed from

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* See Edinburgh Review, No. 92.

Liverpool in a vessel called the Malta, to trade for the produce of Africa. While trading in the river Gaboon, he took eight women on board, as hostages for the payment of advances of goods made to native chiefs. The debts for which they were specifically pledged being paid, they ought all, according to African law, to have been released. Four of them, however, were retained in custody, not on account of any failure on the part of the person pledging them to discharge his obligations; but because another chief of the same place had contracted a debt to Mr. Young, which he had neglected to pay. On this ground, four of the women were detained in custody; and when the Malta was about to quit the coast, they, not having been redeemed by their relations, were sold to a Spanish slaver for about thirty dollars each. The great distress of the women on the occasion was given in evidence. The plea of Mr. Young, but unsupported by any evidence, was, that he had not *sold* these women, but merely transferred them to the Spanish captain for the amount of his debt, the Spanish captain engaging to restore them to their relations on being repaid his advance.* The jury appear to have given credit to this statement, for they returned a verdict of not guilty: and it is probable they gave the more weight to it, as this was the first time that any prosecution of slave-trading as a capital offence had taken place. Possibly also, in a case of this kind, considerations might involuntarily have obtruded themselves on the minds of the most conscientious juror, to incline the balance in favour of the accused. It might occur to him, as an anomaly in our law, that Mr. Young should suffer death for having done that on the coast of Africa, which in our colonies, on the opposite shore of the Atlantic, is done daily, not only with impunity, but legally. It might seem to him not quite consonant to natural justice, at least not quite consistent with a rational legislation, that Mr. Young should be hanged for the very same act (morally speaking) in one degree of longitude, which many British subjects, of high consideration in society, were allowed, in a different degree of longitude, openly and constantly to commit, without incurring either penalty or discredit.

"Property, it has been said, is the creation of law; still the dicta of law cannot obliterate the traces of natural equity; and if we suppose a juror to have called to mind, that some of the very individuals who had framed the law which condemned Thomas Young to death, for buying and selling his fellow-creatures in Africa, were themselves in the avowed and regular practice of buying and selling their fellow-creatures in the West Indies, he might have been led, without any very grave impeachment of his integrity, to have shrunk from dealing out to this unhappy individual so unequal a retribution.

"But whether such a view of the subject presented itself to the minds of the respectable jurors who acquitted Mr. Young, or not, it is still one which lies at the very root of the whole question of the

* If the plea of the captain were true, it would not render him less liable to the penal sanctions of the Act. He had treated and dealt with them as slaves: and if so vague a plea were to be admitted as a sufficient defence, British ships might visit the coast on pretence of trading for ivory; exchange their merchandise for slaves, under the name of hostages; and then part with them for dollars to Spaniards or Frenchmen.

Slave Trade. It is in Slavery that the Slave Trade has its origin: it is the market provided by the slave-holder which furnishes the direct incentive to all the crimes of a trade in slaves; to the murders and conflagrations which attend their capture; to the condensed horrors of the middle passage which follow it; and to the misery and desolation of a continent. And if so, is the conduct of Great Britain quite consistent, in cherishing, and even encouraging Slavery, with all its attendant sales and transfers of human beings, in our colonies, while on principle she repudiates and proscribes and capitally punishes the Slave Trade in every other part of the world? Let it not be supposed, that it is intended to blame the righteous zeal which has been manifested in the suppression of the Slave Trade, and which has produced such splendid results. But has not our own success, with respect to the Slave Trade, been greatly impeded, and is it not now impeded, by the selfish inconsistency of our conduct in respect to slavery? It may be doubted, whether there be a single argument, which can be advanced for maintaining slavery in our colonies for a single day after it is in our power to abolish it, which will not be found to be as valid a plea, morally considered, for continuing to strip Africa of her inhabitants, to supply Cuba, or the Brazils, or even our own colonies, with labourers. The atrocities of the Slave Trade may, it is true, practically far exceed those of Slavery: yet the principle of both is identically the same; equally opposed to humanity and justice, and to every principle of the Gospel; and equally indefensible on every plea of financial and commercial expediency. And who, after all, will venture to affirm, that, viewed in the whole range of their results, the atrocities of the Slave Trade, though more palpable to observation, and striking more directly and forcibly on the senses, outweigh, in the sum of misery they produce, the evils of Slavery—of a protracted and irremediable and perpetual servitude, living through the life of the slave, and renewed in his children, and children's children, to the latest generation? Let any man think but of the perpetually impending scourge, the interminable toil to which it urges, the stocks, the blows, the contempt, the degradation, the hunger, the lassitude, the disease, the agony of broken and bleeding hearts, and all the nameless and scarcely conceivable inflictions which await those, whose own destinies, and those of every endeared relative—wife, husband, child—are bound up in the will of any individual who claims them as his slaves, without any effectual, nay, any possible, protection from law against his tyranny and caprice. Let any one but think of all this, and he will perhaps see no very cogent reason for exempting the Slavery which exists in our colonies, from a moral reprobation to the full as severe as we pass on the Slave Trade, or for not exhibiting it alike as an outrage on every principle of justice, humanity, and true religion."

Surrey Anti-Slavery Society.

A meeting of this Society was held at Epsom on the 25th of October, Henry Drummond, Esq., in the Chair, when a set of Resolutions was moved as the ground of a Petition to Parliament, of which, without pledging ourselves to vindicate every expression it contains, we are induced to lay a large part before our readers.

After two preliminary resolutions, the Meeting proceed as follows:—

"3. That the rights of unoffending Foreigners are consecrated by the law of nations, and the law of God; and that British born subjects owe their rights and privileges as Englishmen to the place of their birth, and not to the colour of their skins. That white men born in the British West Indian colonies, possess only the same foundation for their claim to the character and immunities of Englishmen as the negroes and men of colour born in the same colonies. That personal freedom is the inheritance and birth-right of every British subject. That neither the King nor the Parliament, and still less can the Colonial Assemblies, in their petty municipal jurisdictions, legally or constitutionally, at their mere will and pleasure, deprive innocent human beings of their personal rights, and reduce them to a state of slavery; and that no custom or usage can be pleaded in support of an act of robbery and violence, opposed to the fundamental laws and constitution of the country, to the law of nations, and to the law of God.

"4. That this Meeting have heard with more of indignation than surprise, that the Court of Policy of Demerara, as well as the local authorities of the other colonies, refuse to comply with, or evade and render abortive, the wishes of his Majesty's Government for permitting negroes and men of colour to purchase for themselves or their dearest relatives an exemption from the miseries of unrequited toil under a burning sun, without hope, and without end; from the sufferings of a lingering but premature decay, proved by the excess of deaths among them, compared with those who are in possession of their freedom; from the privation of all that renders life desirable to an intelligent being; and from the certainty of being put to death, as though they were rebels, if they should question the right of their fellow-subjects to buy and sell them, like cattle, and to inflict an accumulation of wretchedness upon them by the law of the strongest, of which the tyranny of the Turks in Greece was but a shadow.

"5. That such a state of things is nothing less in its principles and in its consequences than a civil war raging under the immediate eye of Government, between one class of Englishmen and another class. That while England is sending out her fleets to put an end to a struggle for superiority in Greece, and to a sacrifice of lives, in no respect more loudly demanding her immediate interference, the cruelties of slavery are doing the work of the sword within the territories of the British Crown. That while the free blacks of the Haytian Republic have doubled their numbers in twenty years, and are rising fast into notice as an industrious and civilized nation—while the enfranchised negroes and free men of colour, rapidly increase and prosper in the West Indian colonies, the case is widely different with the same description of individuals held in a state of slavery. That the appalling waste of human life among those whom they boldly called their slaves, was long a favourite argument of the colonists in support of the inhuman Slave Trade. That it appears, from official documents laid on the table of the House of Commons, that in Trinidad, the excess of deaths over the births among the enslaved population, is fast working out their total annihilation. That in Demerara, it appears from evidence equally authentic, that the excess of the deaths over the births among the same unhappy class, from 1818 to 1824, amounted to 8,754, upon a population of 75,000 enslaved per-

sons, being a rate of destruction in that colony of the lives of the weaker party of his Majesty's subjects by the stronger that in ——— years would unpeople the earth.

"6. That this Meeting never supposed that men who contend for the right of reducing the helpless and unprotected to a state of slavery, and of hanging them for not submitting quietly to the injustice, would willingly consent to adopt any measures for improving the condition of their victims. That the reluctance of the Demerara Planters and of the other Colonists in the present instance, is only another proof, if any were wanting, of the gross delusion practised on the British public by those who maintain that the business of legislating for the protection of the negroes should be left in the hands of the Planters and their agents in the Colonial Assemblies, whose gains are in proportion to their usurpations; and of whom some, when it was proposed by his Majesty's Government that Sunday should be wholly given up to the enslaved negroes as a day of rest and relaxation, actually preferred a claim for compensation; while others refused to make any alterations.

"7. That this Meeting cannot exclude from their recollection, that the Colonists, far from respecting the rights of strangers to them in blood, have even consigned to the same state of unlawful bondage their own mulatto children, born of kidnapped English and foreign women, evincing thereby a want of sympathy and natural feeling unknown to the untaught savage, and only to be found in the very men in whose equity and moderation, as practical legislators, the people of England are urged to place confidence.

"8. That the Colonial Legislatures have repeatedly and plainly shown, that they will only make such alterations in favour of the negroes as are consistent with what they are pleased to consider a due regard to their own right of property in their persons, meaning evidently only such alterations as are consistent with that usurpation of the rights of others, which every improvement in the condition and mental capacity of the negro necessarily tends to render less profitable and more difficult to be enforced.

"9. That as an excuse for refusing to allow these children of dismay to purchase their exemption from such complicated evils with money earned during extra hours of labour, borrowed from their repose, it appears that the white colonists have thought it not unworthy of themselves and of their cause to assert, that men capable of such spontaneous industry, under every disadvantage, would cease to labour if they were allowed their freedom—an assertion, to which may be opposed the existing prosperity of the Black Republic of Hayti, the recent and uncontradicted statements in Parliament of the good conduct of the enfranchised population in Jamaica; the distinct admission of the fact by one of the most prominent advocates of the interests of the colonial Proprietors, speaking in his place in the House of Commons; the resolution of the Grenada Assembly, in 1823, declaring that the free colonial inhabitants of that island are a respectable well-behaved class of the community, and possessed of considerable property in the colony; and the official documents transmitted to this country, from which it appears, that of 90,000 negroes and persons of colour who are in possession of their liberty in the British West Indian colonies, only 227 received even temporary relief as paupers during the years 1821 to 1825; while,

of about 65,000 whites, in the same period, 1675 received relief, the proportion of enfranchised persons receiving relief being about one in 400, and of whites about one in 40; and that the charge of profligacy and idleness is advanced with a singularly ill grace, in opposition to a measure which presupposes the unfortunate negroes to have wrought out their exemption from endless persecution by their activity, diligence, and self-denial.

"10. That palpable and deliberate misrepresentations of the character and disposition of the hundreds of thousands of black Englishmen and foreigners, whom the colonial assemblies have converted into cattle and beasts of burthen on account of the darkness of their skins, are only part of the same dishonest policy which has induced the colonial Legislatures to deny, even to the emancipated negroes and men of colour, those ordinary privileges and that common measure of respect which are essential to the comfort and happiness of all men; to set a mark on them as a stigmatized and worthless race, and, by divesting them as far as possible of every motive and opportunity for making good use of their freedom, to bring that freedom into discredit. That only within these few months a Minister of the Established Church at Barbadoes has been censured in the most severe terms by the Vestry of his parish, as a promoter of insubordination and sedition, for permitting their fellow-subjects and fellow-sinners--the negroes and people of colour—to kneel before their Creator at the same time with white communicants, though placed below them at the sacramental table, and humbly receiving the consecrated elements after them.

"11. That liberal as were the terms on which his Majesty's Government proposed that the negroes and people of colour should be permitted to purchase their own live bodies from those who had bought them, knowing they were stolen, the intimation from the Government at home has been met by a refusal on the part of the colonists, in which this Meeting cannot but recognise the natural fears of men conscious of their own monstrous tyranny and usurpation, and terrified at the thought of placing individuals whom they have so grievously injured on a level with themselves, and in a condition to call them to account.

"12. That in the nature of things men cannot easily be brought really to improve the condition of those whom they think it their interest to brutalize and keep in intellectual darkness, that they may with more facility be made to labour without recompence, for the profit of the authors of their calamities. That the colonial assemblies have gone much too far in making laws for hanging and burning dark-coloured Englishmen, for the sole offence of asserting their natural and unquestionable rights, or of even hearing others talk of doing so, without giving information, to permit a hope that those assemblies will ever enact, or willingly execute any provisions in favour of the objects of their despotism; and that, in the apprehension of this Meeting, the Court of Policy of Demerara, in refusing to allow the negroes and people of colour to purchase their exemption from oppression, and in declaring in their Memorial to his Majesty in Council, that their right of property in his subjects rests on the very same foundation with every other description of property known to the law, afford proof as pregnant of the utter delusion of allowing the oppressors to legislate for the oppressed, as the refusal of the Assembly at Jamaica, and of the other colonial

Legislatures in the last Session, to exempt females from the savage inflictions of the cart whip on their bared bodies, or from the indecent exposure of their persons to men during the process of whipping. That these are the tender mercies of those practical men, as they are exultingly termed, whom the participators in their polluted profits in this country wish to uphold as the only proper persons to be entrusted with the duty of improving the condition of the West India negroes and people of colour.

"13. That this Meeting cannot bring themselves to believe that the Members of the Court of Policy in Demerara, or of any of the other colonial Legislatures, are so profoundly ignorant, as really to imagine that any British subject can, except by the law of superior strength, hold his innocent fellow-subject as a chattel and slave on British ground, and under a British King, or that they are conscientiously persuaded that this pretended claim 'rests on the same foundation with every other description of property known to the law.' That this Meeting do not hesitate to assert, that a negro or man of colour held in slavery is a stolen human being, and that the pretended Proprietor is no other than an unpunished receiver, who buys what he knows the vendor had forcibly wrested from the right owner. That, as far as properly founded law is to be considered, the negro is his own property; that he has an inalienable and incontestable right of property in his own person—in his own freedom—in his right to the fruits of his own industry—in his rights as an innocent British subject by the law and constitution of his country, or as an unoffending foreigner by the law of nations—in his rights as a father, as a husband, as a son—and above all, in his rights as a rational and responsible being. That these rights, at least, are the inherent property of the poorest negro in the King's dominions, and that it is in opposition to rights so sacred and so paramount, that his oppressor dares to found a claim upon the merit of having either stolen, or purchased from the stealer, the labour and the strength, the rights and the liberties, the person and the hapless posterity of a desolated plundered fellow-creature. That a claim so entirely at variance with every just principle, can never be made good until an answer has been given to the plain question of Mr. Fox—'Why that wrong should be tolerated in the West Indies for which a man would be hanged in England?'

"14. That the right of property asserted by the planters in Demerara in kidnapped aliens, and in their own countrymen, is a fearful specimen of the pervading principle of all the colonial legislatures—a principle, which, if it should ever be tolerated by any Ministers or by any legislative authorities in England, would shake the British Constitution to its foundation, and proclaim to the astonished world that its watchful guardians never slept except when rich men trampled underfoot the stranger, and him that is ready to perish.

"15. That of all delusions and schemes for perpetuating evils which it is impossible openly and directly to justify, it is not easy to conceive one more fitted to beguile the people of this country, and to gain time on the demands of justice, than the artful assumption that the condition of the negro is only to be improved through the medium of the contrivers of his wrongs in the colonial legislatures. That the white colonists, by their habits of inveterate tyranny, their heartless policy, their prejudices, their interests, and their fears, themselves have furnished an

unequivocal answer to this tricking expedient; and that this Meeting are fully persuaded that enactments framed in the Parliament of England, can alone effectually protect the 820,000 enslaved inhabitants of the British colonies, as well from the pretended ameliorations, as from the positive despotism and tyranny of the buyers and sellers of their fellow-subjects, whose notions of proprietary interests are founded on transactions which, out of their own unrighteous jurisdictions, would constitute a capital felony.—That this Meeting, therefore, conceive it to be their duty to petition both Houses of Parliament, in the energetic words of the late Mr. Canning, 'Not to trust the masters of slaves in what concerns legislation for slavery; but to do their part themselves, and not to continue any longer to delegate the trust of doing it to those who cannot execute that trust fairly.'"

Dublin Anti-Slavery Society.

A numerous and respectable meeting was held at the Rotunda in Dublin, on the 17th inst., the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor in the Chair, at which it was resolved unanimously to "petition the Imperial Parliament at its ensuing Session to take measures for the abolition of West India Slavery, which is as contrary to our temporal interests as to the spirit of our religion." An able Report was read by Mr. Abell, the Secretary, and several excellent speeches were made on the occasion.

The Slave Grace.

The public are fully apprized of the circumstances of this case. A female Mulatto, born in Antigua, of the name of Grace, came to England some years ago as an attendant on her mistress; and after a considerable residence in this country, was induced to return to Antigua, on an understanding which is asserted by Grace, but has not been proved, that she should henceforward enjoy, in Antigua, the liberty of which she was put into possession by her arrival in England. On her return to Antigua, however, her former owner claimed a right to her services as his slave, and she conceiving herself aggrieved by that claim, applied to the Collector of the Customs, who seized her as a person illegally imported and held as a slave, and prosecuted her in the Court of Vice-Admiralty, as a forfeiture to the King. The Judge of the Vice-Admiralty decreed that she should be restored to her master. By directions of Lord Bathurst, an appeal was prosecuted from that sentence to the High Court of Admiralty in this country. The case was argued at great length before Lord Stowell, who, after delivering a long and elaborate judgment, affirmed the sentence of the court below. We shall forbear from any remarks of our own in the present Number on this proceeding, and only insert, being all indeed we have room for, the following brief extract from the communication of a Correspondent, which has just reached us, and which, though it only touches on a part of the question, will be found highly deserving of notice.

"Sir—In the course of the judgment recently given in the High Court of Admiralty, in opposition to the dictum of Lord Mansfield, 'that slavery is so odious, that it cannot be established without a positive law,' Lord Stowell observes, that 'ancient custom is generally recognized as a just foundation of all law.' If either of these positions

were true as applied to the practice of slavery, the Algerines might plead their ancient customs and their positive laws, and the attack on their harbour and ships a few years ago, by the British fleet under Lord Exmouth, would resolve itself into an act of unjustifiable aggression, and of murder on the part of the English Government. The error of lawyers when adverting to the subject of slavery, is apt to be that of applying those maxims of municipal law, with which they have been chiefly conversant, to the rights which belong to all men by the condition of their existence, and are termed natural rights. The laws of civil society, which give to men their rights of property, may undoubtedly regulate and modify rights so originating for the general benefit of the community; and if the subject under the consideration of the noble Judge of the Admiralty and of Lord Mansfield, had been an hogshead of sugar or a bag of cotton, custom would have done much, when applied to such objects; and positive law would have done every thing, because such objects have no inherent rights of their own. But the natural rights of human beings, 'the rights of life and liberty,' are not within the reach of human laws, and can only be invaded by the law of the strongest—by robbery and violence. This distinction between natural and civil rights is known to every tyro that has opened the first volume of Blackstone. Sommerset, the black, did not acquire those natural rights, which belong to every human being from the moment of his birth, by arriving on the shores of England; he merely reached a spot where the 'wicked cease from troubling' them. There are two classes of negroes in the West Indies—unoffending foreigners brought thither by an act of piracy against their inclination, and British subjects born within the King's allegiance, who are as entirely Englishmen as the white natives of those islands. Lord Stowell is too well acquainted with the Law of Nations to contend, that unoffending foreigners can legally be converted into slaves within the territories of England. Such a principle would not only be in itself immeasurably wicked, but if carried into practice, in respect of the subjects of any power capable of resenting the aggression, it would be the cause of an immediate war. The bombardment of Algiers has proclaimed this doctrine from the cannon's mouth. Of the negroes born within the King's allegiance, will Lord Stowell, or would Lord Mansfield if he were now alive, assert, that as innocent British subjects, they can be deprived of their undoubted birthright, and converted into slaves, by the mere operation of a long continued course of robbery and violence?—No, for such a custom can have no presumption of a lawful origin. Would either of those eminent men have maintained, in their *legislative* capacities, that the petty municipal assemblies of the colonies, or that even the Parliament of England could pass an act for depriving 800,000 British subjects of their rights and liberties?—Surely not, for on that principle, the Colonial Assemblies, and the Parliament of England, might out-law the entire population of the British Empire, in mere wantonness."

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The "Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter" will be ready for delivery on the first day of every month. Copies will be forwarded at the request of any Anti-Slavery Society, at the rate of four shillings per hundred, when not exceeding half a sheet, and in proportion, when it exceeds that quantity. All persons wishing to receive a regular supply are requested to make application to the Secretary, at the Society's office, No. 18, Aldermanbury, and mention the conveyance by which they may be most conveniently sent. Single Copies may be had of all booksellers and newsmen, at the rate of 1*d.* per half-sheet of eight pages, or 2*d.* per sheet of sixteen pages.

I. A SUMMARY OF THE PROGRESS OF REFORM * SINCE MAY, 1823.—II. PRIVY COUNCIL INQUIRY RESPECTING MANUMISSION; —DEFENCE OF MR. BUXTON AND HIS FRIENDS.

On the 15th of May, 1823, Resolutions were adopted by the House of Commons, on the proposition of His Majesty's Ministers, and were subsequently agreed to by the House of Lords, the purport of which was, that "*effectual* and *decisive* measures," should be taken "for meliorating the condition of the slave population in His Majesty's Colonies," in order that by "a *determined* and *persevering*, but *judicious* and *temperate* enforcement of such measures," the slaves might be prepared "for a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of His Majesty's subjects," "at the *earliest* period compatible with the well-being of the slaves, the safety of the Colonies, and a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property."

In pursuance of these Resolutions, His Majesty's Ministers declared it to be their intention to introduce into the different slave Colonies the following Reforms, viz.

I. To provide the means of education and religious instruction to the slaves.

II. To put an end to Sunday markets.

III. To make Sunday, instead of being to the slaves a day of labour in their provision grounds, a day of rest and religious observance.

IV. To allow the slaves equivalent time, in lieu of Sunday, for cultivating their provision grounds, and for marketing.

V. To admit the testimony of slaves, under certain restrictions, in civil and criminal cases.

VI. To legalize marriage among the slaves, and to protect their connubial rights.

* We have thought it right to exhibit, in this condensed form, the substance of the details on the progress of Reform contained in the three preceding Numbers of this work, references to which are inserted for the convenience of those who may wish to investigate the subject closely.

VII. To prevent the separation of families by sale.

VIII. To prevent the sale of slaves detached from the plantation to which they belong.

IX. To protect the slaves, by law, in acquiring, possessing, and transmitting property.

X. To establish Savings' Banks for the safeguard of their property.

XI. To abolish all taxes on Manumission.

XII. To grant to the slaves a right of redeeming themselves, or any of their family, at a fair appraisement.

XIII. To limit the power of arbitrary punishment possessed by the master and his agents, and to restrain its abuse.

XIV. To provide that a regular record should be kept, and a regular return made of all arbitrary punishments by the master or his agents.

XV. To abolish entirely the practice of flogging females.

XVI. To abolish entirely the use of the driving whip in the field, as a stimulus to labour.

XVII. To appoint Protectors of the slaves in every colony.

XVIII. To provide that, in future, no person being a proprietor of slaves, or interested in slave property, should be appointed by the Crown to the offices of Protector of Slaves, Governor, Judge, Fiscal, Attorney General, Bishop, Clergyman, or salaried teacher, and generally to any function connected with the administration of the slave laws.

XIX. To provide that, in questions involving the slavery or freedom of individuals, the presumption of law shall be in favour of freedom.

XX. To purify the administration of Justice.

Let us now consider how these various Reforms have been accomplished,—and, First, in the Colonies where the Crown possesses the sole power of legislation.

1. Trinidad.

Many of the above points of reform were embodied in an Order of Council, which was laid before Parliament on the 16th of March, 1824, and then announced as the model which the other Slave Colonies were to follow.

In this Order, however, the heads I. II. and IV. were, in effect, omitted. The head XIX. was also omitted, but it had been previously provided for in the Slave Registry Act of this Colony. The head XX. has not, as yet, been proceeded upon in any one Colony.

The head III. was partially carried into effect. Sunday labour for the master's benefit was, in terms, prohibited; but the head IV., giving time in lieu of Sunday, having been omitted, the enactment, under head III. has been rendered wholly inoperative. Though Sunday markets were temporarily legalized, and no time in lieu of Sunday was granted to the slaves for cultivating their provision-grounds, yet it was made unlawful to cultivate these on Sunday, that labour being obviously for the master's benefit. The slaves were consequently reduced to the alter-

native of violating the law, or starving. The former alternative was, of course, universally preferred.*

The head V. has been very imperfectly fulfilled, many objectionable restrictions on the admission of slave testimony being introduced into the Order. It appears by the latest returns, that after the Order had been in operation upwards of three years, only one slave had acquired, under its provisions, the right of giving testimony. It is obvious that all other regulations, in favour of slaves, must be greatly impeded, if not wholly frustrated, if that which proposed to give them the right of testimony in Courts of Justice has proved inoperative.†

The manner in which the Order has been framed under the heads VI., IX., X., XI., XV., XVI., and XVII., seems liable to no just exception.

The same remark would have applied to the head XII., on Manumission, but for the official returns recently received on the subject from Trinidad. It thence appears that the enactment had failed, in attaining its object of securing to the slaves the proposed right of manumission, "at a fair appraisement;" sworn appraisers deeming it no violation of their solemn oaths, to value slaves desiring their liberty, and willing to pay a fair and equitable price for it, at twice, and even three times the highest amount for which they could be sold in the market, or for which they might be replaced in the same market.‡

The provision VII., on the separation of families, is very imperfectly executed. Mr. Canning, in his speech of the 16th of March, 1826, distinctly stated, that it was the purpose of the Order to prohibit, generally, the separation of families by sale. As the Order now stands, the prohibition is confined to their separation by *judicial* sale. This is the more to be regretted, as the limitation is opposed to the former Spanish law, which did not allow of families being separated by sale in any case. §

The effect of the valuable means adopted to restrain the master's abuse of power, under the head XIII., is very materially counteracted by a provision subsequently introduced, which proceeds on the unjust and cruel principle, common to all the slave Colonies, that the slave, who fails in proving a complaint he may have preferred against his master or his master's agents, shall have to undergo punishment. Such a principle would be most unjust even in England. How much more where the testimony, not only of the complaining slave, but of all his fellows, is generally inadmissible.‖

The record and report of arbitrary punishments required under the head XIV., are required only from the owners of plantations; all other slave-holders are exempted from the operation of the law. This is a grievous defect.¶

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* See Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 11, p. 132—135; No. 28, p. 79; and No. 30, p. 131—133.

† See Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 11, p. 136—138; and No. 30, p. 124, 125.

‡ Ibid. No. 11, p. 139; No. 27, p. 68—72; and No. 30, p. 122.

§ Ibid. No. 11, p. 139; and the Anti-Slavery Society's Second Report, p. 74, 75.

‖ Ibid. No. 11, p. 144.

¶ Ibid. No. 11, p. 141; and No. 28, p. 79.

The head XVIII. has been very partially carried into effect. The Protector of slaves in Trinidad is debarred, indeed, from holding plantations in that Colony, worked by slaves; but he may hold such plantations in every other Colony; and even in Trinidad he may hold any number of slaves that are not predial; a jobbing gang, for example. The Deputy Protectors, also, on whom, of necessity, the slaves must chiefly depend for the redress of their grievances, are placed under no restriction whatever in this respect.*

Besides these defects, the Trinidad Order has omitted to fix any limit to the hours of labour.† In this Colony, also, as in all the other slave Colonies, the slaves are debarred, under heavy penalties, from raising or vending any article of exportable produce.‡

We have dwelt at so much length on the defects of the Trinidad Order, as being the example held out by His Majesty's Government to the imitation of the other slave Colonies, and because all its defects, with one or two exceptions, apply to all the Colonies subject to the legislation of the Crown, in which any reform of the slave code has been hitherto attempted.

2. Berbice.

The new slave code of Berbice contains one slight improvement as compared with that of Trinidad. It establishes a regular record of the marriages, or reputed marriages, of slaves throughout the Colony.

In several very important respects, it falls far short of the Trinidad Code. For example:—

1. The Protector's power of defending the slave is confined to civil, and does not extend to criminal cases.

2. Sunday markets (II. and III.) are not only continued as in Trinidad, but the master is authorized to occupy a portion of the Sunday in serving out to the slaves their weekly allowance of food, while the slave cannot quit the estate even to attend divine service, without the master's written leave.

3. An important clause in the Trinidad code, (the 21st,) punishing the abuse of power in the master, (XIII.) is wholly omitted.

4. Marriage (VI.) is more restricted than in Trinidad.

5. Manumission, without the owner's consent, (XII.) is rendered nearly unattainable. The slave is to be appraised, not at his fair market value, but at a rate, which is to cover the estimated prospective loss of the master. The slave must also prove that his price is the fruit of *his own honest* earnings, or of a bequest; and that he has conducted himself honestly, committed no crime, and sustained no punishment during the five preceding years.§

3. The Cape of Good Hope.

The slave code of this Colony has fallen below that of Trinidad in still retaining the *private* flogging of females, (XVI.) and in permitting

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* See Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 11, p. 142, 143; and No. 28, p. 79.
† Ibid. No. 11, p. 143, 144, and 149.
‡ Ibid. No. 11, p. 138, 139, and 147; and No. 28, p. 79.
§ Ibid. No. 28, p. 92, 93.

children to be separated from their parents by sale, at the age of ten instead of sixteen years. (VII.)

It has improved on the Trinidad model; 1st, in abolishing, though still imperfectly, Sunday markets, (II.); 2nd, in securing to the slave a right of attending divine worship on that day, (III.) which they cannot lawfully do in Trinidad, or in any of the other Colonies, without the master's written leave; 3rd, in admitting him freely to give testimony in Courts of Justice, (V.) except in civil suits affecting the master; 4th, in obliging the master to use his own hand in inflicting any punishment on his slave, and in not punishing slaves failing to prove their complaints, (XIII.)

The intestate property of slaves, instead of going to the master, as in St. Lucia, goes to form a fund for redeeming female slave children at a fair appraisement. *

4. Demerara.

The new slave code of this Colony falls materially below even that of Berbice. It does not recognize the slave's right of manumission, even in the worthless and evasive manner of the Berbice Order. †

5. Honduras.

6. Mauritius.

Nothing has been done in the way of reform in either of these Colonies.

7. St. Lucia.

This is the only Colony in which any approach is made towards giving to the slaves adequate time in lieu of Sunday, (III.); in which the separation of families by sale, whether judicial or otherwise, (VII.) is wholly prohibited; in which slaves are not allowed to be sold detached from the estate, (VIII.); and in which a right of action is given to the slaves themselves.

St. Lucia is the only Colony, besides the Cape of Good Hope, in which slave testimony is freely received, except in civil suits against the master; and the only one, besides Trinidad and Grenada, where the presumption of law is in favour of freedom, (XIX.)

The penal laws against slaves are, nevertheless, dreadfully severe; and women may still be flogged by order of a magistrate. ‡

Such is the state of things as to reform in the seven slave Colonies, where the Crown possesses an unrestricted right of legislation. Let us now look to the chartered Colonies, or Colonies having legislative assemblies of their own, and to which the Crown has repeatedly and anxiously recommended the adoption of the Trinidad model. This

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* Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 28, p. 94, 95.
† Ibid. No. 27, p. 26, 27.
‡ Ibid. No. 29, p. 111—115.

recommendation was urgently renewed by Lord Bathurst, in May, 1826. Its result is as follows:

8. Antigua.
9. Bermuda.
10. Montserrat.
11. Nevis.
12. St. Christophers.
13. Virgin Islands.

These six Colonies have done nothing.

There are seven others that have done something, of which the miserable amount will presently be seen.

14. Bahamas.

By this legislature alone has head XVI., namely, the abolition of the driving-whip, been assented to. But that, in the Bahamas, by the admission of the legislature itself, is no sacrifice. The mode in which the slaves are employed in this Colony does not admit of the use of the driving-whip, a circumstance which explains one cause of the great comparative increase of its slave population.

The heads VI., (marriage); VII., (non-separation of families); IX., (the right of property); and X., (savings' banks), have been partially carried into effect.

The legislature have pretended to adopt, but have most effectually evaded the head V., (slave testimony); and the head XII., which respects manumission, and on which they have framed their law according to the Berbice model.

The other points of reform have been rejected.*

15. Barbadoes.

In this island Sunday markets (XI.) have been abolished, but no time being given in lieu of Sunday, the law bears hard on the poor slave.

The heads V., (slave testimony); VI. (marriage); and VII., (the separation of families,) are treated of in the new act, but so feebly and imperfectly, as to amount to little or nothing.

An evasive substitution is attempted for a Protector, (XVII.) by means of a council of protection, which *may* consist of slave holders, aided by a law secretary.

The other heads of reform have been rejected. †

16. Dominica.

The heads V., VII., and IX., (testimony, separation, and property,) are so treated as to evade the propositions of Lord Bathurst. His other recommendations have been rejected, and even some deteriorating changes introduced. ‡

17. Grenada.

The heads V., VII., and IX., to which may be added VI., (marriage,) have been dealt with in the same evasive manner as in Dominica.

The number of lashes a master or his agent may inflict, is reduced from 39 to 25. (XIII.)

A *slave* may not carry a driving whip in the field; a palpable eva-

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* Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 28, p. 80—87.
† Ibid. No. 28, p. 87—91.
‡ Ibid. No. 29, p. 98—101.

sion of head XV.; as if a free person could not wield a whip as well as a slave.

This Colony is honourably distinguished by having adopted head XIX. *

The remaining heads of reform have been rejected. †

18. Jamaica.

The heads V., VI., and VII., are dealt with in the new Slave Law of 1826 in the same ineffective manner by the Jamaica legislature as by that of Dominica, and of Grenada.

The remaining heads have been rejected: while some fresh restrictions have been laid on religious instruction by Missionaries.‡

This Jamaica Law (of 1826) has been disallowed by his Majesty.

19. St. Vincent's.

This Colony differs from Grenada in not lowering the scale of arbitrary punishment below its former limit of 39 lashes; in not prohibiting in any way the separation of families by sale (VII.); and in not having adopted the head XIX. Its evasions and rejections in other respects are the same. §

20. Tobago.

The legislature of Tobago has abolished Sunday markets, but has given no time in lieu of it.

It has reduced the limit of arbitrary punishment by the master or his agent from 39 lashes to 20.

The heads V., and IX., (testimony and property) are treated in the same evasive manner as in the Colonies of Grenada and St. Vincent's.

The other heads of Reform have been rejected. ||

The following table will shew at a single glance the whole facts of the case. The figures at the top of each column refer to the heads of Reform enumerated at pages 145 and 146. The Roman capitals A. P. and I. are used for the sake of brevity, to mark, under these several heads, the degree of progress made in the legislation of each Colony.

A. denotes the *Adoption* of the particular head of Reform.

P. its *Partial* Adoption.

I. its *Inefficient* Adoption.

The Slave population of each Colony is also given. ¶

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* This improvement was omitted in the Reporter, No. 29, and in the Pamphlet, "Further Progress," &c. The reader is particularly requested to supply the omission.

† Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 11, p. 155—162; and No. 29, p. 102.

‡ Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 29, p. 102—111.

§ Ibid. No. 11, p. 163, 164; and No. 29, p. 116, 117.

|| Ibid. No. 11, p. 154, 155; and No. 29, p. 117—119.

¶The Table will shew, that in seven *Crown* Colonies (slaves 250,900) the A's are 38, the P's 30, and one I. The blanks are 71, two Colonies not reporting. —In thirteen *Chartered* Colonies (slaves 578,100) the A's are only 7, the P's 14, and the I's (blanks in fact) 16. The other blanks are 224, including six Colonies not reporting. Many of the P's are very partial indeed; and even of the A's most are nullified by the non-adoption of other measures essential to their operation.

TABLE exhibiting the manner in which the propositions of the Government have been carried into effect.

In this Table, the Roman capitals A. P. and I. are used for the sake of brevity, to mark, under these several heads, the degree of progress made in the legislation of each Colony.
A. denotes the *Adoption* of the particular head of Reform.
P. its *Partial* Adoption.
I. its *Inefficient* Adoption.

	Number of Slaves.	I. To provide the means of Education and religious Instruction to the Slaves.	II. To put an end to Sunday Markets.	III. To make Sunday, to the Slaves, a day of rest and of religious observance.	IV. To allow Slaves time, in lieu of Sunday, for cultivating grounds and marketing.	V. To admit the testimony of Slaves, under restrictions, in civil and criminal cases.	VI. To legalize marriage among Slaves, and to protect their connubial rights.	VII. To prevent the separation of Families by sale.	VIII. To prevent the sale of Slaves detached from plantation to which they belong.	IX. To protect the Slaves in acquiring, possessing, and transmitting property.	X. To establish Savings' Banks for the safeguard of their property.	XI. To abolish all taxes on manumission.	XII. To grant to the Slaves a right of redeeming themselves, or any of their family.	XIII. To limit the power of arbitrary punishment, and to restrain its abuse.	XIV. That a record be kept, and return made, of all arbitrary punishment.	XV. To abolish entirely the practice of flogging females.	XVI. To abolish entirely the use of the driving whip, as a stimulus to labour.	XVII. To appoint Protectors of the Slaves in every Colony.	XVIII. That no Protector of Slaves, or other Functionary, be allowed to hold Slaves.	XIX. The presumption of law shall be in favour of freedom.	XX. To purify the administration of Justice.
CROWN COLONIES.																					
1. Trinidad	22,500	-	-	P	-	P	A	P	-	A	A	A	A	P	P	A	A	A	P	A	-
2. Berbice	23,000	-	-	-	-	P	P	P	-	P	P	A	I	-	P	A	A	A	P	-	-
3. Cape of Good Hope	35,500	-	A	P	-	A	A	P	-	A	A	A	A	A	P	P	A	A	P	-	-
4. Demerara	74,000	-	-	-	-	P	P	P	-	P	P	A	-	-	P	A	A	A	P	-	-
5. Honduras	2,400	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6. Mauritius	80,000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7. St. Lucia	13,500	-	-	-	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	P	P	A	A	P	A	-
CHARTERED COLONIES.																					
8. Antigua	32,000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9. Bahamas	10,000	-	-	-	-	I	P	P	-	P	P	A	I	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-
10. Barbadoes	79,000	-	A	-	-	P	P	P	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11. Bermuda	5,200	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12. Dominica	15,500	-	-	-	-	I	-	P	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
13. Grenada	24,500	-	-	-	-	I	I	P	-	I	-	A	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	A	-
14. Jamaica	336,000	-	-	-	-	P	I	P	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
15. Montserrat	6,000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
16. Nevis	9,000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
17. St. Christophers	18,500	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
18. St. Vincents	23,500	-	-	-	-	I	I	P	-	I	-	P	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-
19. Tobago	13,500	-	A	-	-	I	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	P	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
20. Virgin Islands	5,400	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Remarks on the preceding Table.

It may possibly be alleged, that the blank exhibited under head I. is unfair, as the recent appointment of Bishops and additional Clergymen invalidates the statement thus made on the subject of *education* and *religious instruction.* These appointments, however, are the work, as far as they go, of the Government at home; and to what a small extent they have hitherto operated, may be seen in the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. XIII. *passim*, and in No. XXX. p. 133—136. What we particularly intend by exhibiting this clause as unfulfilled, is that no new *legislative* measures whatever have been taken either by the Crown or by the Colonial legislatures for promoting the education and instruction of the slaves. The efforts of Methodists and Moravians are not to be ascribed to the Colonial authorities, by whom indeed in Jamaica they have been impeded. And while Sunday continues to be *legally* desecrated by markets and labour; and while children from the age of five are kept in the field all day (see the Bishop of Jamaica's report in Reporter, No. XIII. p. 191—193,) it is vain to talk of educating the young or instructing the old. Something appears to have been done at the Cape of Good Hope alone, but what its amount is does not clearly appear.

Under the other heads, it is only in five of the Colonies subject to the legislation of the Crown that any reforms of an effective kind have been even commenced, and even there how large are still the blanks, and how partially and how inoperatively have many of the measures apparently adopted been carried into effect! In none even of the Crown Colonies in the West Indies have Sunday markets been abolished, or has the religious observance of Sunday been secured, or has time been given to the slave in lieu of Sunday, to say nothing of other most essential points.

In two of the Crown Colonies, and in six of the chartered, nothing whatever is as yet reported to have been done; and in the remaining seven chartered Colonies what a mockery do their attempts at reform exhibit! The only really effective measure is that single clause of the Grenada Act which, in questions of slavery or freedom, throws the *onus probandi* on the claimant of the slave. The abolition of Sunday markets in Barbadoes and Tobago, however desirable a measure in itself, is rendered an act of severity to the slave by the non-allowance of time in lieu of Sunday; while all that is enacted about slave testimony, and marriage, and property, and the cartwhip, is mere evasion; the sound of reform without a particle of its substance.

Inquiry before the Privy Council respecting compulsory Manumission.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 27, informed our readers, that the planters of Demerara and Berbice had presented a petition and memorial to His Majesty in council, setting forth the grounds on which they apprehended ruin to their property if that part of the Trinidad order were enforced which gave to slaves a right, without the consent, and

even against the will of their masters, of purchasing their freedom by the fruit of their own industry. In support of this petition and memorial counsel were heard before the Privy Council in July last. The statements then made on behalf of the petitioners appeared to be so devoid of all solid foundation, that it seemed at first sight unnecessary to undertake their refutation; but when the prevailing ignorance of colonial affairs was duly considered, it was feared that these statements, if uncontradicted, might, even with some influential persons, pass for proof. It was therefore deemed expedient publicly to expose their fallacy. With this view, in the Reporter, No. 27, every allegation of the petitioners was distinctly met, and, as it appears to us, satisfactorily disproved. Indeed after the lengthened investigation this subject has since undergone, and the fresh evidence both oral and documentary that has since been adduced, we shall still continue confidently to refer to that publication, as a full and sufficient answer to every objection which has hitherto been preferred to the principle of the compulsory manumission clause of the Trinidad order.

As this work is accessible to all our readers, it would be altogether superfluous to go again over the same line of argument. We would therefore only remind them, that that argument rests throughout either on the evidence of official documents, or on the testimony of writers of the very highest authority.

No order on the subject of compulsory manumission has passed in Demerara. In Berbice the principle was introduced into the new code, but under such modifications as rendered it perfectly nugatory.*

But even this restricted and modified enactment, which seemed to make the compulsory manumission of a slave absolutely impossible, was still more than the prejudices of the slave holders of Berbice, in their impatience of freedom, could tolerate. They loudly remonstrated against it; and, in deference probably to their importunity, His Majesty's government was induced to suspend its operation until they should have an opportunity of producing evidence in support of their remonstrance before the Privy Council. That evidence has been produced; and the result has been a signal failure of its object. With the whole range of the West Indies before them, with a command of all the sources of local information, with a full opportunity of collecting and arranging their materials, and adapting them to the exigencies of their case, they have not only failed to establish their own positions, but they have actually contrived to save their opponents the trouble of disproving them. The four witnesses they brought forward not only contradicted each other, on some of the most material parts of their case, but produced the impression, that their opposition to the measure was founded not in any fair ground of fact or argument, but either in the blindness of prejudice, the alarms of selfishness, or the contracted habits of mind which are the inevitable effect of familiarity with the administration of such a system as that of colonial slavery.

The result of an argumentative investigation of this kind might have been anticipated; and, in point of fact, it not only has served to

* See Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 28, p. 93.

exhibit the fallacy of the views of the petitioners, but it has led to conclusions almost diametrically opposed to those they aimed at.

We demur indeed entirely to the propriety or utility of producing individuals nursed in the school of colonial slavery, or deeply interested in its continuance, to argue on oath that slavery is a better and more advantageous state than freedom, which was substantially the issue. Suppose a similar objection had been taken to the law of marriage. Should we have tolerated a regular attempt on the part of the planters to prove, that the state of promiscuous concubinage prevailing in Berbice and Demerara was preferable to the institution and protection of the marriage tie? And yet such an opinion is manifestly held by a vast number of West Indian colonists; we may say by the majority; otherwise marriage would have long since been legalized. Nay, of the prevalence of this very opinion the present inquiry has furnished, incidentally, not a few indications.—Now what would be said to an attempt to prove, by the evidence on oath of West India planters who had been living all their lives in concubinage, that marriage was a mischievous institution, and that the interests of society required that concubinage, with all its blessings, should continue inviolate? And yet would this have been more extraordinary than to decide general views of colonial policy, involving questions of slavery and freedom, on the oaths of large slave proprietors, or practised slave-drivers?

We must content ourselves for the present with these general observations, reserving our more detailed view of the subject until the promised publication of the whole proceedings shall take place. It will then be more clearly seen how much beyond the previous hope the cause of truth, and freedom, and justice, has gained by this discussion.

In the mean time we are unwilling to withhold from our readers a few of the important facts which this inquiry has dragged into light; and which, had any farther testimony been wanting to give validity to our former statements, would have supplied it in abundance.

I. Our readers are aware, that in the Island of Trinidad, the slave population has been decreasing, and is now decreasing at the enormous yearly rate of $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. In the course of an inquiry which was set on foot by the planters of that island in 1825, for the evident purpose of accrediting slavery and discrediting freedom, this fact proved somewhat embarrassing; particularly as the different witnesses who were examined were most decidedly of opinion, that harsh or cruel treatment, and the over-working and under-feeding of slaves were utterly unknown in Trinidad, and could therefore have nothing whatever to do with this extraordinary mortality. It was attributed by one to night dances, by another to licentiousness, by a third to carelessness of their health, and by all, as the prime cause of decrease, to the disparity of the sexes; the great excess of males over females at once solving the difficulty.* It might have been expected, that in a question of this kind, on which so much depended, instead of being content with vague conjectures on the subject, the Inquest would have resorted for

* See Extracts from the Minutes of Evidence taken by the Committee of Council of Trinidad, for inquiring into the Negro Character, No. 179, of 14th June 1827.

information to the authentic records of the population of the Colony. Such a course, however, would not have answered their purpose; for we find, on referring to the parliamentary returns of 1826, No. 353, in which the slave population of Trinidad for the year 1825, the very year of the inquiry, is given, that the proportion of the sexes is thus stated;—Males 11,908, Females 11,209—Total 23,117. The disparity, therefore, is obviously too trivial to have any perceptible influence on the rate of population. As for the licentiousness which is assigned as a concurrent cause of the decrease of the negro race, what is this but a part of that system of impiety, cruelty, and degradation, which has continued to depopulate our Colonies, and which is the direct result of the criminal neglect and profligate example of the whites?

II. But let us contrast with this rapid waste of human life two cases placed before us in the same volume of evidence, furnished to us by the planters of Trinidad. The one is that of a gang of slaves which had been most inhumanly transported, three years before, from the Bahamas to Trinidad. About 30 years earlier, their owner, Mr. Burton Williams, had become possessed, in the Bahamas, of 107 slaves. During the period which preceded his migration thence to Trinidad, he states, that these 107 slaves had multiplied, by natural increase, to 331, more than trebling their number in that time. Mr. Burton Williams is pressed to supply some explanation of this extraordinary increase, as contrasted with the rapid decrease which takes place among the slaves of Trinidad. He is evidently much puzzled to do so in a manner that will redound to the credit of the planters of the latter island; but if his statements be carefully weighed, the real solution will be found to be, that the land of Trinidad is extremely fertile, and is employed in sugar culture; and that the land of the Bahamas is less fertile, and will grow only corn and cotton. And yet in the Bahamas the slaves must have been most abundantly fed. This gang could not otherwise have grown in 30 years from 107 to 331.*

The second instance is still more to our purpose.

About the year 1816 a number of American blacks, who had taken refuge with our forces during the late war, were brought to Trinidad, and, being joined there by some African women liberated from a slave-ship, were formed into a settlement where they still reside. Their number is stated to have been originally 774, consisting, it would appear, of about 350 men and only 200 women, the rest being children. The official return of the number of these settlers at the close of 1824 was 923, being an increase, in eight years, of 149, or 20 per cent., being about 2½ per cent. per annum. Now in this case the disparity of sexes was greater than in the case of the Trinidad slaves, and therefore at least an equal probability existed of the prevalence of licentious habits, with all their injurious effects; and yet the advantage, on the side of these free negroes, amounts to the astonishing difference, in the rate of increase, of 5¼ per cent. per annum. (p. 1—5, and p. 30—32.)

On looking into the details some of the causes of this difference are very obvious. To mention only a few of them:—

* See Minutes of Evidence, p. 17

1. The *free* settlers are generally observant of the marriage tie, and live decently together (p. 3).—The *slaves* in Trinidad have had no marriage.

2. The *free* women are careful of their children, and feed and clothe them well. (p. 3.)—The *slave* women have no time for this purpose.

3. Though the *free* women work in their own grounds, they do not generally hire themselves out to labour in the field, but attend to their domestic concerns. (p. 32.)—The *slave* women are compelled to be in the field from morning to night, besides the night-work of crop time.

4. The *free* settlers enjoy the rest of Sunday. "They never work on Sunday in their own grounds." (p. 5.) "They generally hear a lecture from one of their preachers; the rest of the day they pass quietly;" some dance. (p. 32.)—The *slaves* must till their grounds on that day, or starve.

5. The *slaves* "in many instances work EIGHTEEN out of twenty-four hours, which constant labour the *free* settlers will not submit to." (p. 33.)

In the midst of much general abuse, and heavy charges of idleness, profligacy, and wretchedness, poured out upon the *free*, the above points of difference are most clearly established; and they go far to account for the comparative waste of slave life in Trinidad, more especially when coupled with sugar cultivation in a fertile soil.*

III. We have been assured, on the very highest colonial authorities, including Major Moody, that a day, or half a day of labour in the week will supply abundance of food to a negro; and that, therefore, in a tropical sun, he cannot be induced, when free, to labour steadily for wages. Something of this kind is repeated in the evidence from Trinidad. We should therefore naturally have expected, that the refugee negroes, of whom we have been speaking, being free, would, according to the new theory of the philosophy of labour, have limited themselves to the exertions necessary for the supply of their actual wants; especially as the fertile land of Trinidad, of which they had abundance granted to them, would supply them with food at a very trifling expense of time and labour. But here, in the midst of many contradictions, and much manifest misrepresentation, a few important facts stand prominently forward.

Mr. Mitchell, the superintendant of the negro refugees, himself a sugar planter, and who had resided in Trinidad for 27 years, thus writes to Sir Ralph Woodford on the question, "whether sugar estates could be carried on entirely by free labour." "I do not think," he says, "they could, *in the manner the work is carried on at present, making large quantities of sugar in a given time, in many instances working eighteen out of twenty-four hours, which constant labour the*

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* The evidence of the Keeper of the Royal Gaol (p. 40), throws much light on this point. He is asked, "What is your opinion as to the difference of labour between working on the tread-mill, and working in the field?" "I think," he says, "there is no comparison in the labour. Even when the prisoners are working on the mill, the labour is, in my opinion, lighter than labour in the field." He adds, that in the gaol, "he has occasionally seen an air of dejection on the free people, but has observed nothing of this kind among the slaves." To them, it would appear, therefore, that the gaol is rather a state of enjoyment, even with its tread-mill.

free settler will not submit to, whose easy circumstances render him independent. But I am of opinion, that estates with few slaves are greatly assisted by free labourers, as in the quarter of North Naparima, where, *in many instances within my knowledge, the canes are planted and cut down, while the staves, hoops, and heading, are split by them.* And was the free population greater than it is in the colony, I have *no doubt sugar estates,* CARRYING ON LABOUR FROM SUNRISE *to* SUNSET, *might be worked by them,* whilst the planter would receive a moderate indemnification for his outlay." (p. 33.)

Much to the same effect might be produced from this important but reluctant mass of testimony, only a part of which, selected, it would appear, by the Council of Trinidad, a council of slave-proprietors, has been yet permitted to see the light.

But on the point of sugar culture by free labour, a still more decisive testimony has been unexpectedly brought to light by means of this inquiry. It consists of a despatch from Mr. Ward, our Envoy to Mexico, addressed to Mr. Canning, in reply to questions put to him by that lamented statesman; and it establishes the fact in the clearest manner, *that, at the present moment, the cultivation of sugar is very extensively carried on in Mexico by means of free labourers working steadily for hire in large gangs.* But we must reserve this interesting topic for a future occasion.

IV. We shall advert at present to only one more point in the minutes of the Council of Trinidad, as it has a direct reference to the subject of compulsory manumission and its effects.

Mr. Mitchell, the gentleman already referred to, gives it as his opinion, that the best means of fitting the slave for liberty are, first, "religious instruction;" and next, "giving a stimulus to his exertion by holding out a prospect of his acquiring his liberty by industry and care." And the most effectual way of doing this he conceives would be, "to purchase for him, in the first instance, a day in the week, or a sixth part of his value,* on which capital he would, in a few years, work out his freedom; and, when free, reimburse the advance of his original purchase to government." He adds, that the manumitted slaves in his quarter do not work out as field labourers. "Those who do not cultivate their own ground as free settlers generally work as journeymen tradesmen." He knows of no instance of a manumitted slave not being able to maintain himself when free. (p. 33 and 34).

Another gentleman, Mr. Lamont, who had resided 22 years in Trinidid, testifies to the superiority of *manumitted* slaves over the general class of free labourers from the Spanish main; and gives as the reason, that "most of them have purchased their freedom by their industry and saving habits; and that the others were gratuitously freed by their owners, in consequence of long and faithful services." (p. 45.)

Before we conclude this article, it may be expected that we should make some allusion to a circumstance which occurred in the course of the inquiry before the Privy Council, and which has been represented as indicating a backwardness on the part of the abolitionists to support, by evidence, the views they have promulgated on the subject of

* It ought to be a fifth part of his value, for he is already entitled of right to one day in the week in lieu of Sunday.

manumission and free labour. On the day on which the evidence for the petitioners was brought to a close, the newspapers represented a member of the Council as complaining that no one came forward with counter evidence. This complaint was supposed to point to Mr. Buxton and his friends; and not a few were disposed to infer, from their having declined the challenge, that they must have done so under a conviction of the weakness of their cause. What Mr. Buxton and his friends may think it right hereafter to say from their places in Parliament in defence of the line they took on this occasion, we pretend not to anticipate; but we can conceive many sound reasons which might have induced them to refuse the call said to have been addressed to them. Mr. Buxton and his friends, it is well known, had from the first declined to sanction the proposed inquiry by taking any part in it. If, however, such a determination had been deliberately and avowedly adopted by them before the inquiry commenced, it would have argued no very consistent or well-formed purpose had they been provoked, by any such call, to swerve from it; particularly after the inquiry had almost reached its termination, and when not the slightest preparation had been made to fulfil the task said to have been thus proposed to them. We can easily imagine, however, what may have been some of their reasons both for not complying with any such call, and for their original determination to take no part in the inquiry.

1. They might have supposed, that the object, from first to last, which such an inquiry was intended by the petitioners and their supporters to promote, was DELAY; and they might have felt it to have been their duty to lend no aid, directly or indirectly, to such an object.

2. They might have conceived, that they had already established their case to the satisfaction (to say nothing of the public) of both the Parliament and the Government of the country; both having, after due deliberation and inquiry, so far assented to its truth and justice, as to resolve, with an unanimity scarcely broken by a murmur on the part of the West Indians in parliament, to adopt forthwith a variety of the reforms suggested by Mr. Buxton and his friends (see above, p. 145), and among the rest the very measure which was the subject of inquiry.

3. With respect also to the measure at issue, they might have produced, as a valid reason for considering it as a settled point, that His Majesty's government, through the organs of Mr. Canning and Lord Bathurst, had repeatedly declared it to be "a vital part of their whole scheme," which "could not be dispensed with," and without which "no system of measures would satisfy the feelings of the country, or execute the purposes of Parliament;" and that therefore to submit it at this late hour to a new inquiry, would hardly be doing justice to the memory of one distinguished statesman, or to the feelings of another; and still less to their own obligations as men intrusted with the conduct of a great cause.

4. They might further have pleaded their fears, that if they should consent to become parties to such an inquiry, they might be virtually surrendering the pledges already obtained; at least they might be contributing indefinitely to protract their fulfilment, seeming bound in consistency to wait the result of the inquiry, to which they had consented, before they agitated the subject in Parliament.

5. They might also have been of opinion, that having obtained certain concessions in favour of the slave population, they had no right to compromise the vital interests of that numerous class, by agreeing to any proceeding which brought into question, and eventually might endanger its full right to each and all of these concessions.

6. And supposing there were no validity in these several reasons, they might still have been of opinion, that to institute a grave and solemn inquiry before the King in Council, in order to ascertain what would be an equitable compensation to a slave-holder for the redemption of his slave (which was in fact the professed and precise object of the inquiry), was a course wholly uncalled for; the question, though a very fit question to be settled by a court and jury, or by three honest and impartial appraisers, after a due investigation of the special facts of each case, being scarcely fit to exercise the legislative functions either of the Privy Council or of Parliament.

7. Besides this, they might have thought that, the point more immediately at issue being one, not of fact, but of speculation; to proceed to settle it by evidence upon oath seemed an anomalous and questionable proceeding, by which, in certain supposable cases, under the sanction of that solemnity, a more ready currency might be given to the effusions of party spirit, passion, prejudice, or selfishness.

8. The question at issue also, being one of a speculative kind, they might have thought, was more likely to be satisfactorily decided by a reference to general principles; to official documents exhibiting plain and unsophisticated facts; and to the results of historical experience; than by a reference to the necessarily contracted and partial observations of prejudiced and interested individuals.

9. They might moreover have thought, that in a case where the petitioners stood opposed to the concurrent wishes, and to the declared purposes of the Government and the Parliament, as well as of the nation, the whole burden of proof lay upon them; but that being a case which it was impossible to establish by evidence, the attempt to produce counter evidence would be like fighting with a shadow.

10. Mr. Buxton and his friends might farther have pleaded, that the whole of the statements which they had to produce had been already placed before the public, and were chiefly drawn from official documents, which had either been laid by the Colonial Department on the table of Parliament, or were to be obtained through that department.

11. They might also have seen grounds, from the first, for believing that the petitioners would not only fail in establishing their own case, but would, by their statements, give additional confirmation to the case of their opponents; and that therefore to meet them by counter evidence, was altogether a work of supererogation.

12. And if there were any good grounds for such an anticipation before the inquiry commenced, they must have been abundantly confirmed in that opinion before the period of the alleged challenge; as by that time the failure of the petitioners' case had become matter of history; and every previous hope, that those views of the subject, entertained by Mr. Buxton and his friends, would be strengthened, had been surpassed by the event, as the preceding pages sufficiently shew.

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ON THE DEMORALIZING INFLUENCE OF SLAVERY.*—OBSERVATIONS ON THE PRESENT STATE OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY QUESTION.

Slavery has been distinguished into two kinds, domestic and predial. Domestic slavery, in the West India colonies has been represented as mild, in comparison with predial slavery; and, therefore, the chief objections against colonial slavery have been derived, in general, from the severe condition of predial slaves. But while much has been said against slavery on account of the cruelty almost inseparable from it, its demoralizing effects, though forming a still more powerful objection, have been, perhaps, inadequately estimated.

Several causes may be assigned for this omission. It may have partly arisen from the palpable nature of the facts relating to bodily suffering, and the greater aptitude of such facts to excite sympathy. It may have arisen also from this, that few of the benevolent individuals, chiefly engaged in bringing about the abolition of the slave-trade, had an opportunity of seeing the effects of slavery with their own eyes, so as to be fully qualified for the task of exhibiting all the painful and degrading disclosures connected with the interior of the system.

To speak correctly, however, slavery in the Cape of Good Hope differs from that of the West Indies, in that it is domestic rather than predial. Almost all the slaves of that colony dwell on the premises of their respective masters, and are under their immediate superintendance.

It is scarcely necessary to remark, that the love of power is one of the strongest passions in the human breast; and the more nearly that

* The facts contained in this article were furnished by several individuals of the highest respectability, who had sufficient opportunities of acquiring correct information on the spot. To the accuracy of the statements I can also myself bear witness from personal observation and diligent inquiry, during a residence of six years at the Cape of Good Hope; and should any of them meet with contradiction, I am prepared to produce additional evidence of the most unquestionable character in proof of their authenticity.

London, 18, *Aldermanbury*, Tho. Pringle.
Dec. 27, 1827.

power approaches to absolute despotism, the more it is desired and enjoyed. It has been remarked by Tacitus, one of the most shrewd observers of human nature, that there is nothing so sweet to the human heart, as the gratification which arises from the consciousness of having the life of a fellow-creature at one's disposal. And it is this prevailing love of power which presents, perhaps, the greatest obstacle to the abolition of slavery in our slave colonies.* Power, in the hands of men, is in no instance so much subject to abuse, as in its exercise over their own species; a circumstance which, of itself, forms no inconsiderable argument against slavery. An individual would be considered almost a demon, who should take pleasure in tormenting any of the brute tribes; and yet to find a pleasure in the sufferings of human beings, and even in teazing and tormenting them, is no uncommon thing to be witnessed in the present state of colonial society. At a sale of slaves in Cape Town, a colonist, who was bidding hard for a slave that was exhibited on a table for sale, was asked by the slave, why he bid for him. The reply was, "That I may have the pleasure of being revenged on you for your insolence to me, when I visited at the house of your mistress." The answer made by the slave was, "You may save your money; you shall never have me in your power; for I shall put an end to my existence, the first moment I have the opportunity after I find I am your property." The threat, and the manner in which it was spoken, ended the competition; and the slave was knocked down to another bidder. The love of money, and perhaps some fear of his own life, overcame, in this instance, the thirst of revenge; but it shews the hardening effects of slavery that there was no murmur of disapprobation expressed on this occasion against the individual who made use of such language. In a transport of passion a man may shoot his favourite horse or dog; but no man ever purchased a horse or dog for the mere pleasure of tormenting him. Farmers and others may have cut their horses or oxen with their whips, and the poor animals may have fallen victims to the exertions this mode of excitement was designed to call forth; but what man ever ordered his horse to be flogged successively for days together, and the lacerated flesh to be rubbed with pepper and salt, and the flogging repeated till life was extinguished? And yet such atrocities are not at all uncommon when human beings are liable, as slaves are, to be the victims of the unbridled passions of their fellow-men.

What, indeed, it may be asked, is the most conspicuous ingredient in the world's history? What is it that glares out the most hideously from the darkness in which so great a portion of it has been enveloped,

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* When the recent Slave Ordinance (framed on the model of the Trinidad Order in Council) was promulgated at the Cape, a great sensation was excited among the slave owners, who viewed the measure as a preparatory step towards emancipation; and the clause, allowing the slave to purchase his own freedom, was specially objected to. Mr. Cloetè, a landholder, near Cape-Town, was violently declaiming against this ordinance, when a gentleman said to him, "But if any of your slaves obtain the means of paying you the full market price for their freedom, are you not sufficiently compensated?" "No;" replied the slave-owner; "for their mere *labour* I may be compensated, but what will compensate for the deprivation of the *power* I have now over them—the power not merely of a *master* but of an *owner*?"

but the incessant rage of miserable mortals against their fellow-mortals—"hateful and hating one another?"—The whole field seems covered with inflictors and sufferers, not seldom interchanging those characters. Look which way we will, it is still a scene of cruelty, oppression, and slavery;—of the strong trampling on the weak, and the weak attempting to avenge themselves on the strong;—of rancorous animosities and murderous competitions;—of treacheries and massacres;—of wars between hordes, or cities, or empires; wars seldom, in spirit, intermitted, and combining all the means of destruction which the ingenuity of rage and vengeance can devise. In short, cruelty is, generally speaking, natural to the heart of man; a fact evident even in the sports and amusements of the multitude. When vicious propensities have been restrained by education, the sympathies of the heart are, without doubt, improved; but the native disposition frequently bursts through all restraint, and displays its genuine and natural character. If cock-fighting and bull-baiting, amusements so rapturously enjoyed by the vulgar, no longer please minds tinctured with literature and softened by moral culture, yet even such minds, are far from feeling, as they ought, the sufferings of others. It may be pleaded in apology, that it is not the sufferings of the animals, in such exhibitions as those alluded to, which give the intense pleasure experienced by the spectators; but the force, the dexterity, the perseverance, the determined spirit manifested in the conflict. Granting this, it yet cannot be denied, that the bare circumstance of seeking pleasure, which must be purchased by the infliction of so much positive pain on any species of creatures, if it does not indicate a temper delighted by the suffering of others, shews, at least, a selfishness which consults its own gratification only, and cares not at what expense it is obtained.

But though rational beings are thus found to derive pleasure from the sufferings of irrational creatures; yet these creatures furnish no scope for the exercise of revenge or of mortified pride. With respect to our fellow-men, however, the case is different; and it is most humiliating to state, that in slave colonies, cruelties are frequently exercised upon human beings of a kind which, had they been inflicted on the brute creation, would have excluded the perpetrators of them from society. Man is a tyrant, it is true, to the inferior animals; but, unrestrained by law, he becomes a wolf to man; and, under the influence of violent passions, liable to be excited by the most trifling circumstances, is not to be intrusted with power over the liberty and life, the soul and body, the happiness or misery of his fellow-man.

But to come to the Cape of Good Hope. It has been argued by several late writers, and especially by the Quarterly Review,* that since the emigration of British settlers in 1820, the influx of free labourers from Europe will be a great means of hastening the abolition of slavery in that settlement. We have no faith in this remedy. Free labour and slavery are, it is true, destructive of each other; but, like the mixture of an alkali and an acid, the ascendancy of one over the other, will depend upon their comparative quantity and power. If the proportion of free

* See Quarterly Review, vol. XX. p. 455.

labourers in a colony is much greater than that of slaves, the Reviewer's position may be tenable; but if, on the other hand, the number of slaves in a colony is much greater than that of free labourers, the reverse of the Reviewer's anticipation is rather likely to follow. Slavery may go to destroy free labour, and the free labourers may either eventually become themselves slave-holders, or be reduced to a condition little superior to that of the slaves.* Slavery, we admit, may be expected to decrease in every country, where free labourers are much more numerous than slaves; but in such a country as South Africa, where those in a state of slavery form more than nineteen parts out of twenty of the labouring class, the value of slaves, and consequently the system of slavery existing in that colony, are not likely to be materially affected by any importation of free labourers which can be expected very speedily to take place.

Men accustomed to govern slaves are unfit to manage free labourers; and they prefer having under them slaves, on whom they can vent their irritable passions without any fear of consequences, to free labourers, with whom they must be under restraint. The slave masters, particularly such as emigrate from England, beat and cut their slaves because they do not perform as much labour as free servants; and they quarrel with their free labourers, because they will not be treated like slaves. The free labourer from England is no sooner articled to a master than he finds he must herd with slaves, and expect the same kind of usage. If he cannot brook this degradation, he quarrels with his master, and has his condition made worse, till he loses all respect for himself, and sinks under his misfortunes. Disappointed in his expectations, and wearied out with the painful and degrading circumstances in which he is placed, his first thought is commonly that of returning home; but it requires a sum of money, to defray the expense of a passage to England, which few of the emigrants can raise; and they have scarcely any alternative between starvation and a continuance in a situation abhorrent to their feelings. There is, however, a wonderful facility in the human mind to accommodate itself to its circumstances, and in many cases it is well that it is so: but what excites our approbation, where this change takes place without any sacrifice of principle, becomes matter of regret, when, as in the present instance, it is attended with mental and moral degradation. Finding that he cannot return to his native country, and despairing of rising above the wretchedness into

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* This observation does not exactly apply to the new British Settlement on the eastern extremity of the colony, where slave-labour is now precluded by a judicious clause introduced into the grants of lands, by which the employment of any slave in their cultivation is deemed a sufficient ground for cancelling the possessor's right to them. It is, however, a strange and unfortunate anomaly, that while this beneficent precaution was about being adopted by the Home-Government, with a view to restrain the increase of slavery in South Africa, immense tracts of new land were apportioned out by the Colonial Administration to Dutch-African boors, without any restriction whatever on the employment of slaves; and that even in the midst of this British Settlement, the Magistrates and Functionaries of Government are permitted to retain in their houses and on their farms crowds of slave labourers.

which he has sunk, the emigrant has recourse for comfort to the excessive use of wine and spirits, and engages either in promiscuous intercourse with the female slaves, or forms a connexion with an individual slave, and thus fixes his condition for life.

Slaves of European descent are, at the Cape, more valuable to their proprietors than others, and if a European, in the condition we have described, is considered by his master likely to improve the breed of his slaves, he meets with milder treatment. But such free labourers, whether they confine themselves to one slave woman, or indulge in general licentiousness, contribute to the increase, not to the diminution of slavery. The condition of the mother determines the condition of her offspring. The children of a Hottentot woman by a slave are born free; but if they are supported by the master of the father, they are held as apprenticed bondsmen, till they are eighteen years of age. If the mother is a slave, the children are born in a state of slavery. From the great number of males in proportion to the females, who emigrate from Europe to South Africa; from the principles and habits of the young men who become emigrants; from the gross sensuality prevalent in slave colonies; and from the temptations held out to our labourers to form the degrading connexions alluded to, the error of the Quarterly Reviewer, when he absurdly asserts that in twenty years there will probably not be a slave remaining in the colony, might have been discovered *a priori*. But in opposition to his unwarranted assertion, we take the higher ground of incontrovertible facts.

When a slave touches the British shores he is free; but when a free labourer comes to South Africa, he is, or becomes virtually a slave, and the posterity he leaves behind him, with few exceptions, are, in reality, a race of slaves. To say nothing of the degrading treatment a free labourer receives in a slave colony, the temptations to vice are so great, that very few of our mechanics and free labourers are able to withstand them. If the emigrant has power to escape the common degradation, and to surmount the hardships of his lot, he may rise in the world, acquire property, and become himself a slave proprietor. If, on the other hand, he is not sufficiently fortified by good principles against temptation, he seeks to indemnify himself for all he suffers, by an indulgence in the low gratifications within his reach. What is the consequence? He sinks into a state of moral debasement, stands on a level with the slave; and is valued by the proprietor of slaves only according to his capacity of improving the breed of his human stock.

The loose character of the female slaves in Cape Town is well known: they are trained to prostitution. They are well fed it is true, but it is for the purpose of licentiousness. While young, they are well clothed, but it is for the purpose of sensual attraction. One remark of the Reviewer's, that the slaves are not all black; that many of them are copper-coloured; and many of them as white as Europeans, is just, and can easily be accounted for. The truth is, many of them are as white as their mistresses, and as finely clothed. The Reviewer does not appear to have been aware, when he brings forward this circumstance with an air of triumph, that he was then adverting to one of the strongest evidences of the demoralizing effects of slavery; and one of the strongest arguments against the system.

Slaves, particularly females, bring a very high price, when they are white, and at all handsome; and when such children happen to be born, it is a matter of general joy in the family, and of congratulation in the neighbourhood. In one instance, which came under the observation of the writer, in one of the most genteel families in Cape Town, an Irishman is kept, for no other apparent purpose but that of improving the stock of slaves. The children of this man are the fairest and handsomest slave children I have seen in South Africa. They are, in fact, white.

While it is obvious, from these considerations, that the Slave System is not likely to be speedily or greatly reduced by the introduction of European labourers, it may be right to advert to one method of emancipation, the operation of which, however, it will be perceived, is too limited to affect the state of slavery at the Cape in any sensible manner, namely, those cases in which the father may be able to purchase the freedom of the mother and their children.

Englishmen plunge, without thought, into illicit connections with slaves; but many of them become soon alive to all the horrors flowing from such connections. When the proprietor of the female slave, to whom such a man may be attached, has a mind to interrupt their intercourse; when the object who has, by this time, seized his affections, is sold to another master, or, sinks under severe treatment; or, when the children become interesting, and he hears them calling him father, while he has the mortification to see these children slaves; he begins, too late, to lament his folly. But what is he to do? He has no money to redeem them; and if there be a condition on earth more wretched and bitter than that of slavery, it is the condition of that man, who, having himself tasted the sweets of liberty, sees the woman he loves a slave, and her children slaves also. In some few instances the father is, of course, able to give the mother and the children their freedom; but the following occurrence (sufficiently notorious in Cape Town,) will shew how seldom this can be effected. To avoid unnecessary pain to individuals, in relating the circumstances, the names are suppressed.

Mr. ——, shortly after his arrival at the Cape, formed a connection with a very handsome and interesting slave girl, whom he loved. Three beautiful children were the fruits of the connection. The young man had been what may be called fortunate in the world; he has, at present, a good appointment; and has had it in his power to save some money. While he continued poor, or until it was known he had saved money, his intercourse with this young woman was not restricted; but, when it became known, that he would soon have the means of redeeming the mother and the children, he felt himself subjected to a train of mortifications, which he could not well brook. The first thing he decided on, was to purchase his children; and, for their redemption, he has been obliged to pay the enormous sum of nine thousand rix-dollars; (£675.) and six thousand rix-dollars (£450.) have been refused for the mother. Calculating upon his means, and upon the strength of his affection for the mother, it is probable, that the owner may exact from him fifteen thousand rix-dollars, before he can take the mother of his children under his own roof. If any thing could add to the aggravated character of this transaction, it is this: the slave woman, upon whom

this price has been put, is universally believed to be the sister of the gentleman who offers her for sale; the daughter of his own father, left by that father to his son, as a part of his portion!

One of the demoralizing effects of slavery is the aspect under which the slave proprietor is led to contemplate human beings in general. When men purchase their fellow-creatures like cattle, they imperceptibly come to view them in the light of cattle. The slave is always associated in the mind of the proprietor with his value in colonial currency, or in sterling money; and he perceives no evils in slavery but such as affect his interest. A friend of mine, (H. W. Money, Esq. of the East India Company Civil Service,) on seeing, one day, a poor black fellow suffering, remarked, in the hearing of his mistress, "What a wretched system is slavery!" To this remark, the lady instantly replied, "Wretched, indeed, sir! the worst system upon earth! that fellow cost my husband 4000 rix-dollars; and what a dreadful thing it is to think that all this money may be lost in a moment by his death." The first thing you hear of on the death of a slave is, "That is a dead loss of 3000 or 4000 rix-dollars, to the poor man, his master."

One of the most respectable individuals among the Colonists, after having given the writer an account of the numerous qualifications of one of his slaves, and after having shewn him several proofs of his skill and industry, concluded by remarking, "I have not yet got over the death of that slave: I would not have parted with him if any man had offered me seven thousand rix-dollars for him." This remark used to be repeated almost every time we met, for years after the death of the slave; and the painful part of the event, the amount of the loss sustained by his death, never failed to be mentioned in the same feeling manner. The inhabitants of the Cape may have been too severely censured, when they have been represented as monsters, by superficial observers, for this mode of expressing grief on the loss of their slaves. Such expressions, under such circumstances, do not indicate any peculiar excess of depravity in the persons using them; they are common to all slave colonies, and arise directly and naturally out of the slave system.

That men, in all countries, attach more importance to their own property, than they do to the happiness or lives of their fellow-creatures, is too obvious to require proof. Generally speaking, where are the shopkeepers, or farmers in England, who are not more grieved by the loss of four or five hundred pounds sterling, than they are by the death of a servant, whose place they can supply the next hour? But the evil in question is indissolubly linked with the slave system, whether that system exists in the West Indies or in Africa, and its baneful influence pervades every part of the society in which it exists. When men regard a certain portion of the human race as their slaves, the comfort and improvement of that degraded part of humanity become secondary and inferior considerations, and are sure to be sacrificed to the economy of the establishment, and to the best means of improving the breed. Slavery hardens the heart; destroys all its sympathies with the suffering of our fellow-creatures, who may be placed, by Providence, in humble circumstances; and, in a great measure, excludes from the breast

the workings of pity for that class of beings. The mind, accustomed to view men as slaves, and slaves as cattle, or property, will be brought, by insensible degrees, to regard the whole working class in nearly the same light, and the sufferings of the slave, and of the free labourer too, will be regarded with indifference. In cases, where both are afflicted, so that life is in danger, there will, indeed, be a marked difference. While the condition of the slave will excite the deepest interest, that of the free labourer will scarcely move any sympathy. But the concern manifested in such circumstances for the slave is perfectly compatible with that insensibility to human misery, generated by the slave system. Bryan Edwards must have been very much at a loss for facts to substantiate the humanity of the West Indian Planters to their slaves, when he brought forward, for this purpose, the following sentence:—" The circumstances, wherein the slaves are most indebted to the owners' liberality, are, I think, those of medical attendance, and accommodation when sick." In this point, especially when the sickness appears dangerous, the Cape Colonists may, perhaps, deserve commendation full as strong as the West Indian Planter; but, considering the value of the slave to the owner, the merit to be allowed, in cases of this nature, is rather of an equivocal kind, and militates nothing against the force of the general argument. With his eyes open, and with his stock of imported benevolence unimpaired, a very short residence in a slave colony will be sufficient to satisfy any reflecting man on this subject.

There are, doubtless, many respectable men among slave proprietors; and some slaves may be found possessed of good moral qualities; but the effect of slavery, as a system, is to give a stamp of low cunning to the character of both. The relation of master and slave gives rise to a continued exercise of skill on each side. The thoughts of the master are perpetually engrossed with the best means of turning the labour of his slaves to advantage, and of securing his property against their depredations; while the thoughts of the slaves are generally occupied about the most dexterous methods of deceiving their master, and robbing him of his property. A slave has, in fact, no character, and the motives which operate upon a free peasantry have no influence in his case; his ambition has no scope beyond the gratification of his animal propensities, and he has few scruples about the means he employs to accomplish his object. From infancy, slaves are trained up to lie and steal; and, when they are detected, they feel no shame; they receive the punishment of the offence with sullenness, or a pardon without gratitude; and, in either case, perhaps, retire from their master's presence, with a determination to avail themselves of the first opportunity, to renew the practice for which they had experienced their severity or their clemency.

The conversation of the Colonists frequently turns upon the management of the slaves, and the different methods they employ to promote their industry, or restrain their propensities to stealing. Mr. ——, (a Cape-Dutch Gentleman, of the writer's acquaintance,) has a number of slaves, who all eat and sleep under one roof. Adjoining to the slave-lodge, there is a house from which it is separated by a low partition, to which the master has access without being noticed by the slaves

When any thing is stolen in the course of the day, in the evening he calls his slaves together, and interrogates them respecting the stolen articles. If he does not obtain the information he requires, they are dismissed, and he retires to his secret observatory, that he may overhear their conversation; and he seldom needs to remain long, before he obtains a clue for the wished for discovery. Next morning, he sends for one who is not implicated in the theft, questions him, and promises a reward for the additional information required. In this way the offender is convicted, and the punishment takes place before the other slaves of the family. When this method fails, he assembles his slaves next morning; informs them that all their indulgences are to be stopped; that they are not to go to town to see their friends, nor to have any treatment but that of culprits till the stolen articles are recovered.

When plans of this nature are well executed, the criminal can have little chance of escape, and the certainty of detection must prevent the frequency of the crime. The colonists being brought up from their infancy among slaves, know much better how to manage them than Englishmen; and this circumstance explains an observation frequently made, that the generality of the English treat the slaves with greater cruelty than the colonists. Acquainted with the habits and practices of the slaves, the colonist carries his point by address, and he adopts a preventive system; but the Englishman, finding himself over-reached and unable to find a remedy, loses the command of his temper, and is not unfrequently, by this circumstance, betrayed into brutal violence.

But while the master by such methods, secures himself against the dishonesty of his own slaves, he finds it more difficult to secure his property from the slaves of his neighbours. If the slave proprietors do not encourage their slaves to plunder their neighbours, they are, at least, deeply interested in concealing the theft, and in defeating the ends of justice.* If a slave is convicted of stealing to any valuable amount, he may be condemned to imprisonment, to work in irons, to be sent from the colony, or to be hanged. Under such circumstances, the proprietor is exposed to a serious loss. He may have been ignorant of the theft committed by his slaves; but he may be ruined by the consequences of it. The evil effects which must arise from such a system, are too obvious to make it necessary to enlarge upon them. An illustration in point occurred a short time ago. Mr. F., a shop-keeper in Cape-Town had his store or warehouse broken open, and money and goods to a considerable amount were abstracted. He immediately waited upon the Public Prosecutor, requesting an order to search for the stolen goods. The order requested was somehow delayed, till it was made known to the Gentleman whose slaves were suspected, and till the slaves had it in their power to prepare for the domiciliary visit, with which they were threatened. After calling a second or third time requesting the order, the injured party was told by the public prosecutor, that he himself had waited upon the master of the

* This is applicable to the Cape of Good Hope, in a greater degree than to the West Indies. If a slave is condemned to suffer death in the West Indies, his master is indemnified out of the public purse. But at the Cape no compensation is, in such cases, made to the master.

slaves, and inquired into the affair, and that he was satisfied the goods had not been stolen by the suspected persons. The reason for this mode of proceeding was intelligible enough: the man whose slaves were accused in this instance, was a man of influence in the colony.

Persons coming to settle in South Africa, from such a country as England, where the peasants attach as much importance to character as their masters, have no idea of the difficulty of managing large concerns that depend upon the labour of slaves.—The vices of the system are imputed to the individual, and the masters, under the influence of this error, are, on their first attempt, generally found vacillating between undue familiarity and severity. Ignorant of the force of long-established habits, and of the state of the human mind in slavery, they flatter themselves that every thing is to be gained by lenient means; but when they find their property purloined; or think that the labour obtained from their slaves is small in quantity; they are apt to give them up as incorrigible, and to lay it down as a settled maxim, that nothing will do with slaves but the horse-whip.

When a master, at first even disposed to be lenient, sees his property wasting, his farm unproductive, and himself verging to bankruptcy, (it may be through his own mismanagement, though he may attribute it to the indolence and dishonesty of his slaves) while his neighbours, who neither clothe nor feed their slaves so well nor treat them with the same kindness, preserve their property, obtain a greater quantity of labour, and are prospering in their circumstances; he is apt to form a bad opinion of the slave character. He will then be heard confessing that, on his arrival in the colony, he formed an erroneous opinion of slavery, and of slave treatment; that he imagined every thing might be done by kindness; and that he was too severe upon the discipline of the old colonists: but he now sees that these people are fit for nothing but for being slaves, and that nothing will do with them but the lash. This conversion from his former opinions to the established opinions of the experienced colonists, gives rise to a correspondent practice. The indulgence with which he may have treated his slaves in the first instance, is exchanged for severity, and in every case, where he may be driven by his passions to exercise brutal cruelty on his slaves, or where his general conduct may be rigorous, harsh, and oppressive, he satisfies his conscience, and consoles himself, while he refers to the indulgence with which his slaves were at a former time treated, with thinking that he is the most tender-hearted man alive, and that the severities to which he is now obliged to subject his slaves, are the necessary result of their own obstinacy and depravity.

A brutal depravity of character is indeed inseparable from slavery—and this depravity is frequently urged as an apology for the cruelty of the masters; but the evils in both cases ought, in candour, to be ascribed to the system, and they form an irresistible argument for its total and speedy abolition. Men must be in another condition than that of slavery, before they can be effectually acted upon by any consideration but that of fear; and masters must be more than men are in general, to be long obliged to manage slaves without being changed into tyrants.

When we think of the horrors experienced by the unhappy African, when torn from his native soil, or of those he endures in the middle pas-

sage, or when fainting under the whip of a cruel task-master in a foreign land, our sympathy with the oppressed, and our indignation against their oppressors, unfit us for contemplating more than half the evils of the slave system. In the scene of excitement presented to us, we have no sympathies to waste upon the agents of these cruelties. While we look at the brutality of the oppressor, we forget how large a share of that brutality is to be ascribed to the system we deprecate; and that many of the individuals who call forth our detestation, were, perhaps, before they had the misfortune to engage in this vile traffic or to become the owners and drivers of slaves, as humane, and as kind-hearted, as those who hold their conduct in abhorrence. Nero wept when first called upon to put his fiat to the sentence of death.

The following fact stated upon the unquestionable evidence of Capt. W. F. Owen, of the Royal Navy,* will be deemed a not unappropriate illustration of this subject.

Senor Manuel Pedro d'Almeydra, is a native of Portugal, and now a considerable merchant at Mozambique, on the eastern coast of Africa. In the early part of his life, he commanded a slave vessel which traded between the eastern coast of Africa and South America. During this period, on some of his visits to the Cape of Good-Hope, while engaged in this traffic, he became acquainted with a respectable family at the Cape, and married one of the daughters, a lady of good character and amiable disposition, and who possessed also considerable talents, polished manners, and a good address. Before he obtained the consent of the lady, he was obliged to promise that he would relinquish the slave-trade, and employ his vessel in some other branch of commerce. After marriage, however, his wife went to sea with him; and from attending to navigation as an amusement, she soon made it a serious occupation; and while she continued at sea, the whole management of the ship devolved upon her. She used to take lunar observations, and to keep the ship's reckoning much better than Captain d'Almeydra, and he trusted every thing to her. Habit, which soon reconciled her to a life at sea, ere long reconciled her also to the slave trade. After several years, in which they were successful, they settled at Mozambique, and are, at present, people of the first influence at that settlement. When His Majesty's ships, the Leven and Barracouta, employed in surveying the coasts of Africa, were at Mozambique in 1823, the officers were introduced to this family, and it was an opinion agreed in by all, that Donna Sophia d'Almeydra was the most superior woman they had seen from the time they had left England. Captain Owen, the leader of this expedition, expressing to Senor d'Almeydra, his detestation of slavery, the Senor replied, "You will not be long here before you change your sentiments. Look at my Sophia there. Before she would marry me, she made me promise that I should give up the slave trade. When we first settled at Mozambique, she was continually interceding for the slaves, and she constantly wept when I punished them, and now she is among the slaves from morning to night; she regulates the whole of my slave establishment; she inquires into every offence committed by

* This distinguished Officer was recently engaged for several years in surveying the eastern coasts of Africa, and was known to the writer of this paper during his residence at the Cape.

them, pronounces sentence upon the offender, and stands by and sees him punished."

While the same vessels were at Delagoa Bay, a party of thirteen black people were surprised in the neighbourhood of the fort. After having been flogged with extreme severity, they were cast into a dungeon, out of which they were dragged, when their wounds began to putrify, and thrown under the bushes where they were left to perish. The people treated in this manner, were free people: the whole transaction took place by the order of the Governor; and no motive could be assigned for it, but his caprice. What Christian parent, who hears of such a tragedy, would not, were he forced upon such a dreadful alternative, rather have his sons among the murdered, than that they should have been the murderers? Yet it is probable, that the Governor and the bloody ruffians who were his associates, might have been respectable members of society, had they remained in Europe, and never engaged in this infernal traffic. It is highly probable that, had a prophet met those young men when leaving home, and for the first time embarking for the coast, and had he told them, that they would one day commit such things, they would have replied, in the words of Hazael, "are thy servants dogs to commit such things?"

It has been remarked by an intelligent and unprejudiced observer, that the Portuguese, on the African coasts, are remarkable for every vice which degrades human nature, without one redeeming virtue. But is not this likely to be the tendency of things in every place, whether Portuguese or English, French, Spanish, or Dutch, where slavery exists?

The desperation to which the miserable slaves are often driven, and the want of sensibility to their feelings which becomes habitual to their masters, might be illustrated by a thousand cases; but I shall add only one, which occurred at the Cape not many years ago, and fell under my own observation.

The master of a slave woman, who had three children, had repeatedly threatened to separate her from her offspring, by selling them to a distant proprietor. Finding, at length, that he was about to put his threats into execution, the wretched mother carried her children down to the shore,—flung the whole of them from the rocks into the sea,—and precipitated herself after them. She was observed by some persons at a distance: help was procured—but the life of the mother alone was saved. She was reserved, however, only to be subjected to an ignominious death, as an example to deter other slaves from similar crimes. The affair was much talked of in Cape Town for several days, and much regret and sympathy were expressed—*not*, however, for the unhappy slave or her children—but only for "that unfortunate man Brink!" who had thus "lost at one stroke property worth more than five thousand rix dollars!"

When men reason upon abstract principles, their reasonings respecting the rights of others are generally correct; but they seldom live long in a slave colony before their principles are undermined, and all their former reasonings vanish.—When they have seen the wealth, and the luxurious tables of the colonists, and have tasted their hospitality, the contrast between the master and the slave insensibly operates in

favour of the former. And with the favourable opinion they now entertain of their new friends, they very soon imbibe their prejudices. The change which, perhaps, had its commencement in some such way, is gradually carried on by the influence of the same causes; and the stranger no sooner becomes a slave proprietor, or is obliged to hire slaves to do his work, than it is seen that a new moral colouring has been given to the frame of his mind, his actions, and his conversation. The writer of this article has seen, in the course of five or six years, as great a change upon English ladies and gentlemen of respectability, as that described to have taken place in Donna Sophia d'Almeydra; and one of the individuals he has in his eye, while he writes this passage, lately confessed to him this melancholy change, remarking at the same time, "how altered I am in my feelings with regard to slavery. I do not appear to myself the same person I was on my arrival in this colony, and if I would give the world for the feelings I then had, I could not recall them."

We had lately at the Cape a General Officer in the army, who, on his arrival in the colony, expressed considerable commiseration for the oppressed aborigines of the country. But this Gentleman had not breathed the Cape atmosphere more than a twelvemonth, when his generous sentiments underwent a remarkable change, and he reprobated, in the strongest terms, the conduct of an individual for bringing to the ears of Government the delinquency of a public functionary, who had been, for many years, one of the greatest oppressors of the enthralled Hottentots. The motives of the person conducting the prosecution were arraigned; and it was affirmed he could have no end but the gratification of a malicious passion in complaining of the magistrate, and that he ought to be sent out of the colony as a disturber of its peace. The Gentleman who made these remarks was, at one time, loud in his expression of indignation against the oppressions he witnessed; but he had been subsequently entertained at the table of this very provincial functionary, and had heard him tell his own story, and the cruel oppression of 30,000 people was forgotten in his commiseration for the wounded feelings of his unprincipled but insinuating host.

I shall, at present, close these illustrations of the demoralizing effects of slavery, with the dying testimony of one who fell a victim to them. The person alluded to was Mr. L. Gebhardt, son of the Rev. W. L. Gebhardt, clergyman of the Paarl, who was executed in Cape-Town in 1822, for the murder of a slave. To a question put to him a few minutes before he ascended the scaffold, by the Rev. W. Wright, the colonial chaplain at Wynberg, asking his opinion of slavery, he replied, "Sir, slavery is a bad system, it is even worse for the masters than it is for the slaves!" Were it necessary to add any thing to the dying testimony of this unfortunate youth, it would be sufficient to say, that the statement of this declaration, after the execution, gave great offence to the Colonial Authorities. More evil was feared from such a declaration, than they anticipated good from the example afforded by this unprecedented execution. This fact furnishes an additional proof of what has never been attempted to be concealed, that this execution was not so much intended to repress cruelty to the slaves, as to support the slave system. The death of the slave happened at an unfortunate time for

his master, just as the news of the proceedings of the British Parliament in relation to slavery, and of the appointment of the Commissioners of Inquiry, reached the colony, and when all the abettors of the Slave System, from the highest to the lowest, were trembling for its safety.

Few Englishmen come to the Cape, who are not, in the first instance, shocked at the sight of the evils of slavery. There is something, however, so insidious in its nature, and so congenial also to certain dispositions of mind, that this repugnance is, in general, speedily overcome; and, as a last proof of its demoralizing effects, I shall only add to the facts already stated, that I have never met with any class of men, in that colony, so much intoxicated with the love of this baneful system, so enraged against every one who condemns it, so loud in their execrations of the abolition of the slave trade, or so anxious to have it revived in all its former extent, as many of the natives of our own free country.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE PRESENT STATE OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE.

Our four last Numbers, and especially that for December, No. 31, have given to our readers full and precise information respecting the progress of Reform in our various slave colonies, and have irrefragably established the fact, that, after nearly five years of effort and of expectation, no substantial mitigation of the evils of slavery has yet taken place, nor any material advance been made towards its extinction. It has now, indeed, become perfectly manifest to all, as it has long been to us that no rational hope can be indulged of attaining these ends while we pursue our present policy; while, that is to say, in the first place, we leave it to the Colonial Authorities to legislate for their bondmen; and while, in the second, we most strangely and inconsistently continue, by means of our bounties and protecting duties, to indemnify the planter for the waste of negro life which we affect to deplore, and to uphold, and even to aggravate the worst evils of the colonial system. Thus, do we not only make ourselves large participators in all the guilt of slavery; but we impose upon ourselves heavy pecuniary burdens for its support, while, at the same time, we greatly aid in cramping and impeding the growth of our manufacturing and commercial prosperity. It is impossible not to perceive that such a course of proceeding, if persisted in, must, of necessity, issue, as it has hitherto done, in the disappointment of every hope of improvement cherished by the public, and in the frustration of every promise of reform made by the Crown.

We are, at the same time, disposed to hope, that whoever the Ministers of the Crown may be, they will be sincerely desirous of redeeming the solemn pledges given both by his Majesty's Government, and by Parliament, on this subject, and of accomplishing that great work of national justice and mercy to which they stand so deeply committed before the country and the world; and, we believe, that, if prevented from doing so, it will only be by means of the formidable opposition which colonial prejudices and colonial interests may excite. How this opposition may best be overcome, and the Government encouraged,

and their hands strengthened to execute their avowed purposes, is a grave and weighty question. For our own parts, should obstacles continue to intervene, we know of no measure so likely to be efficacious in removing them as that the people at large should again convey, to both Houses of Parliament, the same concurrent, simultaneous, and earnest expression of their wishes on the subject, which has already marked so clearly the deep interest they feel in it. We have thought, indeed, that generally and unequivocally as the national sentiment has been declared, in the immense mass of petitions which, during the last three years, have been laid on the tables of Parliament, any further movement of the same kind might be spared. We cannot, however, deny that circumstances may occur, and perhaps, in no long time, which may render the renewal of that declaration necessary. And should this necessity arise, we can have no doubt that any call founded upon it will be promptly and zealously answered. In the mean time, it is of importance to maintain, in full vigour, and to diffuse still more widely, the public feeling on this question. The measures adapted to this end, will, of course, depend on local circumstances; and the friends of the cause in each district will best decide for themselves, on the propriety of holding public meetings, from time to time, where the subject may be fully and openly discussed; or of adopting such other means of spreading information, and of fixing the public attention, as may be deemed most expedient. But, whatever course it may be thought right to take, it cannot be too strongly impressed on all our minds, that the occasion is urgent and critical, and the object to be contended for most momentous. It involves the fate of multitudes of our fellow-subjects now living, and of millions yet unborn;—their rescue from the yoke of a cruel and abject bondage;—the vindication of their inalienable claim to the protection of British law, and to the enjoyment of Christian light. It involves, moreover, in no slight degree, the comfort of our own labouring population, and the substantial interests of the empire; not its commercial and financial interests merely, but those higher interests which are inseparably linked with His favour, by whom kings reign, and nations exist and flourish.—Let but the friends of humanity and justice, be firm, vigilant, and united, and they may look forward, with the Divine blessing, to the most satisfactory results.

For the convenience of those who may be desirous of having ready access, at the present moment, to information on the various questions connected with slavery, we subjoin a memorandum of such of the Society's Publications, as bear on the several subjects which are likely to come under discussion.

I. *General Nature and Effects of Colonial Slavery.*

Stephen's Delineation.—Wilberforce's Appeal.—Clarkson's Thoughts.
Negro Slavery, or a view of that State in the United States and the West Indies, particularly Jamaica.
Debate of May 15th, 1823, and Appendix.
Slave Colonies of Great Britain, or a Picture of Negro Slavery, by the Colonists themselves.
Negro Slavery Tracts, No. I. X. XI. XIV. and XV.
Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 2, 6, 10, 11, 15, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, and 32.
Brief View of Negro Slavery, in a sheet.

II. *Religious State of the Slaves.—Unchristian Nature and Demoralizing Effects of Slavery.*

Stephen's Delineation.—Wilberforce's Appeal.—Negro Slavery, or a View, &c.
Debate of 15th May, 1823, Appendixes, F. H. I. and N. and the Postscript.
Negro Slavery Tracts, No. I. V. IX. XIII. XIV. and XVI.
Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 13, 19, 26, 28, 30, and 32.
The Reverend Daniel Wilson's Thoughts on Slavery.

III. *Severities and Atrocities of Slavery in Law and Practice.*

Stephen's Delineation.—Negro Slavery, or a View, &c.
Slave Colonies of Great Britain, &c.—Extracts from Jamaica Gazettes.
Negro Slavery Tracts, No. I. VI. VIII. X. XI. and XIV.
Anti-Slavery Reporter, Nos. 4, 5, 7, 10, 11, 16, 18, 19, 24, 25, and 30, (p. 122 and 127.)

IV. *Progress of Reform, and Resistance of Colonists to it.*

Debate of 15th May, 1823, the Preface, and Appendix D.
Negro Slavery, or a View, &c. concluding part.
Stephen's England enslaved by her own Colonies.
First, Second, and Third Reports of the Society.
Slave Colonies of Great Britain, &c.
Anti-Slavery Reporter, Nos. 3, 6, 10, 11, 14, 15, 21, 27, 28, 29, 30, and 31.

V. *Colonial Population, &c.—Free and Slave Labour—Impolicy of Slavery—Evils of Colonial Monopoly.*

East and West India Sugar.
Letter to W. W. Whitmore, Esq.
Hodgson's Letter to Say.
Cropper's High and Low Prices.
Ditto, Relief of West India Distress.
Ditto, Support of Slavery.
First and Second Reports of the Society, including their Appendixes.
Address to the People of Illinois.
Negro Slavery Tracts, Nos. III. and IV.
Anti-Slavery Reporter, Nos. 15, 17, 18, 19, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 30, and 31.
Impolicy of Slavery, in a sheet.—East India Sugar, in a quarter sheet.

VI. *Speeches on Slavery, and Defence of Abolitionists.*

Parliamentary Debates of 15th May, 1823; 16th March, 1824; and 23rd June, 1825.
Speeches in Appendix to First and Second Reports.
Speech of J. J. Gurney, Esq.
Anti-Slavery Reporter, Nos. 1, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 18, 21, (p. 306.) 24, and 31.

The above list is confined to the Anti-Slavery Society's Publications. A great variety, however, of other most valuable works have recently issued from the press. Many of them have proceeded from the numerous Anti-Slavery Associations spread over the kingdom, and especially from those of Aberdeen, Birmingham, Bath, Bristol, Edinburgh, Liverpool, Newcastle, &c. &c. &c. Besides which, not a few individuals, of both sexes, whose names do not appear in the above list, have, by their respective productions, rendered the most essential services to the cause, among whom it is almost superfluous to specify the names of Bickell, Cooper, Fisher, E. Heyrick, Koster, H. More, Riland, E. Schimmelpenning, Sturge, Townsend, L. Townsend, Watson, Winn, &c. &c. It would be unjust to overlook, in this hasty enumeration, the able and useful labours of the Edinburgh Review and the Christian Observer.

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ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER.

No. 33.] For FEBRUARY, 1828. [No. 9. Vol. ii.

The "Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter" will be ready for delivery on the first day of every month. Copies will be forwarded at the request of any Anti-Slavery Society, at the rate of four shillings per hundred, when not exceeding half a sheet, and in proportion, when it exceeds that quantity. All persons wishing to receive a regular supply are requested to make application to the Secretary, at the Society's office, No. 18, Aldermanbury, and mention the conveyance by which they may be most conveniently sent. Single Copies may be had of all booksellers and newsmen, at the rate of 1*d.* per half-sheet of eight pages, or 2*d.* per sheet of sixteen pages.

I. THE JAMAICA LEGISLATURE AND MR. HUSKISSON.
II. COMPULSORY MANUMISSION.

I. THE JAMAICA LEGISLATURE AND MR. HUSKISSON.

Our readers are already informed, that the slave law passed by the Legislature of Jamaica in December, 1826, has been disallowed by the Crown. This disallowance was announced in a despatch from the Right Honourable W. Huskisson, Secretary of State for the Colonies, to the Governor of the Island, dated the 22d of September last, in which the reasons for that measure are fully and ably stated. We proceed to lay the substance of this important document before our readers.

Mr. Huskisson, after expressing his Majesty's satisfaction with certain "valuable improvements"* that had been introduced into this act, observes that it was, nevertheless, "impossible to overcome the objections to which other enactments of it were open." He then proceeds thus:—

"Among the various subjects which this act presents for consideration, none is more important in itself, nor more interesting to every class of society in this kingdom, than the regulations on the subject of religious instruction;† which must be considered as an invasion of that toleration to which all His Majesty's subjects, whatever may be their civil condition, are alike entitled. The prohibition of persons in a state of slavery assuming the office of religious teachers might seem a very mild restraint, or rather a fit precaution, against indecorous proceedings; but, amongst some of the religious bodies who employ Missionaries in Jamaica, the practice of mutual instruction is stated to be an established part of their discipline. So long as the practice is carried on in an inoffensive and peaceable manner, the distress produced by the prevention of it will be compensated by no public advantage.

"The prohibition of meetings for religious worship between sun-set and sunrise will, in many cases, operate as a total prohibition, and will be felt with peculiar severity by domestic slaves inhabiting large towns, whose ordinary engagements on Sunday will not afford leisure for attendance on public worship before the evening. It is impossible to pass over without remark the invidious distinction which is made not only between Protestant Dissenters and Roman Catholics, but even between Protestant Dissenters and Jews. I have, indeed,

* Almost all those "improvements" are in point of fact of *old* date. Those that are *new* chiefly respect the mode of the trial of slaves.

† See the Reporter, No. XXIX. pp. 104, 105.

no reason to suppose that the Jewish teachers have made any converts to their religion among the slaves, and probably therefore, the distinction in their favour is merely nominal; still it is a preference, which, in principle, ought not to be given by the legislature of a Christian country.

"The penalties denounced upon persons collecting contributions from slaves, for purposes either of charity or religion, cannot but be felt, both by the teachers and by their followers, as humiliating and unjust. Such a law would affix an unmerited stigma on the religious instructor; and it prevents the slave from obeying a positive precept of the Christian religion, which he believes to be obligatory on him, and which is not inconsistent with the duties he owes to his master. The prohibition is, therefore, a gratuitous aggravation of the evils of his condition."—

"I cannot too distinctly impress upon you, that it is the settled purpose of His Majesty's Government to sanction no colonial law which needlessly infringes on the religious liberty of any class of His Majesty's subjects; and you will understand that you are not to assent to any bill, imposing any restraint of that nature, unless a clause be inserted for suspending its operation until His Majesty's pleasure shall be known."

Mr. Huskisson then animadverts on the substitution of a council of protection for an independent protector. The council, he says, will consist of those whom a protector was intended to watch;—their duties are confined to cases of extreme bodily injury, and only to be discharged "if *they* think proper;"—no returns are to be made by them, nor any journal kept of their proceedings;—the measure proceeds on no fixed and uniform principles;—and the number of the council is such as to destroy individual responsibility.* He objects also to the inefficiency of the provisions for the due observance of Sunday, and to the continuance of Sunday markets, it being "impossible to sanction this systematic violation of the law prevailing in every other Christian country." He next thus adverts to the subject of arbitrary punishment.

"Punishments inflicted by the domestic authority of the owner are not required to be made the subject of a report to any public officer, nor does the law require that any interval should elapse between the commission of the crime and the infliction of the punishment. The presence of free witnesses at the infliction of punishments is not declared necessary, nor would the law be broken, whatever might be the severity of the punishment, if it were inflicted by any other method than that of whipping or imprisonment. The use of the whip in the field is not forbidden. Women are not exempted from punishment by flogging. Nor is any presumption of guilt to arise, if the slave shall make a 'probable, particular, and consistent' charge against his owner, confirmed by the exhibition of his person bearing the marks of recent and illegal punishment.

"In all these respects the provisions of this act fall short of the recommendations of His Majesty's Government.†

"The act appears to sanction an unlimited delegation of the power of punishment, so that even a fellow-slave might be entrusted with it, provided that the correction does not exceed ten lashes. In the presence of the owner or manager thirty-nine lashes may be inflicted by his authority,—an extent of power which cannot be necessary, and which might probably be the source of serious abuse."

Private persons, he adds, may commit slaves to prison without the warrant of a justice; and the gaoler, as well as the owner, may inflict punishment by whipping in prison without trial. Such an extension of domestic authority, he regards as unnecessary and objectionable.

"The fine of 10*l.* for inflicting repeated punishments for the same offence can scarcely be incurred in any case, since no record is to be kept ascertaining the

* See the Reporter, No. XXIX. p. 102, and 108.
† Reporter, No. XXI. p. 305, &c.; and No. XXIX. p. 103, and 107.

grounds of any particular punishment, and the party accused may impute to his slave whatever offences he may think proper, without the necessity of proving them. The fine on a workhouse-keeper inflicting an excessive number of lashes is 10*l.*, a punishment which may, in some cases, be entirely disproportionate to so serious an offence.

"The complaint, which the slave is authorized to make before any three Magistrates, would not," he justly fears, "be a very effectual means of redress. As they must always be three proprietors of the same parish, there is a manifest danger of the influence of local partialities. As every groundless complaint is to be punished, it is to be feared that many well-founded complaints will not be preferred. The mere failure of evidence in support of a complaint is surely not enough to justify the punishment of the party complaining. The owner should be bound to prove that the complaint was malicious or frivolous."*

He then objects, in a clear and satisfactory manner, to the vague and inefficient provisions respecting marriage, the separation of families, and the property of slaves. He cannot see any ground for the numerous and irrational impediments thrown in the way of the marriage of slaves, nor can he understand the necessity of examining them as to the obligations of the marriage contract. He blames also the confining the power of marrying to the clergy, and the want of a registry of slave marriages.—The law, as to the separation of families, wants precision, and has no adequate sanction.—And the property of slaves is left in an unprotected state. "No action is given to them, or to any person on their behalf, for the defence or recovery of it. The single case in which any remedy is provided, is that in which the property of the slave is taken away. No mention is made of that much more important class of cases in which property may be withheld. The slave could not under this law recover a debt, nor obtain damages for the breach of a contract." The mode of proceeding prescribed in such cases, affords no adequate remedy—"nay, the slave could not make the complaint, except upon the condition of receiving a punishment if the Justices should deem it groundless. The slaves are also excluded from acquiring any interest in land,—a restriction at once impolitic and unnecessary."

On what has been termed the compulsory manumission of slaves, this act is silent, and Mr. Huskisson defers entering on the subject.

On the subject of gratuitous and voluntary and testamentary manumissions

"The regulations," he thinks, "are such as must, of course, operate as a great discouragement to enfranchisements in all cases. Without this inconvenience, an effectual security might have been taken against the abuse of emancipating slaves incapable, from their age or infirmities, of procuring their own subsistence.

"It is to be feared," he adds, "that serious inconvenience may arise from the neglect of the proposal to provide a method by which a slave could ascertain what particular person was entitled to receive the price of his freedom. In the case of plantation slaves, the title is usually the same with the title to the land itself, and cases are stated to have occurred in which a slave has lost the whole earnings of his life by paying the price of his liberty to the wrong person."

On the evidence of slaves, he approves of the advance made towards a better system; but the present law, he observes,

"Appears to contemplate the admission of the evidence of slaves in those cases of crimes only in which they are usually either the actors or the sufferers, excluding their evidence in other cases,—a distinction which does not seem to

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* Reporter, No. XXVIII. p. 79.; and No. XI. p. 144. These remarks aptly illustrate the general worthlessness of what are called ameliorating laws in the Colonies.

rest on any solid foundation. There is not any necessary connexion between the baptism of a witness and his incredibility. The rule which requires that two slaves at the least shall consistently depose to the same fact, on being examined apart, before any free person can be convicted on slave testimony, will greatly diminish the value of the general rule. In some particular cases, such for example as the case of rape, such a restriction might secure impunity to offenders of the worst description. The rejection of the testimony of slaves twelve months after the commission of the crime would be fatal to the ends of justice in many cases, nor is it easy to discover what solid advantage could result from it in any case.

"If the owner of a slave is convicted of any crime on the testimony of that slave, the Court has no power of declaring the slave free, although it may exercise that power when the conviction proceeds on other evidence. Highly important as it is to deprive a slave of every motive for giving false evidence against his owner, that object might be secured without incurring the inconvenience of leaving the slave in the power of an owner convicted of the extreme abuse of his authority.

"In rejecting the proposal for establishing a record of the names of all slaves sufficiently instructed to be competent witnesses, the colonial legislature appear to have neglected the means of providing a cheap and effectual encouragement to good conduct, and of investing the religious teachers of the slaves with a powerful and legitimate influence over them."

He highly commends the clause requiring the gratuitous baptism of slaves, and the regulation by which slaves are allowed one day in each fortnight to cultivate their provision-grounds, exclusive of Sundays, except during the time of crop, the smallest number of days to be allowed in one year being 26.* It may, however, he thinks, be necessary that some more effectual means should be devised for enforcing obedience to this law.

"The enactment requiring a monthly inspection of the provision-grounds, and the delivery of an adequate supply of provisions, when there is not a sufficient quantity of such grounds, is calculated to produce the most beneficial effects, and might be rendered still more valuable by some alteration in the terms of the oath, which are susceptible of a construction remote from the real intention of the framers of the law. Great advantage may be anticipated from the regulations for the support of the mothers and nurses of large families, and for the protection of old and infirm slaves.†

"The provisions for the prevention of excessive labour contemplate the working the slaves for eleven hours and a half daily out of crop, and place no limit to the continuance of their work during crop-time. Considering the climate in which the labour is to be performed, and that, after the work of the field is over, there will yet remain to be done many offices not falling within the proper meaning of the term 'labour,' I should fear that the exertions of the slaves, if exacted up to the limits allowed by this law, would be scarcely consistent with a due regard for the health of the labourer."‡

He then makes some remarks on the inadequacy and defectiveness of the laws for protecting the persons of slaves from mutilation and other injuries, and expresses satisfaction with the rules regarding runaways claiming to be free. "The provisions of the trial of slaves in criminal cases would also appear," he adds, "to be a material improvement on the former law. I perceive, however, that the evidence of slaves on such trials is to be admitted *against* slaves. It is not said that such

* This part of the act is not new, as seems to be implied. It has been the law for many years. The time given to the slave is still however very far too scanty.

† These also are old, not new laws; which have long existed inoperatively.

‡ The eleven hours and a half of daily labour in a tropical climate, which Mr. Huskisson justly thinks so excessive, is *field* labour, and is exclusive of the time consumed in going to and returning from the field; and is also exclusive of the onerous work of procuring grass for the cattle at night, and of the night labour of crop. It might be expected that this state of things would shock Mr. Huskisson.

evidence shall be admitted *for* them, although of course this must have been the intention. It is to be regretted that no provision is made for securing the attendance of judges, regularly educated to the legal profession, on slave trials."

"The crime of harbouring runaways may be punished with much more severity, when the offender is a slave, than when he is a free man,—a distinction which reverses the established principle of justice, that the malignity of crimes is enhanced by the superior knowledge and station of the criminal.

"In many cases both the nature and amount of the punishment to be inflicted on the offending slave are referred exclusively to the discretion of the Court. I am not aware of any necessity for so unlimited a delegation of authority.

"Among capital crimes are enumerated rebellion and rebellious conspiracy. As these are terms unknown to the law of England, it is not fit they should remain on the Statute-book without some legislative definition of their meaning.

"Felony seems to be generally declared capital, when committed by slaves. The case of the clergyable felonies is not noticed."

He regards the enactments by which assault and offering violence to a free person are declared capital, as severe, and as framed with an extreme laxity of expression; and he makes the same complaint of the laws respecting Obeah, which include many acts, "against which it could not have been really intended to denounce the punishment of death," and many that are innocent, and some even meritorious.*

"The owner of a slave condemned to death or transportation, is in all cases to be indemnified at the public expense for the loss of his property. His Majesty's Government have repeatedly expressed their disapprobation of this rule of law. It weakens the motives for maintaining good domestic discipline, and for preventing the commission of crimes by the authority of the owner. It is unjust to indemnify any man at the public expense for a loss, in which his own culpable neglect of duty may have involved him. To the slave it is unjust to deprive his owner of all pecuniary interest in the preservation of his life; and when the crime of the slave is, as it often may be, the direct consequence of the owner's positive misconduct, it is in the highest degree impolitic to relieve the owner from the loss. The power of remitting the sentences of slaves condemned to hard labour for life, is to be exercised only when the slave evinces in every respect a complete reformation of manners. I fear that few men undergo such a total change of character as this under any circumstances, and that a prison is among the last places in which it is to be expected. Independently of this consideration, I apprehend that this clause may, in some degree derogate from the power, which, under His Majesty's instructions, you possess of pardoning offenders, or remitting their punishments."

It is impossible not to admire the just and statesman-like views contained in this despatch, and the clear and manly manner in which they are expressed. Its appearance in Jamaica, however, instead of having a soothing effect, has excited as much violence and clamour as the Resolutions of 1823. Every parish in the island appears to have met and promulged vehement remonstrances on the subject, instructing their representatives firmly to refuse the slightest concession on the litigated points.—Now, whoever duly considers the calm, cautious, and temperate style of Mr. Huskisson's reasoning, and the obvious justice of every suggestion which his despatch contains, will at once see how utterly hopeless it is to expect the substantial amelioration of slavery from the masters of slaves. Many were led to suppose that the inflammatory language of the abolitionists was the real cause of the irritation of the planters, who, at the same time, were, in their hearts,

* The Obeah laws of Jamaica are a disgrace to a Christian Statute book.

anxious for reform. But their reception of the measured, and even delicate representations of the Secretary of State, proves that their objection to reform is radical, and relates, not to the mode of its being proposed, but to its substance. They are fully resolved that if the negroes are to be "subjects of his Majesty" they shall be so only in name, and shall enjoy no one substantial right involved in that designation.

The House of Assembly have adopted a series of resolutions in answer to Mr. Huskisson, which they conclude with stating, that "they cannot pass a new bill, containing the amendments suggested by Mr. Huskisson, without sacrificing their independence and endangering the safety of the island." The slave population, they add, "must again be governed by the act of 1816,"—an act, however, which we do not think materially worse than that which has been disallowed.

II. COMPULSORY MANUMISSION.

It will be seen above that Mr. Huskisson has postponed the discussion of this subject, but his notice of it leads us to the consideration of a question arising out of it, which was much discussed during the inquiry before the Privy Council on the Demerara and Berbice petitions. The question to which we allude may be thus stated :—*Is the market price of a slave an adequate compensation to the master for his loss of the slave's services by a compulsory manumission?* The planters vehemently maintain the negative of this proposition. In opposition to them, there are some who hold that the market price is, *in general*, an adequate compensation, but that its sufficiency may be affected by the facility or the difficulty of procuring the substitution of free labour. Our view of the case differs from both these parties. We do not conceive that the question of the sufficiency or insufficiency of the market price of a slave to compensate the master for his manumission, (we now view him merely as an article of property) depends on the facility or the difficulty of procuring free labour. That consideration will, no doubt, affect the market price of a slave; but not the question whether the market price be or be not an adequate remuneration to the master for the loss of his slave's services. Nay, we believe it may be clearly shewn, that under the provisions of the Trinidad Order, the market value of the slave will be an adequate compensation to the master, whether free labour is procurable or not. The degree in which free labour may be procurable, would, without doubt, tend to raise or lower the market price of a slave, and might even reduce that price to nothing; but, in either case, we would still maintain, that the market price will fairly compensate to the master the loss of his slave.

It will not be denied that the market price of an article is fixed by an agreement between the seller and the buyer; and that in any article of which the supply is unlimited, the market price will be the lowest sum at which the seller can afford to furnish it; while, on the other hand, in any article, of which the supply is limited, and is also inferior to the demand, the market price will be the highest sum which the buyer can afford to give. Now this last is the case with respect to slaves in the West Indies, on the assumption that free labour is unattainable there, and that slaves are the only labourers. Consequently, under such circumstances, there would be no limit in those colonies to the rise of the

market price of slaves, but the willingness of the planter to pay it. We say the *willingness* of the planter, for in the case of a manumission effected by an appraisement at the fair market value, his *power* is indisputable, since he must necessarily have in his hands, unemployed, the sum which he has received for his slave, and which, in the estimation of the appraisers, is the fair value of another such slave in the market. His only consideration then will be, how far it is his interest to employ that sum in the purchase of another slave, or to employ it in some other way. As long as the purchase of another slave is the most profitable employment of his capital, he will so employ it. If the labour of the slave should yield less than he might obtain by the employment of his capital in another way, he will, of course, abstain from purchasing the slave, and the rise in the price of slaves will then have reached its limit; which limit, as we shall proceed to shew, will, even on the supposition that free labour cannot be substituted, be found to include the value of the whole capital on the estate.

The ordinary mode of estimating the value of a planter's capital, on sugar estates in the West Indies, is by taking it at double the value of his slaves. We will assume that estimate to be correct, though it is probably exaggerated, and we will suppose the following case founded upon it. We will suppose a planter to possess an estate on which are a hundred slaves worth £100 each, or £10,000. By the usual mode of valuation, as stated by Mr. Macdonnel, in his evidence before the Privy Council, such an estate would be considered as worth £20,000, half of it being the value of the slaves, and the other half the value of the other property. If we estimate the rate of profit at six per cent, the income of such an estate would be £1,200 per annum. Now, let it be further supposed, that by violence, or disease, or some other accident, which did not affect the other part of his capital, the owner of this estate were deprived of his one hundred slaves in one night; and let it be inquired what sum he would be willing to give for another gang of the same size, supposing him to have sufficient capital unemployed in his possession. It is manifest here, that if free labour is not to be obtained, his land and works would be useless, and return him nothing without slaves; but that by purchasing another gang he would derive from the estate his former income of £1,200 per annum. It is further clear that if he possessed the sum unemployed, it would be his interest rather to give £20,000 for the slaves alone, than to allow his estate to be idle, since he would thus still obtain for it the regular return of £1,200, or 6 per cent on his investment. If he could effect the purchase for a less sum, he would make more than 6 per cent.; but the amount named would be the limit beyond which he would not have an inducement to extend his offer.

If, therefore, a planter could not procure slaves in the market at a cheaper price, the manumission price of slaves must necessarily attain this height, and of course the planter, whose slaves are manumitted, would be compensated even according to his own views of the equity of the case. However, a little consideration will shew that the rise of price would be constantly checked by the supply of fresh slaves in the market; and that the possessor of a valuable estate would be able to

replace his slaves at a price much lower than the loss he sustains by their manumission. The witnesses examined spoke as if it would be the interest of every one to buy, and of no one to sell. But this is impossible; for it is impossible that the returns from all estates in any colony should be the same; and it is quite undeniable that it must be the interest of the owners of less productive estates to sell their slaves at a price below that at which it would be the interest of the owners of more productive estates to purchase them.

Let the average return of capital on Demerara estates be 6 per cent., or £12 per slave; and let there be two estates, on one of which the return is as high as £18, and on the other as low as £6 a slave. Now, as long as the price of the slave does not exceed £100, it is not the interest of the proprietor of the poorer estate to sell off his gang and break up his estate, because the average rate of profit in the colony will not give him for the money he obtains from their sale, a return exceeding that which he now derives from his estate. But if the market price of the slave should rise from £100 to £120, it would then be his interest to sell. From an estate of 100 slaves his present income is £600, but if he can obtain £12,000 for his slaves, his income from that capital will be £720. Thus it is evident, that as the market price of the slave rose, the demand on the part of the rich estate would be constantly met by a supply from that which was poorer; and that as the poorer estates were successively thrown out of cultivation, the proprietors would be able to realize the value of their property, and to transfer it to any other more safe and durable investment.

The great error of the witnesses is the not perceiving, that in naming the amount of loss which the planter sustains by the manumission of his slave, they name, at the same time, the sum at which it would be worth his while to replace him. And in naming that sum they necessarily name the market price, in other words, the sum they would actually receive for his manumission. Or, if the market price be below the sum which it is worth the planter's while to give, it is only because the market is so supplied with slaves as to enable him to replace at less cost the services of the slave who has been manumitted.

The whole of this reasoning is on the supposition that free labour is not to be procured. If free labour can be procured, of course the market price will not exceed that amount which will represent the difference between the wages of free labour, and the cost and maintenance of the number of slaves required to perform the same work. And there can be no question that, if population increases, this difference will constantly diminish, until, at last, it vanishes, and the planter will have no interest in retaining his slaves in bondage. The Trinidad Code, therefore, leaves the question of free labour to be determined by the event, and provides a system of compensation, which, under any result, will be adequate.

We have thus briefly exhibited the principles which appear to us decisive of the question of adequate compensation; but we cannot quit the subject without expressing the shame we feel at being compelled to argue such a question in so cold and arithmetical a manner.

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DISCUSSIONS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS: STATEMENTS OF MR. SECRETARY HUSKISSON, CONSIDERED: MOTION OF MR. HORTON:—SUGAR DUTIES.

On the 5th and 6th instant, some conversation occurred in the House of Commons on the subject of Colonial Slavery, in which various Members took a part.—Mr. Brougham put a question to Mr. Huskisson as to whether any measures had been taken by the legislatures of the colonies, in reference to the slave population, which could be considered so satisfactory by his Majesty's Government, as to supersede the necessity of their acting on the pledge they had given to resort to the interference of Parliament.

In replying to the inquiry of Mr. Brougham, Mr. Huskisson is reported to have stated, that the Government was bound to carry into effect the resolutions of May, 1823, and to enforce the due execution of the measures necessary to that end;—that, in addition to the papers already before Parliament, he should shortly lay on its table further information respecting the progress which had been made in the work of improvement during the past year;*—that, in some of the colonies, having no local legislatures, and which were immediately subject to the legislation of the Crown, the measures of reform proposed by the Government, except on the point of compulsory manumission, had been carried into complete effect;—and that in the colonies having legislatures of their own, where considerable opposition had been manifested to the wishes of Government, it was to be recollected that little or nothing could be done to carry the projected reforms into effect without the concurrence of the colonial authorities: without this, we might ruin the colonies without benefiting the slaves.

Such being the statements which have been attributed to Mr. Huskisson, and which have gone forth to the public as *his*, it becomes expedient to examine them with care.

We shall first advert, at some length, to that part of the newspaper report which represents the Right Honourable Gentleman as affirming that, in some of the colonies, having no local legislatures, except on the

* Mr. Brougham gave notice, that if the information was not satisfactory, he should move the House on the subject of Slavery, soon after the recess.

point of compulsory manumission, the various reforms proposed by Government had been carried into complete effect.

We greatly doubt, however, whether such a representation is fairly applicable to any of those colonies, or even to Trinidad itself. And it being of high importance at the present moment to ascertain the fact, we shall first examine the provisions of the Slave Code of Trinidad, that being the model which has been held forth for all the other slave colonies, in order to ascertain in what degree the declared purposes of the Government have been there completely accomplished.*

We freely admit that various improvements of great moment have been introduced into the Slave Code of Trinidad by the Order in Council of March, 1824. Still it will be found, on examination, that several most material points of reform which his Majesty's Government pledged itself to effect, have been omitted in this Code, and that, in some respects, the slaves of Trinidad have been placed by it in a worse condition than before its enactment. This we shall now proceed distinctly to shew.

1. The Trinidad Order in Council of March, 1824, is termed an Order for "*promoting the religious instruction,*" as well as for "improving the condition of the slaves." It does not, however, contain a single clause, which has for its object to secure or to promote the education or religious instruction of slaves, whether young or old. In the latest official communications also received from Trinidad, and which have been laid before Parliament, is contained a letter of the Attorney-General, Mr. Fuller, to the Governor, Sir Ralph Woodford, which recognizes the fact that no effective practical measures had been taken to that end. (Papers of 1827, Part II. p. 250.)

2. With respect to Sunday, it was further proposed by his Majesty's Government, first, to abolish Sunday markets and Sunday labour, making Sunday a day of repose and religious observance; and secondly, to give the slaves equivalent time, in lieu of Sunday, for cultivating their grounds and for marketing. Sunday, as is well known, had hitherto been the day on which chiefly the slaves raised the provisions required for their own support and that of their families. It was therefore necessary, if Sunday were applied to its proper uses, to allow the slaves equivalent time during the week. And the necessity of such an arrangement was explicitly acknowledged by his Majesty's Government, as clearly appears from the correspondence of Earl Bathurst with the local authorities of the island. "The master," says his Lordship, in a despatch dated 11th September, 1824, "is entitled to the labour of his slave for six days in the week, but he is not entitled to more, and out of the profits of his six days the slave must be supported. The seventh day must belong to the slave for his own profit and advantage. I can perceive no difference in point of principle, between the practice of purchasing food for negroes, who are exclusively employed for six days in the week in the service of their masters, during the whole week; and of

* We have done this on several former occasions, (see the Reporters, No. XI. No. XXVIII. No. XXX., &c.) but it seems necessary now to bring the matter prominently forward, with a view to the approaching discussions in Parliament, and with a direct reference to the reported statement of Mr. Huskisson on the subject. See below p. 203, for what has actually been done.

appropriating an adequate portion of time, during the six days, for the cultivation of their grounds." It is therefore evident, adds his Lordship, that the master who adopts the system of provision-grounds as in Trinidad, "can have no possible claim for the services of his slave on the Sunday," either for work to be performed exclusively for his master, or which is intended to relieve the master from the charge of supporting his slave. He denies also the master's claim to compensation for the day he may allot to him in lieu of Sunday, expressing his hope that "no Christian master will so far forget himself as to claim indemnity for the loss of that which his religion must have taught him he ought never to require." (Papers for 1825, p. 171, and p. 124.)

The intention of the Government, therefore, clearly was this, that the slave should be exempted from the necessity of labouring on Sunday in his provision-grounds, which was, in fact, to labour for his master's benefit; and that equivalent time should be allowed him for that purpose on some other day.

Such had also been the humane principle of the Spanish Slave Code, by which the slaves were entitled to all the Sundays, and about thirty holidays in the year as their own, and were allowed one day in each week besides, to be employed in cultivating their provision-grounds—the whole of the time thus assigned to them, amounting to about one hundred and thirty-four days in the year.*

This salutary law appears to have fallen into disuse on the capture of Trinidad by Great Britain; and General Picton on the 30th June, 1800, issued an ordinance on the subject, which is stated to be still the law of the island, requiring the master to give to the slave land, on which to cultivate provisions for himself and his family, and twenty-six afternoons in the year for its cultivation, besides his Sundays and four holidays. The fifty-two week-days allowed by the Spanish law were thus reduced to thirteen, and the thirty holidays to four. (Paper of June 12, 1827, No. 465.)

Thus stood the law when the Order in Council of March, 1824, was promulgated. That Order, which was to have put an end to Sunday markets, instead of abolishing them, has actually enacted their continuance for an indefinite period, and has given to them, for the first time, a legal sanction. It prohibits, undoubtedly, all compulsory labour on the Sunday, and forbids the hiring of slaves to work on that day, except in certain prescribed cases. It nevertheless gives to the slave no time, in lieu of Sunday, either for cultivating his grounds or for going to market. Sunday labour is, indeed, prohibited, but nothing is done to make that prohibition effectual or even practicable. Accordingly, Sir Ralph Woodford, in his recent despatches, informs the Secretary of State, that the prohibition of Sunday labour has not been carried into effect; (indeed, how was it possible?) and he adds, that "working on their grounds is common to all industrious negroes on Sunday," and that "the restriction on slaves working for hire," is "generally evaded." (Papers for 1827, Part II. p. 258.)

And what other result could have been expected from the defective

* See "View of the Law and Practice of the Spanish Colonies," &c.

legislation adopted on this subject? If equivalent time be not given to the slave in lieu of Sunday, he must of necessity cultivate his provisions on that day or starve. The thirteen common days and four holidays, which are all that are now allowed to him by law, and which were deemed necessary to the subsistence of himself and his family, even when the fifty-two Sundays in the year were considered as belonging to the master, and which, therefore, he could compel the slave to employ in raising his food, are obviously wholly inadequate to the purpose. A law, prohibitory of Sunday labour, under such circumstances, is a mere mockery, as the slave must work on that day or starve.

Nothing, indeed, can meet the bare justice of the case, or prevent the condition of the Trinidad slave from being permanently deteriorated by the provisions of the Order in Council, or redeem the pledges of the Government, and satisfy the expectations of the country, but to add to the prohibition of compulsory labour on the Sunday, the absolute abolition of Sunday markets, and the grant of a day in the week, (in addition to the seventeen days now allowed to the slaves,) in the lieu of Sunday, for going to market, and for raising their food. And if such a regulation be not adopted, many, if not all of the other improvements, will be deprived of much of their value, and even sink into comparative unimportance. Without it, religious instruction will be impossible, while the perpetual toil of the slave, thus compelled to labour during seven long days in the week, must continue, as at present, to wear down his physical powers, and to consign him to a premature grave. The want of such a regulation, joined to the general intensity and continuity of labour, is obviously one cause why the rate of decrease among the slaves in Trinidad is so enormous, while the free negroes around them are rapidly increasing.

3. The next important defect in the Trinidad Order, respects the admissibility of the evidence of slaves. Before that Order was prepared, information was required as to the state of the existing law on this point. The Council of Trinidad, in a minute of the 9th of July, 1823, state, by way of reply to the inquiry, that "A law to this effect is already in force;" "and that their testimony (that is, the testimony of slaves,) is received *quantum valeat.*" (Papers of 1824, p. 105.)

The Order of Council, however, has materially restricted this right. It rejects the evidence of slaves in all civil suits in which the master is concerned. It rejects it also in trials affecting the life of a *white* man, the very case in which, above all others, it was essential to admit such evidence. Under the operation of this exception, a white man (and why not also a free brown or black man?) may murder a slave with impunity, though a hundred or a thousand slaves were present to witness the deed. Nay, as the law now stands, it may even furnish a temptation to commit that crime. An act of cruelty to a slave on the part of a white man, may be prosecuted to conviction, and punished on slave testimony; and if a second act of cruelty should be so proved against him, he forfeits the whole of his slaves, and becomes incapable of either holding slaves himself, or of being employed by another in their management. If, however, he should find that he has exposed himself to so serious a penalty by a second act of cruelty, on the trial of which slaves

are competent witnesses, has he not a strong temptation held out to him to kill the victim of his cruelty outright, as in that case he would be secure from the effect of slave testimony?

But the Order in Council contains a still more serious restriction on the admissibility of slave evidence, which has hitherto served nearly to frustrate its whole effect. By this restriction, wholly unknown to the Spanish law, a certificate of competency from a clergyman, or other religious teacher, is required to entitle a slave to give evidence in any case, civil or criminal. In no other part of His Majesty's dominions than the slave colonies, we believe in no part of the world besides; certainly, neither in the courts of any other British possession, nor in those of Great Britain, has any such condition of admissibility been ever exacted. Pagan and Mohammedan witnesses are there admitted as freely as Christians. Indeed, Mr. Peel and the present Lord Chancellor, in the House of Commons, on the 1st of March, 1826, both declared themselves adverse to such a restriction; and that this is the opinion of Mr. Huskisson himself, may be inferred from his admirable despatch to the Governor of Jamaica of the 22d of September, 1827, in which, commenting on the Slave Act of that island, he says that he does not perceive "any necessary connection between the baptism of a witness and his credibility."

To all this, it may be replied, that the Order in Council sufficiently obviates all the supposed inconveniences of this restriction, and replaces the slave on the same footing in which he stood prior to its enactment, by providing that "Nothing herein contained shall extend to take away or diminish any power or authority which any court of criminal jurisdiction now hath, to admit, in any case, the evidence of persons being in a state of slavery." But this clause (which refers only to criminal, and not at all to civil courts) has not been considered by the judges in their practice, as intended to interfere with the positive enactments of the Order. Though invested with a certain latitude of discretion, they have decided that this discretion would be best exercised by adhering to what they conceived to be the clear intentions of His Majesty's Government on the subject, namely, by excluding from the right of giving evidence all slaves who had not obtained a certificate of competency from their clergyman or other religious teacher. Accordingly, Sir Ralph Woodford, the Governor, states himself to have felt that "unless it had been in the contemplation of His Majesty's Government to exclude all other slave evidence," "it could never have been intended to require, as a *sine qua non*, a qualification for which the means of attaining it are totally inadequate;" while Mr. Fuller, the Attorney-General of the island, adds the important fact, that in upwards of two years from the date of the Order, only four slaves, out of 23,000, had obtained certificates, qualifying them to give evidence in Courts of Justice. (Papers of 1827, Part II. p. 246, and p. 256.)

With respect, therefore, to this highly important point of reform, the condition of the Trinidad slaves has not been improved, but deteriorated, by the operation of the Order in Council. And, indeed, unless the simple and intelligible principle of admitting, as witnesses, all classes of persons who are not excluded from giving evidence by some legal incompetency, leaving the question of their credibility to be decided, as in

our own country, by the Judge and Jury, it is clear that every attempt to modify the established rules of evidence, so as to meet the prejudices of the planters, can only issue, like the attempts in Trinidad, Jamaica, and the other colonies, in complete failure.

4. The injurious effects of the modifications, thus introduced into the Trinidad law of evidence, have been aggravated by a supplemental Order of Council, promulgated on the 23d of June, 1824, which enacts, that should the complaint of a slave to a magistrate, that an illegal punishment had been inflicted upon him, be proved, the accused shall be liable to a fine not exceeding ten pounds, being about £4. 9*s*. sterling! but that should the complaint prove "groundless OR malicious," the magistrate shall return the slave, with a written declaration to his master, who, thereupon, may punish the slave at his discretion, to the extent of twenty-five lashes, or, if he thinks the slave deserving of a higher punishment, may refer the case to the proper tribunal. Now when it is recollected that the Assembly of Barbadoes have testified that, in the hands of a relentless executioner, a small number of stripes may be so inflicted as to amount to cruelty,* what may we not expect will be the severity of these twenty-five stripes, which it is left to the master's discretion to inflict, on a slave who has been guilty of the indignity of dragging him before a magistrate? And this punishment, capable of being so aggravated, at the will of an irritated individual, as to amount, even in the view of the Barbadoes assembly, to cruelty, may be inflicted on a slave for failing to prove the truth of his complaint, though neither he nor any of his fellow slaves may be qualified to give evidence respecting it; and this too, not after a regular arraignment and trial, affording him time and opportunity for his defence, and all fair means of disproving malice; but because, on the trial of another, he has failed, as prosecutor, to establish his case in evidence. Such a law would actually seem to be contrived in order to prevent the slaves from ever preferring their complaints to a magistrate.

In this view of the subject, Mr. Huskisson himself, it may be presumed, would acquiesce; for in commenting, in his letter of the 22d of September, 1827, on a similar clause in the Jamaica act, he remarks, "As every groundless complaint is to be punished, it is to be feared that many well-grounded complaints will not be preferred. The mere failure of evidence in support of a complaint is surely not enough to justify the punishment of the party complaining. The owner should be bound to prove that the complaint was malicious or frivolous."

In conformity with this undeniably just principle, it is clear that the Trinidad Order, of the 23d of June, 1824, ought to be forthwith repealed, as most injurious and oppressive in its tendency, especially when connected with the operation of those modifications of the law of evidence under which only four slaves, out of 23,000, had become qualified to give their testimony in Courts of Justice.

5. The Trinidad Order in Council, of March, 1824, gives to the slaves very ample rights of property, empowering them to acquire, hold, and transmit land and every other species of property real and personal. This is, without doubt, an important enactment, and if the equivalent

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* Papers of 1827, Part I. p. 271.

time in lieu of Sunday, to which the slave is entitled, were effectually secured to him, and his industry were relieved from a restriction placed upon it by the law of Trinidad, as well as of every other British slave colony, it could not fail to produce the most beneficial consequences. The restriction alluded to, and which existed prior to the promulgation of the Order in Council of March, 1824, prohibits the slaves, under severe penalties, from cultivating any of the staple productions of the island, any articles, in short, of exportable produce.

The apparently universal extension of the slaves' right of property, implied in the terms of the Trinidad Order, naturally led the planters to inquire whether it had not abrogated this prohibitory law. To their inquiry, the answer of Lord Bathurst is, (an answer, however, the legal soundness of which may be questioned,) that the Order in Council does not "revoke the existing law, whereby slaves are prohibited from cultivating for their own profit any of the staple commodities of the island."* The precise terms of this prohibitory law are not stated in any official document; but it may be inferred that it does not differ materially from the law of Demerara on the same subject, which is also, with slight variations, the law of all the British slave colonies. It is to the following effect: "All slaves, as well males as females, are prohibited from selling or bartering with any one whatever, any produce, sugar, coffee, cocoa, indigo, cotton, rokow, syrup, rum, bottles, flasks, or any thing else, (being permitted to sell only vegetables, or ground provisions, the produce of their garden or stock which they are permitted to rear,) on pain of their being severely flogged on the plantation to which they belong, for the first offence; and for the second to be punished by sentence of the Court, according to the exigency of the case."

Under the operation of such a law what efforts of voluntary industry, or what fruits of accumulation, are to be expected from slaves, whose fragment of time allowed for the cultivation of their grounds (no time being yet given them in lieu of Sunday) does not suffice, except by the exhausting labour of seven days in the week, to supply even the most pressing wants of nature?

6. In March, 1824, Mr. Canning stated, that it was one of the provisions of the Order for Trinidad to prohibit the separation of families by sale. And this was no more than strict justice required, as the Spanish law, which previously existed, had prohibited all such separation, whether in the case of private or of judicial sales.†

The Order in Council, however, has departed from this principle, and has limited the prohibition of the separation of families to judicial sales alone, leaving the far more numerous sales which take place at the will

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* Lord Bathurst's Letter of the 14th of July, 1824, Papers for 1825, p. 166.

† So jealous was the Spanish law on this point (see the Cedula of 31st May, 1789,) that it enacted that "Slaves are not to be hindered from marrying with slaves of other masters," and in case of their doing so, it provided that "if the estates are distant from one another, so that the new married couple cannot fulfil the object of marriage, the wife shall follow her husband, whose master shall buy her at a fair valuation, (by appraisement) and if the master of the husband does not agree, the master of the wife shall have the same facility." And the same principle was made to regulate the sale of husband and wife, residing on neighbouring estates, but belonging to different owners,

of the owner, and which were equally the object of the Spanish prohibitory law, to be regulated by individual discretion or caprice.

It cannot be denied that this also is a material deterioration in the legal condition of the Trinidad slave, produced by that Order in Council which was intended for its improvement.

It is further necessary, in order to give effect even to the present limited law, which only prohibits the separation of husband, wife, and children, or of reputed husband, wife, and children, by judicial sales, that a provision should be added, for ascertaining and recording these different relations, whether by repute or otherwise.

7. The Trinidad Order in Council contains very salutary provisions on the subject of arbitrary punishments which exceed three lashes, and particularly in requiring the attendance of a free witness, and the due record and periodical return, on oath, of every such punishment, and its circumstances. It is much to be regretted, however, that the necessity of such a record and return is confined to plantations. A large proportion of the slaves in Trinidad are not attached to plantations, but consist of jobbing gangs, mechanics, domestics, &c., all of whom are shut out from the operation of this beneficial restraint on the arbitrary power of the master, while, from being more under his eye, they are more exposed to the effects of his passion and caprice than even plantation slaves. If the regulations cannot be applied to cases of this description, ought not the infliction of punishment, at least beyond three lashes, to be taken out of the hands of the master and placed entirely in those of the magistrate?

8. His Majesty's Government have recognized the important principle, that a man is disqualified for the office of a protector of slaves, by being himself an owner of slaves. The application of this principle, however, is so modified in the Order of Council for Trinidad, as to divest it of much of its practical utility. The Chief Protector, indeed, is prohibited from owning, or being concerned in managing, a plantation cultivated by slaves in that colony. He is not debarred, however, from being an extensive proprietor of slave plantations in any other colony, and he may thus be as deeply interested in the maintenance of the slave system generally as any Planter in the island. And, though he may not possess a slave *plantation* in Trinidad, he may yet be an owner of slaves in that island to a large extent. He may be the proprietor of a jobbing gang, or of a gang of mechanics, and his domestic establishment may be filled wholly by slaves; or he may have been for years the manager of slaves until he has become imbued with the worst vices and prejudices of the system.

Thus stands the law with respect to the Chief Protector, but it is still more objectionable as it respects the Assistant Protectors. They may be the possessors of plantations within the colony, and of any number of predial as well as personal slaves. And, as on these Assistant Protectors, must, of necessity, devolve the main duties of the office, it is plain, that, by this constitution of things, the whole intentions of the Government with respect to the effectual protection of the slave may be frustrated. Mr. Dwarris, in his first Report, p. 96, 97, gives a remarkable exemplification of this tendency in the island of Grenada. But it is still more important to refer to the authority of Mr.

Huskisson himself. Animadverting, in his despatch to the Governor of Jamaica of the 22d of September, 1827, on the clause in the Act of that island, which substituted a parochial Council of Protection for the independent protector recommended by the Crown, he justly objects to the change, because the Council of Protection in this case consists of those (meaning, of course, the planters,) " whom a protector was intended to watch," " while their number is such as to destroy individual responsibility."

9. A further defect, perhaps the greatest, in the Trinidad Order in Council, is the omission of any regulation restricting the hours of labour of the slaves. If we assume their hours of labour *in the field* not to exceed the legal limit affixed to them by the law of Jamaica, we shall have full eleven hours and a half, namely, from five in the morning till seven in the evening, with intervals amounting together to two hours and a half. And these eleven hours and a half of labour in the *field* are exclusive of the time required for going to and returning from it, and for the different domestic offices which, of necessity, are daily recurring. Besides which, after the field labour is over, the slaves have to undergo the heavy and oppressive task of collecting and carrying to the homestall a load of fodder for the cattle and horses, and there waiting till the whole gang is again collected, and the roll called over; a task which, after a fatiguing day's labour in the field, is of a most vexatious and harassing kind, while it gives occasion to frequent punishments. (See Papers of 1825, p. 73—213.) But this is not all. In the time of crop, which lasts from a third to a half of the whole year, the regular hours of occupation in the master's service extend to about six hours more, that is to say, to half the night, so that in the time of crop, nearly eighteen hours at least are directly occupied with the master's work, independently of all the other objects which must necessarily occupy the slaves, and abridge their hours of rest.

That such is a fair account of the excessive continuity of labour exacted from the slaves in Trinidad, is shewn by the evidence taken by a Committee of the Council of Trinidad, extracts from which have been printed by an order of the House of Commons of the 14th of June, 1827, (No. 479.) Mr. Mitchell, a sugar planter, who had resided in Trinidad for twenty-seven years, distinctly states, as a reason why free negroes cannot be induced to carry on the *whole* of the labours of sugar estates in Trinidad, that the *present* manner of conducting them, namely, " making large quantities of sugar in a given time; *in many instances working eighteen out of twenty-four hours,*" (alluding, of course, to the four or five, or six months of the crop), is such " constant labour as the free labourers will not submit to." p. 33.

This testimony is confirmed by the slave code of Jamaica. Mr. Huskisson thus remarks upon it, " The provisions for the prevention of excessive labour contemplate the working the slaves," (the law says "field work") " eleven hours and a half daily out of crop, and place no limit to the continuance of their work in crop time. Considering the climate in which the labour is to be performed, and that after the work of the field is over, there will yet remain many offices not falling within the term "(field)" labour, I should fear that the exertions of the

slaves, if exacted up to the limits allowed by this law, would be scarcely consistent with a due regard for the health of the labourer."

What would Mr. Huskisson have said if he had known the whole of the case, the collecting and carrying of fodder, the labour of full half of every night in crop time, and all the other items which unite to harass and overload the slave, and to render additional inflictions of the whip necessary to stimulate his wearied and exhausted frame?

Does not this system of excessive exaction, with scarce a breathing time during 18 hours of the 24, and without the intervention of a day of rest, joined to all the other disadvantages which have been adverted to, sufficiently account for the continued decrease of the slave population? In the fertile soil of Trinidad, producing 12 cwts. of sugar for each slave, that decrease amounts to $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. per annum; in Demerara, Tobago, St. Vincents, and Grenada, producing from 8 to 10 cwt. of sugar for each slave, it amounts to from $1\frac{1}{2}$, to upwards of 2 per cent. per annum; in Jamaica, producing only from 4 to 5 cwt. of sugar for each slave, it amounts to about half per cent. per annum; while in the Bahamas, producing no sugar at all, and among the free maroons of Jamaica, and the free negroes of Trinidad, and even the slaves of the United States, there is no decrease, but on the contrary, a rapid increase of population, amounting to from 2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum.

10. There remains only one other point in the Trinidad Order in Council, of March, 1824, to which it is necessary to advert, and that is the clause which empowers the slave to effect the redemption of himself and of certain members of his family at a fair appraisement.

The Spanish law on this point is fully detailed in the "View of the law and practice in the Spanish colonies respecting the manumission of slaves." It will there be found that the provisions of the Order, however they may go beyond the measure of liberality which the planters of this or the other colonies are willing to adopt, falls far below that of the Spanish law, to the benefits of which the slaves of Trinidad were fully entitled prior to the Order in Council. Still the provisions of that Order, when viewed as of general example, and as serving to introduce a similar principle into the English slave code, must be considered as important. That principle, however, has hitherto been adopted in no other colony than Trinidad; and in Trinidad itself, notwithstanding the clearness of its law on the subject, it has been perverted, by the ingenuity of avarice and despotism combined, into an engine of oppression to the slave, and of exorbitant gain to the master.

The appraisers appointed under this law swear that they shall make "a fair and impartial appraisement" of the person to be manumitted. Now, if words have a meaning, it would seem impossible for any man so far to misapprehend the terms, "fair and impartial appraisement," as to suppose that he can be justified, under the solemn sanction of such an oath, in affixing to the person of the slave a value which shall be double or treble the amount of what is his admitted and undisputed value in exchange, in the market of the colony, and in the ordinary transactions of commerce between man and man. Such, however, seems to have become the convenient mode, by common consent, among

the planters of Trinidad, of understanding the obligations of an oath, binding them to deal "fairly and impartially" between the master and the slave. In ordinary cases such conduct would be considered as partaking of the guilt not only of perjury, but of a foul conspiracy fraudulently to extort money from one party for the benefit of another; to rob the slave in order to enrich the master. For this criminal proceeding the Order in Council provides no remedy. Surely, some means should be forthwith adopted by the Government for repressing this flagrant injustice, this notorious violation of its clear enactments, openly perpetrated and boldly avowed and defended.

It must be admitted that, if apology were possible for such a palpable deviation from the plainest rules of moral conduct, the planters of Trinidad might find it in those subtle reasonings with which certain persons of high colonial authority have perplexed themselves and the public on this plain question. We allude to such evidence as that given by Major Moody before the Privy Council, and to the discussion raised by Mr. W. Horton, in the House of Commons on the 6th inst. If men of acute and intelligent minds, and accustomed to the consideration of moral and political questions, can suffer themselves to be perplexed with abstractions until they bewilder themselves and all who respect their authority, some excuse may be framed for the Trinidad planter, who, having, as he conceives, great interests at stake, should, in his over anxiety to protect those interests, think himself justified in substituting for the intelligible obligations of a solemn oath, the incomprehensible doubts, and the "incommensurable" absurdities which have been so strangely imported into this subject.*

No circumstance appears to us to have occurred, during the five years expended in ineffective discussion on the subject of slavery, more calculated to alarm the friends of humanity, and to rouse them to renewed exertions to avert the failure of all our hopes, than the efforts which have been made at home and abroad to induce the Government to abandon their pledge on the subject of manumission; for, however short it may fall of our expectations, it seems almost to constitute the forlorn hope of humanity. But His Majesty's Government, we trust, will be firm to their purpose. They will recollect how frequently and deliberately Earl Bathurst, in the name of His Majesty, has declared this manumission clause to be "a vital part of their whole measure" which "could not be dispensed with," and from the final accomplishment of which "this country will not be diverted." We should have expected, therefore, that the Right Honourable gentleman, who, doubtless, assisted in framing these despatches, instead of urging on Parliament the *possible* necessity of receding from this pledge, would have proposed some measure for enforcing, by suitable sanctions, the principle so unequivocally proclaimed, and so strenuously maintained by Government, and, so far as it went, received with satisfaction by parliament and the public.

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* Much has been said of the planter's rights of private property, as guaranteed by the Resolutions of May, 1823; but are not the slave's rights of private property also comprised in that guarantee? What a clamour would have been raised had any infringement of the planter's rights of property taken place, which should equal in amount or atrocity that violation of right which has marked the appraisement of Pamela Munro, in Trinidad! (See No. XXX, pp. 122, &c.)

No one can read the account of the operation of this system in the Spanish Colonies, and doubt of its practicability and safety, and even of its advantage to the planters and to the community at large; and that the market price of slaves, as of all other articles, is an adequate compensation to the master for the manumission of his slave, we think is irrefragably shewn in our last Number. (No. XXXIII., p. 182.)

All that remains for the Government to do, seems, therefore, to be to fortify and protect their own measure by adequate sanctions.

Some stress appeared to be laid by Mr. W. Horton on the circumstance that the plan of compulsory manumission had not been originally contemplated by Mr. Canning. This, however, is a mistake. Before Mr. Buxton made his motion on the 16th of May, 1823, he drew up a list of the objects at which he aimed, of which list a copy was submitted by him to Lord Bathurst and Mr. Canning. In his speech, which preceded the motion, he expressly stated, that among the objects he had in view were, that "all obstructions to manumission should be removed;" and that "the provisions of the Spanish law on manumission should be introduced." Of a conference which he had with Mr. Canning on the 13th of June, 1823, a minute is preserved, authenticated by Mr. Canning's own signature, which proves that this question of compulsory manumission, as it is now called, was then made the subject of discussion. The following is an extract from this minute:—

"Lastly, measures for the extinction of slavery. Mr. Canning said these measures were of two kinds, 1st. a power in the slave to purchase his freedom a day at a time; 2d. the liberation of all children after a certain day." "He told us, that the opinions of Government were not fixed as to these points; that they were of the greatest importance, and that Government had taken measures to obtain information on them, and could not decide till they were in possession of this information."

In consequence of the inquiries then set on foot, it doubtless was, that Mr. Canning obtained from Mr. Kilbee, the British Commissioner at the Havannah, the luminous information which has since been published, and also the answer of the Trinidad Council, admitting, that by the law of that island, "every slave, in possession of the means, could purchase his freedom at a fair appraisement." (Papers of 1824, p. 106.)

Such, then, is a view of the principal defects of the Trinidad Order in Council, and it is impossible to weigh them without admitting that even in that colony the declared intentions of the Government have not been carried into complete effect. But if this cannot be justly predicated of Trinidad, much less can it be affirmed of the other six colonies, subject to the legislation of the Crown; and in some of which the power of the Crown, instead of being directly exercised, as in Trinidad, has been unhappily delegated to the local authorities; in fact, to the very men the least suited to the task. In such a case, it was not to be supposed that the reforms adopted should go beyond that Order which was held out as the model for their imitation, although in passing through an ordeal of this kind, it might reasonably be expected that some of them would be either entirely set aside, or at least much diluted. This has been the case particularly in Berbice and Demerara. The compulsory manumission clause has been rejected entirely in the

latter, and after having been first frittered away to utter inefficiency, has been suspended in the former. Both have also omitted the important clause in the Trinidad Order, the 21st, which was intended to restrain the abuses of the master's power. And some of the other provisions of the Trinidad Order have also been materially lowered, especially those which relate to the observance of Sunday, marriage, property, and the powers of the Protector.

In St. Lucia and the Cape of Good Hope, the kind of improvement which has been effected may be considered as nearly on a level with Trinidad; the defects in their legislation also being, with slight variations, nearly the same. On the whole, perhaps, St. Lucia may be considered as having made the greatest advance of any of the Crown colonies towards meeting the wishes of Government.

In the Honduras and the Mauritius, instead of the intentions of Government having been carried into effect, it is not known that any thing at all has yet been done there in the way of reform.

It seems unnecessary to enter into any more detailed examination of the state of the law in these six colonies, in order to shew that in none of them have the declared wishes and intentions of the Government and Parliament been carried into complete effect. With respect to the thirteen slave colonies having legislatures of their own, it has not been affirmed by any one that they have complied with the recommendations of His Majesty.

What may have occurred since the close of the last session of Parliament, in the way of colonial reform, remains to be seen when the papers, promised by Mr. Huskisson, shall have been produced; but judging from an attentive perusal of the colonial Gazettes, we do not anticipate one *material* improvement in any of these colonies. The law of Jamaica, which it has been necessary for His Majesty to disallow, is, perhaps, on the whole, a better slave code than exists in any other of the chartered colonies. And yet what was done by that act for giving effect to His Majesty's recommendations? Substantially nothing. It exhibits, like all other colonial acts passed since May, 1823, either a decided rejection of the reforms proposed, or such a partial, evasive, and ineffective adoption of a few of them as equally marks the hostile mind of the legislators. The glaring defects of the Jamaica act have been justly appreciated by Mr. Huskisson, and we are well persuaded that he will not find that the acts of any of the other colonies have superior claims to his approbation. Even those clauses of the Jamaica act which Mr. Huskisson marks with commendation, are mostly clauses not of recent origin, or adopted in compliance with His Majesty's late recommendations, but clauses which have stood, though very ineffectively, for many years in the successive editions of their slave code.

For the defects in the laws of the Crown colonies, there is an easy and obvious remedy. The Crown can at once supply them; and it can also render the laws effectual by such sanctions, and by such a selection of functionaries, and by such a reform in the administration of justice, as shall ensure their due execution.

With the colonies having legislatures of their own, the Parliament alone can deal effectually, and such was most unquestionably the view

of the subject entertained by Mr. Canning. "I must declare," was his language on the 15th of May, 1823, in a speech, the printed report of which, published by the Anti-Slavery Society, was corrected by his own hand, "I must declare that we have a right to expect from the colonial legislatures a full and fair co-operation," and "I must add, that any resistance which may be manifested to the express and declared wishes of Parliament; any resistance, I mean, which should partake, not of reason, but of contumacy, would create a case upon which His Majesty's Government would not hesitate to come down to Parliament for counsel."

In the Conference with Mr. Canning already alluded to, (p. 196,) which took place on the 13th of June, 1823, the question was mooted of trusting to the colonial assemblies. The following is an extract from the minute of that conference.

"We urged their former professions and the miserable performance which had followed; and again that they might be disposed to act honestly, but with great tardiness."

"To the first point he replied, that it was the express determination of Government not to admit of any trifling; and that if any disposition of that nature were manifested, Government would introduce measures (what he could not say) of compulsion.

"With regard to indefinite delay, he said that the questions to be decided by the colonial legislatures, did not require much delay;—that they must make up their minds, and answer yes or no."

Similar language was held by Mr. Canning on different occasions, and particularly in the Session of 1826, when in the House of Commons (Lord Bathurst speaking to a similar effect in the House of Lords) he entreated that some farther space should be given to the colonial legislatures for another trial; and that if due advantage was not taken by them of that space, "it might then become the duty, if not of Parliament to take the matter out of the hands of Government, at least of Government to call upon the Parliament to arm them with additional power."

That in the two long years which have elapsed since these last words were uttered, nothing effective has been done by the colonial legislatures to fulfil the wishes of Government and Parliament, is plain from the papers which have been laid before Parliament. A brief abstract of the information which those papers convey will be found at the close of these observations (p. 203,) and a fuller view in the Reporters, XXVIII., XXIX., XXX., and XXXI.

The trial, therefore, proposed by Mr. Canning, has been allowed, and for a much longer space than he contemplated; and there has resulted from it, as far as has yet appeared, only a renewed rejection of the overtures made to them. The proceedings of the legislature of Jamaica is a pretty fair specimen of what has passed in the neighbouring colonies.

Has the time, then arrived, when the Government may be considered as bound by their pledges to come to Parliament for fresh powers to execute its purposes? If not, it will be difficult to say in what circumstances, short of actual rebellion, its interference can ever be expedient. Mr. Huskisson, indeed, has not said that the time contemplated by Mr.

Canning may not have arrived, but his language on the 5th inst., if correctly reported, would seem to intimate that such interference would be inexpedient in almost any circumstances, his opinion being that little, if any thing, can be accomplished in the way of reform in the chartered slave colonies, except with the concurrence of the colonists. But if this reported opinion be correct, how does it happen that Government should have deemed it expedient to impose a whole slave code on Trinidad, not only without requiring, or waiting for the concurrence of the colonists of that island, but even against their open and declared opinions; and that Parliament should have approved and sanctioned such a course? What, then, are the peculiar circumstances which made it wise and beneficial in the Government to legislate for Trinidad, without the consent, and in opposition to the will of its inhabitants, which would make it unwise and injurious for the Crown to renew the same proceeding in Demerara, or for Parliament to legislate in like manner for Jamaica or Barbadoes? The power of Parliament is as unquestionable in the case of Jamaica as that of the Government is in the case of Trinidad; and why should the exercise of the power of Parliament be more ineffectual in the one case than the exercise of the power of the Government is in the other? Or are the proposed enactments less necessary in the one case than in the other? Are there not in both great and admitted evils to be redressed, which the legislature of Jamaica has refused to redress? Or are these evils to remain unredressed until those who are interested in maintaining them shall be pleased to pass laws for that purpose? The reported language of Mr. Huskisson would seem to imply the affirmative of this proposition. But what rational hope is there that the legislatures of Jamaica or Barbadoes, or of the other colonies, will pass laws enabling His Majesty, for example, to appoint independent protectors of their slaves, or to reform and purify the administration of justice in all that respects the relation of master and slave? Or may we hope that they will concurrently adopt into their code all the other reforms which His Majesty has recommended, and which have been declared by the Government and the Parliament, in perfect accordance with the universal voice of the nation, and even of the West Indian body in this country, to be imperatively demanded by justice, humanity, and sound policy? The reality and the magnitude of the evils to be redressed stand fully admitted in the recorded resolutions and reiterated votes of Parliament, and in the instructions and recommendations of His Majesty's Government during the last five years; and still more clearly, if possible, in the resistance of the colonies to their removal; and if any additional evidence to that effect were required, it would be found in the luminous despatch of Mr. Huskisson, which has been already referred to.

But notwithstanding these powerful considerations, it will still be argued, that without the concurrence of the colonists, nothing effectual can be achieved in the way of reform by the intervention of Parliament. Was there any want of power discovered in Parliament when it undertook to abolish the African Slave Trade, and to enforce its abolition within the colonies? And if Parliament were now to pass an act empowering His Majesty to purify and reform the administration of justice in our slave colonies, and to fill their courts with able and independent

judges; or to appoint protectors of the rights of the slaves, with clearly specified powers, in each colony; it is not very obvious that the salutary effect of such an enactment would very materially depend on the assent or dissent of the colonists. If a law were superadded which should make it imperative on the King's colonial courts to admit the evidence of slaves on the same principles which regulate the admission of evidence in the courts of this country, in what way could the non-concurrence of the colonists affect the validity and the salutary operation of such a law? And if, in conjunction with these most essential reforms, acts were passed, with suitable sanctions, which should abolish female flogging and the driving-whip; which should limit the hours of labour; which should legalize the marriage, and protect the connubial rights of slaves; which should prevent the separation of families; which should protect the slaves in acquiring, possessing, and transmitting property; which should give to them a day, in lieu of Sunday, for cultivating their grounds and for marketing; which should grant to them the right of redeeming themselves by a fair appraisement; which should restrain the abuse of the master's power of arbitrary punishment; and which should establish, under the control and supervision of competent courts, and independent and responsible functionaries, a regular system of record, report, and revision;—can any man, for a moment, believe that the beneficial tendency of such enactments would be wholly frustrated, because the colonists were unwilling to submit to them, or were loud in their remonstrances against them?

If there is to be any legislation at all for the purpose of removing these evils, it will be admitted that good laws, honestly framed with a view to their removal, and armed with adequate sanctions, must be more effectual to that object than bad laws, guarded by feeble or by no sanctions, framed by men who profess to see the ruin of their own interests in the ends to be attained by their enactment, and whose ingenuity, therefore, will be directed to render them as inoperative as is consistent with an apparent compliance. So far, at least, as the colonial statutes are justly chargeable with a want of uniformity and consistency, with inequality and injustice, and with the absence of adequate executory provisions, (and the reports of the legal commissioners fully establish the existence of such defects,) it would clearly be in the power of Parliament to apply a remedy. The object of Parliament in making laws would be to give effect to its own purposes. The object of the colonists in all the colonies, it is perfectly evident, would be, if they cannot resist, yet to elude their fulfilment. Besides, when it is considered how very contracted is the white population of the colonies, how many of them are in low and servile situations, and how few are qualified by their habits, intelligence, and capacity, to form wise and enlightened legislators, in points immediately affecting their pride, their passions, and their interests, it can hardly admit of a question, whether the task of legislating for the eight or nine hundred thousand black and coloured subjects of His Majesty in our slave colonies, shall be exercised by their own petty legislators, or by the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain.

We admit, indeed, that the best laws which it would be possible to

frame, might be attended with little benefit, if the administration of justice in the colonies should remain as it is. But its reform is an essential ingredient in the whole plan of improvement; and Governors, Judges, Attorney Generals, and Protectors, instead of being planters, dependent on assemblies of planters, must be men duly qualified for their offices, unconnected with colonial interests, receiving their appointments and instructions from the Crown, and responsible to the Crown for their conduct.

But though such a reform in the judicial and executive departments of the colonies would undoubtedly do something towards correcting the evils of the slave system, it may be argued that juries must still be composed of men imbued with colonial prejudices, and ready to frustrate the operation of every law that might be obnoxious to them. This, to a certain degree, is true. There is, however, a large share of the administration of courts of justice, which is in the hands of judges, independently of juries, and even where it is not, the presence and directions of an enlightened and unbiassed judge, and the establishment of a proper system of record, revision, and publicity, could not fail to be attended with a powerful and salutary influence.

May not, also, some part of the evil which is contemplated be effectually obviated by admitting into the list of jurors such free blacks and persons of colour as are duly qualified by their property and intelligence? Aliens are entitled in our courts to have a moiety of their peers, aliens like themselves. It seems to be inconsistent with justice that native born subjects of the King, qualified by their property, intelligence, and loyalty to act as jurors, should be excluded, merely on account of their complexion, from the exercise of one of the dearest rights of the British constitution.

In British India the principle we now recommend has been adopted with advantage, and one of the last pledges given by Mr. Canning in the name of His Majesty's Government, was, that if the colonial legislatures should refuse to do justice to the free people of colour by admitting them to a fair participation in the civil and political rights to which, as British subjects, they were entitled, he should regard it as the duty of Parliament to interfere in their behalf.

Little or nothing, we are told, can be effected in the way of reform in the slave colonies without the concurrence of the colonists. The very statement of such a proposition from such authority, tends to take away the hope of any such concurrence.

May not the West Indians, in fact, understand it as saying to them, "so long as you persist in refusing your concurrence, you are safe from those innovations which you so much dread?" It seems, indeed, to take away the only motive which ever has produced, or perhaps ever will produce, any even seeming compliance, on the part of the colonial legislatures, with the wishes of the mother country; the dread of parliamentary interference; while it goes to vacate at once the pledges of Government to parliament and the public, respecting the course to be taken in case of continued disappointment.

Is it not quite a new maxim in legislation, that the concurrence of the parties who are to be restrained from wrong, shall be required to

render the laws, imposing the restraint, effectual? What would have been said to such a proposition in the case of the Luddites, or of any other set of evil doers in this country?

Let us never lose sight in this view of the memorable words of Mr. Canning. "*Trust not,*" said that enlightened Statesman, "*the masters of slaves in what concerns legislation for slavery. However specious their laws may appear, depend upon it they must be ineffectual in their operation. It is in the nature of things that they should be so.*" —"LET THEN THE BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS DO THEIR PART THEMSELVES. LET THEM NOT DELEGATE THE TRUST OF DOING IT TO THOSE WHO CANNOT EXECUTE THAT TRUST FAIRLY. *Let the evil be remedied by an Assembly of freemen, by the Government of a free people, and not by the masters of slaves.* THEIR LAWS CAN NEVER REACH, COULD NEVER CURE THE EVIL." "*There is something in the nature of absolute authority, in the relation between master and slave, which makes despotism in* ALL *cases, and under* ALL *circumstances, an incompetent and unsure executor even of its own provisions in favour of the objects of its power.*"

The eternal truth of these maxims, applied at the time to the Slave Trade, loses none of its force when applied to slavery; and it has been abundantly confirmed by the fatal experience of nearly thirty years, which have since elapsed, of protracted misery and oppression to the slave, and of unceasing resistance on the part of the master to every effort to alleviate that misery or to terminate that oppression. What indeed now remains to us, but to act on the wise and salutary counsel given to us by Mr. Canning, in 1799, and our past neglect of which has entailed so many evils on the wretched African race? LET THE BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS DO THEIR PART THEMSELVES, and let them not continue any longer to DELEGATE THE TRUST OF DOING IT TO THOSE WHO CANNOT EXECUTE THAT TRUST FAIRLY.

TABLE exhibiting the manner in which the propositions of the Government have been carried into effect.

In this Table, the Roman capitals A. P. and I. are used for the sake of brevity, to mark, under these several heads, the degree of progress made in the legislation of each Colony.
A. denotes the *Adoption* of the particular head of Reform.
P. its *Partial* Adoption.
I. its *Inefficient* Adoption.

	Number of Slaves.	I. To provide the means of Education and religious Instruction to the Slaves.	II. To put an end to Sunday Markets.	III. To make Sunday, to the Slaves, a day of rest and of religious observance.	IV. To allow Slaves time, in lieu of Sunday, for cultivating grounds and marketing.	V. To admit the testimony of Slaves, under restrictions, in civil and criminal cases.	VI. To legalize marriage among Slaves, and to protect their connubial rights.	VII. To prevent the separation of families by sale.	VIII. To prevent the sale of Slaves detached from plantation to which they belong.	IX. To protect the Slaves in acquiring, possessing, and transmitting property.	X. To establish Savings' Banks for the safeguard of their property.	XI. To abolish all taxes on manumission.	XII. To grant to the Slaves a right of redeeming themselves, or any of their family.	XIII. To limit the power of arbitrary punishment, and to restrain its abuse.	XIV. That a record be kept, and return made, of all arbitrary punishment.	XV. To abolish entirely the practice of flogging females.	XVI. To abolish entirely the use of the driving whip, as a stimulus to labour.	XVII. To appoint Protectors of the Slaves in every Colony.	XVIII. That no Protector of Slaves, or other Functionary, be allowed to hold Slaves.	XIX. The presumption of law shall be in favour of freedom.	XX. To purify the administration of Justice.
CROWN COLONIES.																					
1. Trinidad	22,500	-	-	P	-	P	A	P	-	A	A	A	A	P	P	A	A	A	P	A	-
2. Berbice	23,000	-	-	-	-	P	P	P	-	P	P	A	I	-	P	A	A	A	P	-	-
3. Cape of Good Hope	35,500	-	A	P	-	A	A	P	-	A	A	A	A	A	P	P	A	A	P	-	-
4. Demerara	74,000	-	-	-	-	P	P	P	-	P	P	A	-	-	P	A	A	A	P	-	-
5. Honduras	2,400	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6. Mauritius	80,000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7. St. Lucia	13,500	-	-	-	P	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	P	P	P	A	A	P	A	-
CHARTERED COLONIES.																					
8. Antigua	32,000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9. Bahamas	10,000	-	-	-	-	I	P	P	-	P	P	A	I	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-
10. Barbadoes	79,000	-	A	-	-	P	P	P	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11. Bermuda	5,200	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12. Dominica	15,500	-	-	-	-	I	-	P	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
13. Grenada	24,500	-	-	-	-	I	I	P	-	I	-	A	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	A	-
14. Jamaica	336,000	-	-	-	-	P	I	P	-	-	-	A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
15. Montserrat	6,000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
16. Nevis	9,000	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
17. St. Christophers	18,500	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
18. St. Vincents	23,500	-	-	-	-	I	I	P	-	I	-	P	-	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	-
19. Tobago	13,500	-	A	-	-	I	-	-	-	I	-	-	-	P	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
. Virgin Islands	5,400	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Sugar Duties and Bounties.

It is with no small regret we have heard that it is the intention of Government to increase the bounty on sugar, and to introduce other arrangements, the effects of which, as it appears to us, are likely to be, not only prejudicial to our commercial interests, but extremely burdensome to the people of this country, and highly injurious to the well-being of the wretched slaves in our colonies.

In 1826, the sugar bounties were reduced to one half of their former amount. We trusted that this was but a prelude to the abolition of all bounties and of all protections on that article. It now is reported that Government are about to retrace their steps; and that in violation of their own avowed principles of commercial policy; in disregard of the many hundred petitions from all parts of the kingdom, addressed to Parliament in the two last years, calling for the abolition of all such restrictions; in the face of the resistance of the colonies to the wishes of the Government, the Parliament, and the Public, on the subject of reform; they are about to recur to the former scale of bounties, by which, in consequence of the improvements introduced into the process of refining, we believe, that a much larger sum than before, will be taken from the pockets of the people of this country, and transferred into the pockets of the British growers of sugar by slave labour. As well might that sum be at once proposed to be voted by Parliament to these sugar planters. The effect would be the same, though the process, in the actual case, may be so complicated as to prevent the mind from being equally revolted by it. What we above all, however, lament in the proposed arrangement, is the necessarily malign influence which it will exercise on the slave population, by the increased exaction of labour to which it will lead, in order that their masters may profit by the enhanced prices while they last.

But we have no room to enlarge. The country may expect soon to hear again on this subject, provided the plan so currently talked of shall be brought before Parliament.

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ANTI-SLAVERY
MONTHLY REPORTER.

No. 35.] For APRIL, 1828. [No. 11. Vol. ii.

The "Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter" will be ready for delivery on the first day of every month. Copies will be forwarded at the request of any Anti-Slavery Society, at the rate of four shillings per hundred, when not exceeding half a sheet, and in proportion, when it exceeds that quantity. All persons wishing to receive a regular supply are requested to make application to the Secretary, at the Society's office, No. 18, Aldermanbury, and mention the conveyance by which they may be most conveniently sent. Single Copies may be had of all booksellers and newsmen, at the rate of 1*d.* per half-sheet of eight pages, or 2*d.* per sheet of sixteen pages.

SUMMARY VIEW OF THE PRESENT STATE OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY QUESTION;—EFFECTS OF BOUNTIES AND PROTECTING DUTIES.

The sanguine hope which the parliamentary Resolutions of the 15th of May 1823, justly excited, that *early*, *effectual*, and *decisive* measures would be taken to ameliorate the condition of the slave population of the British Colonies, and to raise them to "*a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of His Majesty's subjects*," has been most painfully disappointed by the result. Year after year has passed away without the adoption of those effectual and decisive measures for this purpose, to which the Government and the Parliament were then solemnly pledged. No adequate remedy has yet been provided for the great and acknowledged evils of slavery. Five years have been wasted in fruitless negociations with the men who conceive themselves interested in upholding those evils, and the prospect of their removal seems, at the present moment, as distant as when the pledges in question were first given.

Neither in Trinidad, which, it was proposed, should furnish a model of reform to the other Colonies, nor in any of the Colonies which have no legislative assemblies of their own, has the unquestionable power of the Crown been adequately exerted to give effect to its own declared purposes of justice and mercy. In some of them, certain improvements in the legal condition of the slave have been rendered almost a dead letter by the absence of others, the concurrence of which is necessary to their efficiency. Nor is there one of them in which, though they are all wholly subject to the legislation of the Crown, the reforms hitherto enacted have not fallen far below the promise originally held out to the public. Consequently, even in these Colonies, there is as yet little abatement of those evils of the system, which first excited the attention of Parliament. Even that measure of giving the slave a right to purchase his own freedom, at a fair appraisement, by the fruits of his industry, which Earl Bathurst stated to be an indispensable part of the proposed plan of improvement, and from which, he added, neither the

Parliament nor People of this country would be diverted, seems now about to be abandoned in deference to the selfish and ignorant clamours of the planters. In the Colony of Trinidad itself, where, indeed, this important law had been established before its cession to Great Britain, it has been rendered nearly inoperative, since the promulgation of the late Order in Council, by the unjust conduct of the Planters who have been called to administer it. (See the last No. p. 185—195.)

In the Slave Colonies, having assemblies of their own, the state of things is still less satisfactory; and it now seems perfectly clear, that without the direct intervention of Parliament, there is not the smallest hope of seeing His Majesty's recommendations there carried into effect; those assemblies having, with one concurrent determination, either rejected them entirely, or having adopted in lieu of them such partial and ineffective measures as serve only to elude and defeat their object.

In none of the Colonies have adequate means of education or instruction as yet been provided for the slaves. In none of them but two, Barbadoes and Tobago, has an end been put to Sunday markets; without, however, appointing any other market day for the slaves. Sunday labour has been no where precluded by giving equivalent time in lieu of Sunday to the slave, who is still forced to toil either for his master or for his own subsistence and that of his family during seven days of the week. The testimony of slaves is not yet admitted in the King's Courts to any beneficial purpose. The sacred institution of marriage, though with some nominal recognition of it, is still almost entirely neglected. Families are still allowed to be separated, by all but judicial sales, except in St. Lucia. The power of redeeming themselves by the fruits of their own industry at a fair appraisement, as well as the real and effective rights of property, are still generally withheld from the slaves; while little or nothing has yet been done to prevent the abuse of the master's power of punishment. The practice of flogging females, and the use of the cart whip in the field are obstinately retained in all the *chartered* Colonies; while in none of them have independent and impartial guardians been appointed to watch over the execution of the laws for the protection of the slaves. The presumption of law is still, except in the Colonies of Trinidad, St. Lucia, and Grenada, in favour of the slavery, and against the freedom of all who have not a white skin. And in all the Colonies, the administration of justice is most defective; while the laws themselves are harsh, oppressive, and unequal, denying to the slaves even the common rights of humanity, and to the free people, whether black or coloured, any fair participation in the civil and political privileges of British subjects.

After the resolutions which have been adopted, and the pledges which have been given on this subject, not merely in deference to the public opinion, so generally expressed, but apparently from a conviction, in the minds of our public men, and even of the West Indians themselves holding seats in Parliament, of the absolute necessity of the proposed reforms, the above statement will appear to be scarcely credible. But, in proof of it, it is only necessary to refer to the official documents laid on the table of Parliament, of which an abstract will be found in the seven last Numbers of the Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter, viz.

No. 28—34.* The existence of the flagrant evils which have been specified as characterizing the system of Colonial Slavery, it is true, has been disputed; but their reality is most unquestionably proved, in opposition to all contrary assertions, not only by direct testimony, but by the very nature of the reforms recommended by His Majesty's Government, with the consent of the West India body at home, and still more by the determined resistance of the Colonists abroad to the adoption of them. If the evils proposed to be redressed had not had a real existence, the Colonists would have been eager to adopt, in their own vindication, the proposed enactments, which, in that case, would have cost them nothing.

It is certainly discreditable to the national character, as well as criminal in itself, that such a state of things should exist in any part of the British dominions;—that nearly a million of the King's subjects should be suffered to continue in a condition of life thus degraded and oppressed, outcasts from the pale of the British Constitution, and even from that of humanity itself; nay that thousands of children should yet yearly be born to no inheritance but that of this hopeless bondage. Is it too much then to expect that the requisite means should at length, and without further delay, be taken by Parliament, to remedy this tremendous evil, by carrying into effect, not any new or rash measures which have not been fully considered and matured, but the very measures to which, with the general concurrence of the West Indian body in this country, the Government and the Parliament have been actually pledged for the last five years?

Surely the time is now fully come when the work of reform, so long and so distinctly promised, should not be confined, as hitherto, to mere ineffective recommendation; but when Government should do that in the unchartered Colonies which yet remains undone there, and when Parliament should do that in the Chartered Colonies which the Colonial Assemblies have been called upon in vain to do for themselves, and which, if it should be left to them, will never be done at all.†

But notwithstanding the continued refusal of the Colonial authorities to comply with the recommendations of the Government, it is understood that it is not the intention of His Majesty's Ministers to call for the intervention of Parliament, or even to deprive the slave holders of the fiscal protection which their produce has been hitherto receiving; but that on the contrary it is intended, by reinstating the sugar bounties on their former footing, to increase the already large sum, which is annually transferred from the pockets of the British public into the pockets of the growers of sugar by slave labour.

The marked encouragement thus given to the produce of slave labour in preference to that of free labour has, doubtless, hitherto been, and, we fear, will continue to be, one great cause of the failure of the hopes of the nation on the subject of Colonial Reform.

This injurious policy commenced in 1815, in favour of West Indian

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* See also for further proofs, if necessary, Nos. 5, 7, 11, 16, 18, 19, 21, and 26.

† See the ever-memorable words of Mr. Canning on this subject, in the last No. p. 202.

sugar, and has since been made to embrace, by an unhappy partiality, the only slave Colony possessed by His Majesty to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, the Mauritius, while the sugar grown by free labour, in all other parts of the British dominions, is loaded with additional duties for the sole benefit of those who hold 825,000 of their fellow-subjects in cruel bondage.*

Such a course of proceeding is wholly inconsistent with those principles of sound commercial policy which have been recommended from the Throne, and recognized and sanctioned by Parliament. It is both unjust and oppressive towards more than 80 millions of our Asiatic fellow subjects, whose interests are sacrificed to a few hundreds of West Indian and Mauritius sugar planters. It is attended with serious injury to the British commercial and shipping interests connected with our eastern empire; and it is highly prejudicial to the whole population of the United Kingdom.

The extensive distress which has prevailed among the labouring classes of this country, is admitted to have arisen from a want of adequate employment; and for this evil some effectual remedy is now anxiously sought by Parliament, in emigration, or in some other expedient equally costly. But what remedy is likely to be more easy and effectual for alleviating its pressure, than that of obtaining a freer vent for the products of British industry among the swarming population of His Majesty's Asiatic dominions? This obvious and practicable source of relief, however, is in no small measure precluded by our refusing to admit the produce of those dominions into the markets of Great Britain, on fair and equal terms.

The impolicy and injustice of thus preferring to the clear claims both of our own population, and of our fellow-subjects in the East, the interests of the growers of sugar, coffee, &c. by slaves, are too manifest to be insisted upon. But there is a consideration of still deeper importance which should induce the people of this country earnestly to press this subject on the attention of the legislature, being, indeed, the very consideration which chiefly prompted the very numerous and numerously signed petitions respecting it, addressed to Parliament in the last and preceding Sessions.

The consideration here alluded to, is the undoubted tendency of bounties and protecting duties on slave grown produce to perpetuate and aggravate the worst evils of that system of Colonial Slavery which the people of this country justly regard as being essentially inhuman, impolitic, and unjust;—a flagrant violation of the laws of God and the rights of man.

The regulations which go to encourage the produce of slave labour, and proportionably to discourage that of free labour, while they obviously tend to involve this country in the guilt of upholding slavery, are also wholly and directly at variance with the Resolutions which (in con-

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* The misery and the mortality of the slaves in the Mauritius, we believe greatly to surpass what takes place in any of our other Slave Colonies. This has partly arisen from the extraordinary cheapness with which, from its vicinity to the slave market, the waste of the human stock can there be repaired.

currence with the almost universal voice of the British nation) Parliament adopted in May, 1823, for mitigating, and ultimately extinguishing the condition of slavery throughout the British dominions. For it is unquestionable, that no mere resolutions or declarations, no mere recommendations or even enactments can have any material effect in abating the malignity of Colonial Slavery, while we distinguish the slave holder by peculiar favours, and indemnify him by a high bonus for the waste of negro life, which the forced culture of sugar, as conducted in our Colonies, must ever occasion.

It is, therefore, matter of the deepest concern, that the advantages hitherto given to the growers of sugar by slaves, instead of being wholly abolished, as, from the many hundreds of petitions on the subject, might have been hoped, are to be continued and, we are told, even increased, in favour of those who hold 825,000 of His Majesty's unoffending subjects in bondage; and that this costly and pernicious indulgence is to be extended to them, at the very time that they are manifesting a determined resistance to the benevolent recommendations of His Majesty to improve the condition of their bondsmen. And does it not form an additional objection to the continuance, and still more to the increase of this odious and unpopular impost on the people of Great Britain, for the exclusive benefit of those who hold their innocent fellow-subjects in slavery, that the necessity has been felt of effectual retrenchment in every other branch of the national expenditure?

If the proposed changes in the sugar duties have been correctly stated to the public, and should pass into a law, their effect can only be still more to favour, at the expense of the British public, the interests of the growers of that article by slave labour, to the injury of all His Majesty's subjects who raise it by their own free labour.

The bonus thus given to the growers of sugar by slaves, will amount to a very large sum. Even on the existing scale of duties and drawbacks, it is moderately estimated at more than £750,000; and if the former bounties shall be restored, it will amount to above £1,200,000, independently of the sum annually expended in the naval, military, and civil establishments of our Slave Colonies, and which is calculated to amount to about two millions sterling.

But whether the sum which is to be divided annually among the growers of sugar by slave labour be £750,000, or £1,200,000; to such an appropriation of their money the people of this country will ever entertain objections of the gravest kind; nor will they perceive any essential difference between a parliamentary vote of that sum to the growers of sugar by slave labour, and a fiscal arrangement which shall secure to them the same amount in some other way; for under whatever complexity of arrangement the transaction may be disguised, its real effect is the same.

It is maintained, indeed, by those who hold their unoffending fellow-subjects in bondage, and under the influence of their representations by some persons of high name, that the comfort and well being of the slave population in His Majesty's Colonies require the continuance and even increase of the bounty and protecting duty on slave grown produce; because, they argue, whatever lessens the profits of the planter

and deteriorates *his* condition, must of necessity abridge the comforts and increase the privations of the slave.

Such a position, however, is founded in the most complete misapprehension of the real effect of such an arrangement, arising probably, on the part of some, from their inconsiderately confounding the case of free labourers, working voluntarily for wages, with that of slaves compelled to work by the lash.

It is not denied, indeed, that high prices and increased profits tend to the benefit of the free labourer as well as of the Capitalist who employs him; but the result is altogether different in the case of slaves, who receive no wages, and who are *driven* to their work by the whip. These stand in the same relation to the planter in which his machinery stands to the manufacturer, and are equally liable with such machinery to be worn down by the increased action which is the infallible effect of an increased demand for the article produced. When an article produced by free labour rises in demand, the labourer obtains a part of the increased price in the higher wages which he forces his employer to give him. When a similar rise takes place in an article produced by slave labour, the planter may put the whole increase into his own pocket, and extort whatever labour he may require, out of the slave, by means of the lash.

That the factitious rise in the price of sugar, for example, which is caused by monopoly, or by bounties tending to enhance the planter's profits, instead of being beneficial, is most injurious to the slave, may be established not only by reasoning, but by facts drawn from the official documents furnished to Parliament by the Colonists themselves.

Of these facts, one of the most striking is the increased waste of slave life which occurs in every Colony where the superior fertility of the soil increases the profits of slave labour, and adds to the quantity of the article on which the bounty operates.

On this point, as well as on the commercial part of the question, very full and ample details will be found in the second Report of the Anti-Slavery Society, p. 16—33, and in the Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter, Nos. 17, 22, 24, and 26. On the present occasion, therefore, it may be sufficient merely to advert to the confirmation which the positions there maintained derive from the following facts, to which many more of the same kind, drawn from a comparison of the production and mortality of all the Slave Colonies, might easily be added.

The Bahamas, from the poverty of the soil, produce no sugar nor any other article of exportable produce entitled to protection in the British market; but the slave population has there increased more rapidly than in any other Colony, namely, at the rate of from 2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum.

The Colony of Barbadoes, containing 80,000 slaves, produces on an average only about 280,000 cwt. of sugar annually, being only about $3\frac{1}{2}$ cwt. for each slave, and there we have a small increase of the slave population amounting to from $\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum.

The Colony of Trinidad, containing a population of only 23,000 slaves, makes annually nearly as much sugar as Barbadoes, namely, 275,000 cwt. being at the rate of nearly 12 cwt. for each slave; but

the decrease of the slaves in that island amounts to the enormous rate of $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. per annum.

Now, if it were true that the greater prosperity and the higher profits of the planters tended to promote the greater comfort as well as increase of their slaves, then the slaves of Trinidad would be much better off, and would increase faster than those who cultivate the inferior soil of Barbadoes, and still more as compared with those who cultivate the Bahamas;—but the fact is directly the reverse of this assumption.

The decrease in Trinidad, yielding 12 cwt. of sugar for each slave, is $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. per annum; while in Barbadoes, yielding only $3\frac{1}{2}$ cwt. of sugar for each slave, there is a small increase of from $\frac{1}{3}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; and in the Bahamas, where no sugar at all is grown, there is an increase of from 2 to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum.*

It does not appear that the extraordinary waste of negro life which takes place in Trinidad, and in the Colonies similarly circumstanced, can be satisfactorily accounted for, except by the strong temptation to an undue exaction of slave labour, which is held out to the planters by the superior productiveness of their soil, and by the consequently superior share they are enabled to obtain of the fiscal advantages granted to slave-grown sugar; and which serves to indemnify them for the loss of their human stock, and to support them splendidly at home, in the utter neglect of their wretched dependents, whom they abandon to the tender mercies of hirelings; while it procures for them seats in Parliament, by means of which they may control the Government, and enrich themselves at the expense of the country.

An attempt indeed has been made by the planters of Trinidad to account for the large decrease among their slaves, by alleging a great disparity of the sexes as the cause of it; but this allegation is contradicted by the population returns of 1825, from which it will be seen that the sexes are nearly equal, the male slaves amounting to 11,908, and the female slaves to 11,209.†

And while the negro slave population in Trinidad is thus rapidly wasting away, though the sexes are nearly equal, it appears that a body of free negroes brought thither, in 1816, from the United States of America and the shores of Africa, with a much greater disproportion of the sexes, have, since that time, increased at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum, so as to form a singular and instructive contrast with the rapid decrease of the negro slaves around them.‡

The same parliamentary document which has made known the last mentioned fact, contains a further proof that the waste of negro life in Trinidad is really owing to the undue quantity of labour which the

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* It were easy to go through the whole of the Slave Colonies in the same manner, comparing for example Dominica, Jamaica, Montserrat, and Antigua, yielding from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 cwt. of sugar per negro, and where the decrease varies from nothing to half per cent.; with Demerara, Grenada, St. Vincent's, and Tobago, where from 8 to 10 cwt. of sugar are produced per negro, and where the decrease varies from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to upwards of 2 per cent. per annum—but it will be enough to refer the reader to the Reporter, No. 26, p. 11—16.

† See Parliamentary Papers of 1826, No. 353, p. 752.

‡ See Parliamentary Papers of 1827, No. 479, p. 2 and 30.

planters are tempted to exact. Mr. Mitchell, an experienced sugar planter, who had resided twenty-seven years in Trinidad, certifies, that the reason why the free labourers of Trinidad, though ready to work for hire on sugar estates, *from sunrise to sunset*, (a reasonable period of labour surely in that climate!) will not submit to the toil of the slave, is this, that the slave, in many instances, (meaning the period of crop, which lasts from four to five months) is forced to work *eighteen hours out of the twenty-four*, "which constant labour the free labourer," he says, "will not submit to, whose easy circumstances render him independent."*

Is it possible that in such a climate, the exaction of eighteen hours labour in the day, without even the rest of a Sabbath to recruit the exhausted frame, should not produce misery and death? †

In Trinidad, also, it is to be remembered that the *legal* condition of the slaves is superior to that of the slaves in the other British Slave Colonies. It may therefore be fairly ascribed to the irresistible influence of those powerful temptations to undue exaction which high prices and high profits present, that with a more favourable code of laws the slaves should there decrease more rapidly than in any other Colony in the West Indies, while the free negroes around them are increasing in an equally rapid ratio.

These are some of the considerations which seem to require that every effort should be made to induce Parliament to take into its own hands the work of amelioration, which has been so lamentably retarded by being referred to the Colonists; and to fulfil at length the just expectations of the public by carrying into complete effect, in every Slave Colony belonging to His Majesty, those reforms which have been promised, continuing its vigilant intervention until the condition of slavery shall cease in every part of His Majesty's dominions; and, in the mean time, entirely to do away with all those bounties and protecting duties which have been granted in favour of slave grown produce, and which, while they increase the sufferings of the slave, tend to involve the nation in the guilt of aiding to uphold a system which it has recognized and denounced as inhuman, immoral, and unjust.

Is it possible calmly to weigh the preceding statements without feeling that they call loudly for the best exertions of every individual who has any regard for the favour of God, or for the honour of his country; or who has a heart to sympathize in the sufferings of his fellow creatures?

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* See Parliamentary Papers of 1827, No. 479. p. 33.

† See this subject elucidated in the Reporter, No. 18, where the unquestionably competent testimony of Major Moody, many years employed in coercing the labour of slaves, is adduced in proof of the asserted misery of such continuous toil.

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ANTI-SLAVERY

MONTHLY REPORTER.

No. 36.] For MAY, 1828. [No. 12. Vol. ii.

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GENERAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY:—SPEECHES OF MR. BROUGHAM, MR. WILBERFORCE, MR. DENMAN, SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH, MR. BUXTON, HON. & REV. G. NOEL, REV. J. W. CUNNINGHAM, MR. SYKES, AND THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER.—PUBLIC MEETINGS IN THE COUNTRY.—NEW WORKS.

On the 3rd instant, a general meeting of the members and friends of the London Anti-Slavery Society, was held in the Freemasons' Hall, His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester in the Chair. The Hall was completely filled. The business of the day opened with reading a Report, the substance of which will be found in the preceding number of the Reporter, (No. 35.) so that it need not here be repeated. The only new matter contained in it, respected the increase of those excellent and useful institutions Ladies' Associations, and the wider circulation of the Reporter (only 15,000 being now circulated monthly); both which measures were strongly recommended, as means of awakening and extending the public interest in this great cause.

Mr. Brougham rose to move the adoption of the Report. "I feel," he said, "that an apology is justly due to your Royal Highness and this meeting, for presuming to address you thus early, and thereby to delay, though but for a few moments, the high gratification of your hearing once more lifted up in this place, that voice so dear to humanity and freedom, which sounded the trumpet of our earliest victory, and is now happily and mercifully preserved to marshal us to our latest triumph! (*loud cheers.*) The necessity of my quitting you, on an indispensable avocation of a professional nature elsewhere, is my only justification for thus interposing myself to your wishes, though for a very brief space.

"That we now meet with better hopes of success, I think I may venture to assert, when I see so many around me whom opposition has only made more zealous and united in their efforts, and whose zeal has not been damped, though tried by a test far more severe than open conflict,—I mean disappointment and delay: and it furnishes fresh and solid ground of confidence, that even disappointment and delay have only increased our union and our zeal! I appeal in proof of this to the meeting assembled before me, and I confidently ask you, whether it may not be advantageously compared, in point of its number and respectability, with any former meeting assembled within these walls on the like sacred and animating occasion?

"But then it may be said, have we no fears in another quarter? Fears there may be; but it will be our own fault if they continue long to disturb us. Let us but persevere in our exertions, and let the example of our activity and perseverance be followed by the rest of the country, and in those quarters where

alone opposition may continue to exist—whether it be in the executive or legislative, it must finally cease :—the public voice duly exerted must finally prevail.

"I am sure that in prefacing my motion it is wholly unnecessary for me to dwell upon any of the topics which the excellent report now read embraces. On those topics you will be addressed by those who are to follow me; but this I would have you keep in mind, that you can expect little to be effected, unless Parliament is made well and betimes acquainted with the clear and unvarying sense of the people on this great question;—unless Parliament, and those over whom Parliament exercises a wholesome, and upon all occasions a necessary—but upon no question so necessary a control, as the question of West India Slavery—I mean the Government of the country—are made acquainted with the firm and unalterable resolution of the people of England, that that for which no argument can be urged shall cease to stain our legislative enactments, and to be a blot upon the character of our country, and a curse to so many of our fellow subjects, —shall be made, I say, to cease, and that within a reasonable time—not rashly —not suddenly—not without due preparation on the one hand; but on the other, not to be deferred indefinitely as now, until it shall appear that the progress we pretended to make is either that of standing stock still, or of going right backwards. Unless, I repeat it, the opinion shall be impressed on the Legislature of your solemn determination, that early and efficacious measures shall be adopted, for accomplishing the wishes of the people, and the resolutions of Parliament on this subject, it is my firm belief that your disappointment will be renewed, and that neither Government will effect, nor Parliament enforce, those reforms which they have promised to effect in compliance with the universal voice of the English people!"

Mr. Brougham quitted the room amid universal cheering, which burst out anew on Mr. Wilberforce rising to second the motion.

Mr. Wilberforce. "I rise to second the motion of my honourable and too partial friend, and in the last sentiment which he has expressed I fully and entirely concur. Unless the people of this country come forward with a zeal and a unanimity worthy of themselves—worthy of their history—worthy of the country to which they belong; we shall in vain expect, within any time to which we can look forward, to see Slavery abolished in our Colonies.

"Sir, it is, I confess, with a melancholy retrospect that I review the years that have passed. If we compare our prospects at the present moment with what they were even many years ago, even many years earlier than the period to which my honourable friend has adverted, we shall find that we have been indeed far from advancing, and that our progress has been of that kind which he justly stated to be even worse, than mere standing still; actually going backward. It was not in the year 1823 that Parliament first came to resolutions, which afforded a well grounded hope that we should see immediate measures adopted in the Colonies for giving effect to our wishes: I must go back to a still earlier period, to a period when even one of the most moderate of our statesmen, of those who considered themselves as the most prudent and sober-minded men, looked forward to the termination of slavery in a very few years. By those who are acquainted with the history of this great cause, it may be remembered that in that year in which the grand contest took place respecting the abolition of the slave trade, I mean the year 1792, many of our opponents sought to defeat our efforts by charging us with intending the *immediate* emancipation of the Negroes. But though *we* did not bring forward at that time any such proposition, yet, it will be remembered that Mr. Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville, did, in that very year 1792, standing in his place in Parliament, propose that all Negroes that should be born in the West India Islands subsequently to the first of January 1800, should be born and live free; and that from that day not a slave should ever be born in the British Dominions. If that proposal had been carried into effect, there would at this time scarcely have been a single slave existing in our Colonies. And by whom was that proposition proposed—by whom was it supported? Why, by the great opponent of the immediate abolition of the slave trade, by Mr. Dundas, the chosen advocate of the Colonists, and who came forward expressly in that character; and who yet fixed on eight years as the period which he himself proposed publicly to Parliament in his place, for commencing the total termination and extinction of slavery.

Shall *we* then be deemed hasty or presumptuous if we expect now, after all the time that has passed, to be making some progress to the same end? It is really shocking to think that we should have retrograded so far as we have done; that Englishmen should so far have forgotten their obligations to see that every subject of the empire enjoys the blessings of freedom, as coldly and calmly to acquiesce in the prolonged continuance of slavery in the British Colonies; and to be satisfied with a sort of distant view of eventual freedom, feebly and languidly speculating and hoping, as if it might, at some time or other, perhaps a century or two hence,—ultimately—we know not how or when,—take place!

"It is really necessary, Sir, that this country should exert itself, and in that view I see with pleasure so respectable a meeting as this, because it tends to shew that sympathy with the state of our suffering fellow-subjects in the West Indies is still felt, is not extinct within us. And it would indeed be strange, considering whom I address—a Prince of that house, which is the natural defender and patron of our liberties, and which was called over to the throne of this country for that very purpose—I say it would indeed be very strange, if under that patronage, with such a feeling in favour of our cause as I witness around me;—it would be strange if we were to despair under such circumstances as these! But, Sir, I have lived too long not to know that sensibility is no match for self-interest;—and if people will not act upon the principle of eternal and immutable justice, and consider themselves as bound to obey the laws of God, and to respect the true rights of man, they trust merely to a superficial and evanescent feeling, which will in the end disappoint us, and leave those poor creatures to remain sunk in their present state of degradation and misery!

"I have said, that in some respects things are even worse than they were, rather than better. And here I must say, that it was well advised in the Report that we should make ourselves acquainted with the details in the different numbers of the Anti-Slavery Reporter, especially the late numbers, in which a view is given of the tardy, and in some respects, backward progress of Colonial Reform.

"I know that there is a danger of persons being wearied, with the same tale, month after month on the same subject. But, it would be indeed a disgrace to us, if while we can read, without tiring, the productions of fancy and imagined tales of distress, we can shut our eyes and ears to the real practical grievances and miseries, which are suffered by those whose cause we are bound to vindicate, and whose claim to be considered and treated as our fellow-creatures, and our fellow-subjects, we are bound to respect and enforce.

"The Reporters tell us that, a year or two ago, my Lord Bathurst, then Minister, sent over to the West India Islands, a variety of propositions arranged in eight different bills, in which were embodied the great principles of reform which had been declared by Mr. Canning, in 1823, to be those on which the Government meant to insist. Every one of those bills was rejected at once by almost all the Colonial Assemblies,—and especially by the Island of Jamaica. And not only so, but in that island they substituted another measure of their own, called a consolidated slave law; containing little more than a repetition of their former odious and oppressive enactments, some being added which really were still more detestable—intrenching more upon the rights of men and upon their dearest interests, than it could have been thought possible any assembly would have ventured upon, even if not from a sense of decency, and respect for the feelings of others—at least from a regard to their own character and interests. I allude to the clauses which not only restricted the freeness of religious worship and instruction, but made it penal for these poor creatures to be found contributing their mite to promote any religious object, or to aid in rescuing themselves from their state of darkness and ignorance, by any payment to religious teachers not of the Church of England; while at the same time it was notoriously impossible, by their own confession, that the slaves should enjoy the ministrations of the Clergy of that Church. Even in the island of Jamaica itself, the Bishop states that, for a population of 400,000 souls, there is only room in all the churches of the island for 11,500 hearers. And even if the poor slaves were to

go to these Churches, they are in far too low a state to receive instruction from men educated at Oxford and Cambridge. Ah! Sir, the teaching they require is of a different kind. And there have been persons, blessed be God, who to their honour have gone forth to teach them;—Missionaries who have gone forth with the warmth of the true religion glowing in their hearts; and by whom benefits have been conferred which have been amply acknowledged by the planters themselves, in Antigua especially, and various other islands. And independently of all the spiritual benefits they have conferred, it has been further acknowledged that they have been of the greatest service in promoting the peace and order of the colonies. And so it ever will be; for that religion which comes from God, if cordially embraced, will not only carry people to a better world, but it will scatter blessings in profusion on the right hand and on the left in all the line of its progress.

"But to return: the Assembly of Jamaica have gone still further in their measures of hostility to religious instruction; they have passed a law to forbid one poor slave from giving instruction to another, and to prevent all meetings whatever for religious purposes, after sunset, when we know that until after sunset the slaves are always employed in the work of the field. Now think only of this.—It would have been some consolation, Sir, to think that these poor creatures could be compensated for all their sufferings in this world, by our being allowed to impart to them that religion which would make them happy in a better. But for men thus to labour to keep them in darkness and ignorance;—thus to prevent them from becoming acquainted with true religion;—thus to debar them from that only solace for their sufferings;—that only principle which can support them under the load of the life of anguish that they have to endure! Oh! there is something in this so monstrous as to shock every feeling of humanity, and to indicate a singular hardness of heart towards these poor creatures, who seem to be considered as below the dignity of human beings, and therefore below the sphere of moral and religious instruction. Taking this then as an indication of the state of colonial feeling with regard to the slaves, we cannot but view it with the greatest horror, and feel more strongly the indispensable obligation we are under to interfere. I am happy to say His Majesty's Government has disallowed this atrocious law—it would be shocking indeed if they had not. It ought to be known that a similar attempt was made about fifteen years ago, in the time of a former Government. We then opposed it with effect, and it was repressed. But this renewed attempt shews that the same pernicious principle still prevails; and that unless efforts are made to counteract it, the future conduct of the colonists will be of the same character and tending to the same cruel results. And this view of the matter it is that I own I feel the most keenly, because, although God forbid that I should underrate the bodily sufferings of the slaves,—although I cannot but feel how oppressively they are treated in respect to the amount of their labour, and all the particulars which affect the comfort and actually lessen the duration of human life; yet their intellectual and moral degradation appears to me a feature in their case, if possible, still more appalling.

"What, I would ask, is it which, in general, prevents the negro slaves in the West Indies from keeping up their numbers, though in a climate perfectly congenial to their constitution—while the free negroes around them increase, and while even the negro slaves in the United States, a climate far less congenial to them, they also increase, and that rapidly? Whence, I say, can it arise, but from their being worn down by the excess of their labour, and by the other severities they endure, that even in the congenial climate of the West Indies their numbers should decrease, while, in the unfavourable climate of America, they increase?

"Sir, I know not any one feature in this monstrous condition of colonial slavery so shocking as that which was alluded to in the Report, of our not having promoted marriage among the slaves. I remember Mr. Park, the African traveller, tells us of the sacredness with which the marriage vow is there regarded, and of the strong influence of domestic attachments, unfaithfulness in the marriage relation being less prevalent than in Europe. And yet we find that, in the West Indies, the marriage tie is scarcely known, and that during nearly the two centuries that European colonies have existed there, those poor

creatures, instead of being raised in the scale of being, instead of receiving from their European masters, that instruction which would advance them in religion and knowledge, and in the arts of social and domestic life, on the contrary have even lost those elements of domestic happiness which they before enjoyed, so as to have sunk almost to a level with the brutes in their habits of promiscuous concubinage. We must, indeed, Sir, open our eyes to this grievous evil, which calls for the strenuous exertions of all the friends of religion, and of the happiness of mankind, to apply to it a remedy.

"Again, let me remind you how much we have retrograded of late. We are now, in the year 1828, only looking forward to a slow progress towards the freedom of the slaves; when, in fact, in the year 1792, thirty-six years ago, it was proposed that all slavery should be abolished in our colonies; and that, even in the short space of eight years, that abolition should effectively commence. Let this, I say, Sir, shew us that we ought not only to persevere in our efforts, but to increase them;—that we ought to be much more in earnest, than we have been; —that we ought to be striving, as my Honourable Friend has urged, with zeal and unanimity; and that we ought not to suffer ourselves to be deceived by evasive assurances, or be led to suppose it possible that slavery should be abolished by those very assemblies who have so frequently told us that its abolition can only be productive of ruin to themselves.

"Having thus frankly and honestly told us, that they conceive that to give liberty to the slave, would be to bring ruin to themselves, can you expect they will set themselves fairly and honestly to take the measures recommended to them, and which are required, to gain that object? This would be to suppose them to act contrary to the very principles of human nature, or on principles altogether superhuman. No: It is for you, or rather for Parliament, to do the work; and justice even to the West Indians themselves, requires that it should be effected; for we know well that the Almighty has happily so constituted things, under his moral government of the universe, that when we inflict injury on our fellow-creatures we cannot escape from still deeper injury ourselves. There is a moral retribution which is sure to follow perseverance in evil, and which has plainly followed, in the present instance.

"It is utterly impossible, indeed, that they who live in the administration of the petty despotism of a slave community, whose minds have been warped and polluted by the contamination of slavery, should not lose that respect for their fellow-creatures, over whom they tyrannize, which is essential in the nature and moral being of man, to secure them from the abuse of power over their prostrate fellow-creatures. We cannot expect they should see things in the light we do who have the happiness to live in a free community; and therefore to expect they should adopt the requisite means to abolish slavery, is to expect not only an inconsistency, but almost an impossibility. And if we, with all the blessings we enjoy, do not feel, in the degree we ought, gratitude to God, and a desire to communicate to others a participation in our blessings, how can we expect those will be disposed to do it who are led by circumstances, by the force of habit and the strength of prejudice, to affix so inferior a value to these blessings—blessings which even we ourselves do not sufficiently estimate.

"I will now, Sir, detain you no longer; but only stop to remind you of one point of great importance. It appears that the great island of Jamaica has recently thrown down its gage, and set the British Government at defiance, distinctly declaring that they will not comply with its wishes: that they will do nothing. Now, I cannot but hope, that if Government will not, Parliament will take up the gage, and will endeavour at length to impart to the poor slaves those blessings which have been too long withheld from them, and this object it must be your part to effect by every possible exertion. But it must not be a cold or lukewarm, or feeble effort: it must be an earnest, active, and zealous co-operation of the whole humanity of the land. We must, resistlessly, press onwards, knowing the high duty we have to discharge to God and to our fellow-creatures."

The motion passed unanimously.

Mr. Denman:— "I have to intreat your indulgence in the performance of the important duty, which devolves rather unexpectedly on me, of recommending to your adoption the great business for which we are assembled to-day;

for here I apprehend we have all come for the purpose of inquiring why it is that the unanimous wishes of the public, seconded by the unanimous resolutions of both Houses of Parliament, have not yet been carried into effect, and to add what we can of our own exertions towards gaining that great and necessary end. No less than five years have elapsed since, after full deliberation—after long negociations and discussions, held among all the parties interested,—Mr. Canning proposed his resolutions in Parliament. After their unanimous adoption, they were sent in the first place as recommendations to the Slave Colonies, and there have been, as Mr. Wilberforce truly observed, rejected and cast away with scorn by every one of the Colonies. If these resolutions derived a just authority from the mode in which they had been prepared and matured, from the individual who brought them forward before the country, they were not less entitled to respect from the peculiar character of the Minister who assumed the responsibility of proposing them. If Mr. Canning was distinguished for high talents and enlightened views, the practical turn of his mind was no less remarkable. On every subject, but chiefly on this, that great statesman looked with distrust at the application of abstract principles: if he did not turn such views into something like ridicule, he felt, and made his hearers feel, that they were inappropriate to the business in hand, while his mind was bent on the practical good to be attained, and on the necessities which the case itself imposed. Open to information and correction, he was in the habit of conferring with persons of all possible opinions, and it is well known that some of his most intimate friends were directly interested in the fate of the Colonies. After all that consideration, after treading the dangerous ground with steps so cautious, with the strong wish to produce beneficial results, and dismissing to the utmost every thing like wild theory and abstract speculation, those resolutions were deliberately drawn up and proposed by Mr. Canning, which did but echo back the united voice of the whole people of England.

"Let me inquire what has since happened to make the people of England relax in their efforts, or reverse the judgment that was then pronounced. On the contrary, if nothing more had occurred than the scornful rejection of them; if but a passive resistance, if even a bare reluctance, had betrayed itself, on the part of the slave Colonies; that circumstance alone ought to lead us to increase and persevere in our efforts to gain this great and holy object.

"Why do the Colonists hang back, and oppose the wishes of the mother country—from what motives, with what objects? I hope that every person who hears me is, as both the distinguished speakers who have gone before me have recommended, in the habit of looking anxiously at the publications which come forth on this subject. I think the authors of those publications deserving of public gratitude, even if they rendered no more service than that of stating the case, and thus attracting public attention, while they challenge their adversaries to confute them. They give to all the means of ascertaining whether the facts brought forward are true, and whether the arguments will stand the test of inquiry and experience; or whether they are founded in that fallacy which our opponents are so apt to impute to us, when they ascribe the clamour, that deep sensibility sometimes produces, to a conspiracy of fanatics and saints, either inflamed with enthusiasm, and negligent of the just interests of the rest of mankind, or ambitious to swell a popular outcry for the purpose of acquiring distinction at the expense of their neighbours. These are the imputations cast upon us: and how do we meet them? By referring to the facts on record, which we undertake to prove, and by pointing out the documents which establish them all. But I trust that the studies of those who take an interest in this subject, are not confined to works written on our own side of the question. The habit of examining what proceeds from the managers of the controversy on the other side will lead even to still stronger impressions in favour of our cause. This has constantly been the case hitherto: it will be the case hereafter: it always must be so in every contest between truth and self-interest.

"This remark leads me directly to a matter of no small importance, which has occurred within these few hours. A very distinguished champion of the colonial cause has, on the eve of this very meeting, most properly and fairly addressed the public on the question to be here discussed: and has done me

the favour, as he may have to others amongst us, to send me a copy of his pamphlet.* Let me bear testimony to the merits of this gentleman.—An intimate friend of my own, who possesses great legal talent, and indeed talents of every description—of the most honourable principles and unblemished character. He was a Commissioner for Inquiry into the state of the West Indian Courts of Justice. From him I was confident we should hear nothing but that which he believed to be the truth, although I felt at the time that his opinions with regard to the truth might be biassed by his connection with West India property. He has done right in calling our attention to what he can advance, not acting now as the Judge and Commissioner, but as a planter stating his own case and that of the interest to which he belongs. He professes to disclose the only practical remedy for the West India disorder, but previously indulges in a few observations.

"A strong exposition is first made of the necessity of setting this question at rest;—but these few words bring me to an issue with Mr. Dwarris in the outset. I say, that it is set at rest!—I say, that the public authority of England, if that is any thing in England, has set it at rest for ever! There is no want of resolutions—there is no want of principles laid down and of measures to be carried,—all we want is the will to carry them into effect, and if that will is wanting, power must compel the act.

"On some general observations which follow on the nature of West India property, I have but a very few words to offer. For instance, estates are said to have been granted, and to be yet held, on the express terms of their cultivation by slaves. These express terms, however, do not turn out to be the *avowed* tenure of the property, but we are told in a note, that such a condition must be implied in the grant, because the lands were granted that they might be cultivated, and at the date of the grant there was no other mode of cultivation than by slaves. The parent state is reproached too with having upheld the slave trade, and even objecting to its cessation in particular cases. Observations of this sort are very material, as shewing to what conclusions the argument of the colonial interest is always tending. When fairly followed up, they never stop short of perpetuating the system of slavery, and even reviving the slave trade itself.—Observe what has just been cited. If estates were granted on those terms, and if their cultivation could only be kept up by slaves, they would be forfeited by withdrawing slave labour. And if the slaves there employed were to become, from any cause, insufficient for that purpose, it follows, that the supply must be kept up by other means, and that the great fund of Africa must be drawn upon again for slaves. Such is the only practical conclusion from premises like these: they point directly to perpetual slavery in the islands, and a renewal of the slave trade itself. If they are brought forward merely to shew that England did, in former times, largely share in the guilt of her colonies, they are useless; for that fact is admitted on all hands.

"The pamphlet proceeds to set forth what are considered to be the practical complaints made against the colonial system in its present state. I shall examine them with that openness and candour which I should expect from my friend Mr. Dwarris, in dealing with any thing that might fall from myself—doing no violence, I trust, to those sentiments of private friendship which I have so long entertained for him.

First, he says, *we* complain, "*That nothing effectual has yet been done in the way of improvement by the Colonists themselves;*"—a general assertion which he merely combats by a general denial, and a counter declaration that a very great improvement *has* taken place within the last twenty-five or thirty years. It is more important to see how the specific objections are encountered. "*Marriage*," he says, "*is said not to be encouraged.*"—And he admits, that "but few marriages are yet registered, and even that few take place"—only denying that that fact establishes our charge on this head, that marriage is not encouraged by the Colonists. Here is no dispute about the effect: and *we* say that the cause must be sought for in the want of encouragement. Mr. Dwarris insinuates that the negro has a great aversion to marriage: yet, after the reference just made

* "The West India Question, &c. by Fortunatus Dwarris, Esq."

to Park's description, which proves that the disposition and the instinct even of the natives of savage Africa impelled them to the conjugal relation, are we to be told there is something in their nature which revolts at it? If it is not then to their nature; but to the circumstances in which they are placed, and the moral habits engendered in the colonies, that their supposed reluctance must be ascribed, are they or their masters answerable for the result? And must the worst of the slave's sufferings—the want of domestic happiness—be imputed to himself, while the master obtains credit for promoting that benefit, which his own conduct has, in point of fact, mainly prevented?*

The next objection he encounters is, "*that slaves work under the lash.*" Observe the answer. "The cart-whip, either as an instrument of punishment, or a symbol of authority, has grown out of use. The cat-o'nine tails is substituted for it,"—"the cat-o'nine-tails which is used in the British army;"—Yes, in the army, as a punishment for debasing crimes, and even so, justly questioned:—in the colonies, as the daily, hourly, unceasing stimulus to field labour! But if the cart-whip has grown into disuse, it has not disappeared, and "I agree, (says Mr. Dwarris) that the exhibition of it should be done away with." The exhibition of this cart-whip, which was long declared to be no more than an innocent symbol of authority, although for years nothing could wrest it from their grasp—this exhibition, it is now confessed, ought to be got rid of: it is rather a matter a little offensive to good taste than producing any serious effect; let it go then, as a sacrifice to scrupulous decorum, and let the cat-o'nine-tails be placed in the driver's hands! That driver, with full power over his gang of labourers, easily irritated by circumstances of hourly occurrence in the performance of compulsory labour—is it enough to tell me that cruelty and oppression are wearing out, that cases of torture are old stock cases, the stale accounts preserved by malignant tradition, for want of similar events in these happier days, though, indeed, confirmed and refreshed now and then from Berbice, and from other quarters?—Is it not enough to know the nature of man and the use he will ever make of absolute power to be assured, while one is master and the other a driven slave, while the master refuses to resign the cart-whip, or to do more than to reform it into a cat-o'nine-tails, that oppression and cruelty must constantly be exercised.†

It is observed also by Mr. Dwarris, "all the instances of cruelty are immediately recorded, and they are perfectly well known immediately in the colony."‡ —I should be glad to know how this large assumption can be correct.—I should be glad to know that there is any security for preserving such a record. When the instances alluded to take place, the owner and the driver are both interested in suppressing such facts; and who is to tell them? Not the slave, for his evidence cannot be received. Not the slave, for we have it from my Honourable Friend's own Report, on a careful inquiry into the subject, that with him "his wounds are the only mouths by which he can proclaim his wrongs!"§ And, therefore, unless there be something to unseal his lips, and to allow him to come forward in a court of justice, and to depose to those acts of cruelty perpetrated on himself and others, it is as certain that oppression will be kept concealed as that it will be practised. Admit the evidence of the injured man, and this mighty evil will be greatly lessened: but the Colonists have refused to admit it, except under restrictions, which deprive the boon of all its value; and on this point also I am happy to find Mr. Dwarris enlisted on the side of liberality, and denouncing that most hateful barrier between black and white, which refuses to accept the truth, in furtherance of justice, when uttered by negro lips.

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* See in corroboration the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 19. p. 265—272, and No. 21. p. 302.—*Editor.*

† In order to see the incorrectness of Mr. Dwarris's statements on this point, the reader has only to turn to the Reporter, No. 16. No. 18. No. 21. p. 305—307, No. 23. p. 354, and No. 28. p. 81, 90, 99, 103, &c. &c. &c.—*Ed.*

‡ Mr. Dwarris might have known that every one of the chartered colonies has refused to institute such a record. See the Reporter, No. 31. p. 152.—*Ed.*

§ See Mr. Dwarris's own strong and striking testimony to this point, in the Reporter, No. 7. p. 61—72, and in No. 18. p. 258.—*Ed.*

"*I am disposed to admit*"—(this is on the subject of slave labour)—"*that the measure of labour may now be left too much to the discretion of the master. Hard masters of estates, weak in hands, may occasionally be guilty of protracting the labour of the slave into the night. This should be prohibited, and no work allowed to be carried on more than one hour after sunset, under stated penalties. Certain and limited task-work should be encouraged, and the slave population protected from being over-worked not only by the dead letter, but by the living and available sanction of the law.*" So then, a great difference may exist between the dead letter of a colonial law, and its living and available sanction; and yet not even its dead letter can we get for a remedy to this acknowledged evil, though all the authority of the parent state has recommended, and Parliament has unanimously sanctioned, what the universal feeling of the people of England has required to be done!

"Mr. Dwarris passes to the subject of Sunday markets; a most important point; for assuredly the observance of the sabbath is above all things essential to the civilization of society. He urges that it ought to be protected by law. "*The Sunday then would be differently employed,*"—and Mr. Dwarris, with that kind and humane feeling I know him to possess, describes what he has witnessed in the Colonies—one of the most pleasing descriptions, one of the most beautiful pictures ever painted by man. I will give it in his own eloquent terms. "*I have always considered that if instead of late, fevered, and tired, the slave returned, fresh, soothed, humanized, from his day of rest to his Monday's labour, the master would sustain little loss. He would see the negro improve in character and condition, enjoy and appreciate domestic comfort, and gradually acquire self-respect. His house—his person would be attended to, and become neat and clean. He would be seen on the sabbath day nursing his children, (now too often neglected) learning to read his bible, or, as he made greater proficiency, teaching his little ones to read and spell. I saw a Sunday thus spent at Antigua, to my very great refreshment and delight.*"

"This scene was presented but in one island; it was but on one Sunday that Mr. Dwarris enjoyed this spectacle in his extensive and universal tour. He has described the exception, not the rule. While our hearts are refreshed and delighted by the picture of this one happy family in the possession of their Sunday, let us not forget that above a hundred and fifty thousand families would exhibit an entire contrast to all its features. The reverse of the medal represents the great mass of the slave population. "Late, feverish, and tired," the labourer returns to a home polluted by vice and degradation: his person slovenly, his cottage disordered, his wife sinking under domestic cares, his little ones neither nursed nor taught by their father, while the heart despairs and sickens at toils undergone for another, and the denial of needful repose for a single day.

"'The presumption of slavery' also is another admitted evil. So is 'the separation of families' by judicial sale: *but* (he speaks of this last) *if the law is odious and cruel, how meritorious is the practice which is opposed to the law, as is generally the case in this instance.** Again, "*fines and taxes have been imposed, with a view to prevent or discourage mamumissions,*" but the excuse is, that they provide security against throwing old, disabled, and impotent slaves as burthens on the public. Why then, if that provision is requisite, cannot some law pass to restrict the fines and taxes to the particular cases, in which alone they are said to be reasonable? I ask a similar question on every one subject, where an evil is acknowledged to exist, and a remedy can be applied. If marriage ought to be encouraged, give efficacy to the laws which profess to grant encouragement. If the cart whip ought to be abolished, let the law prohibit its use. If the measure of labour is too much at the master's discretion, let the law restrain it. If the Sunday ought to be given to the slave, let the law put an end to Sunday markets and Sunday labour. If the existing power to separate parents from children, and husbands from wives, be justly termed "odious and cruel," let the living and available sanction of the law deprive the master of a privilege he ought to abhor. If he does abhor it, if he sincerely deprecates the practice,

* How unfounded this apology is, may be seen in the Reporter, No. 18. p. 254. No. 19. p. 272—275. and No. 21. p. 305.—*Editor.*

what interest can he have in prolonging his power? When the custom corrects a bad law, the surer corrective of a good one is only so much the more easily applied.

"As to the existing practice and custom, more especially when it is said to be better than the law, we shall have constant disputes and debates on points of fact not capable of satisfactory proof; but the great leading fact which condemns the existing practice, is placed beyond all controversy. "*The population is said to decrease,*" while the extent of what can be said in denial is in these faint terms, "*the fact is not clearly or universally established.*"*—Yet there is but one single exception to be found, namely, the Island of Barbadoes, of which the peculiar circumstances have often been shewn to confirm our opinions on the effect of cultivating the sugar plantations by slaves. If we had no registry or returns, and knew nothing of the matter but what this pamphlet discloses, could we doubt that, under that system which Mr. Dwarris condemns in so many of its details, the population is diminishing and human life wasting away?

"If then, he had attended here this day, and stated all the grievances set forth in his work, and shewn us that laws ought to be passed for their removal, he must have approved the object of our meeting. He could not, in consistency, have declined to set his hand to our petition: he would have been one of the most powerful advocates in our cause. He points out intolerable evils, so do we: he is anxious for an effectual remedy, so are we: he desires that it may have the living and available sanction of legal authority, we are assembled for no other purpose.

"Much merit is claimed by him for the colonists, on account of the improved treatment of the slaves which is now said to prevail. The fact is disputed, and in a question of degree depending on matters of fact, there is nothing more painful than the perpetual squabble of evidence and argument on that subject. If I were asked my own opinion, I should say, I think it *probable* that some amelioration may have taken place, not looking particularly and minutely at facts, two different sets of which will hardly brook comparison, but reasoning from general circumstances. The use of power has been more narrowly watched: sentiments of humanity have probably gained ground, and the real interests of men, possessing property in their fellow men, may have become more manifest. Allowing, therefore, that improvement may have taken place, when, I ask, according even to Mr. Dwarris, did it take place? From what time is it dated? To what cause is it to be traced?—It is dated about twenty years ago! The cause of the amelioration is declared to be the abolition of the African slave trade! This is distinctly stated by Mr. Dwarris, who does not *question even the expediency of the abolition, except in so far as it was undertaken suddenly, and without concert with other nations, and with no guarantees for their reciprocal forbearance.* Suddenly! Suddenly! Did the abolition of the slave trade take place suddenly? It took place in the year 1807, and I know that my honourable friend first moved in it about the year 1787; and yet this is the way in which gentlemen who are interested in the existence of slavery, speak of the cold, the gradual, the often deferred, and eluded, though often promised remedy which was so easily carried, when once parliament and ministry were in earnest! He then explains the operation of it as the great cause of amelioration, by teaching the proprietors that the slaves they then possessed were the limited fund they were to improve and to make available, and that the annual accession of new slaves must cease from that moment. The reasoning, in theory at least, whatever the facts of the case may be, is as just as the admission is important. But surely we must pause to contemplate this ground of congratulation, with a sentiment of cordial gratitude to the illustrious individual who addressed you last. With what feelings must he look back to those eventful days?—With what feelings must he remember the time when that atrocious trade was so *suddenly* abolished—that is by the *sudden* exertion of twenty years of patient, unrequited, calumniated labour, of frequently repeated, and as often disappointed, but never dejected or dismayed, when he hears it now admitted by the planters themselves, that he is the greatest benefactor of their own plantations!—that all the evils that were predicted as following on

* "Not clearly and universally established!" see the Reporter, No. 26. p. 11, &c.—*Editor.*

the abolition have not only been disproved in fact, but that all the good that has been done dates from that era, and arises from that measure!—With what honest pride must my Honourable Friend receive so just, but so unexpected a tribute. It may, probably, have happened to some one who is present in this room to have had the good fortune to contribute to save the life of a fellow creature. I can in some degree imagine the delight with which he must look back to that moment, when on the bank of a river, or on some similar occasion, he has been the happy instrument of rescuing a fellow creature from impending death. I can conceive that he will cherish through life the remembrance of his good fortune, and that it will afford him joy and comfort under every trial. That man will best understand, but even he can only understand imperfectly, what Mr. Wilberforce must feel. Think of the triumph he has achieved! It is not a single individual!—not a countryman of his own!—much less any body with whom he had ties of connection and of intimacy of any sort; but it is in the cause of humanity, actuated by the most sacred motives that can animate the heart of man, that that gentleman has rescued from the grave, from slaughter, from cruelty and oppression, hundreds of thousands of his fellow creatures! Sir, I hear it with pain represented that all the efforts made in this great cause have been wasted. They have not been wasted. With respect to the natives of Africa, from whose market the great customer was withdrawn when England relinquished the Slave Trade, they were not wasted. With respect to the slaves in the West Indies, if their condition has been improving, as Mr. Dwarris tells us, from the very hour that great measure was accomplished, they have not been wasted. They never can be wasted while it is honourable to the heart of man to pay its tribute of applause and gratitude to the benefactor of the human race! They have not been wasted when we see that person stand forward as a great example to ourselves, to our children, our country, to the end of time. It will be owing to him—to his former exertions, and to the reward they have thus received, that our exertions for the future will be encouraged in consistency and perseverance, when we see them producing their effect on the objects of his benevolence, and not only receiving the praise of its votaries, but extorting in the end even the tardy approbation of the baffled adversary.

"Allow me just to touch on one subject before I conclude, which connects itself in an important degree with the present occasion. I speak of manumission; for I really have not pretended to enter into the main argument of my friend Mr. Dwarris's pamphlet. The whole result of it is, that he has devised a scheme which he deems more beneficial than the scheme adopted by Parliament, and he thinks by getting some more millions, I believe, out of the pockets of the People of England, which are to go to the planters, that all necessity for carrying the manumission law into effect will be entirely done away. The letter is addressed to the Right Honourable the Chancellor of the Exchequer! I own, I should think that Right Honourable Gentleman will probably bring the correspondence to a close, by a very short and conclusive answer. I observe that the subject of manumission is treated, in the present pamphlet, as if it were altogether surrendered,—as if the order of Council upon it were given up, and therefore that Parliament must begin anew, and reconsider all that after great consideration it has already done, the question being left entirely open to debate and speculation. Yet the resolutions of Parliament stand unaltered; the order in Council is not rescinded; and nothing has happened to affect either, but the "dislike" of the Colonists to some of the provisions. My respect for the Colonists does not go so far as to assent to this. The measures might at least have had a fair trial, and if in any respect they had been found wanting, if either less practical or less useful than they promised, the only legitimate consequence would be, the adoption of other measures for the same end. But we may take this subject of manumission as a sample of the proceedings of the colonial interest. We met before the Privy Council, on a petition from proprietors and merchants, urging objections to the mode and form of the proposed measure, but all the arguments at last resolved themselves into a discovery, that it never could be effected at all;—"we cannot have free labour in the tropical climates:—the compensation for the value of a slave is impossible," so that manumission can never be brought about, and the

proposers must give it up.—On the contrary, I say, we ought to persist in it. Nothing which has taken place shews any impracticability in the project. Thus we retort the charge of theory on our opponents, and found our own conclusions on clear experience. We have seen what actually has been the law and practice of the Spanish and Portuguese Colonies from the moment of their existence. If *they* can appraise and compensate, why cannot we?—What is there in the nature of an English slave that makes him less the subject of appraisement than a Spanish or Portuguese slave? As to the other objections, Mr. Huskisson laughed them out of society, by his common sense and decisive arguments: and if that Right Honourable Secretary would act as well as he writes and speaks, all difficulties would vanish like a cloud. There is a strange supineness in Government which must be quickened: Mr. Dwarris's own reports furnish a proof of it. He exposed the abuses of their Courts, yet no redress has been attempted:—he recommended needful reforms, yet not one has been made. The apology is in some degree at our cost, for pressing on the reformation, and beginning at the wrong end. It seems that we ought first to have improved the judges, and purified the Courts, and afterwards provided good laws for them to administer:—as if laws and courts could not be made good at the same time; as if it were impossible to proceed at once in the amendment of both; or as if any one good principle could be called into active operation, without a tendency to aid the advancement of every other.

"There is one favourite topic with our adversaries, on which I would counsel them to enlarge with caution, though its truth cannot be denied:—the large share that rests on the English Government and Nation, in establishing the slave system. But do let gentlemen consider, that this argument is urged on the attention not only of Parliament and Government, not only of the planters and legislators of the West Indies, or even of the people of England, but also on the great mass of the population of the colonies; I mean the Slaves themselves. We are told, that those slaves are daily improving in instruction and cultivation of mind; that they are learning every day their duties and their rights; that their minds are awakened; and that they look with the most earnest attention, to the proceedings of the English Parliament. Even what takes place here to-day, may not pass unobserved by them.—How will they be affected by the argument now stated. When they hear that the Government of England are accomplices in the wicked conspiracy against their natural rights, consummated by conspiracy, piracy, and felony, and deriving a title to their flesh and blood from acts that human nature abhors; what will be their feelings on that subject? They at least have been no parties to this compact; and when first they hear it avowed, it will only aggravate the sense of the wrongs heaped upon them. What dangers and tumults may arise, no man with common humanity can consider without alarm. Their discontent may break out in some idle language, which is magnified into an insurrection, to be put down by an infamous abuse of the judicial process; by the base perversion of law; by the horrible execution by judicial murderers of the unhappy slaves, whom by wicked evidence they convict. Such a case, two years ago," (see for a full account of it, the Reporter, No. 10. p. 113.) "excited the universal indignation of this Country, and of all sides of the House of Commons. The apologists of all abuses were silent here. The very persons who ought to have prevented it, and could have done so, and therefore were in a great degree chargeable with what occurred, joined in the verdict which so loudly condemned it. If such be the sympathy excited in this Country, where we hear of the proceedings at the distance of thousands of miles, think what must be felt by the three or four hundred thousand slaves of Jamaica who were by-standers, and saw their fellow slaves, human beings of the same colour and family, of the same quality and condition as themselves, so traduced, so convicted, so murdered? When Mr. Canning heard the case made out in the House of Commons, the resolution he proposed, was not a censure on the details of the process, or on the conduct of individuals: it went to the root of the mischief, declaring that that bloody history gave one example more of "the necessity of the extinction of slavery!" The extinction of slavery then, is our object. Our notions are not vague and indefinite, as our enemies declare; but a fair and full notice of them, has at all times been given. The title of this Society, which has existed now for more than five years, proclaimed our object; from

which, and from the bold declaration of it, the people of England never will be diverted. Nor will they be satisfied by some pretended acquiescence, just on the eve of an election, when popularity is to be gained by conciliating the wishes of the people. Nor must the middling classes forget, that to their hands this great question has always been mainly intrusted, and with them it must continue: they have gained all our former victories, and are equal to achieving the rest. Among the upper classes, a strong momentary sensation may be excited; but there are in too many instances, habits, connections, and interests, which will constantly neutralize a great proportion of them, and deter even those among them whose hearts are most with us, from attending a meeting like this before my eyes. I seem to feel, that the humanity and justice of the people of England are represented in your persons. I am proud of the assemblage before me; its number and high respectability; the talents and principles, by which so many here are distinguished. Nor will I lament, except on their own account, the absence of persons of rank, when I turn to the chair and see who it is that I have the honour of addressing this day; a Prince of that family who owe their elevation to their love of liberty, and will always be proud to take the lead of the English People, in giving effect, extension, and security, to the blessings which we prize beyond life itself. I therefore, conclude with proposing,

"That this meeting is desirous of expressing anew, their disappointment and deep regret, that through the pertinacious resistance of the Colonial Authorities, the recommendations of His Majesty, the unanimous resolutions of Parliament, and the wishes and prayers of the nation at large, have not hitherte produced their due effect, in abating the evils of that system of colonial bondage which has been so generally recognised, not only as injurious to the national interests; but as immoral and unjust, repugnant to the principles of British law, and irreconcilable with the spirit of that holy religion which we profess. That notwithstanding the contumacy of the Colonial Authorities, it is further to be lamented, that no effectual means have been taken by Parliament, to execute its resolutions; but that on the contrary, the system of slavery continues to be upheld and fostered by laws which protect the produce of slave labour, against the competition of the produce of free labour, at a heavy annual expense to the people of this country, and to the serious injury of His Majesty's Asiatic subjects; and of the population of the United Kingdom. That this meeting feel it therefore to be their duty, again to approach Parliament with their earnest solicitations; both to abolish those laws in favour of slave-grown produce, which, while at variance with all sound principles of commercial policy, tend to perpetuate and agravate the evils of slavery: and also, above all, to enact and enforce such legislative measures for the mitigation and ultimate extinction of slavery, as may redeem the pledges that have been given, and fulfil the just expectations of the people of England, on this painfully interesting subject."

Sir James Mackintosh:—"I could have been perfectly satisfied to have testified my unalterable adherence to the great and sacred cause which calls you together this day, by the silent proof of my attendance in this place; but I am not displeased that the task allotted to me, of seconding the motion of my excellent friend, affords me an opportunity of bearing my testimony expressly and unequivocally in a few words—I say in a few words, for I am sure it would be presumption in me, and indeed, in most men living, to follow on the same side with any hope of adding to what has been said, by three such persons as those who have already addressed you in succession. I believe that at any period in the history of mankind, it would have been difficult for any one to have stood in the situation in which I now stand, without feeling himself more inclined to be silent, than to deliver his sentiments; but, I rejoice at the species of necessity, which obliges me to say something, if it were only to give utterance to the heart-felt delight, with which I have once more listened to the harmonious accents of that persuasive and affecting eloquence, which has been consecrated by forty years' devotion to the cause of humanity and freedom—a longer period I believe than any single man, since the first records of authentic history, has devoted to the sole and single purpose of promoting the happiness and liberty of mankind! I am delighted, far beyond my power of expression, and I almost think beyond the power of others to express, once more to be able to hail him in language

derived from a source which is familiar to him, and which cannot be foreign to his recollection.

"Nor are thy lips ungraceful, friend of man!
———nor tongue ineloquent."

We have again heard that eloquence, which, as I said before, is raised beyond the merit of mere eloquence, by its uniform consecration, for so long a period, to the highest interests of mankind, and by its never, never having been degraded to any inferior object.

"By my friends, who have gone before me, the situation in which we now stand has been justly stated. We are not proposing any new system of measures;—we are not originating any novel scheme of reform;—we are not about to suggest to the Government or the Legislature any new plan for putting an end to the sufferings of so great a portion of the human race;—we stand upon the solemnly recorded and promulgated declarations of King, Lords, and Commons, made after long discussion and inquiry; originating, as you have been truly told, in the mind of a statesman, who certainly was not led astray by fanaticism on this subject,—of whose zeal perhaps we, somewhat unjustly—we, I mean, who were more warm, and were less under the necessity, which his situation imposed on him, of restraining our feelings;—of a statesman who acted with a view to practical results, and to existing interests; and who, in proposing these very resolutions of May 1823, undoubtedly considered himself as negociating a Treaty of peace between the humanity of the people of England, calling for abolition, and the well-being and safety of the European inhabitants of the West Indies. He considered himself not as the champion of the abolitionists; but as the mediator between them and the planters. You are now therefore considering no scheme which originated with us—for the scheme of my Honourable Friend behind me (Mr. Buxton) was over-ruled, or rather willingly postponed to that proposed by Mr. Canning—but in effect, the treaty of peace negociated between the West Indian interest, and the humanity of the people of England, by one of whom I never can speak without attachment, esteem, affection, and admiration; by one also, who undoubtedly, as has been said, had some of his most intimate and dear friends at the head of the West Indian interest—persons who were most dear to him, for their long and disinterested attachment to himself and for the many amiable qualities of their personal characters, in short, endeared to him by every tie which can render one man dear to another. With the mind of a statesman, looking at this large portion of the interests of the Empire—with the partiality of a friend towards many respectable and excellent private individuals—with the mind of a Minister, mediating, and negociating between two great opposing parties, he framed those resolutions, which we do not now propose to enlarge or alter, but which we are only desirous of seeing carried into full and complete effect. The question is, whether Parliament is to be baffled and defeated, after a notice of five years, in a system of reformation, originating in the manner I have described; or whether that system of reformation is to be at length accomplished.

"This last result can only I fear be attained by the continued, incessant, and unwearied exertions of the whole body of the people of England. You have great antagonists to cope with; you have supposed interests, not I think real interests, for I verily believe, on casting up the account, the balance of the real interest is in your favour and not against you; and then you have inveterate prejudice, you have the ancient opinions of an opulent and powerful body of men who are connected by a thousand ramifications with great numbers of persons of consideration in this community:—you have all these obstacles constantly opposed to you, and you have nothing but the honest zeal, and the unshaken humanity of the people of England to rely upon; nothing else from which we can hope for decided benefit; and to this, therefore, and to this alone, we have to trust, under the blessing of God, for accomplishing our purpose. You have been told, and truly told, that it belongs to all of you to promote this end in every possible way, making it your fixed determination to do so, by devoting a portion of your time systematically and regularly, to keep in a state of activity that spirit of humanity which has gone forth among the people; for if it be suffered to languish, undoubtedly the adverse agents, who never rest, must prevail. To men is allotted the severe and sometimes harsh virtues of fortitude and jus-

tice; to women the happier duties of preserving in the world the existence of compassion, of kindness, of benevolence, and of humanity. It is for the exercise of these virtues, that I call on women to consider themselves as especially appointed to propagate the sentiments of humanity, to awaken them in the bosoms of all who are dear to them, over whom they possess any influence, to whom they have any means of access; and to prompt them to employ their harsher qualities in the stern and arduous conflict, which it is often necessary to maintain, in this mixed state of things, in defence of the cause of humanity and virtue.

"You have heard it said with the greatest truth, as well as energy, that we have lived to see an extraordinary occurrence. We have lived to see the advocates of the West India interest date the amelioration of slavery in the Colonies, from the very efforts of that most amiable and venerable of men, whom I cannot but contemplate—whom I never contemplate, but with delight. They date the commencement of the improvement of the West Indies, from his exertions to abolish the Slave Trade; which exertions they trammeled, and resisted, and slandered, from their origin to the moment of their success;—from which exertions they then prophesied the destruction of those very West Indian Colonies which they now acknowledge derived thence their first improvement, their first impulse towards some sort of civilization. From the same exertions, I will venture to say, I hope at least, that many among you may yet live to see the time, when an occurrence quite as extraordinary may take place; when the success of your exertions to obtain a safe and pacific abolition of slavery may raise slaves to the condition, invest them with the rights, and consequently inspire them with the feelings of men, of freemen, and of christians! We may then hope that the Europeans of the West Indies, delighted with that most unforeseen progress, which will be the necessary consequence of so happy a consummation, will look back on the efforts we are now making as having laid the foundation of that happier order of society in the West Indies, of which they will find themselves to be the safe and happy participators. God forbid, that I should, in this question, undervalue the interest or the security of the English inhabitants of the West Indies. They are entitled to our regard as a great body of our countrymen. From me, at least, many individuals of them are entitled to the warmest and most tender personal attachment. They are entitled to the greatest allowance for the prejudices which beset them; they are entitled to the utmost toleration for the errors of judgment into which they almost inevitably fall; they are entitled to compassion for being placed in a situation which exposes their virtue at present, and may expose their safety hereafter; they are entitled, when they conduct themselves with benevolence and justice towards the unhappy beings committed to their care, to the praise of almost heroic virtue—to the praise of that species of virtue, which, resists the most powerful, and generally the most irresistible temptation. They are entitled in fine to every sort of justice.—But then they must not expect us to trust a great body of our fellow subjects to the safeguard of heroic virtue. We trust men to the protection of law; we trust them to the arm of Government; we trust them to a coincidence of interest; we trust them to a sympathy of feeling, and an identity of interest; we cannot trust them to that which is so rare; which is admirable, and consequently which is rare; and which can form no security at all for the well being of a multitude of men. But above all, I contend, that we are struggling as much for the final well-being of the European inhabitants of the West Indies, as we are for the present well-being of the multitude of men whom they hold in slavery; for surely it is perfectly obvious, in the present state of the world; in the state of opinion in all the other Countries of America which surround our West Indian Colonies; in the midst of the process of reformation and emancipation, which is going on in Spanish America; in the face of the great example of a free negro state in Hayti; that if Slavery be not gradually taken away, it will die in convulsions, which I fear will involve in ruin the European inhabitants of the West Indies. It is to avert that most fatal catastrophe that the object we are pursuing is doubly desirable: first, because that object could not be accomplished by other than peaceful and legal means, without scenes which must barbarize the emancipated negro: and, secondly, because the consequence would probably be, that multitudes of our countrymen, who have the misfortune to be inhabitants of that country, and proprietors of slaves, would be the victims of their own blindness; of the inactivity

of the Government in carrying into effect their own resolutions, if they should be inactive, and of our lukewarmness—of our criminal lukewarmness—of the criminal backwardness of the people of England, if they do not make exertions to terminate the present sufferings of the slaves, and by that means to secure the final safety of the masters!"

The Resolution was unanimously adopted.

Mr. Fowell Buxton:—"When I undertook to read the report, it certainly was not my intention to take any farther part in the discussion of this day; but owing to the unavoidable absence of my worthy friend Dr. Lushington, I have been called upon, and it is a duty from which I shall not shrink. Each of my friends who have preceded me have expressed their mortification and disappointment that as yet so little has been accomplished in our cause; and it would be disingenuous in me if I were to pretend not to participate in that mortification and disappointment. The true fact of the case is, that since we had the solemn pledge of Parliament that immediate and effectual steps should be taken, five long years have elapsed, and as yet, nothing has been done towards the extinction of slavery, and but little towards its mitigation. On the other hand, however, I must confess that we have much to encourage our exertions; and even if it were only that we had met with obstacles, and had to encounter the opposition which we had a right to expect;—if it were only that we had found the spirit of resistance rising up in the West Indies, I should say, that in such a sacred and glorious cause, such opposition only supplied a stronger inducement to exertion. But we have also other sources of satisfaction. We have the solemn pledge of the Parliament of this nation—of both Houses of Parliament, that the day shall come in which the negro shall participate in all those civil rights and privileges enjoyed by the rest of His Majesty's subjects; that the day shall come in which that afflicted race, so long the victims of our avarice, shall be reclaimed into the family of man. That is the part of the resolutions which always gives me the greatest satisfaction. I do not undervalue any efforts that may be made for the immediate mitigation of the system—I most heartily wish that that immediate mitigation were more effectual; but the point upon which my mind reposes with the highest pleasure is this, that slavery, by the solemn pledge of the British Parliament, is ultimately to be extinguished. I feel most firmly, sir, that so long as slavery continues, so long evils—the greatest possible evils—must continue; and that slavery, in its mildest and fairest form, and under every possible amelioration, is still and must ever remain, a system full of crimes and full of misery. Therefore I think that when we want consolation or encouragement under disappointment, we must recur to the solemn pledge of Parliament, that slavery shall be at last extinguished. We have also other causes of deep satisfaction: one of them, and I advert to it more particularly, because I think there may be several persons in this meeting to whom it may be unknown, I mean the great victory obtained by a worthy and learned friend of mine—a most true and indefatigable friend also of our cause, Dr. Lushington. I may speak of him as he is not here, and I speak truly of him when I say that he has been a most diligent, useful, indefatigable, and uncompromising friend of that cause. Many of his services are well known and deeply felt by some who are now present; but what I particularly allude to is, the Bill which he carried through Parliament for preventing the removal of slaves from one colony to another. We had abolished the African Slave Trade. We had invited, most laudably, the great powers of Europe to unite in describing and punishing it as a crime. But yet, in the heart of our own dominions, and under the sanction of our own laws, there raged another species of Slave Trade, not so full of physical horror I admit, but in cruelty to the mind—in cruelty to the affections, as bad or worse than the Slave Trade itself. And in the short period which had elapsed from the abolition of the Slave Trade to that date, more than twenty thousand human beings had been transferred from one colony to another—always for the worse—from a purer climate and a more mitigated slavery to a more pestilential climate and a sterner system. That was one of the triumphs we obtained; and if that had been the only one I should say that our exertions had been largely rewarded. But there is also another source of great satisfaction to me, namely, that the meaning of the word slavery is now understood—that we know what the West Indians mean when they speak of their slaves; and here

I must acknowledge that the West Indians have been active and useful coadjutors to us;—they have published their own case—they have told their own tale—they have produced the merits of their own system—they have been their own historians, and I confess, for one, like my friend Mr. Denman, I wish to call no other witnesses; so that in making out a case against the West Indians, it is upon their own showing, and under the influence of demonstrations which they themselves have furnished. It was not always so. There was a time in which we were told that all that was stated with regard to slavery was the invention of fanatics and enthusiasts, and persons on whom no confidence could be reposed. At that time controversy raged, but that controversy was closed, and most satisfactorily, by the credulity of our government, who naturally believed all that the West Indians stated. They said to the West Indians, "you tell us the cart whip, for example, is merely an implement of threat: abolish it by a law. You say females never, in point of fact, are subjected to corporeal punishment, we also call on you to abolish that system by law. Conciliate the British public by abolishing that which, according to you, does not practically exist. Sanctify marriage—keep the Sunday sacred—allow the negro to purchase his own freedom with his own money; just do a few of these things, and the public and the nation will be satisfied." But there the controversy ended; the West Indians who had before denied all this to be true, at that moment discovered that all we had said was perfectly true. Is there any longer any controversy about the cart whip, for example, or is its existence and use any longer disputed? No. But the West Indians tell us plainly that they will not abolish the cart whip. Why? Because it is the life and soul of the system, and that they can not extinguish the cart whip without extinguishing slavery itself. So also with respect to their Sunday markets, I confess I was quite astonished at their refusal there. I expected they would accede to it willingly; but no, they tell us plainly they will not. As my worthy friend here has said, they throw down their gage in the face of Parliament and defy us to battle. Then as to another point, it was boldly and plainly and often declared, that the negroes were attached to slavery—that it was a thing they preferred to liberty. I recollect one person went so far as to say, that if we endeavoured to deprive the negroes of the privilege of being slaves, we should have them all in a state of rebellion! Well, but what is the language now-a-days. What is the language against which my excellent friend, Mr. Denman, has had to contend before the Privy Council? Why, that if you allow the negro the privilege of purchasing his own freedom with his own money, so deep is his detestation of his bonds, so fixed is his horror of slavery, so great his anxiety to rid himself and his children of that curse; that he will spare every shilling—that he will work every extra hour—that he will deny himself every species of gratification in order to obtain it; and that the consequence of the permission will be, that slavery will be extinguished, and therefore they object to it!

"But I will not pursue these details: I feel for my own part, and I dare say that others are sensible of the same, that there is some degree of disadvantage in this perpetual recurrence to details. At all events, it is wholesome at times to advert to those eternal principles of justice upon which our case ought to stand. The West Indians,—I wish to speak of them with no disparagement,—but the West Indians complain of this species of meeting, because the blind and insensible public are so bigotted against *Slavery*, that if you mention but the word, they are ready to sign any petition, or to enter into any resolutions. Why, Sir, it is perfectly true that the public are our friends, and our best friends: but why are they our best friends? Because there is something in the heart of every honest man, whose principles have not been corrupted by Slavery—there is something in his heart which intuitively perceives the profound injustice of West Indian bondage, because it requires no specious argument, no recurrence to details, to prove that it is in itself inhuman. The heart of man revolts at the notion that because my skin is white I have therefore a right to inflict torments and degradation—torments on the body, and as Mr. Wilberforce, has said, what is far worse than physical suffering, degradation of the mind; and what is far worse than even degradation of the mind, if any thing can be worse, that darkness of the soul, that religious darkness which is allowed to brood over this whole race of men. Because my skin is white, I have a right to inflict infamy on a whole race! And of what are they

guilty? Guilty of wearing the complexion which Nature has given them! I will not pursue this important point further; but it is these plain and simple truths which form the very strength and sinews of our case. It is when I think on the absence of all distinction of natural rights between the black man and the white; that Nature has not given to the white men a right to the bodies of black men; and that, in point of fact, the negro has as much right to the person of the planter, as the planter has to the person of the negro; it is when I am deeply sensible of this great truth that I can enter into the details with propriety—that I can perceive the gross injustice of refusing to permit the negro to purchase his own redemption—that I can perceive the injustice of preventing him from having the Sabbath—that I can enter into the political economy of the question, and perceive, while Britain professes herself the friend of freedom and the enemy of slavery, the gross inconsistency of that policy, which gives premium, encouragement, protection and bounty to the produce of slave labour, denying all these to the produce of free labour.

"I will not pursue any of these topics further; I will only advert to what has been stated by my two friends who have last addressed you, namely, that the public is our friend, and the friend by whom our cause must be maintained. I am sure your Royal Highness will excuse me when I say that not your illustrious rank, and not that favour which we have invariably received from your Royal Highness, and to which I am sure I can most truly, not as an ordinary and customary compliment, but in sincerity, render you real thanks for real services; for real protection afforded to the cause; for real interest, personal and deep, taken in the operations and welfare of this Society. But still give me leave to say, that not your rank or your favour—not the powers, super-eminent as they are, of the Honourable and Learned Gentleman, Mr. Brougham, who has left us—not the talents of my worthy friend, Mr. Denman, than whom we have never had a more able, strenuous, and uncompromising champion—(and never having thanked him privately, I take the opportunity of thanking him thus publicly, for a speech before the Privy Council, than which a more conclusive argument, a more triumphant defence was never made,)—but not his talent, nor the energy of another gentleman who sits behind me, than whom, without disparagement to any one, no living man has rendered, and is daily rendering greater services, one only excepted—and not the talents even of that one if he could be restored to us at this moment with all the vigour and freshness with which he once adventured on the glorious career, which ended in the extinction of the Slave Trade—not the talents, or the integrity, or the fidelity of any handful of men can, I assure you I speak the truth here, sustain our cause in Parliament against the overwhelming influence of the planters and their friends, unless the public are the patrons of that cause. *You* must fight our battle if it is to be maintained; you must *support* us; and it is to Meetings of this kind that I look for ascertaining the point whether the public is or is not our friend? In West India newspapers we read that the spirit that animated us has forsooth evaporated; that the public mind has entirely changed its sentiments; that they are rescued from the danger with which they were once menaced; that a happier day is now dawning, in which the venerable, the sacred system of slavery shall cease to be endangered by fanatics and innovators. Such is the language that runs throughout the papers of all the West India Colonies, and it is for you to determine whether it be true. We have, therefore, this day, come before you to see whether the public mind is, in point of fact, altered—whether the people of this country are become favourers of slavery—whether they are reconciled to that system—whether they have ceased to feel, and to feel deeply, for the unhappy Negro.

"I now beg to move, 'That the Committee of the Society be authorized to frame forthwith a Petition, in accordance with the statement that has been made by them to this Meeting, and with the sentiments expressed in the preceding resolution, to be presented to Parliament—that to the House of Lords by the Duke of Gloucester, and that to the House of Commons by Mr. Brougham.'"

The Honourable and Reverend GERARD NOEL:—"The honourable gentleman who moved the resolution which I stand up to second, declared that the great ally to which alone the supporters of this solemn and serious cause are obliged

to look, is the public opinion. They feel that the mass of the thoughtful and humane of this nation, are linked upon their side; and, Sir, it is simply upon that ground, as an humble individual of that mass of the British population, that I am encouraged to rise up for a few moments, to second the resolution that has been proposed for the adoption of this meeting. The public are indeed awake, Sir, to the real and substantial merits of this great question. But while I perfectly accord with the declaration, that the public must fight this battle;—must coerce by moral feelings the decisions of Parliament; and give vigour to the arm of the executive government, I yet look to something holier and loftier, even than this aggregate of humane and excellent persons. I remember that it stands recorded on the sacred pages of revelation—"The patient abiding of the meek shall not always be cut off; nor the expectation of the poor perish for ever."—Therefore it is, Sir, that I expect, that as we are not embarked in a career of enthusiasm, but rest on the substantial foundation of righteousness, justice, and humanity, we are acting beneath the shelter, and with the blessing of Him, who looks with equal eye on all his creatures: and if in contemplating this question, I take a just view of the whole matter, I do feel that we stand up in this place, as much the defenders of the West Indian Planters, as we are of the slaves whose cause we seem more directly to advocate; for it is only by putting a period to a system that grinds down to the dust so many of our fellow creatures; it is only by rescuing them from the oppression under which they groan, that we can rescue from the displeasure of a retributive Providence, the proprietors themselves. It is only by putting an end to a system that is founded in injustice, and proceeds upon inhumanity, that we can avert that ruin which must ultimately fall upon the perpetrators of inhumanity and injustice, seeing there is a God who judges righteously, and will bring events to a just and perfect issue. I would not speak but with perfect moderation, respecting any opposition which is made to our proceedings. I cannot but recollect that we, the people of this country, have trained up the planters to the very position which they occupy. At a distance from the scene of that occupation, we have, in the progress of years, come to a juster understanding of the merits of the question; but we must not forget to make due allowance for those who are opposed to us, who have come to their properties, backed by the habits of successive generations, and with minds unenlightened, because under the influence of that prejudice which, as has been well remarked, has neither eye nor ear.—By proceeding however simply on the facts of the case, we keep clear of the charge both of calumny and enthusiasm; and indeed we want no other evidence, than that evidence which the planters themselves afford to us.—I feel also, that we are acting under circumstances peculiarly hopeful; for we have the declarations of Parliament, on which to take our stand; and we have the feelings of the country with us, to excite our efforts. We have therefore all that can give animation to our hopes. And I do feel, if my excellent friend (Mr. Wilberforce) will allow me to say it, in his presence; I do feel, that we derive hope for our cause, by seeing that after the winter season of sickness, he has now, in the spring time of the year, put forth anew the blossoms of health; and has appeared among us to marshal us in our course. For my own part, I would gladly pledge my humble efforts, while I lift up my feeble voice, in furtherance of this cause; and I trust that the friends and directors of this Society, will go forth to the fulfilment of their duties, encouraged and cheered by the results of this day;—cheered by what they have seen and heard; cheered by the concurrent voice and countenance of their fellow citizens;—and that the blessing of God will rest on their labours.

"I beg for a moment to direct the view of the meeting to a late number of the Reporter, in which I find that, in respect to Trinidad, there is an actual deterioration of the condition of the slaves since the colony came into the possession of Britain. And shall it be tolerated by the British Public, that a colony when under the dominion of the British Crown, shall be more inhumanly treated than when it belonged to a nation where the name of Liberty cannot be pronounced; and where the mind is as degraded as the body is enthralled?—Shall we, Sir, have to learn a lesson from the annals of Spanish slavery?—Forbid it, humanity—forbid it, christian patriotism—forbid it, the blessings that God has showered, in his unmerited mercy, upon this favoured and happy land!

"It is, Sir, a very melancholy consideration likewise, that in the very proportion in which the produce of those unhappy islands becomes large and gainful, in that proportion, is the misery of the slave augmented. I cannot but look with horror at the statement, that in the richest soils of those colonies, in Trinidad for example, the waste of human life is the greatest; and that it is in the poverty of the soil, that there is safety and comfort for the slave.—There is something melancholy in this consideration, and it is a remarkable circumstance connected with the waste of human life, that in that very colony, while under the exactions of slave-labour, the waste of human life is upwards of two and a half per cent. per annum; the increase of the free negroes in that same colony, is as large as is the decrease of the slaves, namely, two and a half per cent.; and this, not in a different climate, but under the same degree of latitude, in the very same island; and I cannot therefore but think, that the contrast between these two circumstances is an argument of a very powerful and conclusive kind, to shew what is the nature of that prosperity—what the nature of that increased produce of the earth, which is manured, if I may so say, by the blood of those who cultivate the soil.

"When I refer to the melancholy picture of the West Indies on the sabbath day, I feel that as a Christian Minister, I shall be excused if I offer one or two observations. It was stated in the pamphlet to which Mr. Denman referred, that, in Antigua, Mr. Dwarris, the author, was delighted at the spectacle of sabbath happiness, and sabbath comfort, which in one instance he there witnessed. I thank him for that illustration, for it tells powerfully upon the substantial truth and justice of our cause. Sir, Antigua has long enjoyed the privilege of Sunday schools and religious instruction, under Christian Missionaries;—and it arose, not from the benevolence of the West India planters, that such a spectacle was exhibited to that gentleman;—it arose from the active efforts of those men of God, who, though often proscribed and insulted, have nevertheless been the benefactors of their species, and who, on the shewing of our opponents themselves, are admitted to have produced a migitation of slavery by those efforts which they have made, in spite of the wills and wishes of the planters. And while I think of this, and the 800,000 British subjects degraded by the yoke of slavery, can I forget, Sir, that

—"there is yet a liberty unsung
By Poets, and by Senators unpraised:
'Tis liberty of heart derived from Heaven—
Bought with his blood, who gave
It to mankind."

And to the possession of that liberty, the gift of the Almighty Author of all good, there is an equal access for the African negro and the European white. Let then the people of this country stand up as God's ministers of mercy, to secure that boon to the slaves against all who would forbid it to be extended to them. Let the people of this country stand up between the planters and the negroes, and say, while we are not indifferent to the freedom of the body, we yet feel that eternity is better than time. We will therefore secure to them, above all, free access to the records of everlasting truth—the magna charta of the human race—those records which tell of a peace in life, a hope in death, and a joy in eternity." The motion was carried unanimously.

The Rev. J. W. Cunningham—"When, Sir, I was first requested to address a few sentences to this large assembly, I declined it, mainly on the ground, that I really felt on this, as on other occasions, that there might be considered to be some small impropriety in a Minister of religion placing himself among Parliamentary advocates, and mixing too much up with his own profession those political considerations with which he may be thought to be less acquainted. But I will own that I have been induced to comply with the request by this consideration, that I really feel it to be one of the great evils connected with this question, that it has been too much separated from religion, and that men have condescended to debate it upon the low ground of political considerations: for after all, that is a subordinate ground, especially when we are entitled to take the broader ground of religious obligation, and to say that we are not merely bound as politicians, and as statesmen, and as men of humanity to abolish this evil, but we are bound to do it, as we would be answerable to

God at the great day of judgment. And, Sir, I must be permitted to say, that this is the very view of the question which the people of this country, especially all imbued with religious feeling, are bound to take of it. I own, in common with the great and powerful advocates whom we have heard to-day, that there is every reason, on the ground of our common humanity, that we should try to strike off the chains of the oppressed. I am as anxious as any man, to give to my fellow creatures civilization, and the possession of liberty, and the sweet joys of domestic life;—and there is no human privilege from which I would shut them out. But, I own, that the part of this question which strikes me the most, is this: that we are excluding the slaves from that knowledge, which is to make them happy for eternity! And to persons who have themselves a religious feeling, I must be allowed to say, that they do not appear to me to contemplate the question sufficiently in this point of view. During the ensuing week, we shall have hundreds and thousands assembled in this Hall, to consider the great question of the diffusion of Christianity through the world; we shall have the deepest sympathy excited with regard to Ireland and its inhabitants, with respect also to those who the nearest approach the Pole, or who dwell on the Line; and we shall have one great common feeling awakened in our large assemblies, of anxiety to disseminate religion throughout the earth. I want to remind them, that we have nearly a million—a million not of a remote nation—not of individuals with whom we have nothing to do —not of persons on whom we have never inflicted an injury—but of persons as intimately bound to us, as we are to each other—our fellow subjects—men knit to us by the closest bonds by which political and moral obligations can bind men together. We have nearly a million of those human beings almost shut out from the knowledge, and from the love of God. You will say, perhaps, that Christianity is permitted to go among them. I admit, that, to a certain degree it is; but how is Christianity presented to them, and who are its propounders? I answer, men with a scourge in one hand, and a chain in the other. How do we present the meek and lovely gospel to them? arrayed in its proper attributes? with a diadem of love upon its head—with mercy in its hand? No! but arrayed in all the terrors of West Indian Slavery! It seems to me therefore little more than a farce, to tell us that you are offering men Christianity in such a guise; for, Sir, I am bold enough to say, that if that were the proper garb of Christianity, and she came to me with those terrors round her head, and that scourge in her hand, I should say, were I a slave, "give me any religion but that of Christ. The religion of slave traders and slave dealers, if that is indeed the religion of Christ, is not a religion with which I desire to have any thing to do." But, Sir, I must be permitted to say further, that I was exceedingly struck with this fact, that the acts which have lately been passed by the West Indian Legislatures, and among the rest by Jamaica, have this most extraordinary passage in their preamble (seeming to me to convey a sort of insult to the understandings of human beings, which it is very very difficult to bear). "Whereas it is expedient that" "provisions be enacted to promote religious and moral instruction, by means whereof the general comfort and happiness of the slaves may be increased." And how—how do they do this? In fact, by persecuting religion. The religion too says, "keep the Sabbath," the act says, "break the Sabbath!" The religion says, "marriage is honourable to all men!" the act says, "we will impose almost insuperable obstacles in the way of marriage." The gospel teaches us to honour women; the act replies, "flog women." The religion tells us, "do unto others as you would they should do unto you;" and the act answers, "by strokes of the cart whip," or as we have been learning to day, "of the cat-o'-nine-tails." Such then are the Acts, which men, by a bold misnomer have inscribed, Acts for the promotion of religious knowledge among the slaves.

"Sir, there is only one more thing I would take the liberty of noticing. My revered friend, Mr. Wilberforce, said, that the retrospect was most melancholy, and that when he came to look at the question and consider, I think he said, that thirty-five years had passed, and that at that period we had really as good or better hopes, with regard to the emancipation of the slaves than we have at this moment. Here, Sir, has been our misfortune; we have had a great evil to cure, and what have we done? We have trusted to compromise—to delay; we have merged the real principles of truth and of wisdom, and resorted to this

political expedient and that political expedient, deferring that which ought to have been done on the instant and delaying the application of the only effectual remedy—I mean striking away the chains which no man ought to wear, and applying to the case that great broad principle of religion, humanity and truth—that the men whom God and nature have made free, no man, and no nation of men has a right to make slaves. This is the great simple practical position that we are bound to apply, and I rejoice in the honour and privilege which I enjoy to-day, of lending my voice in aid of this cause. Let us, then, first asking the blessing of Almighty God upon our proceedings, without which they shall never prosper, proceed like honest fair dealing men to give that to others which there is not one of us that would not sooner die than be deprived of for an hour ourselves.

"I now proceed, Sir, to perform the task which I am honoured with, of returning to your Royal Highness the grateful thanks we feel for the kindness and the sanction you have always manifested towards this great cause.

"The resolution I am to move is, 'That the most grateful thanks of this meeting be respectfully presented to his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, for the zealous and undeviating support he has given to the objects of this society; for the honour and benefit of his distinguished patronage, and for his able and condescending conduct in the chair on the present occasion.'

"I am sure, Sir, that in saying much upon such a question, I should inflict a wound upon yourself; but I must say as an Englishman—as a man obeying that great principle of my religion of honouring the king—loving God and honouring the king—feeling attachment to him from my very heart, and desirous at all times of rendering my humblest services to the throne to which we owe so much, I still must feel that that throne has not a higher honour, or a more distinguished privilege, or a brighter jewel blazing in its diadem than this, that the members of the royal family have thought themselves ennobled by devoting their services to the honour of God and to the comfort of a suffering and bleeding world."

Mr. Sykes:—"At this late hour of the evening and totally unprepared as I am, the motion being only put into my hand a few moments ago, I should think it unpardonable were I to attempt to draw largely on your attention; indeed all those subjects which could interest your feelings and convince your understandings have already been so largely gone over by the gentlemen who have preceded me, that any observations of mine would be unnecessary. If I were to travel into the fruitful regions of colonial bondage, if I were to review all those scenes of injustice which for so many long and dreary years have been practised on the black population of the West Indies, I should only weaken the effect which already must have been produced in your minds by the splendid exhibitions of eloquence which you have heard from the different speakers who have addressed you. Under these circumstances, the task of speaking to this assembly would be painful to me. But when I see what is the nature of the duty imposed on me, and that I am only called on to follow the Reverend Gentleman who has preceded me in inviting you together with myself to tender our cordial thanks to his Royal Highness for the many favours he has conferred on this Society, that task, which under other circumstances and at this late hour of the afternoon would have been painful to me, is rendered most pleasing and acceptable. I therefore, sir, shall only detain this meeting a few minutes longer, while I call upon them most cordially to unite with me in thanking your Royal Highness for the many benefits we have received at your hands; and I trust that, without offence to your Royal Highness, I may say, the claims we have on each other may be considered as in some degree reciprocal. If your Royal Highness, by your influence, by the reputation of your virtues, as well as by your rank, has been instrumental in sustaining the views of this Society, perhaps I may be allowed to say, that your Royal Highness must have derived some degree of estimation with the public, and must have derived also to yourself, a high degree of satisfaction from having, in the exalted station in which you stand, contributed so largely by the influence of your rank and talents, and by all those virtues which distinguish the illustrious family from which you spring, to excite the attention of Parliament and the public to the misery which has oppressed so long the black population of the West Indies, in the hope of mitigating its pressure. It is only for this purpose that I have risen, and I am quite

sure that at this hour of the evening it is not expected by this meeting I should go into other topics, though if time had been permitted me, and other gentlemen had not already gone over them, I certainly should have much wished to have stated the special reasons which lead me to think this is a time which, above all others, calls for the exertions of every friend of humanity in this sacred cause. But after all that has already passed, it would only be an improper waste of your time if I were now to dilate on this copious subject. I shall, therefore, conclude with seconding the motion which has been made by the reverend gentleman, and which I am sure will obtain your unanimous and hearty concurrence."

The motion passed unanimously.

The Duke of Gloucester:—"Ladies and Gentlemen, However late it is, I am sure you will excuse my rising to give vent to my feelings, and attempting to express to you how gratefully I am impressed with the very flattering and kind manner in which you have been pleased to agree to the resolution, which has been in so gratifying and obliging a manner moved by the Reverend and the Honourable Gentlemen.

"Were it necessary to press on your minds the importance of the question which has this day been under discussion, it would be very ill-timed in me to do so, after the able speeches that you have this day heard, every thing that could be said on the subject having been already said; and feeling sure that it is quite unnecessary to say more to urge you to exertion in this great, this holy cause,—a cause in which we have long been embarked with that excellent man, my Honourable Friend, whom we have the happiness this day of once more seeing among us, and who, I hope, will be enabled, by his health, to attend every other meeting that may be necessary to be called in furtherance of our object, for I know that nothing but ill health will keep him from uniting with us, his heart being always with us. You have heard from him who has pleaded the cause now forty years, the most earnest entreaties, and you have heard those entreaties ably seconded by all who have followed him, that you will, not commence, but follow up to their completion, the efforts which have been made during forty years, for the extinction of slavery throughout the British dominions.

"It really appears somewhat extraordinary, that we should be represented, not only in the West Indies, but even in this country, as now proposing something new; and that we should be stigmatized as innovators, when a statesman who has been dead many years, and who certainly was no advocate of our cause, I mean the late Lord Melville, in the year 1792—thirty-six years ago, told us that the state of slavery should begin to be abolished within the period of eight years, now twenty-eight years ago. We then were reproached with having begun at the wrong end; we were told not to talk of abolishing the slave trade, but to begin by abolishing slavery. Now we are told we are innovators because thirty-six years afterwards, we propose the very thing that that person, who certainly was no advocate for our views, then recommended, and, indeed, himself proposed. The meeting of this day, therefore, is called, not to propose any thing new, but merely to follow up that which has been under discussion for forty years—that which thirty-six years ago was recommended to you by one of our great opponents—that which the House of Commons, five years ago pledged itself to carry into execution, and in which the House of Lords two years ago unanimously concurred. At that period the minister pledged himself; for it was to me the answer was made; (I had the pledge from the first minister himself, I mean my Lord Liverpool,) that if those resolutions were not acted upon in twelve months by the Legislative Assemblies, the Government of this country would enforce them. That pledge was given to me by Lord Liverpool himself: and it was in consequence of his giving that pledge that I requested a noble friend of mine, not to oppose the resolutions, he having some objections to them, that they might go out, as adopted unanimously, to the West Indies. Two years have elapsed since that period. Owing to the circumstance of the last year, to which I shall only recur in lamenting the loss we then sustained—a loss, which I must say was great, not only to this nation, but to the whole universe, and especially to the black population in our colonies, which I may say, Mr. Canning had taken under his protection;—owing to that unfortunate event, nothing took place last year. I trust, however, that the pledge that was given two years ago is not to be abandoned. I trust the People of England will call on Parliament

to enforce that pledge, and will call on the Government to carry it into execution. It is to public opinion that we have mainly to look. Thank God we live in a country where public opinion is of immense power. Our Constitution, I may say, is founded on public opinion; all our great measures of improvement have been brought about by public opinion; and it is the happiness of this country that we live under a constitution where public opinion can have its proper and due weight. It is to that public opinion I now look. I hope and trust, therefore, Ladies and Gentlemen, that the petition which has been proposed this day, —and I assure you a more honourable task never was conferred on me, none more gratifying to me, than to be commissioned by you to deliver to the House of Lords that petition—I hope that that petition will be followed, not only by hundreds, but by thousands of petitions, and that the people of England will act up to their character; will not relinquish what they have indeed, I may say, pledged themselves to do; will enforce it on Parliament; will enforce it on the Government of the country: and that my excellent friend will live to see the day which will witness the final triumph of the cause which he has so long and so ably maintained. I will not trespass longer on your time, than again to return to you my warmest acknowledgment for your kind notice of the part I have taken, in which, however, I do no more than express the feelings of an Englishman; the same feeling which actuates all of you; being most happy to labour with you in this great cause, until we shall have to rejoice together in its complete success. (*long and loud cheers.*)

Anti-Slavery Meetings in the Country.

We are happy to be able to acquaint our friends, that the present state of the Anti-Slavery cause has simultaneously excited a lively sympathy throughout the United Kingdom: and that public meetings either have been, or are about to be held, in most of our great towns, for the purpose of diffusing information among the friends of the cause, and of renewing petitions to the Legislature on the subject. We have been struck with that display of a zeal and intelligence of the most gratifying kind, which have been called forth at these meetings. The subject appears to have made a deep impression, and we have seldom met with sounder reasoning, or more affecting appeals to the heart, than have distinguished the speeches which have reached us.

The object of all these meetings has been the same, namely, to consider the propriety of imploring Parliament to carry into effect its recorded purposes of justice and mercy towards our unfortunate fellow subjects in bondage, and to relieve the country no less from the guilt, than from the burdens, incurred by the fiscal support and protection given by law to that system of Slavery, against which the nation has so concurrently raised its voice.

Liverpool has taken the lead in this work, and has been followed by Birmingham, Ipswich, Norwich, Leeds, Halifax, Newcastle (on Tyne,) Doncaster, Chatham, Cork, &c.:—and will doubtless be followed by many more.

New Works.

We shall take an early opportunity of noticing the various extraordinary misrepresentations which are to be found in Mr. Dwarris's pamphlet, noticed above by Mr. Denman.

Mr. Ward's work on Mexico furnishes as ample proof of the practicability of growing sugar in the Western World by free labour, as Sir Stamford Raffles' work on Java has supplied, with respect to the East.

We are glad to see a Sermon on Slavery, by the Rev. H. Marriot.

This, and all other publications of the Society, may be had at their office, 18, *Aldermanbury; or at Messrs. Hatchards,* 187, *Piccadilly, and Arch's, Cornhill. They may also be procured, through any bookseller, or at the depots of the Anti-Slavery Society throughout the kingdom.*

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REVIEW OF MR. DWARRIS'S PAMPHLET.—CULTURE OF SUGAR BY FREE LABOUR IN MEXICO.—INTELLIGENCE.

We proceed to redeem the pledge given in our last Number, on the subject of a pamphlet published by Mr. Dwarris, entitled "The West India question plainly stated." In this pamphlet he tells us frankly that there is "nothing of an official character." It must be understood to exhibit "the views and opinions only of a private individual," being made up of "scattered memoranda and excerpta from his travelling portfolio, with some later fruits of reflection and discussion." Mr. Dwarris, between the years 1822 and 1826, filled the office of a Commissioner of legal inquiry in the West Indies, and in that capacity has made voluminous reports respecting the state of nine of our Slave Colonies. We have carefully looked into these reports, and we find that we shall have little more to do, in the fulfilment of a great part of our task, than to try Mr. Dwarris the pamphleteer, by the evidence of Mr. Dwarris the Commissioner.

I. One great object of the pamphlet is, to persuade the public, that all which has been told them by the Anti-Slavery Society and its friends, respecting the state of colonial bondage, is either wholly untrue or grossly exaggerated. Its first complaint against them is, "their hardy and adventurous assertion, that nothing effectual has yet been done in the way of improvement by the *Colonists themselves.*" To this assertion Mr. Dwarris opposes another at least equally hardy and as we shall see far more unfounded. "Nothing done!" he says, "The short space of a quarter of a century has effected a revolution in feelings and manners, in these remote Colonies, more extensive, signal, and complete, than I firmly believe, was ever before known, in the same time, in the history of man." p.15. This extravagant statement stands unsupported by a single tittle of evidence. Mr. Dwarris does not shew what was the state of law and manners in 1802, in order to contrast it with that of 1828, so as to prove the magnitude of this change. And to have done this successfully, he must have falsified all preceding West

Indian authorities, who have told us, in one unvarying tone of bold and hardy assertion, from the year 1787 to the present time, of the perfect happiness, of the enviable condition of the West Indian slave. The language of Mr. Dwarris, hyperbolical as it is, is not stronger than the language which was employed by almost all the West Indian witnesses examined before the Privy Council in 1789.* If there were any truth in it, it would prove the preceding race of West Indians, who vaunted quite as highly the improvements of their day as Mr. Dwarris does those of his, to have been not only falsifiers of fact, but monsters of barbarism. Such a statement, therefore, instead of obtaining credit, can only lead to a suspicion that the general fabric of West Indian expositions is a mere tissue of exaggeration and falsehood, framed for present effect, and calculated to serve a temporary purpose.

But let us attend to some of the facts respecting the existing state of things in the West Indies, which have been laid before us by Mr. Dwarris the Commissioner, that we may not be said to accuse him unjustly of unfairness and exaggeration in his private capacity of a pamphleteer.

In his First Report, p. 62—66, the Commissioner gives us the following portraiture of Barbadoes, and which may be seen more at length than we can now give it, by referring to the 7th Number of our Reporter, p. 66, and 67.—

"Slaves in this Island are without LEGAL PROTECTION OR REDRESS FOR PERSONAL INJURIES." "The slave has no remedy, in case of the greatest oppression by the master or his delegate, or the grossest injury by third persons." "No tribunal is specially appointed for inquiring into his wrongs. A slave who is or thinks himself aggrieved, looks in vain in this Island for a proper quarter in which to prefer his complaint." "A wicked or cruel master or delegate, so that he do not kill or maim a slave, may inflict on him any degree of severity of punishment. No man or set of men has power to call him to account for working his slave as long as he likes; for whipping him as much as he pleases; for chaining, for starving him." "A master has uncontrolled, undefined, and absolute power." "In a case even of a very grievous bodily injury, inflicted upon a slave by a manager, the sufferer himself, or his slave brethren who were present, cannot give evidence, even though all the free persons on the premises should have been designedly sent out of the way. In such a case a slave is not allowed to be a prosecutor. Maimed, disfigured, dismembered, his wounds must be the only tongue permitted to relate his wrongs."

Then let us accompany Mr. Dwarris the Commissioner, to the trial of a criminal slave as described by himself, in his First Report, p. 48—50. "No indictment is preferred, no bill found by the grand jury." The evidence is not on oath, and even the evidence of his wife is admitted against him. On conviction,† "sentence of death must be passed,"

* See Reporter, No. 18, p. 256, &c.

† "In cases of conviction," he says, p. 53, "the proceedings are melancholy and disgraceful."

without an appeal from the owner, (the slave having no appeal) the execution takes place without delay; and "there being no assigned place or appointed time for the execution of slave malefactors, the wretched convict, as soon as sentence is passed, is fastened to the nearest tree, unless, which frequently happens, the owner of the soil is at hand to prevent it. In such case, the miserable culprit is dragged from tree to tree, from estate to estate; and in one case, of then recent occurrence, the constable was at last forced to throw the exhausted sufferer off the town bridge, securing the rope by a lamp-post." Even in cases where the master, from not having duly provided for the support of the slave, has compelled him by necessity to commit a robbery, the only difference made by the Court is, that the appraised value of the slave, which is usually paid to the master, is paid to the party injured; and yet even in such a case, says Mr. Dwarris, "the execution of the slave may still proceed!"

The Report from which the above extracts are taken, bears the date of the 16th of May, 1825. In a subsequent Report, the Third, dated in October 1826, he gives the deliberate conclusions to which the inquiries connected with his mission had brought him. We might have travelled with him indeed from island to island, and from each have produced testimonies varying very little in effect from those which we have cited in the case of Barbadoes. We will confine ourselves however, at present, to Mr. Dwarris's deliberate exposition of the general result of his inquiries. Speaking of the SLAVE LAW, he says, "The remedial laws of the different islands, passed by the local legislatures, were for the most part framed upon the spur of the occasion, with little skill and without much connection, and are, as might be expected, rash, crude, and discordant. *In practice too they have been found to be futile and impracticable.*" p. 99.

And this appalling state of things, thus graphically described by the pen of an acute and intelligent lawyer, interested in giving a favourable view of the case, was such an advance, this same lawyer tells us, in improvement, during the preceding quarter of a century, as to be unparalleled in the history of man! What then must have been the state of the West Indies twenty-five years ago?—But what means did Mr. Dwarris possess of instituting the comparison necessary for such an inference? He had no personal knowledge of the previous state of West Indian society. He must, therefore, have drawn his conclusions from the testimony of resident Colonists, who might easily have mistaken for a favourable change in the manners and dispositions of the planters, and a consequent amelioration in the condition of the slaves, their own increased callousness of feeling, and their own growing familiarity with scenes of oppression and cruelty. Had Mr. Dwarris himself lived a few years longer in Barbadoes, he would have seen the convicted negro dragged from tree to tree, and at length thrown like a dog over the lamp-post, with as slight a sensation of horror as was felt by the Barbadians themselves. Had he visited that Island twenty-five years ago, his description might have been as dark, though probably not darker than it now is: but then, before the end of

the time, had he continued to reside there, he would have acquired a very comfortable indifference to the horrors of the scene.

If there were any truth in the strong language of Mr. Dwarris's pamphlet, on the subject of improvement, what, we again ask, must the state of colonial slavery have been at the earlier period; at which period too the West Indian writers vaunted, as loudly as Mr. Dwarris now does, the progress of improvement, and were no less unqualified in their condemnation of all who ventured to deny the truth of their vaunt? Will it be believed that the same gentleman who, in his capacity of Commissioner, thus depicted West Indian slavery as he saw it with his own eyes, should, while the sheets of his Reports were still wet, have composed and published a pamphlet containing the following sentence?

"Nothing done! no change effected! Look at the representations of persons as respectable as Master Stephen, and Mr. Macaulay, as to the state of the Colonies thirty years ago. Does any reasonable man believe the present condition of the islands to resemble the pictures there drawn? Either these accounts are correct or they are not. If they have any pretensions to accuracy, a most astonishing change for the better has undeniably taken place. If the portrait was faithful, then to be sure, *cadit quæstio.* But great part of these statements every candid reader will readily admit had some foundation in truth; and the mistake of those well-intentioned persons consists in shutting their eyes to all recent improvements; in believing that the West Indies have been stationary while all the rest of the world was rapidly advancing; in ill-judgingly refusing the Colonists credit for what they have done, in order to compel them to do more which they ought to do." p. 15.

Mr. Dwarris has not stated the particular representations of Mr. Macaulay, to which he here alludes. And as we have not been able to discover that Mr. Macaulay has come forward as a witness in this cause, or has published statements respecting it on his own authority, it is of course impossible for us to defend him from this vague and unsupported insinuation. If, however, Mr. Dwarris will have the goodness to specify the particular work he has had in his eye, and the particular positions in that work which are marked by characters of incorrectness and exaggeration, a reply may be given to the accusation. At present he has prudently made this impossible.

The representations of Master Stephen, respecting the West Indies, of which Mr. Dwarris complains, are those, we presume, which are to be found in his Delineation of the law of Slavery, published in 1824. If so, then Mr. Dwarris, though evidently an acute and intelligent lawyer himself, seems to labour under a most extraordinary misapprehension as to the real purport of this Delineation, which gives an account of that law, not as it was in 1794, but as it was in 1824, the very year of its publication. The insinuation of Mr. Dwarris, however, is, that Master Stephen, professing, expressly, to delineate the law of slavery as it existed in 1824, has given a representation which might have been true thirty years before, but was not true then. We now call upon him as a lawyer, whose professional character is at stake, and

also as a gentleman professing fairness and candour, either to retract this insinuation as rash and inconsiderate, or to make it good by a distinct induction of particulars. The matter at issue is this. Master Stephen, in 1824, undertook to give to the public a true representation of the following points. 1. "The origin and authority of the colonial slave laws in general." 2. "The persons who are subject to slavery in our Colonies." 3. "The legal nature and incidents of the condition of the slave in his relations to masters; to other persons of free condition; and to the police and civil government of the country." And, 4. "The state of slavery in respect to its commencement and dissolution." Has then Master Stephen misled the public by his representations on these several points? Or has he represented the actual state of things truly? Mr. Dwarris insinuates that he has not. Let him then produce his proofs; and if he will do so, of this at least we feel satisfied, that he cannot convict Master Stephen of a deviation from accuracy, in any one of those points, (being all of which he professed to treat) without proving at the same time the inaccuracy of his own reports.

Nearly two years ago Master Stephen was charged, on the authority of a Mr. Barclay of Jamaica, with having given a false view of the law of West India Slavery. The accuser was called upon to specify a single particular on which he could rest this charge, but he declined the challenge.* We now renew that challenge. We call on Mr. Dwarris as a lawyer, and as a man of candour, to shew, (and we leave him to select his ground) wherein Master Stephen has untruly exhibited the state of the colonial slave law, and in that case we promise to meet him fairly. If he declines to do this, the purpose for which he has thrown out his random charges, against the accuracy of this distinguished writer, will then be as manifest to the public, as it already is to us.

In the work of Master Stephen there is this peculiarity, that he has drawn the proof of all the propositions he has advanced, not from sources which his adversaries may question, but exclusively from the Colonial Statute Books, and from the testimony of his adversaries themselves. And if those propositions are tried by the recent Reports of Mr. Dwarris, they will, we venture to say, without one material exception, be found to be, not only not contradicted, but amply confirmed by the unambiguous testimony of that gentleman in his official capacity of a Royal Commissioner.

II. Mr. Dwarris's next charge against the abolitionists is their untruly affirming, that "*Slaves cannot legally possess property*," for, he says, "what they (the slaves) before virtually and practically enjoyed, is now, in numerous instances, secured to them by law; and they can also bequeath their acquisitions to others by will. And it should be observed, that even before the recent ameliorations, their *peculium* was secured to them, if not by law, by the state of manners." p. 16.

Now, what is the testimony of Mr. Dwarris, the Commissioner on this point?

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* See Reporter, No. 18, p. 249—254.

He tells us, that neither in Barbadoes, nor in Grenada, nor in Tobago, nor in St. Vincent, nor in Dominica, nor in Antigua, nor in St. Christopher, nor in Nevis, nor in Tortola, the nine islands he visited, can slaves acquire any property by law, except for the benefit of their masters, nor can they claim any redress for injuries done them, either by their master, or his delegate, or even by third parties, except through the master.* And when in the last of his Reports, the Third, p. 106, he comes to sum up the whole of the evidence, respecting the slave's legal rights of property, he thus expresses himself. "The slaves now labour under prodigious disadvantages. A slave is under a personal disability, and cannot sue in any court of law or equity, not even in respect of injuries done to him by other slaves. A slave cannot prosecute in the criminal courts. A slave cannot enter into a recognizance." "Slave evidence is not admitted against freemen, white or black, even against wrong doers. In those cases," (viz. against fellow slaves) "where slave evidence is admitted, it very often is not upon oath." "If the property of a slave is taken from him, *he* cannot personally seek redress. His master, it is said, may bring trespass. This, however, is very insufficient; for he also *may not;* and if he does, and none but slaves are present at the infliction of the injury, as is likely to be the case, there is no satisfactory proof of the fact. The owner, suing for his slave, must establish his case by competent evidence, and cannot prove the fact by persons under legal disabilities." Mr. Dwarris then goes on to prove, by other considerations, that from the non-admissibility of slave evidence, "the slave is left defenceless," and concludes the whole with this memorable sentence, "From *all* we saw in *all* the Islands, it was the *firm conviction* of His Majesty's Commissioners, that the foundation of every improvement, both as regards the white and black population of these Colonies, must be laid in an improved administration of justice, and in the admission of slave evidence." p. 107.

So that this writer, who has so sharply reprehended Master Stephen and Mr. Macaulay, for not admitting the unparalleled improvements of the last twenty-five years, has summed up his own official representations on the subject, by stating that the "*foundation* of *every* improvement, both as regards the white and black population of these Colonies" is still to be laid—and if laid at all, "it must be laid," he tells us, "in an improved administration of justice, and in the admission of slave evidence," both which measures he speaks of as still future. What motives can have produced such extraordinary contradictions? Or who shall be dexterous enough to reconcile Mr. Dwarris, the planter and pamphleteer, with Mr. Dwarris the Lawyer and Commissioner?

It may be true, as Mr. Dwarris states, that in general, the slaves are allowed to enjoy their *peculium* without direct control or interference, but this by no means affects the question of *law.* And, as Mr. Dwarris himself properly intimates, the question for the legislator is not what *is* done, but what *may be* done in a case of this description. And that it is always in the power of the master, and may often be in his

* See Mr. Dwarris's First Report, p. 67, 90, 222, 223. Second Report, p. 250, 251, 252. Third Report, p. 13, 87.

inclination to disturb his slave's enjoyment of property is unquestionable. He may do so every time he chooses to sell his slave, or to permit him (a very frequent occurrence!) to be levied upon for debt or for taxes. He does so whenever he drives him by severity to run away, or whenever, by engrossing his time, he deprives him of the power of attending to his stock or to his grounds. He *may* take from him his grounds, and he *may* kill his stock, without the possibility of redress. In the Report of the Berbice Fiscal* we find the slaves of an estate complaining that the overseer had killed all their hogs. One man, Leander, had ten hogs killed at one time by the manager, and for complaining of this act he was put in the stocks. The Fiscal, to whom Leander complained, regrets this harsh proceeding, which he does not however punish or redress, but rather extenuates. Here we have, probably, the accumulations of Leander's whole life destroyed, in one hour, by the merciless and irresistible act of the petty despot of the plantation; and for this injury there is no redress!

How many similar instances might have been disclosed, had we obtained from all the other Colonies the same details which were furnished, from Berbice, of the transactions of only four years, may easily be imagined. But for the indiscretion of the Fiscal of Berbice, the numerous and sickening atrocities which took place there, in the only four years during which a record had been kept, would have sunk into the same deep oblivion which envelopes all the other sad occurrences, not only in that, but in all the other slave Colonies belonging to the Crown.

But besides the insecurity of his property, (for property must necessarily always be insecure in those circumstances of personal dependance and civil disability under which the slave is placed,) the slave is actually prohibited, under severe penalties, from possessing or dealing in any articles of produce except fruit, vegetables, and ground provisions, and such stock as he may rear.

And though it is true that in some of the *Crown* Colonies, certain well-meant though imperfect regulations have been introduced, not by the Colonists themselves but by His Majesty's Order in Council, for securing the property of the slave; yet even there, he still labours under most serious disadvantages; and even there, a power is possessed, by the master or manager, of destroying his stock on the instant, without ceremony or form of legal process.†

In the Colonies having legislatures of their own, the clauses that have been introduced into their new codes, on the subject of the property of slaves, are no more than a disgusting and barefaced evasion of the recommendations of his Majesty. They set out, in general, with a preamble affirming that, by *custom*, slaves have been allowed to possess and enjoy personal property. After this preamble, it might have been expected, that, as in the Trinidad model, that would have been made their right by law, which, it is stated, had formerly been enjoyed by permission and sufferance. The enactment which generally

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* See Reporter, No. 5. p. 41, and No. 16. p. 236.

† See Berbice law, clause 27—and, to the like effect, Barbadoes Act, clause 7.

follows, however, is not that such custom shall be established by law, but that any master or other person, who shall wilfully and unlawfully take away from a slave, or deprive him of what he may be *lawfully* possessed of, then such person (not shall be punished as a felon, but) shall forfeit ten pounds currency, less than five pounds sterling, over and above the value of the property. We are not even told, what it is for a slave *lawfully* to possess property, nor is any legal title conferred upon him. No means of suit are afforded him, and he is debarred from giving evidence in all civil actions. In short, with scarcely an exception, the provisions on this point, are a mere evasion of the King's recommendation, and leave the slave in the same helpless and unprotected state, as to all essential rights of property, as before.* Nay, in some cases, they legalize, as we have seen, the right of unceremoniously destroying the stock of the slave. Even the act of Tobago, which is more fair seeming than the rest, and affects to entitle the slave to bring actions personal, points out no means by which he can exercise that right, and shuts him entirely out from giving evidence in any civil matter. See clauses 35 and 22.

Now, does it not appear most extraordinary that Mr. Dwarris, himself a lawyer, should have ventured to assert that *in numerous instances* the property of the slave had been secured to him *by law?* We challenge him to point out those *numerous* instances, in which, as a lawyer, he can affirm that such security has been given. And as to their *peculium* being secured to them *by the state of manners*, the very same thing was equally affirmed by every West Indian writer, and by every West Indian witness examined before the Privy Council and Parliament, from 1789 downwards. Where then shall we find the mighty revolution as to the slave's rights of property, in any Colony where the Colonists and not the Crown legislate, of which Mr. Dwarris boasts as having taken place in the last twenty-five years? In the teeth of his boast, we still affirm, that, in general, "slaves do not *legally* possess property," and we challenge him, as a lawyer, to establish the contrary position if he can.

III. The next point in Mr. Dwarris's indictment against the abolitionists, is their falsely affirming that "marriage is not encouraged." "I," says Mr. Dwarris, "assert the contrary;"—a very bold and hardy assertion, and which may afford us the means of appreciating the value of Mr. Dwarris's unsupported assertion. At the time he penned this assertion, he must have had before him the statistical returns, printed by order of the House of Commons on the 9th of May, 1826, No. 353. What are the facts which these returns disclose? Neither in Barbadoes, nor in Berbice, nor in Demerara, nor in Dominica, nor in Grenada, nor in Honduras, nor in Jamaica, nor in Nevis, nor in St. Christopher's, nor in St. Vincent's, nor in Tobago, nor in Tortola, was there, previous to 1826, any law encouraging, or sanctioning, or legalizing, or even permitting the marriage of slaves, or giving them even the shadow of

* See the law of Grenada, clause 52;—of St. Vincent's, clause 5;—of Dominica, clause 13;—disallowed law of Jamaica, clause 16;—law of Barbadoes, clause 7.

protection for their connubial rights. And the very laws which have since been enacted, instead of marking a disposition to encourage marriage, betray a desire rather to obstruct and discourage it.* Mr. Dwarris says, that the slave is *recommended* to marry, but he does not tell us by whom. We have looked in vain for any such recommendation in the West India statute books. Dominica indeed once passed a clause of that kind, namely in 1788; but after it had remained for thirty-three years a dead letter in their code of law, not one marriage having taken place, it was actually repealed in 1821, and has not since been re-enacted. "In Barbadoes," says the President, (March 14, 1826,) "there is no law existing by which the marriage of slaves is authorized or enforced." We have the same return from Honduras, Jamaica, Tobago, Tortola, Nevis, and St. Christopher's. And if we had had any returns from Antigua, Bermuda, and Montserrat, they would, doubtless, have been to the same effect.

We seem therefore fully entitled to ask, what confidence can be placed in the representations of Mr. Dwarris, when, with these facts before his eyes, he can gravely adduce as a proof of the mighty—the unparalleled march of improvement in the West Indies, during the last quarter of a century, the encouragement given to marriage? (p. 13.)

It really seems something like a waste of time, to proceed with the refutation of Mr. Dwarris's positions, the utter groundlessness of every one of which is equally capable of demonstration with the points already touched upon. Indeed we stand in perfect astonishment, that any man who possesses his standing in society, should thus expose himself to such imputations as are the natural consequences of mis-statements, (all too on one side of the question) whether proceeding from ignorance, or inadvertence, or from any other less excusable cause, so palpable as those we have already noticed, but which certainly are not more so than those which still remain to be noticed. All this will at least show to what kind of mischievous counteraction the cause of truth and justice and humanity is exposed. And it shews, at the same time, how cautious we ought to be of the mere assertions of any man, however respectable his attainments, however imposing his professions, or however high his station in society, who, under the influence of the peculiar temptations and prejudices incident to the possession of West Indian property, undertakes the task of enlightening the public mind on West Indian reform.

IV. Mr. Dwarris's next charge against the abolitionists is their falsely affirming that "the slaves work under the lash."

His attempt to refute this position exhibits a singular hardihood of unfounded assertion. He says, "The power of punishment upon estates (and especially as delegated to inferior agents) is now *much restricted.*" We positively deny the assertion, and challenge Mr. Dwarris to the proof. There is no such restriction even in the disallowed law of Jamaica, a colony containing nearly half of the slaves in the West Indies. Neither in the Bahamas, nor in Bardadoes, nor in Dominica,

* See Reporter, No. 19, p. 265—272.

nor in Montserrat, nor in Nevis, nor in St. Kitt's, nor in St. Vincent's, had any such restriction taken place at the end of 1826. In Tobago and in Grenada alone has there been an abatement of that tremendous power possessed by masters and managers of inflicting thirty-nine lashes, and by drivers of inflicting ten, and in the Bahamas even twenty lashes, on the bared bodies of every man, woman and child placed under their authority, and that for any offence or for no offence, and without any legal control or responsibility. Tobago and Grenada alone, of the colonies having legislatures of their own, have restricted this terrible power; but even there the regulations which profess to do so are destitute of all effectual sanction, as may be seen by referring to the acts themselves. Nay, in Grenada, the former harsh state of things is aggravated by a clause (10) empowering the master, who does not think the twenty-five lashes to which he is limited a sufficient punishment, to carry his slave to a justice, who, by his single fiat, may direct such corporal punishment *not extending to life or limb*, as the offence shall in *his* discretion merit, and this without appeal.—Only conceive two neighbouring justices, planters, mutually performing for each other this kind office of summary execution!

Again Mr. Dwarris tells us, "The cartwhip, either as an instrument of punishment or as a symbol of authority *has grown out of use*: the cat-o'-nine-tails which is used in the British army is substituted for it. Indeed," he says, "the first frenzy of improvement produced, in the island of Dominica, a beautiful specimen of crude legislation upon the subject; the draft of the amended slave bill actually abolished the use of the cartwhip for any purpose whatever in that colony." Now let us hear Lord Bathurst's estimate of the law passed by the legislators of Dominica, of whom Mr. Dwarris speaks as manifesting a frenzied eagerness of improvement: "On the subject of the punishment of slaves, I observe," says his Lordship, "that the use of the whip in the field is not only not prohibited, but is indirectly sanctioned. The owner is permitted, by his own authority, to inflict a punishment amounting to thirty-nine stripes." "The presence of a free person as a witness is not rendered necessary. The use of the whip in correcting females is not prohibited, but is expressly allowed. No limitation is affixed to the extent and severity of any punishment except that of whipping. These acts do not require that any record should be kept of punishments." "Although a person should be repeatedly convicted of inflicting an illegal punishment he would not incur any forfeiture of his slaves, or become incapable of holding such property. In cases of mutilation and other cruel punishments, the slave is to be sold, if the jury should certify the case to be atrocious; but even in this case of atrocious mutilation, the offender is to receive the price of the slave!" Lord Bathurst further objects to the authority given by this act "to a slave, employed as a superintendant, to inflict, by whipping, punishment on his fellow slave; and to the permission to work slaves in chains, if convicted before *a single magistrate*, on the evidence of a fellow slave, of habitual bad conduct!" See Lord Bathurst's letter to the Governor of Dominica, 3d April 1827.

We may now form some idea of Mr. Dwarris's standard of colonial amelioration ;—we speak of him in his capacity of planter and pamphleteer ;—and certainly if he deems such provisions as these indications of a frenzied zeal for improvement, we cannot wonder at the general tone of his recent publication.

Mr. Dwarris, however, with an air of candour, admits that the whip *is* exhibited in the field, and he agrees it should be done away with. But then he says "*it is very rarely used.*" How can he tell this? He assumes the fact: he cannot know it. He only knows that it *may* be used, being always at hand. And what possible evidence can he have that it is not? Its sound will not reach him across the Atlantic.—Then he says, that in several islands "the use of the driving whip is regulated by law," though, he admits, not effectually. But in which of the colonies having legislatures of their own, except the Bahamas, where the driving whip is of no use, has one effective regulation been adopted on the subject? The only legislatures which have even touched it are Grenada and St. Vincent's. Now take Lord Bathurst's view of what has been done there, as it is stated in his letter to Sir C. Brisbane, of the 3d April 1827. "The provisions as to the use of the whip in the field are so constructed that a free negro might use it with impunity, and that even a slave might be employed to use it, if it were not carried as an emblem of authority, but as a means of impelling other slaves to labour. The prohibition extends only to one description of whip, viz. 'that which is usually called the cartwhip.'" And here we must admire the tenderness which exults in the adoption of the cat-o'-nine-tails, the instrument used to punish the worst crimes in the army, as a humane and improved mode of stimulating the industry, and reproving and quickening the sluggishness of the negro.

It is by such unfounded statements as these, brought forward by men pretending to local authority and assuming the air of candour and truth, that parliament, and even absent proprietors of slaves, are deluded into the belief that the driving whip is, as Lord Seaford strangely asserted in 1823, not an instrument of coercion but a mere badge of authority. The resident colonists,—the managers, overseers and bookkeepers understand the matter far better. They are ready to fight for the whip. Their language is, that slavery cannot subsist without the whip. Nay, "the use of the whip is believed by those who have most considered the subject in this colony to be identified with the existence of slavery." We have before us files of the West Indian newspapers wherein such language as this is used. "It is manifest to every individual," says the Jamaica Royal Gazette in June 1826, "in the least acquainted with this colony, that the dread of the whip is the only prevention of idleness and insolence." If Mr. Dwarris wishes it we can produce numerous passages to the same effect, not only from the colonial newspapers but from colonial writers of authority; Collins, Williamson, Stewart, Cooper, Bickell, &c. But what can be more decisive on this point than the absolute refusal of the Jamaica legislature, in December 1826, to abolish either the flogging of women, or punishment or driving by the cartwhip? A clause for substituting even Mr. Dwarris's favourite cat

for the cartwhip, as well as one for prohibiting female flogging, was negatived by 28 to 12.*

The assembly of Barbadoes on the 23d October 1826, in an address to the governor give "the reasons which influenced the House in not adopting certain of the recommendations of Lord Bathurst." They regarded it, they say, "as a sacred duty to their country, their constituents, and themselves, whilst anxiously disposed to meet the wishes of his Majesty's government, not to lose sight of the safety of the inhabitants, the interests of property, and the welfare of the slaves themselves. Acting on these considerations, the assembly, with all due deference to Earl Bathurst, found that they could not yield to his Lordship's recommendations to prohibit the punishment of women by flogging, and the use of the whip in the field. To forbid, by legislative enactment, the flogging of female slaves would, in the judgment of the assembly, be productive of most injurious consequences." "The female slaves evince at all times a greater disregard to the authority of their owners than the male slaves. To deprive an owner of this mode of enforcing obedience or punishing disorderly conduct would tend to encourage a stronger disposition to insubordination." They then argue against the substitution of imprisonment as depriving them of the slaves' services, and in the case of owners possessed of only one or two domestic female slaves, "it is quite apparent," they say, "how very objectionable must be this change from flogging to imprisonment." "Considerations no less powerful," they go on to remark, "prevailed with the assembly respecting the disuse of the whip in the field. Whilst the power of summary punishment by flogging, when necessary, and which *is to be considered to be inseparable from a state of slavery*, is permitted to slave owners, the assembly have provided against the abuse or cruel exercise of it. The *recording* of punishment by whipping, however, being consequent upon limiting it to a given number of stripes, and the assembly being of opinion that, in the hands of a relentless executioner, a given number of stripes might, under the sanction of the law, be so inflicted as to amount to an act of cruelty, thought that the ends of humanity would be best consulted, and unfeeling owners most effectually restrained, by leaving it to the justices,"—themselves, it may be, among the unfeeling owners—"to determine on the fact of cruelty from the circumstances of the case, without any reference to the specific mode or quantity of punishment."

Now Mr. Dwarris might have known all this when he penned the sentence on which we are commenting. What then are we to think of the correctness of Mr. Dwarris's statements?

But to proceed with our proofs, which, on this point, are endless.—General Mainwaring, the governor of St. Lucia assumes that it cannot be intended by Lord Bathurst to exempt females from those measures of coercion necessary to ensure the performance of their daily work. If the flogging of female slaves on estates be abolished, "I am at a loss,"

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* See Reporter, No. 21, p. 305—307, for the language used by the speakers on this occasion. Every word tells against Mr. Dwarris. See also the Reporter, No. 18, p. 257—260.

he says, "to say what punishment the owner can have recourse to." He objects equally to the absence of the driving whip.—"Such changes," says the Attorney General of St. Lucia, alluding to the abolition of female flogging and the driving whip, "would give the death blow to the subordination of the slaves, and would essentially compromise the safety of the masters. In short, the total subversion of the colony would be the inevitable result of such innovations." And even Mr. Chief Justice Pickwood of St. Kitt's, one of the most enlightened of the West Indian judges, comes to the conclusion, that the flogging of women cannot be dispensed with.

We subjoin a brief extract from Dr. Williamson, as warm an advocate for the West Indian system as Mr. Dwarris himself, who published his work in 1817, after a residence of fourteen years in Jamaica, and who confirmed his testimony on his return to that island in 1823. We quote from his second volume, p. 222—225.

Speaking of the driving whip, he says, "Whether we consider the frightful sound which reaches our ears *every minute* in passing through estates, by the crack of the lash, or the power with which drivers are permitted to exercise punishment, it would be desirable that such a weapon of authority were taken from them." "When a negro seems tardy at his work, the driver sounds the lash near him, or lets him feel it as he thinks proper." The impression thus "made upon the passenger, who is probably a stranger, is *horrible* indeed." Again, "When punishment is inflicted by flogging," "it cannot be denied that the limit of thirty-nine lashes is often outdone, and by repeatedly punishing offenders the parts become insensible to the lacerations which tear up the skin. When that barbarous consequence is arrived at, the infliction of the lash becomes a matter of indifference to the unfortunate negro, and new sources of torture must be found out by which the commission of crime may be checked." Again, "If, in a warm day, we pass by a gang where they are uncovered behind, it is a reproach to every white man to observe in them the recently lacerated sores, or the deep furrows which, though healed up, bear the marks of cruel punishment."

Nor is Mr. Barrett, a member of the Jamaica assembly, speaking in 1826, less strong and indignant in his terms. "The cartwhip," he describes "as a base, cruel, debasing instrument of torture," the fellow "of the rack and the thumb screw;" "a horrible detestable instrument when used for the punishment and torture of slaves." But all his eloquence was unavailing. Driving, and the cartwhip, and the flogging of women still maintain their place in Jamaica, and even the substitution of the cat for the cartwhip was negatived by 28 to 12.*

But independently of all this, if there was truth in such representations as those of Mr. Dwarris, what would become of the lengthened and reiterated arguments of Major Moody, Mr. Mac Donnell, and a host of writers besides, and among others of Mr. Dwarris himself, to prove that negroes will not work without coercion? Why also should the measure of putting down the driving whip and abolishing the flogging of women be so generally rejected by the colonial legislatures? But

* See Rep ter, No. 21, pp. 306, 307.

we must take our leave of Mr. Dwarris for the present, without having exhausted a tythe of our proofs to show the small value of the unsupported assertions which, in his capacity of planter and pamphleteer, he has put forth on this and every other part of the case. Before we do so, however, we are strongly tempted to adduce one farther illustration of Mr. Dwarris's professional inaccuracy, which may be exhibited in a brief space. He says, " The legislature of Tobago has consented to receive slave evidence in all cases, without any restriction, and to do away altogether with the distinction which has heretofore prevailed between the admission of the evidence of persons free and bond, leaving them equally open to the same common law exceptions."

Here Mr. Dwarris gives us, as the law of Tobago, what is, in point of fact, no more than a speculation, a mere project on the part of the House of Assembly, respecting the course which it might be proper to pursue, and in which speculation the legislative council of the island differ materially from the assembly. The following is the existing, and the only existing law of Tobago, on the subject of slave evidence:

" Clause 22. And whereas it may happen that, in cases of cruelty or other injury to slaves by white or free persons, no other evidence than that of slaves can be procured, by reason whereof such cruelty cannot be punished or redressed: Be it and it is hereby enacted, that in all cases where any white or free person is charged with wilful murder or mayem of, or cruelty to a slave, it shall and may be lawful, in case no white or free person was present or can be produced to prove the facts relating to such imputed murder, mayem, or cruelty, to admit the evidence of two slaves to prove the facts and circumstances attending such imputed murder, &c. and that the concurrent evidence of such two slaves, if unimpeached as to their credibility, shall have the same effect, in point of law, as if a white or free person had proved the same facts and circumstances attending such murder, mayem, or cruelty, and the slave suffering such mayem or cruelty shall be admitted as one of the two evidences."

Such is actually the law of Tobago at this moment, and yet Mr. Dwarris, himself a lawyer, affirms that the legislature of that island " has consented to receive slave evidence in all cases, without any restriction." Is not this a most palpable misrepresentation of the case? Slave evidence is wholly excluded in all civil cases; and in criminal cases it is confined to murder, mayem, and cruelty; and even then is only admitted in case no white or free person was present, and in case two slaves, unimpeached as to their credibility, shall testify concurrently to facts and circumstances.—In short, from the beginning to the end of Mr. Dwarris's pamphlet, we scarcely meet with a single sentence which does not involve some gross error or mis-statement, which does not convey to the reader either a distorted or exaggerated fact, or a false or unfounded inference. And yet this is the man who takes it upon him to charge Master Stephen's elaborate and authentic delineation of the law of slavery with incorrectness and exaggeration!

We are glad to suspend the task of castigating the errors of Mr. Dwarris, in order to introduce to our readers the facts disclosed by

Mr. Ward, our late envoy in Mexico, respecting the cultivation, in that part of the world, of

SUGAR BY FREE LABOUR.

"The possibility of cultivating the sugar cane between the tropics by a system of free labour," Mr. Ward observes, "has been often canvassed, but I know no country, except Mexico, where the experiment has been fairly tried on a large scale.* The plantations were all worked in the first instance by slaves, who were purchased at Vera Cruz at from three to four hundred dollars each. The difficulty of ensuring a supply during a war with a maritime power, and the number of slaves who perished from the sudden change of climate on the road from the coast, induced several of the great proprietors to endeavour to propagate a race of free labourers, by giving liberty to a certain number of slaves annually, and encouraging them to intermarry with the native Indians, which they soon did to a very great extent. The plan was found to be so economical that on many of the largest estates there was not a single slave in the year 1808. But the policy of the measure became still more apparent in 1810; for as soon as the revolution broke out, those planters who had not adopted the system of gradual emancipation were abandoned, at once, by their slaves, and forced, in some instances, to give up working their estates; while those who had provided themselves in time with a mixed cast of free labourers retained, even during the worst of times, a sufficient number of hands to enable them to cultivate their lands, although on a reduced scale.

"The great haciendas (plantations) now expend in wages and other current charges, from 8 to 1200 dollars a week. The labourers are mostly paid by the piece, and can earn, if industrious, from six to seven reals per diem, being from three shillings to three shillings and sixpence English money. The number of workmen employed upon an estate capable of producing 40,000 arrobas† of sugar (about 600 hogsheads) is one hundred and fifty, with occasional additions when the season is late, or the work has been retarded by accidental causes. They are divided into gangs, as in the West Indies, and appeared to me to perform their several tasks with great precision and rapidity." Vol. I. p. 67, 68.

There is however this most remarkable difference between the gangs in Mexico and the gangs in the West Indies, that whereas the majority of the latter consists of females, who are thus subjected to continuous and severe toil under the whip, the Mexican gangs appear to consist exclusively of males.‡ None but men are spoken of by Mr. Ward as employed in watering the canes, in cutting them, in feeding the engines, in supplying fuel, and in the various processes of the culture and manufacture—and "ALL THESE LABOURERS," he adds, "PROCEED WITHOUT DIFFICULTY OR COMPULSION, AND THE SOUND OF THE WHIP IS NEVER HEARD!" He speaks of the labourers indeed as debauched, ignorant, and barbarous, as ferocious, addicted to drinking,

* Mr. Ward has forgotten Hindostan, Java, Siam, &c.

† An arroba is about 25 lbs. English.

‡ This accounts for the difference in the proportion of births between Mexico and our West Indies: in the former one in 18—in the latter, one in 42.

and low in morals, a description which finds too faithful a parallel in the degraded slave. But they are nevertheless, he adds, "an active, and at intervals a laborious race, capable of enduring great fatigue, and well suited to the climate they inhabit." p. 69.

The produce of a hectare (two acres and a half) of land in Vera-Cruz, which is a maritime province, he states to be 240 arrobas of raw sugar of 25lbs. each, being two tons and a half per hectare, and double the produce of Cuba. (p. 62.) In 1802, thirty-five millions of pounds were raised for home consumption, besides a million and a half that were exported. The amount of produce was greatly reduced during the revolutionary war, and much of the capital employed in sugar works was destroyed. Many of these however had been re-established, and he describes the extensive valley of Cuernavaca and Cuautla as occupied "by a succession of estates, all in a state of the most beautiful cultivation. The valley abounds in water, both for irrigation and machinery," which machinery he describes as "fully equal to that employed in the British Colonies, where steam engines are not used." "None of these estates produce less in the year than 30,000 arrobas of sugar, (or 340 tons,) while the annual produce of some of the largest may be estimated at from 40 to 50,000." "The sale of the molasses alone, is sometimes sufficient to cover the weekly expenditure of the estate, leaving only the wear and tear of the machinery to be deducted from the produce of the crop of sugar." p. 63—66.

In the Island of Cuba, Mr. Ward states, that 150 slaves are required to produce 1,600 arrobas, or about 180 tons, whereas, in the valley of Cuautla, inferior in fertility to the maritime province of Vera-Cruz, 150 free labourers are found sufficient for an estate, yielding from 32,000 to 40,000 arrobas, from 360 to 450 tons. The destruction of the sugar works appears to have been the greatest in the maritime provinces, but if peace continues, and all danger from old Spain is at an end, cultivation, Mr. Ward is convinced, must revive there, and the export become large.

Intelligence.

Petitions against slavery and the duties which protect and uphold it, continue to load the tables of both Houses of Parliament.

The number of Ladies' Anti-slavery Associations increases; we hear of them in various directions. One has recently been established in Dublin, at a numerous meeting, the Lord Mayor in the chair, and after an able and animated discussion.

A discussion has taken place on the sugar duties in the House of Commons, which is likely to lead, in the ensuing year, to at least a material modification of them. The more the case is understood the stronger will be the conviction of the injustice and mischievousness of the present arrangement.

Mr. Brougham has announced his intention of moving, on the 1st of July, for leave to bring in a Bill to make the evidence of slaves admissible in all the King's courts. Mr. W. Horton has also given notice of a motion on Slavery.

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SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER,

FOR JUNE, 1828, No. 37.

Mr. Wilmot Horton having given notice of a motion in the House of Commons on the subject of compulsory manumission, for the 26th instant, it is thought right, previous to the discussion to which it must lead, to furnish the public with some information upon it. Gentlemen desirous of fully considering the question, may indeed find a complete view of it in a pamphlet published by Hatchard, entitled, "The Petition and Memorial of the Planters of Demerara and Berbice, on the subject of Manumission, examined: being an exposure of the inaccuracy of the statements, and the fallacy of the views on which they have proceeded in their recent application to His Majesty in Council."* To obviate, however, still more completely the alarms and objections of those who maintain that the plan of compulsory manumission must be productive both of ruin to the planter and of danger to the Colonies, it seems expedient to add to the facts and reasonings contained in that publication, the following *Authentic View of the Law and Practice in the Spanish Colonies respecting the Manumission of Slaves.* We shall thus, at least, have before us the lessons of long experience.

We will begin with settling the important point of the time which is allowed to the Slaves for their own purposes in those Colonies.

Some persons have affected to question, whether it be true that the number of days in the year allowed to the Slaves in the Portuguese and Spanish colonies, for their own use, be really so many as has been asserted—viz. fifty-two Sundays, fifty-two week-days, and at least thirty holidays; in all, 134;†—and whether those facilities of manumission exist there which have been held up as an example, as well as a matter of reproach, to Great Britain. The following authorities will probably place these points beyond further doubt.

Mr. Koster, the author of Travels in Brazil, published a pamphlet in 1816, with his name prefixed to it. It may be found in the sixteenth Number of the Pamphleteer. This valuable and accurate writer thus states the case of the Brazilian Slave. Besides his food, which is "salt meat or salt fish, and the flour of the manioc," "the laws allow him to have the Sundays and holidays as his own," p. 313. "The Brazilian Slaves, who supply themselves with food, have one day in every week for this purpose; but they are expected not to require any assistance from the master." They have also, "in the course of the year, above *thirty* holidays besides Sunday." p. 327.

The Spanish Cedula of the 31st of May, 1789, says, that on holidays

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* The whole of this pamphlet will be found in the Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter, for August, 1827, No. 27, price 6*d*.

† Contrast this liberal provision of the Spanish law, with the miserable fragment of time allowed to the slaves in the English Colonies, varying from 13 to 26 days, beside Sundays. What hope can be indulged of any considerable manumission of slaves, by their own efforts, under such adverse circumstances?

" the Slaves shall not be obliged or permitted to work either for themselves or their masters, except at the time of crop, when it is customary *to grant them liberty* to work on holidays."

This is further confirmed, by a reference to a work published by Longman, in 1810, entitled " Present State of the Spanish Colonies, by W. Walton, Junior;" in which that gentleman remarks, that " a considerable impediment to the progress of culture in Spanish possessions, is the great number of feast-days that interfere with the labours of the field;" and again, that though Spanish Slaves are denied many " subordinate conveniences, they are allowed a much greater surplus of time to procure them, and enjoy more indulgences than the Slaves of other nations."—Vol. ii. pp. 140, 143.

The author goes on to say, that "a Slave has the right of redemption; and, in any dispute with his master, has the privilege of choosing an arbitrator. If he be not contented to live in the servitude of a particular person, by whom he may be ill-treated, and can produce sufficient motives and another purchaser; or if he has had sufficient industry and economy to have amassed the stipulated sum; he can demand his freedom, by refunding his purchase-money." An infant, unborn, ceases to be the property of the owner, by the deposit of 100 rials; and after birth, by that of twenty-five dollars."

This general statement is confirmed by a more recent writer, who, in letters from the Havannah, dedicated to Mr. Croker, of the Admiralty, and published by Miller in 1821, speaks of " the festivals held every Sunday and feast-day," when "numbers of free and enslaved assemble" for amusement; and he afterwards describes them as " festivalizing on a *dios de dos cruces*, or a church holiday." He also recognizes the regulation which allows the slave "who is discontented with the treatment of his owner, to demand a *carta*, or licence to be sold; or, in other words, to change his service." p. 42.

" There are many Coloured People," he adds, " whose freedom is the purchase of the extra earnings allowed them by law." " The number of free People of Colour in this island is nearly equal to the total amount of that class in all the islands together. This is attributable to the mildness of the Spanish Slave-Code, which softens the rigour of their hard destiny."—" Every slave under the Spanish colonial law, who tenders his master the sum he was bought at, is entitled to enfranchisement, *nor can his master refuse it.* It is equally permitted him to *purchase a portion of his freedom* by instalments, as his ability allows, being then said to be *coartado*, or *cut;* and such are, in consequence, entitled to a licence to work where and with whom they please, paying to their master a *rial* (6d.) per day, for every hundred dollars remaining of their value, beyond the instalment they have paid. Many who are not *coartado* are allowed by their owners to labour where they please, under similar conditions; by which means an industrious Slave may, in a few years, procure sufficient to ransom himself. The excellence of such a regulation it is easy to appreciate. It is both a wise and merciful policy. It satisfies the master with a high interest, during the period the Slave is working out his freedom; and it imbues the latter with habits of cheerful industry, while he is, as it were, knocking off his chain link by link."—pp. 40—42.

A farther confirmation of these statements is to be found in our own Privy-Council Report of 1789, part VI., where the following provisions are represented as forming a part of the law of the Spanish Colonies, regarding slavery, viz.

"Any Slave, on proof given to the Governor of bad treatment by the owner, may insist on being transferred to another master, at such price as may be settled between the purchaser and the seller; and if the latter is exorbitant in his demand, the Governor is to name a third person as umpire.

"Any Slave who, by his industry and economy, has raised a sufficiency to purchase his manumission, may demand his freedom from his master, on paying an equitable price; and if the master should prove unreasonable, the Governor, on the application of the Slave, is to appoint two appraisers, who are to fix the price."

But the most conclusive evidence on this subject is to be found in a communication from Mr. Kilbee, the Commissioner of the Mixed Commission Court at the Havannah, to the late Mr. Canning, dated October 9, 1824, and which stands at p. 120—124, of Class A of Papers on the Slave trade, presented to Parliament, by His Majesty's Command, in the Session of 1825. The following is the substance of this highly important official document.

It has been the practice at all times, of the Courts of Justice in Cuba, to sanction such regulations as tend to ameliorate the lot of Slaves; and this has gradually given rise to a system, which, though principally founded on custom, has acquired the force of law, and many parts of which have been confirmed in Royal decrees. Among other beneficial regulations there is a public officer in every district, who is the official protector of slaves, and whose presence is necessary at every legal decision concerning them.

Slaves in the island of Cuba may be divided into two classes; those in *Venta Real*, that is, who may be sold by the master for any sum he chooses to demand; and *Coartados*, that is, those whose slavery is limited by a price being fixed on them which cannot be increased at the will of the master.

Slaves may acquire their liberty by the mere grant of their master, or by testament, and the only formality necessary is a certificate, called a *Carta de Libertad.* No security is required, as in the British islands, that they shall not become a charge to the parish.* But masters are not allowed to emancipate old and infirm slaves, unless they provide for them.

If a slave can prove that a promise of emancipation has been made to him by his master, the latter will be compelled to perform it; and wills relating to this subject are always interpreted most favourably to the Slaves.

Slaves may also obtain their liberty by purchase: but the master is not allowed to fix an arbitrary price, but if he and the Slave cannot agree, two appraisers are named, one by the Master, the other by the

* This demand of security has been nothing else than a contrivance for increasing the obstacles in the way of manumission; the pretence for it, arising from the alleged necessity of providing for the pauperised emancipated Slave, being wholly without foundation. See Reporter, No. 19. p. 275—279.

Protector of Slaves, and the judge names an umpire. The law exempts all sales of this description from the six per cent. duty attaching to all other sales. A master is compelled to sell his Slave if the purchaser engages to emancipate him at the end of a reasonable time. Masters who use their Slaves ill may be compelled to sell them: and in case of their not being *coartado*, by appraisement. It is the universal custom to give liberty to Slaves rendering services to the state, the Government paying the master for them.

A Slave once emancipated cannot be again reduced to slavery. Various instances to this effect are cited by Mr. Kilbee; among others, the following:—

A Slave applied to a judge to be valued, in order to purchase his liberty; the master objected, saying it was impossible he could legally have acquired so much money. The court acknowledged, that the illegal acquirement of the money was a bar to the demand of the Slave; but held, that such illegal acquirement must be proved by the master, as it would be hard to oblige the Negro to account for all the money he had ever received.

Next to obtaining his liberty, the great object of the Slave is to become *coartado*. This consists in his price being fixed; the master giving him a document called, *escretura de coartacion*, by which he binds himself not to demand more than a certain sum for the Slave, which sum is always less than his actual value, but has no relation to the price paid for him.

As Slaves may acquire their liberty, so may they be *coartados* at the pleasure of their master. They may become so too, by paying a part of their value. This arrangement is scarcely ever objected to; if it were, the Slave has only to apply to a court of justice through the Protector to be valued, and then, on paying fifty or a hundred dollars, his master would be obliged to give him an escretura, expressing that he was *coartado* in the difference between the sum paid and his estimated value. Thus, if a Slave be valued at 600 dollars, and pay his master 100, he will remain *coartado* in 500; and no greater price can be demanded, whether he be sold to another master, or he himself purchase his liberty. The Slave also who is already *coartado* in a certain sum, may pay any part of it, not less than fifty dollars, and his master is bound to receive it. Again, if a master be about to sell his Slave, the Slave may oblige the purchaser to receive any part of the purchase money, and to remain *coartado* in the remainder; and for the part paid no tax is exacted, nor indeed for any money paid by Slaves towards obtaining their liberty, for becoming *coartados*, or for diminishing the sum by which they may be already *coartados*.

It is a disputed point, whether a Slave can oblige his master to sell him if he can find a purchaser who will *coartar* him. This practice, being liable to abuse, is generally discouraged, unless the purchaser be willing to *coartar* the Slave in considerably less than his value; in two-thirds of it, for example; in which case, no judge would refuse the demand for a change of masters; the meliorating the lot of the Slave, and advancing him in the way of obtaining his liberty, being held paramount to all other considerations. In all cases, however, where a Slave demands to be sold to a purchaser who offers to improve his condition,

either by engaging to emancipate him at the end of a reasonable time, or by agreeing to *coartar* him, or by diminishing the sum in which he is *coartado*, the original master will have the preference, and need not sell him if he be willing to confer the same benefit on the Slave which the purchaser proposes to confer.

The *coartado* Slave has this great advantage, that, if hired out by his master, or, as is more common, allowed to hire himself out, he is only bound to pay his master one real a day for every hundred dollars in which he is *coartado*. Thus, if *coartado* in 500 dollars, he pays five reals a day; if in 450, four and a half, and so on; Sundays and certain holidays being excluded; while the master of a Slave in *venta real* is entitled to all the money the latter can earn.

The law is, that a *coartado* Slave is as much a Slave as any other, except as regards his price, and the quota he is to pay his master, if hired out. The master, therefore, is as much entitled in law to his personal service, as to that of a Slave in *venta real*. But this is somewhat modified in practice. If a Slave descend to his master *coartado*, or become so in his service, the master may require his personal service, and the Slave cannot demand to be allowed to work out. But when a *coartado* Slave is sold, it being the custom for the Slave himself to seek for a new master, he uniformly stipulates beforehand whether he is to serve personally, or to work out, paying the usual daily quota; and judges will always compel the master to observe such stipulation, unless the Slave should neglect to pay; when the only remedy is to exact his personal service. It is not uncommon, therefore, for a master wishing to employ his *coartado* Slave who has stipulated to be allowed to work out, to pay the difference between the sum the Slave ought daily to pay to him, and the wages usually earned by the Slave. In this case alone is the Slave paid for his labour by the master, except, indeed, he is employed on Sundays or holidays.

During illness *coartado* Slaves who work out are exempted from paying any thing to their master, who, on the contrary, is bound to maintain and assist them as other Slaves.

The sum in which a Slave is *coartado*, may be augmented by the amount of any damages the master may be made to pay on his account, by a court of justice. But if the Slave neglects for some time to pay the daily sum due to his master, this cannot be added to his price, because it was his master's fault not to have had recourse in time to the proper remedy of compelling the Slave's personal service.

The law which so eminently favours the Slave, does not neglect his offspring. A pregnant Negress may emancipate her unborn infant for twenty-five dollars; and between the birth and baptism, the infant may be emancipated for fifty dollars; (double the price as stated by Mr. Walton: see p. 254,) and at any other time during childhood, its value being then low, it may acquire its liberty, or be *coartado* like other Slaves.

In administering this system in the country parts, where there are few magistrates, there may be abuses; yet in the Havannah, and other large towns, it is efficiently observed. Indeed, to the honour of the island be it said, this is the branch of the laws which is best and most impartially administered.

Wages are high in Cuba; a common field Negro earns four reals a

day and is fed; a mechanic ten reals to three dollars a day; and a regular house-servant twenty to thirty dollars a month, besides being fed and clothed. With such wages the *coartado* Slave is well able to pay the daily quota to his master, and to lay by something for the attainment of his liberty. This could not be done were wages much lower.*

The large White population, too, is a great advantage to the Slaves, from the facility thereby afforded to change masters, and thus remedy many of the evils attending their state. The lot of household slaves, who derive most benefit from this circumstance, is particularly favourable. They are almost always taught some trade, and by well employing their leisure hours they may easily acquire their liberty in seven years. Field Slaves, too, have their advantages. They are by law entitled to a certain quantity of ground, with the produce of which, and the breeding of pigs and poultry, they may well look forward to acquiring money to become *coartado*, and even to being emancipated. It is also highly advantageous to the Slaves that public opinion is favourable to granting them their liberty; and all respectable men would feel ashamed to throw obstacles in the way of their becoming free; on the contrary, masters are generally very willing to assist their Slaves in the attainment of this most desirable object. The effects of this system are seen in the state of the population. The last census makes the Whites 290,000, the free People of Colour, 115,000, and the Slaves, 225,000.

Such is in substance Mr. Kilbee's statement; and it may well put to shame both the law and the practice of Slavery in the British Colonies, and in the United States.

We are aware that Mr. W. Horton maintains that the experience of the Spanish and Portuguese Colonies furnishes no satisfactory analogy in the present case. He argues, that while the Slave trade continues to furnish the planters in those colonies with fresh hands, no loss will arise from adopting the principle of compulsory manumission; whereas, in the English Colonies, the planters are shut out from this compensatory source of supply. And yet the main objections of that gentleman, as well as of the West India planters generally, have been directed to the injury arising from the circumstance that those most likely to obtain their freedom, by the compulsory enactment, will be the skilled labourers on an estate, namely, the carpenters, coopers, boilers, &c. whose value, one says, is quite "incommensurable." But the case is the same in the Spanish and Portuguese Colonies: it is the more advanced and civilized and instructed negro who achieves his freedom, and whose place, according to the supposition, is supplied by the unskilled labours of the newly imported African. In the English Colonies, however, the persons to be obtained as substitutes are in a comparative state of advancement, as to skill in the various branches of colonial manipulation; and if the place of the manumitted slave is to be supplied at all, it must be by persons much more qualified to supply it beneficially, than the negro emerging from the hold of a slave ship.

Besides, if the Spaniards and Portuguese are acute enough to be able to measure the value of the slaves they manumit, it seems strange that that skill should be unattainable by us.

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* But then his price would be lower.

Still it is argued, that if manumissions are multiplied, a supply of labourers will not be procurable in the British Colonial market, and that, at least, if procurable, it will be at prices most disadvantageous and ruinous to the planter. To this we answer, No. The mode prescribed by the Trinidad Order in Council for appraising of the manumitted slave is of itself a security against this consequence. He is to be appraised *justly* and *fairly;* that is to say at the market price, and that market price is, of course, the sum at which a substitute may be purchased. On this point the reasoning of Mr. Gloster, the Protector of slaves in Trinidad, is quite decisive. It may be seen, at the close of the pamphlet referred to above, or in the Reporter, No. 27, p. 70.

Notwithstanding, however, the luminousness and force of Mr. Gloster's reasoning, it is still maintained, by some, and this seems to be the opinion of Mr. W. Horton, that the mode prescribed in the Trinidad Order of compelling the manumission of a slave, by appraisement at the market price, does not certainly provide an adequate compensation to the master for the loss of the slave's services. We have already attempted, and, we apprehend with success, to expose the utter untenableness of such a position, and being unwilling now to renew the discussion, we refer with entire confidence to what we have written upon it in the Reporter, No. 33, p. 182, and which remains hitherto unrefuted. As it occupies only two or three pages, we may hope that those who wish to understand the question will turn to it. We think that it is there most incontestably proved that, under the provisions of the Trinidad Order, the market value of the slave forms an adequate compensation to the master for the loss of the slave's services, and that it does so, whether free labour be procurable or not. That such free labour will be procurable, no man who will peruse with attention the passages in the preceding Reporters pointed out in the note below,* can entertain a serious or rational doubt. The point seems placed, indeed, almost beyond controversy, if mere prejudice were not at all times an overmatch for fact and argument.

We have seen how strenuously the West Indians resist all fair expedients for opening the door of hope to their slaves, and how pertinaciously they reject or evade every recommendation for giving them the effective protection of law. In these points, passion and prejudice may lead them to act from a fear of injury to their interests. But what shall we say of their no less pertinacious refusal to adopt reforms of the most obvious and essential moment to the promotion of those interests? To say nothing of those impolitic laws which repress the efforts of the enfranchised, and produce the very want of free labour of which they complain;—what is it, we would ask, which retains the agriculture of the West India Colonies in that low and wretched state of improvement which they universally exhibit? While in the *manufacture* of sugar the aid of powerful machinery is employed, so as to add largely to the demands on the labour of the slave, the toil of agriculture, which mainly occupies and mainly oppresses him, is relieved by no such helps. The miserable hoe raised by the feeble hands of men and women, driven forward by the lash, is still in general their only instrument in turning up the soil,

* See No. 27, pp. 40, &c.; No. 31, p. 155—159, and No. 37. p. 251.

to the neglect of cattle and ploughs. As a West Indian writer, well acquainted with the real state of things in the Colonies, has well and forcibly observed :*—" One great error into which we have fallen, is that of saving the labour of cattle at the expense of the labour of men. In all civilized countries men have been relieved from labour by means of the brute creation; and have prospered in the same ratio. Here" (he speaks of Jamaica,) " the brute creation are saved by the labour of the former." " The better system might easily be effected by the introduction into general use of the plough and other instruments of agriculture, in place of persevering in the system of scratching the earth with the hoe, a system which it is wonderful common sense has not pointed out to be radically wrong." " It would have the salutary effect of reducing the labour of the people, and enable them to devote more attention to the cultivation of provisions for themselves and food for the cattle. In every point of view it would be beneficial."—And why is not the advice of their countryman adopted by the West Indians? It can only be accounted for by the withering influence of slavery, operating in all directions to restrain every effective effort at agricultural improvement, and which while they are straining every nerve to prevent the possibility of one link being struck off the chains of their bondsmen, condemns themselves to an almost equally hopeless inferiority, at least to a stationary position, in the general progress we now witness in every other part of the world. To talk of being deprived of the means of cultivation by such a trivial abstraction of human labour as the Manumission clause may occasion, while the plough is not yet resorted to, only shews the miserable narrowness of those resources which the miserable system of slavery leaves to its victims, whether those victims be the masters or the slaves.

Let us, however, guard ourselves against being supposed, in consequence of the line of observation we have pursued on this subject, to approve or to sanction that principle of the Trinidad Order which throws upon the slave, the aggrieved and injured party, the *onus* of indemnifying the planter for his liberty, and which thus condemns him to a prolonged period of forced and unremunerated toil, in order to pay the penalty of the criminal conduct of his oppressor; and which penalty the nation, as partners in the crime, ought to divide with the planter, and not to lay on the slave. And yet even these hard and cruel conditions are such an advance on our former system with respect to the slave;—so decidedly preferable to the entire extinction of all hope of freedom by which that system is characterized; that we are unwilling to permit even the slender alleviation it affords to the slave's condition to be withheld from him by the clamour and prejudice, the absurdity and nonsense, the pretended physical facts, and the metaphysical subtleties and abstractions, which, for the last five years, have been unceasingly employed to puzzle and perplex a plain question, and to retain the wretched negro in interminable and hopeless bondage.

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* See Marly, or a Planter's Life in Jamaica, p. 265, &c. This work has only appeared a few months.

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NEW SLAVE LAWS OF JAMAICA AND ST. CHRISTOPHER'S, EXAMINED.

So much has recently been said in both Houses of Parliament, by persons of high authority, of the general excellence of the Provisions of the Slave Law of Jamaica, passed in December, 1826, but disallowed by His Majesty on account of its religious intolerance; as well as of the still higher claims to approbation of the new Slave Law of St. Christopher's; that we are induced to lay before our readers a detailed examination of both these Acts. It seems of great importance that the public should not be misled by its reverence for any authorities, however high, into a belief which is inconsistent with the facts of the case: and it seems important also, that those authorities, if they should find that they have been induced to make statements which are inaccurate, should have an opportunity of correcting them, as well as of ascertaining the sources of the misinformation by which they have been themselves deceived. We now proceed to the proposed examination.

I. Jamaica Slave Law, of 1826.

On the 11th May, 1826, Earl Bathurst transmitted to the Governor of Jamaica, drafts of eight bills, with the view of their being submitted to the Legislature for its consideration and adoption. The bills so submitted were rejected by it without hesitation or exception.

In lieu of these bills, a new consolidated Slave Law was passed, in December, 1826, in which the Legislature professed to have embodied every part of Lord Bathurst's suggestions which it could venture to adopt. It will be necessary to examine in detail what part of them was actually engrafted on the new Law.

1. *Protector and Guardian of Slaves.*

Lord Bathurst proposed that an Officer should be constituted with this designation, who should be armed with power to secure to the slaves the benefit of the various measures of improvement deemed essential by His Majesty's Government, and to protect and guard them from oppression and wrong;—and that this Officer (nominated by the Crown, and removable at pleasure when guilty of negligence, or misconduct,) should be a person wholly unconnected with the possession or even the administration of slave property.

The legislature of Jamaica rejected this proposition, and in lieu of it constituted the vestry of each parish, consisting, exclusively, of the White Planters, a Council of Protection to hear and determine *one single case of complaint on the part of the slave.* But even this was no *new* enactment. It had stood as part of the law for a long time, and may be found in the Act of 1816, (§ 25 and 26), as well as in that of 1826, (§ 34 and 35.)

It is impossible to place the utter uselessness of these clauses in a clearer light than Mr. Huskisson has placed it in his despatch of Sept. 22d, 1827, (see page 3 of the papers lately presented to Parliament.)

"The Council of Protection," he says, "cannot be considered an effectual substitute for the office of a distinct and independent Protector. It will consist of those individuals over whom the Protector was to exercise his superintendance. Their duties are limited to *the single case of extreme bodily injury*, and are to be discharged only if they think proper. The periodical returns, required from the Protector upon oath, are not to be made by the Council, nor are they even bound to keep a journal of their proceedings. No provision is made for executing the duties of the office, in different parts of the colony, upon fixed and uniform principles; and the number of persons united in this trust is such as entirely to destroy the sense of personal and individual responsibility."

The refusal of the Jamaica legislature on this point is not a matter of trivial moment, a mere insulated item in the list of omissions. The functions of Protector are essential to the efficiency, and even to the vitality, of every ameliorating provision. Had all the other proposed improvements been adopted, they must still have proved ineffective without an independent functionary watching over the due execution of the laws, recording, reporting, and prosecuting offences, redressing grievances, vindicating rights, &c. Even with such a protector, to enforce the laws in their favour would prove an arduous and difficult task. But without him the laws would go to sleep from the moment of their enactment. In 1788, almost all the colonial legislatures were induced to pass ameliorating laws, with a view of preventing Parliament, by this appearance of reform, from abolishing the Slave Trade. Credit was given them at the time for the humane tendency and design of these enactments. But sixteen or seventeen years afterwards, when Parliament called for information as to the practical effect of these laws, it turned out to be the fact, as may be seen in the parliamentary returns of 1804 and 1805, that, from the time they passed, not one of them had been enforced or even thought of. The answer of General Prevost, the governor of Dominica, might have sufficed for all the islands. None of the reforms, he tells us, had been carried into effect, "the Act having been considered from the day it was passed, until this hour, as a political measure to avert the interference of the mother country in the management of slaves."

2.—*Restraining Arbitrary Punishments.*

Lord Bathurst proposed, in one of the drafts of bills sent out by him, materially to restrain the power of arbitrary punishment possessed by the master or his delegate, and, while the intensity of such punishments should be limited, to secure a regular record and return, duly authenticated, of all that should be inflicted.

The legislature of Jamaica refused to adopt this proposal. In the law of 1826, as in all the preceding slave codes of that island, the master or his delegate is authorized to inflict at his discretion, on the body of every man, woman, and child, thirty-nine lashes, for any offence, or for no offence, without trial, and without being obliged to assign a reason, or being liable, in any way, to be called to account, for so doing. He has, besides, the power of inflicting other punishments, without any limit short of mutilation and dismemberment or what a jury may deem wanton cruelty; and he may imprison in the stocks for

any length of time. In short, the old law of Jamaica on this subject remains in its full force.

The remarks of Mr. Huskisson (No. 33. p. 178,) will shew still more clearly the complete failure of the Jamaica legislature to meet the wishes of His Majesty on this important point.

3.—*The Driving Whip.*

Lord Bathurst proposed that the driving system should be abolished The legislature of Jamaica has refused to comply with this proposal.

4.—*Flogging of Females.*

Lord Bathurst proposed that flogging females should be prohibited. The legislature of Jamaica rejected a motion to that effect. It even refused, when called upon to do so, to forbid that indecent exposure of the persons of women, which the present mode of punishing them renders necessary; that mode being to extend them prone on the ground, at full length, and, baring their bodies, to inflict upon them the lacerations of the cart-whip.

5.—*Abolition of Sunday Markets and Sunday Labour.*

The Sunday labour of the slaves has hitherto been chiefly that of marketing, and of cultivating on that day, (twenty-six other days in the year, having been allowed them by law,) their own provision grounds for the regular subsistence of themselves and their families. It was the purpose of His Majesty's Government, as may be clearly seen in Lord Bathurst's circular despatch of July 9, 1823, that some other day should be substituted in lieu of Sunday with a view to those important objects; and that Sunday should be exclusively appropriated to the purposes of rest from labour and of moral and religious instruction. Without such substitution these purposes were obviously unattainable. The slaves had hitherto been obliged and required to appropriate the Sunday to raising their food. If they should be made to rest from labour on that day, without having equivalent time given them on another day in which to raise their food, they would be exposed to famine. To make the Sunday, therefore, a day of repose, without the substitution of another day, was obviously impossible.

But neither in Jamaica, nor in any other island where the slaves subsist on food raised by themselves, has this recommendation of the Government been carried into effect, so that no alternative is left to them, but that of either starving, or continuing to work their provision grounds on the Sunday as before.

These remarks apply also to Sunday markets, which are the only markets to which the slaves have access; and to which, therefore, they must continue to resort until another day is appointed by law. No such appointment, however, has taken place in Jamaica. No day is there allowed to the slaves in lieu of Sunday, either for marketing, or for cultivating their provision grounds; and therefore they must, of necessity, continue to do both on that day. The only change the law has undergone, is one which bears extremely hard upon the slave without any compensatory benefit of any kind. But on this head we must refer our readers to the Reporters, No. 11, p. 132—135, No. 29, p. 110, No. 30, p. 132, and No. 34, p. 186. In short, nothing has been done in Jamaica, respecting it, that does not deteriorate ra-

ther than improve the condition of the slave. And when it is considered that the rest of the Sunday is essential, nay, indispensable to the communication of that moral and religious instruction which has been uniformly represented by the Government, in their despatches and speeches, as the basis of all improvement, it must be felt and acknowledged, while Sunday continues to be thus desecrated by marketing and labour, and the slave continues to be thus deprived both of the bodily rest which Sunday provides for the labourer in every other part of the world, and of the only time, that of Sunday, which he can have for obtaining moral and religious instruction, that we have not yet reached the very beginning of effective improvement. In Jamaica, too, there exist sufficient means of religious instruction to enable the slaves to employ that day profitably, there being not only a considerable number of Moravian, Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, and other missionaries, but a Bishop, and a large establishment of Clergy of the Church of England, whose efforts are paralyzed by the continuance of Sunday markets, and by the continued necessity of Sunday labour, in consequence of no day being yet given them in lieu of Sunday.

6.—*Granting to Slaves a right of redeeming themselves or their family, at a fair appraisement.*

This is another of the proposals of Lord Bathurst, which the legislature of Jamaica has not adopted. They repudiate the very principle on which it proceeds.

7.—*Preventing the separation of Families by sale.*

In the year 1735, a law was passed in Jamaica for regulating the sale of slaves taken in execution by the Marshal or Sheriff. It directs that when a husband and wife, or parents and children, are *taken* together, they shall be sold together by auction in one lot, the rest of the persons taken being sold singly. All that has been done is to renew this provision which refers solely to sales *in execution*, and not at all to sales at the will of the master. It was proposed to the Assembly to restrain the master from separating families by voluntary *sale*, but the motion was rejected. (See No. 18, p. 250, 251.)

8. *Giving to slaves a right of acquiring, and of securely enjoying, possessing and transmitting property.*

The disallowed law of Jamaica conferred on the slaves no right of property whatever, as may be seen by referring to the only clauses of that Act, (§ 16 and 17,) which have any reference to the subject. These clauses therefore furnish a most remarkable instance of the artful evasion of the *principle* recommended by Lord Bathurst, in the very enactment which professes to adopt it.—In case of debt or bequest no means of suit are given to the slave; nay in the latter case (§ 17,) he is actually debarred from the use of any such means either in law or equity.—To rob him of his property, however valuable, is not made a larceny or a felony, but a matter which, if complained of and proved, may be settled by a penalty of £7 sterling. So that the new Act would have left him in the same helpless and unprotected state as to all essential rights of property, in which he was before it was framed.*

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* A full elucidation of this subject will be found in the Reporters, No. 21, p. 301; No. 29, p. 103; No. 33, p. 179; and No. 37, p. 211—214.

9. *Establishment of Savings' Banks.*

The proposal to establish Savings' Banks for the security of the property of slaves has been entirely rejected by the Jamaica legislature.

10. *Legalizing and protecting Marriage.*

In the Act of 1826, the marriage of slaves was, for the first time, recognized by the Jamaica legislature as entitled to any place in the code of that island. On the very defective mode in which that recognition has been made, nothing better can be said than has been said by Mr. Huskisson, in his despatch of 22d Sept. 1827.

No security, he tells us, has been provided against the unreasonable refusal of the owner's consent. "By confining the power of celebrating marriage to the clergy of the Established Church, every other class of religious teachers are deprived of the means of exercising a salutary influence over the minds of their disciples; while the Roman Catholic priests are abridged of rights which they enjoy in every other part of His Majesty's dominions, under the Marriage Act of George the Second. The necessity of the parties previously undergoing an examination by a clergyman of the Established Church, as to the nature and obligations of the marriage contract," he adds, "is not apparent, and would be a serious impediment to forming such connections," while it opens a most inconvenient and uncalled for range of inquiry. And, moreover, "the Act does not require any registry of the marriages of slaves, or even any periodical returns of such marriages."

But even these defects, as pointed out by Mr. Huskisson, numerous and important as they are, form but a part of the objections that may be urged against the clause (§ 4.) on the subject of marriage. The following may be added:—

1. By excluding all teachers of religion from the right of celebrating marriage, except the clergy of the Established Church, the numerous converts to Christianity made by the Moravian, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist missionaries, to say nothing of the Roman Catholics, are laid under peculiar disadvantages. These missionaries are by far the fittest persons to judge of the character of their own followers, and the best and most efficient agents, in impressing upon them the obligations of the marriage tie.

2. Baptism is made, by the Act, an indispensable preliminary to marriage, on what account is not very obvious. Why should not the sanction of law be given to marriages contracted between parties who are unbaptized, or who are even Mahommedans or heathens? The laws of India sanction Mussulman and Hindoo marriages. Why should persons, merely because not baptized, be forced to live in a state of illicit concubinage?

3. It would seem further expedient that where connections have been already formed, and a family has been the fruit of such connections, the utmost facility should be given in conferring on such unions the sanction of law, and thus bestowing upon them both the validity and permanency of a legal and authorized contract. Nothing could more strikingly evince the indifference, if not distaste, with which the legislature of Jamaica regards the institution, among the slaves, of marriage, that prime source and cement of domestic comfort, and that indispensable precursor of a wholesome and progressive growth of population,

than the tardy and reluctant recognition which, after forty years of discussion, it has at length condescended to bestow on the marriage of slaves; and the many restrictions, and difficulties, and defects, with which even that ungracious recognition has been clogged, and rendered almost wholly inefficient to any useful purpose. And why is this? Can any injury arise to the master from the universal prevalence of marriage among the slaves? Or can any injury arise to the slaves themselves from affording them every possible facility for converting their present state of lawless concubinage into a pure and holy union, sanctioned alike by religion and law?

11.—*The admission of the Evidence of Slaves in civil and criminal cases.*

The proposal of Lord Bathurst was, that every slave should be competent to give evidence in all civil and criminal cases, whom any clergyman of the Established Church, or any minister of the Kirk of Scotland, or any Roman Catholic priest, or any other person being a public teacher of religion, and licensed by the Secretary of State, or Governor of the colony for the time being, shall certify duly to understand the nature and obligations of an oath; excepting only in cases of civil suit or action in which the owner of the slave is directly concerned, and in cases where any white person may be charged with, or prosecuted, for any offence punishable with death.

For the last restriction, it does not appear that any valid reason can be assigned. Why the white man *alone*, as contradistinguished from any other freeman, should be protected against slave evidence is not very obvious, while the distinction is both opprobrious to the white man, and most exceptionable in itself. The cruelties, mayems, mutilations, and murders which have taken place in the slave colonies, have been for the most part perpetrated by *white* men. The admission of slave evidence was in great measure desired to guard against the recurrence of these evils. But the exception in question puts an extinguisher on this hope, by conferring impunity on the very parties whom it was most important to restrain. Under the operation of such an exception, a *white* man may safely murder a slave, though a hundred or a thousand other slaves were present as witnesses of the fact.

But the Jamaica legislature goes far beyond Lord Bathurst in the number, and in the injurious tendency of the restrictions it has imposed on the admissibility of slave evidence. These are well enumerated by Mr. Huskisson in his letter of the 22d Sept. 1827.—(See No. 33, p. 179, 180.) Besides which Slave evidence is entirely excluded in all civil cases; and even in criminal cases it is confined to the following offences, viz. murder, felony, burglary, robbery, rebellion or rebellious conspiracy, treason or traiterous conspiracy, rape, the mutilating, branding, dismembering or cruelly treating a slave, seditious meetings, and the harbouring or concealing of runaways.

Such is a correct view of the manner in which the legislature of Jamaica has met the requisitions and recommendations of His Majesty's Government. The whole of its proceedings may be characterized as the *rejection* or *evasion* of the proposed reforms, both in their principle and in their details.

But these are not the only defects with which the disallowed Slave

Code of Jamaica is chargeable. There were also introduced into it not a few provisions of a most objectionable description, which are noticed by Mr. Huskisson, in his despatch of 22d Sept. 1827.

1. The new and oppressive restraints imposed on religious worship and instruction, by § 85, 86 and 87, and which immediately led to the disallowance of the Act. *

2. The power given to private individuals by § 37 and 38, to commit their slaves to prison for ten days at a time, without a warrant of a Magistrate; and there to punish them with 39 lashes of the cartwhip, without a trial, or even the assignment of a cause, and without any record being kept or return made of such punishment. †

3. The power given to three Magistrates of punishing every slave complaining against his master, if they shall deem his complaint to be groundless. ‡

4. The excessive amount of the hours of labour fixed by § 27, of this law, which contemplates the working of the slave *in the field* for eleven hours and a half daily *out of crop*, and which places no limit to the continuity of his labour *during crop*, that is for four or five months of the year. §

5. The principle adopted, in several cases, of inflicting a heavier punishment for the same offence when committed by a slave than when committed by a free man. ||

6. "In many cases," says Mr. Huskisson, "both the nature and amount of the punishment to be inflicted on the offending slaves, are left exclusively to the discretion of the Court,"—"an unlimited delegation of authority," for which he can see "no necessity."

7. The excessive severity of the laws (§ 84, 89, 90) which punish with death Obeah, in other words, pretences to supernatural power, and practices partaking of the nature of conjuration and witchcraft.

Of this description of offence both the belief and the effect are mainly to be ascribed to the undue severity of the law for its suppression. The negro must conceive that there is some awful reality in pretences and practices which excite such unsparing vengeance on the part of the legislature; and the very evil, therefore, which a cold neglect would reduce to insignificance, and above all, which Christian instruction would eradicate, is thus actually fostered and increased by the misapplied severity with which it is denounced and persecuted. Heathen superstition may thus have its martyrs as well as Christianity itself.

8. The excessive severity of the clause (§ 82) which punishes assaults of slaves on free persons. "If any slave," says the Act, "shall assault or offer any violence by striking or otherwise, *to* or *towards* any white person or persons of free condition, such slave shall upon conviction be punished with *death*, transportation, or confinement to hard labour for life, or a limited time, or such other punishment as the court at their discretion shall think proper to inflict." To this enactment Mr. Huskisson justly objects. But he has not adverted to the aggravating circumstance that this harsh and cruel law (the general law of all the West Indies, which, moreover, in not a few instances, denounces death even on *imagining* the death of a white man) admits of no exception

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* No. 33, p. 178. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid, p. 179, and No. 34, p. 190.
§ No. 33, p. 180; No. 34, p. 193. || No. 33, p. 181.

not even of those extreme rights of self defence which would be respected in every other country, and in every other case. *The slave has no rights of self-defence.* He dare not raise his hand *to* or *toward* a white or free person, even if his property were forcibly taken from him, or his marriage-bed violated, or his own life assailed.

9. The indemnity granted, at the public expense, to the owner of every slave condemned to death or transportation.

This principle has been frequently denounced by His Majesty's Government as unjust and pernicious, and the sentence, so often pronounced upon it in vain, is once more forcibly repeated by Mr. Huskisson. He condemns the practice as unjust to the public, and still more unjust to the slave. And yet it forms the almost universal law in the various slave colonies subject to the British crown.

Such are some of the objections preferred by the late Colonial Secretary of State to this Act of the Jamaica legislature, quite independently of its positive rejection, or dextercus evasion of every recommendation of His Majesty on the subject of reform. There is still, however, a farther objection unnoticed by Mr. Huskisson, and which is of no small importance, we mean the law which continues to throw the burden of proof, in questions of the freedom or slavery of an individual, on the person assumed to be a slave. Mr. Huskisson expresses his approbation of certain clauses (54, 55, 56.) on the subject of runaways claiming to be free, and says they appear to him well adapted to prevent the recurrence of abuses. But Mr. Huskisson has overlooked the material circumstance, that all these regulations proceed on the principle that the presumed runaway, in the absence of any claim to him from any quarter, is still to be held to the proof of his freedom by documentary or other equally conclusive evidence, at the peril, if he fail, of being sold as a slave for the public benefit. Many instances might be adduced of black or coloured persons, even in the course of the past year, who though affirming, without contradiction, that they were born free; and in some cases that they had served in the army or navy of Great Britain; but had lost the certificates which would have established the fact; have been sold by auction to the highest bidder, and thus condemned to perpetual slavery, although there was not a person in the island who could advance the very slightest claim to their services, or disprove their allegations.

But there are some parts of this disallowed Act which Mr. Huskisson regards with approbation; as first, the abolition of the fee on baptism, (which, however, is a relief to the planter and not to the slave); and secondly, some improvements, in points of form, in the proceedings relative to the trial of offences by slaves; though even here he remarks that, in some material instances, there is still so much complexity in the process, as to make the rules, otherwise beneficial, lose much of their efficacy in practice.

As to the other regulations which he commends, they are regulations of ancient date, and not produced by the recent demand for a reform of the slave laws. We allude to the time allowed the slaves, exclusive of Sunday, for cultivating their provision grounds;—to the clauses for inspecting the provision grounds of the slave, and for regulating his allowance when he has no such ground;—to the protection required to be

given to old and infirm slaves;—and to the encouragement held out, in certain cases, to mothers and nurses. These are all, however, as we have said, of ancient date, and therefore cannot be adduced as any proof of recent improvement. But they are also, as Mr. Huskisson himself admits, deficient in such sanctions and executory provisions, as are required to ensure their efficacy; and it may consequently be presumed that they have not been efficacious. Indeed without the aid of an independent protector, and the free admission of slave-evidence, it is plain, that to such enactments as these, it is impossible to impart any vigour. They must almost necessarily remain without effect.

On a review of the whole it must be manifest, that neither in the principle nor in the detail of its legislation has Jamaica made any great progress in improvement, since the resolutions of Parliament were passed in May 1823, and that rather, on the contrary, it has evinced a spirit disposed to resist or to evade all improvement. What makes this the more remarkable is, that all the reforms which the Jamaica legislature has thus continued to reject or to elude, were sanctioned, with one or two exceptions, by the West Indian body in this country, as not only harmless but beneficial. Nor can any thing prove more strongly than this fact, that they furnish no just ground of alarm on the score of their affecting the interests of property. Indeed there has not been a single measure of reform proposed, which appeared to Lord Bathurst, or to Mr. Canning, or even to the West Indians themselves, resident in this country, to call for pecuniary indemnity, excepting the single measure of conferring on the slaves the right of redeeming themselves. And even in this solitary instance, an adequate indemnity, as we conceive, is secured to the planter by the very enactment which conveys to the slaves the right in question.

Lord Bathurst in his despatches, and Mr. Canning in his speeches, repeatedly affirmed that, their measures of colonial reform, generally, had had the sanction of the West Indian body; a circumstance which makes the long delay in their adoption the more extraordinary. As an apology for that delay, we are told, that it was always held that the abolition of slavery was to be a *gradual* work. True, it might be understood that we were to approach the *ultimate end* of our measures of reform *gradually*. But it was never understood that we were to delay a single day those preliminary measures, the operation of which was *gradually* to lead to the abolition of slavery. It was requisite to the very commencement of a course of improvement that the proposed reforms should be adopted, and supposing them all to have been adopted, their operation and effect must still have been gradual and slowly progressive. Indeed the *immediate* adoption of these preliminary steps was contemplated by his Majesty's government, from the first, as absolutely indispensable to all progress.

On this principle the Order in Council for Trinidad was framed, however defective it may be in some respects. By that order all the various reforms proposed to be adopted were made the subject of one single enactment, and were brought, in *one day*, into *immediate* and contemporaneous operation.

In the very first instructions of Lord Bathurst, of the 9th July 1823, as well as in all his subsequent instructions, the colonial legislatures

were urged to the *instant* adoption of the proposed measures. In the despatch of the 9th July 1823, he says, "In conclusion, I have most earnestly to press upon you the necessity of proceeding to carry these improvements into effect *with all possible dispatch*." And if "you should meet with any serious opposition, you will lose no time in transmitting to me the necessary communication, in order that I may take the *earliest* opportunity of laying the matter before Parliament, and submitting to their consideration such measures as it may be fit to adopt in consequence."

In the same spirit, on the 16th of March 1824, not nine months later, Mr. Canning lamented, in the House of Commons, the non-adoption by the Assemblies of Lord Bathurst's various recommendations, even in the brief interval of only nine months which had then elapsed. Indeed on the 15th of May preceding, he had very confidently anticipated their ready adoption by the colonial legislatures: for "we have a right," he said, "to expect *their* full and free co-operation."

It is perfectly obvious, therefore, that neither Government nor Parliament contemplated any delay as to the enactment of the laws required to secure to the slaves the *immediate* benefit of the contemplated reforms; and it is no less obvious that the idea of slowness, progression, and gradual advance had respect, in no degree whatever, to the *adoption* of such enactments; but to their effect and *gradual operation* in raising the character of the slave, and fitting him for ultimate freedom. It is impossible to suppose that any thing like graduation could have been contemplated, in the framing and enforcing of laws, for example, appointing a protector; legalizing and protecting the slave's rights of property; legalizing and protecting marriage; abolishing the driving whip, or the flogging of females, &c. These, and the various other proposed reforms, are single acts, which must be completed at once, and do not admit of degree.

II.—New Law of St. Christopher's.

The new law leaves in force the whole of the previously existing laws respecting slaves, with the exception of four clauses and part of a fifth clause of an Act of 1722. Our inquiry therefore must commence with ascertaining the nature of the laws which remain unrepealed, or are not superseded by the Act which has just received the approval of His Majesty. From an inspection of these statutes, the following, among others, appear to be at this moment laws of St. Christopher's.

1. That in every case of a slave condemned to death, the owner is to be indemnified at the expense of the public,—a principle which His Majesty's Government has repeatedly and strongly condemned. (Act of 1711, § 9, 10. Act of 1722, § 8. and Act of 1759.)

2. That any free person may apprehend any slave, found off his owner's plantation without a ticket, especially on Saturday night and on Sundays, and may inflict upon such slave so found twenty lashes; and that every slave found in the streets and lanes of the town, between ten at night and five in the morning, without a ticket or a lighted candle, shall receive thirty-nine lashes. (Act of 1722, § 13, and Act of 1790.)

3. That any slave who shall entertain, or conceal, or in any way aid or comfort, or give sustenance to, any runaway slave, shall be punished

with 50 lashes for the first offence, 100 for the second, 150 for the third, 200 for the fourth, and so on *toties quoties.* (Act of 1722, § 6.)

4. That if any slave shall hear another slave speak words *tending to mutiny*, and shall accuse and cause such slave to be apprehended; and if such slave, on being tried and convicted, shall be condemned to death, then the accuser shall be paid three pounds;—but if he shall not make good his accusation, he shall receive such punishment, not extending to life or member, as the Court shall think fit. (Act of 1722, § 18.)

5. That if any slave shall oppose, struggle with, or strike, any white person, and if the white person be hurt, wounded, bruised or maimed, such slave shall be sentenced to death, dismemberment, or such other punishment as the Court in their discretion shall see fit; but that if any person shall kill a slave in defence of his person or property, or as a runaway refusing to submit, he shall not be liable to any prosecution or damage for the same. (Act of 1711, § 4 and 8.)

6. That the following weekly allowance of provisions is the maximum to which a slave in St. Christopher's is entitled by law. (Act of 1798, § 1.) viz. Nine pints of corn, or beans, or oatmeal; or eight pints of pease, or wheat, or rye flour, or Indian corn meal, or Cassava flour; or seven pints of rice; or eight pounds of biscuit; or twenty pounds of yams or potatoes; together with one and a quarter pound of herrings; which allowances may be diminished one-fifth during crop.*

7. That the clothing required to be given to the male slaves is two suits, consisting each of a jacket and pair of trowsers, in the year; and to the women two suits, consisting each of a petticoat and a wrapper; but that only one of these suits need be given in the course of the year, if a blanket and hat be added to it.

8. That the hours of labour in the field are from five in the morning till seven at night, with an interval of two hours and a half out of crop; during crop there being no limit. (Act 1798, § 10.)

These will serve as specimens of the laws which appear to be still in force in St. Christopher's, and which, not having been repealed, must be taken into account in estimating the value of the recent enactments.†

We shall now proceed to consider, as in the case of Jamaica, in what manner the measures specially recommended to the adoption of the Legislature by His Majesty's Government have been carried into effect.

1. *Protector or Guardian of Slaves.*

The proposal to appoint such an officer has been entirely rejected by the Legislature of St. Christopher's. The tendency of such rejection, we need not repeat, must necessarily be to render useless and inefficient all the other meliorating provisions of the Act.

2. *Restraining Arbitrary Punishments.*

Arbitrary punishment is permitted to the extent of twenty-five lashes

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* The miserable inadequacy of these allowances may be estimated by this fact, that the prison allowance in Jamaica, to *runaway* slaves, for one week, is, by law, fourteen pints of Indian or Guinea corn, or twenty-one pints of corn meal or wheat flour, together with seven herrings, being about double the *working* allowance of St. Christopher's.

† The clauses that are repealed, condemned to death a slave absenting himself for six months, and gave a reward of £6 to any one seizing or killing him.

only, in one day and for one offence; but to this extent it may be given by the master or his delegate, and if we understand the clause correctly, (§ 11,) by *any person.* If, however, the number of stripes shall be more than twelve, it cannot be inflicted before the day after the offence, and a free person must be present to witness its infliction; and the punishment must be entered in a plantation *Record Book,* with all its circumstances, within 48 hours. The Record Book must also contain any punishment, by confinement, exceeding 48 hours. No fresh punishment, by flogging, is to be inflicted until former lacerations are healed. Owners of estates, or their delegates, are subjected to a penalty of from £2 to £20 sterling, for not recording punishments within 48 hours, and to double that penalty for falsifying entries;—and for inflicting any heavier punishment than is allowed by law, they may be indicted and punished by fine and imprisonment at the discretion of the Court. It is also provided, that if a slave shall produce in open Court the marks of recent lacerations, which shall make it manifest that he has been illegally punished, and shall support the exhibition by a consistent statement against the owner or person in charge of him, then such person must repel the accusation either by satisfactory evidence, or by his own oath; otherwise, he shall be adjudged guilty of the alleged offence.—If, however, any owner or his delegate conceives the punishment he is allowed by law to inflict to be inadequate to the slave's offence, he may refer the case to any two justices, who, after inquiry, may direct such corporal punishment as the offence, in their discretion, shall merit. To what extent may not cruelty be carried under such a provision!

The clause, though very defective, is still, without doubt, an improvement on the former law. Mr. Huskisson regrets that so many as twelve lashes may still be inflicted on the instant, without any postponement to check the excesses of sudden anger;—that persons also should be exempted from the necessity of recording punishments not exceeding twelve lashes, or a confinement of 48 hours;—and that periodical returns of these records of punishment should not be required. He objects also to the oath of the owner or his delegate in refutation of a charge of illegal punishment, provided it is to be received as conclusive. It evidently is so intended to be, by the framers of the Act, but even if it were not, it could hardly be too strongly censured.

3.—*The Driving System.*

The legislature of St. Christopher's has not *refused,* like that of Jamaica, to adopt Lord Bathurst's proposal on this point, but has very dexterously evaded it. The terms of the clause submitted to it by Lord Bathurst, were, that it should be "illegal for any person to carry any *whip, cat,* or *other instrument of the like nature,* while superintending the labour of any slaves on any plantation, or to use any such *whip, cat,* or *other instrument,* for the purpose of impelling or coercing any slave to perform labour of any kind whatever," &c. This Act, however, has prohibited the use of the whip only, (§ 4,) preserving to the planter the right of using a *cat,* or *any other instrument,* for compelling labour. This really looks very like deliberate insult and mockery. Mr. Huskisson, indeed, is so charitable as to suppose the contrary; and that the omission may be unintentional. But it is sufficient to place Lord

Bathurst's draft in juxta-position with the Act, to see that this is absolutely impossible. The omission, from the very nature of it, must have been a deliberate and designed evasion. It strengthens this view of the case, that Mr. Dwarris tells us in his Third Report, p. 77, that in St. Christopher's, flogging is now usually inflicted with the cat-o'-nine-tails. The instrument, therefore, of exemplary punishment in the army, is there reserved as the instrument of coercing the labour, and stimulating the industry of the slaves, men and women.

4.—*Flogging of Females.*

The legislature has refused to abolish female flogging. Women, however, are henceforth to have the high privilege of being flogged "on the shoulders," instead of *the hips.* Mr. Huskisson hopes it will consent "entirely to abolish a mode of punishment so destructive of self-respect, and so calculated to debase the female character."

5.---*Abolition of Sunday Markets and Sunday Labour, and the substitution of another day for these purposes.*

Sunday markets, instead of being abolished, are continued and legalized, and *no time, no, not an hour in the week,* is given to the slave for marketing, or for labouring in his grounds, except Sunday. This is the more to be lamented, because in St. Christopher's, the means of religious instruction are more ample than in most other colonies. Both the Wesleyan Methodists and the Moravians have considerable establishments there, and a large body of slaves is already attached to their congregations. Besides which, the regular Clergy of the Establishment are numerous, consisting of nine Clergymen, and as many catechists. On what pretence therefore are Sunday markets and Sunday labour to be continued in St. Christopher's, and another day refused for these objects, so that Sunday may be devoted to its legitimate objects of repose and religious worship and instruction? The pretence that the means of religious instruction are not attainable there, and to which Mr. Huskisson seems to allow some weight, has really no foundation; and the abolition of Sunday markets and of the necessity of Sunday labour is alone wanting to give those means their due influence and operation. As for the limitation of the markets to eleven o'clock, it is no abatement of the evil, while it is a grievance to the slaves to whom no other day is allowed for marketing. And if, as Mr. Huskisson observes, "the relaxation of the general principle" should be made to terminate on the removal of the destitution of the means of religious instruction, then it ought not, in St. Christopher's, to have been prolonged for a single hour. But, in truth, the very ground on which that relaxation is any where permitted is altogether untenable: for the greater the want or the disproportion of the means of religious instruction, the more necessary does it become to make the means which exist more available, by devoting the whole of the Sunday to their diligent employment, which is impossible if the slaves must work and must go to market on that day or starve. It were a wretched expedient, in any country, for promoting the interests of religion, deliberately to postpone a compliance with one of its most sacred obligations, and with which too it is in our power to comply, because we cannot multiply the effective ministers of religion in the degree that may be desirable. The very recognition of the sacredness of the Sabbath, by the authorities of the state, is a most important

point gained. In St. Kitts, instead of recognizing its sacredness, they have legalized its desecration.

6. *Granting to slaves a right of redeeming themselves and their families at a fair appraisement.*

"I have perceived with regret," says Mr. Huskisson, "that this Act contains *no* provision on this very important subject."

7. *Preventing the separation of families by sale.*

The law of St. Christopher's, on this head, is so far an improvement on that of Jamaica, that families must be *seized* as well as sold together, in execution. But there is no restraint or any other than *judicial* sales. There, however, the fault is in the Government who, in the case of Trinidad, departed from their own previously avowed principle of prohibiting separations of families, not only by judicial but by all other sales.

A long proviso is attached to the rule (§ 16) to which Mr. Huskisson does not object, but which, in the absence of an independent protector, may go far to deprive the slave of the benefits of the rule, furnishing a plea for its violation, which we believe would not have been thought of, but with a view to its abuse. The Marshal can never have any difficulty in ascertaining the domestic relations of a slave in St. Christopher's, if he is sincerely desirous of ascertaining them.

8. *Rights of property.*

Mr. Huskisson has viewed far too favourably the conduct of the legislature of St. Christopher's on this point; for, he says, it has not only "executed" but "exceeded" Lord Bathurst's suggestions. And yet the Act (§ 9) wholly omits the right of holding *land*,* which forms a material part of Lord Bathurst's plan; and, while professing to give the slaves a right of action, it points out no practicable means of his exercising that right. He has no protector to act for him. He cannot even leave the plantation without a ticket.

Mr. Huskisson charitably intimates that the provision (§ 17) which subjects a person who may *rob* a slave only to a small pecuniary mulct (£10 currency or £4 sterling), was not intended by its framers to prevent or defeat the more appropriate remedy of an indictment. But it is quite plain that this is its real and only purpose, and on this account and on this account alone, a similar clause will be found in the Acts of almost every other Island. The pride of the dominant white revolts at the idea of being *criminally* prosecuted for any injury to a slave, and hence alone this anomalous proceeding.

But Mr. Huskisson has overlooked another provision, which seems to us to nullify the whole effect of the clause which he so highly but unjustly extols. We mean the proviso which says, "that nothing herein contained shall repeal an Act of this Island, intituled, an Act to restrain thefts committed by negro slaves, and to prevent the dishonest traffic carried on by such as deal with them." On referring to this Act, dated 4th May, 1790; we find it to be an Act of the most harsh and opppressive description, and which actually goes to exclude slaves from the very possibility of possessing any property at all.

* Mr. Huskisson gives it credit for having entitled the slave to hold land—but this is a mistake, the Act giving no such right.

It enacts that "if any slave shall have in his possession, in *any of the towns* of this Island, or in *any of the roads leading to the same*, any sugar, syrup, cotton, molasses, rum, canes, sprouts, pewter, brass, copper, iron, oats, lumber of all kinds, plantation articles, or utensils, or *any kind of merchandize, except such provisions as may have been given him for allowance*, without a ticket from his master, &c. containing an account of the same, in his possession;" every such negro "shall be apprehended, and may be tried and convicted by a single Justice, who may order him to be publicly whipt at such *time* or *times* as he may think proper." We will not go into all the harsh and revolting provisions of this law, which the legislature has thus covertly contrived to maintain in its integrity, (by way of compensation, we presume, for their large concessions to public clamour at home,) but only observe, that the very fruits of the slave's garden, and the stock he may rear, are included under the term "*any kind of merchandize*," and which he cannot even possess with impunity, when off his master's plantation—the single exception which the law admits being, "*such provisions as may have been given him for allowance.*" And yet under such circumstances, we hear the slave accused of a want of industry! Can industry possibly subsist under such restraint and insecurity?

9. *Establishment of Savings' Banks.*

The proposal of Lord Bathurst on this point has been acceded to; but under the circumstances in which the law of 1790 places the slave, and without a single day or hour of a day allowed him for his own purposes, what hope can there be that it will prove of any use to him?

10. *Legalizing and Protecting Marriage.*

The objections to the clause on this point are, as stated by Mr. Huskisson, that the power of celebrating marriages is confined to the Clergy of the Churches of England and Scotland, when it is notorious that the Methodists and Moravians have large numbers of slaves under their care in this Island; and that the slaves have no Protector appointed to aid them, and guard their rights.

11. *Admission of Slave Evidence.*

The Act of St. Christopher goes here also beyond that of Jamaica, in admitting slaves to give their testimony *generally* in any civil or criminal court. But then it makes their admission to depend on the certificate of a minister of the church either of England or Scotland, unwisely and unnecessarily excluding the certificates of ministers of other denominations, whose followers are both numerous and well-instructed. It is, moreover, a fatal defect in this Act (§ 6,) that it excludes slaves from giving evidence in any criminal or civil suit in which not only his owner, but his manager or overseer is concerned, or where any free person is charged with a capital crime. One great object of slaves being admitted to give evidence in Courts of Justice, namely, protection from the oppression of their masters and overseers, is thus wholly defeated. Indeed, *in general*, their concern is only with their masters and overseers, and their complaints must almost always refer to them. The exception, therefore, amounts, in fact, to an exclusion of them from justice in almost all the cases that to them are of any moment.

"The clause of the Act (§ 10) which imposes on the claimant the

burthen of proof, in all cases where the liberty of a person retained as a slave is in question," Mr. Huskisson remarks, "would be of the highest value and importance, were it not for the subsequent provision, which reverses this rule of law, when the asserted slave has been in the possession of the claimant *for three months* before the claiming is preferred."—Here we have a farther illustration, in addition to those already given, of the dexterity with which a principle may be adopted in terms, and yet defeated in its practical operation; a species of dexterity in which West Indian Legislators appear to excel.

"The penalty on persons discarding their diseased or infirm slaves," and throwing them as it were on the public, which Mr. Huskisson says is conceived in the spirit of humanity and sound policy, is a measure of old date, which self-interest had led almost all the West-India Legislatures to adopt from an early period, as a measure of self-defence.

We might be thought unfair if we overlooked the clause (§ 5) which requires owners, &c. to use their endeavours to instruct their slaves in the Christian religion. But an enactment of this kind, without either sanction, or penalty, or provision for its fulfilment, is obviously of no use. It has stood for ages in many of the Colonial statute books,—in that of Jamaica since 1696,—in the very terms of the clause now before us, without producing, or being intended to produce, the very slightest results; nay, without having led in any one instance to the consecration of the sabbath to its proper objects. And, without a sabbath, what can be effectually done in promoting Christianity among the slaves?

After the above exposition of the nature of the new slave codes of Jamaica and St. Kitt's, for the accuracy of which we pledge all our credit with the public, our readers will recur with some surprise to the high eulogies which have been pronounced upon those enactments both in the House of Lords and in the House of Commons; and they will be curious to know by whose misstatements* the noble and honourable eulogists could have been so far misled as to lend the authority of their high names, in the presence of Parliament and the public, to such incorrect representations;—representations directly calculated to convey to the Colonists, an unfair and injurious impression of the real desire of His Majesty's Ministers, to carry forward the work of reform.

One word more before we conclude. The West Indians clamour and petition for inquiry into the state of their slave population. Nothing can be more reasonable. We too are anxious for inquiry; and are willing to rest that inquiry on the testimony of their own statute books and of their own returns, those honest, disinterested, impartial, and unrefutable witnesses both of their principles and their practice. To them we make our appeal, aud by them we are willing to try the cause.

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* In like manner it was affirmed in the House of Lords, that a late Act of the legislature of Jamaica had admitted persons of colour to hold public offices in that island; whereas *all* that has been done is to remove the cruel disability under which they previously laboured of acting even as clerks to persons holding public offices.

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The "Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter" will be ready for delivery on the first day of every month. Copies will be forwarded at the request of any Anti-Slavery Society, at the rate of four shillings per hundred, when not exceeding half a sheet, and in proportion, when it exceeds that quantity. All persons wishing to receive a regular supply are requested to make application to the Secretary, at the Society's office, No. 18, Aldermanbury, and mention the conveyance by which they may be most conveniently sent. Single Copies may be had of all booksellers and newsmen, at the rate of 1*d.* per half-sheet of eight pages, or 2*d.* per sheet of sixteen pages.

REVIEW OF THE LAST SESSION OF PARLIAMENT.

Our Readers will naturally be desirous of knowing the circumstances which rendered the last session of Parliament a season of almost complete inaction as to the question of Colonial Reform. Much was certainly proposed and expected in the way of discussion, if not of successful effort; and the number and weight of the petitions, addressed to Parliament, afforded a hope that the deplorable apathy, and even aversion, with which, on former occasions, the subject has been received there, might yield to the wishes so clearly and strongly expressed of a large proportion of the constituent body. It must be acknowledged, however, that if Members of the House of Commons are lukewarm and indifferent, it is, in some degree, the fault of those who send them thither; for, if the same pains which are often employed about a rail-road or a turnpike, were taken to convince them that their constituents really felt the deep interest in the question which their petitions express, many honourable gentlemen would not turn, with the marked disgust which they have too often shewn, from every effort to obtain their attention to the claims of our colonial bondsmen. But not to dwell on this ungracious topic, we will proceed to explain the circumstances which have prevented those discussions respecting them which the public were led to expect. This cannot be done more effectually, than by giving the substance of what was said on the subject, by Sir James Mackintosh, on the 25th of July. In rising to present a petition against Negro Slavery, he felt it necessary, he said, to remark, that those among them, who took a more active part in this question than other Members, conceived, that, as full notice of their intentions was in fairness due to all parties interested in it, so they owed it to their own honour, to shew that their late inaction had not proceeded from supineness or lukewarmness; and that, as their principles were unchangeable, so was their purpose unchanged. Nor was it less due to the very numerous and eminently respectable body, who had loaded the table with petitions, to explain why no attempt had been made to carry their moderate, just, and reasonable prayers into effect. The House would recollect the changes which had taken place

in the Colonial Department, and the necessity, which had thence arisen, of some postponement, in order to give the new Government an opportunity of coming to a mature decision on the subject. Not long after Parliament met, his Honourable and Learned friend (Mr. Brougham) had given notice, that if nothing were proposed by Government in relation to this question, he himself would bring the subject forward at a very early period after the Easter recess. No sooner, however, had he returned from the discharge of his laborious duties at the Spring Assizes, than he found another new Government in existence, and it became necessary to give it also time to consider the question, and determine on the measures to be adopted. This concession was the more readily made, from a belief that, as far as depended on the Right Honourable and gallant Member, (Sir George Murray), personally, there would be no want of liberality in the consideration of this subject; and certainly, nothing has hitherto occurred, either in his language or conduct, to impair our confidence. Soon after this, however, his Honourable and Learned friend (Mr. Brougham) was obliged to relinquish his regular attendance in the House, on account of the declining state of his health. His bodily frame had hitherto well ministered to the unwearied vigour of his faculties; but, it was no wonder that it should sometimes give way under a heavier burden than any other mind had, perhaps, ever laid on her frail companion. But though his bodily health declined, he still clung to this question, as one which he had long had at heart, and which he was most unwilling to abandon. Nor did he relinquish it until an absolute prohibition had been placed upon any attempt on his part to sustain that degree of mental exertion which the due discussion of such a subject would have required, in order to do it justice. He therefore consented, though most reluctantly, to postpone it to another Session. From some cause, however, probably accidental, the motives for these successive postponements had not come before the public in such a manner as was calculated to afford a clear conception of the real circumstances which had compelled his Honourable and Learned friend to relinquish his intention.* The statement now made, therefore, was no less essential to the honour of his learned friend, than to the future prospects of the cause, in which he had been so long engaged, and of which he had been so powerful an advocate.

Having given this explanation of the grounds on which Mr. Brougham had withdrawn his Motion, Sir James added, that he would now content himself with saying that, "unless His Majesty's Government should be prepared, before the next Session, to take a more decided part, in executing and carrying into effect the resolutions in Parliament than it had

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* Mr. Buxton had been at pains, ten days before, to give a similar explanation to the House, stating, that Mr. Brougham had withdrawn his motion in accordance with his own wish and that of other friends of the cause in Parliament, who were convinced that, in the feeble state of his health, he could not, without extreme imprudence, attempt to bring it forward; but the newspapers had failed to give a clear report of what had passed. We sincerely hope that before the next session opens, the health, not only of Mr. Brougham, but of Mr. Buxton also will be so re-established as to enable them to resume their important labours, in this field of service, with energy and effect.

hitherto done; or, unless the Legislatures of our West India Colonies, (seeing the state of public opinion and feeling in this country, and the nearer and more immediate dangers arising out of the present system in their own neighbourhood,) should abandon their obstinacy;—and of the two, this, the more desirable, was, he feared, the least likely event;—unless, in short, the Colonies should shew symptoms of having attained a victory over their own prejudices, and of looking more to their ultimate safety and advantage, than to the present demands of pride and passion; or Government itself should effectively undertake the subject; then he distinctly gave notice, that those who have taken an active part in enforcing what may be called the treaty between the humanity of the British public and the prejudices of the Colonists, negociated by Mr. Canning in 1823, (a treaty in the observance of which the rights of humanity and the glory of this country are deeply interested) will think it necessary to propose some measure on the subject in that House in the course of the ensuing Session: and he sincerely hoped, that if it should be necessary to bring forward such measure, his Honourable and learned friend (Mr. Brougham) would be able to bring it forward, qualified as he was, in every respect, to perform that sacred duty, and especially marked out for it as he was, by being the first man who had affixed the penalties and the infamy of felony on those atrocious crimes of man-stealing and trading in stolen men, which the most ancient and venerable of lawgivers, thirty centuries ago, punished with death."

Having explained this point, we proceed to notice some other parliamentary occurrences of the last Session, bearing on the question of Slavery.

Our last number was occupied in pointing out the general inefficiency and delusiveness of the pretended reforms of the legislatures of Jamaica and St. Christopher's, notwithstanding the approbation of them which had been expressed by Mr. Huskisson in the House of Commons, and by the Duke of Wellington in the House of Lords; and we showed clearly that *in every instance* those legislatures had either absolutely refused, or dexterously evaded the requisitions of the Government.

The same motive which induced us to exhibit a correct analysis of the enactments in question, that of preventing the Parliament and the public from forming an erroneous estimate of the real state of the case, appears to have led Lord Calthorpe to bring the matter before the House of Lords. On the 18th of July, on presenting a petition from the inhabitants of Bristol against slavery, he took occasion to make some remarks, of which the following is the substance, on what had fallen from the Duke of Wellington on a former day—

"I feel strongly the inconvenience of raising a debate on an important subject like this in presenting a petition; but I see no other opportunity but the one I now take of endeavouring, as succinctly as I am able, to bring before your lordships the present state of slavery in the West Indies, and the very imperfect manner in which, as it appears to me, the Colonial legislatures have carried into effect the intentions of Government. In the present state of the House, and at the present period of the session, this must be to me as well as to your lordships any thing but an act of self indulgence. If, indeed, the motion had been brought forward, notice

of which was given in the other House of Parliament by an honourable and learned gentleman, who has so ably and so powerfully exercised his talents in behalf of the negro race, and who, from the state of his health, and certainly from no relaxation of zeal in this cause, was obliged to forego the execution of his purpose, I should have felt myself absolved from the duty of now drawing your lordships' attention to the subject.

"In alluding, as I shall feel it my duty to do, to what fell from the noble Duke on a former occasion, I assure him I should greatly blame myself if I should appear for a moment to lose sight of those deep obligations which we owe him. But I desire now more particularly to bear in recollection those valuable services which the noble Duke rendered in the abolition of the foreign slave trade; and to keep stedfastly in view that heart and zeal and spirit which he carried into his negociations on that subject, and the warm and generous solicitude which he showed to procure from foreign powers, as far as treaties could secure it, the abolition of that nefarious traffic.

"It will be in the recollection of your lordships, that, in 1823, a very considerable feeling was excited throughout the empire against Colonial slavery, which communicated itself to Parliament, or at least was strongly recognised by Parliament; and the general impression seemed to be, that slavery was a grievous and opprobrious evil, opprobrious under any circumstances, but doubly so in the case of a country which, like our own, glories in its freedom. This feeling, I say, was strong and general, but it was mixed up, in the minds of many, with fears that the degradation of the slave had unfitted him for instant freedom, and with considerations of existing institutions and rights of property involved in the question; and the prevailing opinion seemed to be, that though it might be hazardous to attempt to abolish slavery at once, yet measures should be immediately taken which should operate gradually in bringing about its early and final extinction. With this view certain resolutions were passed, and certain measures of reform founded on those resolutions were afterwards adopted, with the unanimous consent of both Houses of Parliament. Those measures were chiefly directed to raise the moral and social character of the slave, to give him the protection of law, to diminish those almost immeasurable distinctions which separate the negro slave from his white proprietor, and sink him to a level scarcely human—and, in short, gradually to fit him for that state of entire freedom for which it was assumed that he was not then ripe. Now I cannot at all agree with the noble Duke, when, on a former evening, he described the West India legislatures as having adopted those measures, if not in all their details and to the full extent which was recommended, yet as having adopted them in *principle*. Now, to me it appears that, in any sense in which the word *principle* is commonly used, the manner in which the Colonial Assemblies have framed their laws is really an evasion, rather than an adoption, of the *principle* of the measures suggested to them. The noble Duke would not say that a soldier, who should comply with one or two trifling orders which cost him no trouble or self denial, while he resisted all the important orders issued to him, and even used, like Jamaica, the language of defiance, had adopted the principle of subordination. If such a compliance were

an admission of the principle, it is at least an admission of no value whatever. And as it is only in such a way that these legislatures have adopted the principle recommended to them, it is only another term for resistance to all that constitutes its spirit and essence, or that gives to it any real or practical value.

"I really wish the noble Duke would look into what has been done by these legislatures, and compare it with the measures prescribed by the Government: he will then see that those very measures which are assumed to have a tendency to elevate the slave in the scale of being, to improve his moral and legal condition, and to prepare him for the enjoyment of freedom, are precisely the measures in which they have shewn the greatest unwillingness fairly and effectually to concur.*

"I am unwilling to refer to particular instances of cruelty as demonstrative of the physical condition of the slaves; but, until it can be proved that that law which pervades all nature, ordaining the increase of the species, is not arrested in the West Indies, I must consider the physical condition of our colonial slaves to be greatly inferior to that of any class of men in a state of freedom. But the improvement of their mere physical condition was not, after all, the main object of Parliament, except as a mean to their improvement in those great, high, and everlasting distinctions which the Author of being has established between man and the brute creation. It was with the view of establishing more broadly and increasingly these distinctions, that measures of amelioration were proposed which, while they produced immediate benefit to the Slaves, must, in their results, have proved no less beneficial to the masters themselves. Now, when we find that there has been an utter rejection of all these important measures, I cannot understand with what propriety the Colonial Assemblies can be said to have adopted their principle. It might have been expected that, even from motives of prudence, they would have acted differently. But in truth, as the Noble Duke must acknowledge, they have scarcely done any thing to carry the resolutions of Parliament, and the recommendations of Government into effect. The Legislature of Jamaica has passed only one Act on the subject, and that has been disallowed by the Government, specifically, indeed, because its provisions infringed the rights of religious wor-

* Nothing can be more just than this remark of his Lordship. A West Indian legislature will much more readily pass laws for punishing the mutilation or dismemberment of a slave, or for assigning to him a certain allowance of food—(for the privilege of having his limbs entire and of being fed, he enjoys in common with the horse or mule)—than they will pass laws which shall exempt him from the debasing operation of the driving whip; which shall give sanction and protection to his connubial rights; which shall confer upon him the privilege of suing and being sued, and of appearing as a witness in courts of justice; which shall secure to him the means of accumulating property and of emancipating himself or his family by his own industry and forethought; which shall prevent the disruption of his domestic ties; or which, making the Sabbath a day sacred to repose and instruction, and allowing other time for the secular purposes to which his Sabbath has hitherto been appropriated, shall introduce him into fellowship with his God and Saviour—all these being changes in his condition which tend to raise him to their own level or even above their level, and which therefore wound their pride and prejudice, no less than, in unfounded apprehension, they *seem* to affect their interests.

ship. But this is, of itself, a proof of the little disposition existing in that Colony to follow up the spirit of the parliamentary resolutions. There were many other objections to the Act, and among the rest, its having evaded that most important recommendation, the appointment of a Protector of Slaves, an appointment without which there can be no security that any of the other measures for ameliorating the condition of the Slaves, even if adopted, would be properly enforced. Such conduct can surely prefer no claim to any expression of satisfaction on the part of His Majesty's Government. A similar defect occurs in the Act of the Legislature of St. Christopher's. There they have not only evaded, they have wholly rejected the recommendation.

"But what I would especially impress on your Lordships, is, the formidable obstacle which slavery itself presents to the execution of any proposals for ameliorating the condition of the Slaves. Is it to be supposed that in a country, the very atmosphere of which is tainted and saturated as it were with slavery, there should not be an unwillingness to give effect to the recommendations of a Parliament composed of men who value freedom? Without meaning to deny that acts of kindness and humanity may be exercised towards the Slaves by many individuals in the Colonies, or that many Colonial Proprietors resident in England, are desirous to promote the improvement and comfort of their Slaves; still, I must complain of the language used by both, as to what has been done in the Colonies, language wholly unwarranted by facts, and which of itself proves the baneful influence of slavery on those who live under it, or who think themselves interested in upholding it.

"I have no doubt of the steady purpose of the Noble Duke, and the good intentions of His Majesty's Government generally, to carry the resolutions of Parliament into effect; but I regret that they do not seem to take a due estimate of the obstacles which oppose themselves in the Colonies to the accomplishment of that object. Among those obstacles, I reckon that line of insubordination, I may say, of defiance, adopted in some of the Colonies, in opposition to the wishes of Parliament. I am, certainly, far from desiring to do any thing injurious to the West Indian Colonists; but I must condemn and deplore the tone in which they have spoken and still speak; and I conceive your Lordships are bound, by a sense of what is due to the dignity of Parliament, to see that its resolutions are carried into effect; and that the Government, of whomsoever it may consist, owe it to Parliament and the country, to take such steps as shall put an end to the insubordination and defiance with which these resolutions have been met abroad.

"My Lords, I am well aware of the charges made against those who view the subject as I do. One is, that their object is instant abolition, without reference to the consequences it may involve. This is not a fair charge on the great body of the abolitionists. If what I say should bring on me such an imputation, let me be looked on as a visionary who would pursue his object reckless of consequences: such an opinion would not give me much disquietude. But, let not the views of an individual, even if I entertained them, be attributed to the whole of those who concur in the general object. I claim no exemption for myself from

such a charge; but I do claim for that large body who have approached Parliament with their petitions upon this subject, I do claim for that most numerous, highly respectable and intelligent portion of the community, that they shall not be stigmatized as rash and inconsiderate zealots, regardless of others' interests, and only intent on realizing their own theories. It is due to the character of those individuals to defend them from such unjust imputations. Some of the petitions have been signed by men distinguished alike by their public acts and private virtues. Clergymen, the most eminent of the Established Church, have affixed their signatures. We have had a petition to the same effect from the University of Cambridge. In short, many of the petitions on your table have been signed by men, whose qualities of mind and heart entitle their prayers to your Lordships' most serious consideration; men who have acted from no selfish motives, and who are no less distinguished by their moderation, than by their other estimable qualities. For such men, my Lords, who, through life, have been conspicuous for the most scrupulous regard for the rights and interests of others, I do claim that they shall not be charged with a design to injure and destroy them, when they come forward to complain, that, the imperfect manner in which the resolutions of Parliament have been carried into effect has compromised the honour of the Crown and the dignity of Parliament, has put to hazard the security of our Colonies, and has frustrated the paramount claims of humanity and justice. The enlightened individuals to whom I allude may be fairly considered as representing the opinions on this question of the best portion of the community. By such men have measures, the most beneficial to the country, been first brought to the notice of Parliament; and they shew that they recognise the transcendant merits of the noble Duke, when, acting on the principle that the character of public men is a public possession, they urge him to pursue, on this question, the same decisive and energetic course he did in achieving those resplendent triumphs which adorn his name, and connect it with the brightest glories of his country. If the Duke acts on this suggestion they have no doubt, and I concur with them in thinking, that it will be attended with similar happy results. But, while they pay this just tribute to the noble Duke, they think that if the language of approbation be held out, where that of censure is rather called for, the result must be inglorious to the Government who advised it, however that Government may be constituted. Nor ought they who object to the want of a decisive tone, on the part of the Government, to be accused of recommending harsh measures towards the colonies that resist the repeated recommendations of the legislature and the executive. I would be the last to recommend such. But it is obvious, and ought not to be overlooked, that should they still persist in their contumacy, it would be easy for Government at once to bring them to a sense of their duty and of their true interests, by only proposing to withdraw its troops from the West Indies, a proceeding which would leave them exposed to the outrage of a multitude exasperated by continued oppression and neglect, and by the disappointment of every hope they have been taught to cherish."

The Duke of Wellington then spoke to the following effect:—

"I can assure the noble Lord, that if he imagines that any thing which fell from me on a former occasion was meant to cast any reflection on those who are anxious to improve the condition of our Colonial slaves, with a view to the final abolition of slavery, he is much mistaken. I said nothing of the kind. If any thing I said could justify that construction, I trust I shall convince the noble Lord, before I sit down, that I have not disapproved of their conduct in urging that the measures recommended by Government should be carried into effect. Why; Parliament itself is a party to those measures which they pray may be enforced. The Government proceeded upon the resolutions of the House, and if I disapproved of the one I must disapprove of the other. But I approve of both.

"I stated, on a former occasion, that the *principle* of the measures recommended by Government had been adopted in nearly all the Colonies, and that in Jamaica the *principle* of a Protector of slaves was recognised. The noble Lord must be aware that there is a difference between the adoption of a principle, and of a particular measure involving that principle. The legislature of Jamaica did adopt the principle of appointing a Protector of slaves, though not in the way recommended by Government. Their mode of establishing the principle of protection was by appointing the vestries of the several parishes protectors. I wish they had proceeded on a different plan, but still I am glad that something has been adopted which will in any manner give protection to the slave. It will be the business of Government and of the local authorities to see that due protection is given; and if the present means should fail of affording due protection, then such measures as will ensure it must, from time to time, be recommended. This was what I meant when I said the *principle* of the measures recommended by Government had been adopted.—Now, if that be the case, how could the noble Lord compare the conduct of Jamaica to that of a soldier who obeys some one order and refuses to obey others? Jamaica is not bound to obey the orders of a Secretary of State as a soldier is bound to obey the orders of his officer. The noble Lord does not mean to say, that the Jamaica legislature is not independent. If so, and Jamaica be not bound to obey the orders of the Secretary of State, it is a matter of congratulation to find, that in such an important particular as that of a Protector, it has adopted the *principle* of the recommendations made by Government, and that the legislatures of the other islands have also so far adopted their *principle* as may lead finally to the accomplishment of the wishes of Parliament and of the country on this important question.

"The noble Lord says I expressed satisfaction with what had been done. It is true I did. But if he understood by this that I am not disposed to go further, he has quite mistaken me. When the Government proposed these measures, they knew they proposed them to legislatures which possessed the power to adopt, to modify, or reject them. And, having that power, Government cannot interfere and force these measures upon them. Does the noble Lord wish us to use force? If so, I tell the noble Lord that we have not the power of enforcing them, if we wished to do so. We have not the power of governing those Colonies by force any more than we have the power of governing this

country by force. We can only govern them, as this country is governed, by means of laws which are enacted by the sanction of the Houses of Legislature. I want to know whether I am to attempt force and to irritate them by harsh language, or rather to encourage and persuade them? Certainly I would choose the latter mode, and encourage them to do that which will be alike beneficial to them and to this country, and is in accordance with the unanimous wish of the Government, the Parliament, and the people of this country. I cannot conclude without reminding the noble Lord that he must not expect, that in proportion as the legislative assemblies assent to the wishes of this country, in the same proportion laws will emanate from them on the subject which will bear the scrutiny of the acute mind of the noble Lord and his friends, or will come up to the perfection of British legislation. Time is necessary for perfection in all things, and legislation is not exempted from this general rule. The enactments of parties not possessing our advantages ought to be treated with some indulgence; and to attempt to exercise force, or to give any other cause of irritation, would only do harm and retard the accomplishment of the object the noble Lord is so desirous to attain."

Can the above speech really have been spoken by the noble Duke, to whom it is attributed? We cannot doubt it, having had the mortification of hearing it ourselves, and being able to vouch for the general accuracy with which it has been reported. Neither could we have entertained much doubt of its purport, but for the following conversation which took place a few days after, viz. on the 25th of July, in the House of Commons.

Sir George Murray, in answer to the speech of Sir James Mackintosh, which is inserted above, observed, that he considered the present Government as fully pledged to adhere to the resolutions of 1823, which, he conceived, reflected the highest credit on the Parliament that adopted them; and were equally necessary whether we regarded humanity, justice, or self-interest. Government, he admitted, was bound to pursue such a system, as while it should be most beneficial to the slaves, should respect the rights of private property and the general well being of the Colonies. This system consisted in ameliorating the condition of the slaves; and all measures tending to that object, were, in his opinion, most desirable. He would not now go into detail, but this he would say, that he fully and entirely concurred with the friends of the negroes in the feelings they entertained, and was desirous the slaves might ultimately participate in all the advantages enjoyed by their fellow men.

Mr. Buxton heard the Right Honourable Gentleman with the more satisfaction as he had read, with surprise and alarm, certain expressions said to have been uttered by a noble Duke in another place; expressions which, if correctly stated, would lead to a belief that the solemn pledge made in this House, in 1823, was to be frittered away to a mere recommendation to the Colonies to do that which we wished them to do. On the speech to which he alluded, he should have felt it his duty to comment at some length, but for what had now fallen from the Right Honourable Secretary for the Colonies.

Mr. Peel said, he felt quite sure that the Honourable member (Mr. Buxton) had given to the speech of his noble friend an interpretation totally different from that intended by him. When the Honourable member stated that his noble friend's speech went to fritter away the pledge given in 1823 (a pledge to which the present ministry felt themselves bound to adhere), he had altogether mistaken the meaning meant to be conveyed by his noble friend. "Indeed," he added, "I feel it but just to the cause which the Honourable member advocates to make this statement, as my noble friend feels not only bound to redeem, but is desirous of redeeming that pledge. When, however, the Honourable member looked to the speech attributed to my noble friend, he should have taken into consideration the speech to which it was an answer. My noble friend was, perhaps, upon that occasion, repelling some intimation of a desire to interfere at once with the Colonies by physical force, and was recommending that course which was most desirable, namely, that the reform should be effected by the planters themselves, who, in doing so, would best consult their own interests and those of their slaves. And, if my noble friend did hold this language, I am sure the House will think with me, that he did so with a view to the advancement, and not to the injury, of the cause which the Honourable member appears to have so much at heart."

As these conversations have an important bearing on the Anti-Slavery question, we have thought it right to record them nearly as they were delivered, that our readers may be able themselves to judge of their import, and also to appreciate the value of the few brief remarks we shall now make upon them. We should have been satisfied, indeed, with Mr. Peel's disclaimer, on the part of the Duke of Wellington, of the more obvious import of certain parts of his speech; but, as that speech stands recorded in the public journals of the country, and will naturally carry with it the weight attached to the Duke's eminent services and distinguished character, no less than to his high station as the head of the Government, we shall be excused for endeavouring respectfully to obviate the injurious effect which, if it were to pass without any comment, it might be calculated to produce on the public mind.

1. We are bound in fairness to commence with acknowledging that nothing can be more satisfactory than the frank and liberal terms in which both the noble Duke and the two Secretaries of State have borne testimony to the rectitude of the views and conduct of the abolitionists: who, it is fully admitted, ask for nothing, and urge nothing, which they are not fully entitled to require, under the solemn pledges which have been given, both by the Government and the Parliament of this country, and which the Government and the Parliament are bound to fulfil. Sir George Murray declared that he fully concurred with the friends of the negroes in the feelings they entertained; and the Duke of Wellington, that he could not disapprove of their proceedings without disapproving also of the conduct of Parliament, and of the Government of which he himself has formed so essential a part.

2. The Duke of Wellington, however, maintains that nearly all the Colonies have adopted in *principle* the measures recommended to them, and that in Jamaica the principle of a Protector of slaves has been re-

cognised. On both these facts we are directly at issue with his Grace. We affirm the very reverse of his positions. We affirm, without reserve or hesitation, that not one of the Colonies, having legislatures of their own, has adopted in *principle* and in *spirit* (with the exception of a single point in the case of Grenada) any one of the measures recommended to them by Government; and we again pledge all our credit with the public to make good this assertion (indeed we have already made it good) from the papers laid before Parliament by the Duke himself. And we further affirm, that Jamaica, instead of adopting, has actually repudiated and rejected the *principle* of a protector of slaves. Under the name of protection to the slaves, it has actually contrived to give protection and immunity to the oppressors of the slaves. Against whom was protection for the slaves demanded? Was it not against their masters and managers? To whom is their protection confided by the Jamaica legislature? To those very masters and managers who, in fact, compose the entire of the parish vestries. But the vestry is *called* a Council of protection. Yes, and it was so called years before the resolutions of 1823 were thought of. But surely the *term* protection does not necessarily involve the *principle* of protection. On the contrary, it involves in this instance the extinction of that principle, for if the purpose had been to divest the slaves of all protection, no more effectual device could have been framed to effect it than this very enactment of the Jamaica legislature. Nor are we singular in this opinion. What did Mr. Huskisson say of it in his well known despatch of Sept. 22, 1827? He denied that this so called Council of Protection could be a proper substitute for the independent and non-slave-holding protector they had been urged to appoint; consisting, he said, as it did, of the very individuals whom the protector was to control. And, even if there existed a chance of its being efficient (a thing utterly hopeless), yet its powers were jealously limited to those injuries alone which are punishable when inflicted on brutes, namely, mutilation and dismemberment, wantonly cruel treatment, and imprisoning (impounding) without due support. Besides it was not required to record or report its proceedings, and its number (being *all* the adult *white* householders) destroyed all sense of responsibility. The law, therefore, was so far from adopting the principle of protection, that it actually denied, instead of granting, protection to the slave. It was a measure, to the full, as absurd and incongruous as it would be to permit a community of smugglers to name, from their own body, the persons who, with no responsibility attached to them, should have the charge of superintending the due execution of the revenue laws, and punishing their own delinquencies in respect to them.

3. We come now to that part of the Duke's speech which seems to affirm the *independence* of the Colonial legislatures. The language used on this point did, at first sight, appear almost of necessity to point to their independence on Parliament. It seemed impossible that the merest tyro in constitutional knowledge could be supposed ignorant of the fact, that the Colonial legislatures were not compellable to obey the mere mandate of a Secretary of State, unsupported by the authority of Parliament. But we are bound to believe, on the strength of Mr. Peel's speech, that the Duke did not mean to deny the authority of Parliament to le-

gislate for the Colonies. But the power of Parliament so to legislate being granted, it is obvious that all else is a mere war of words. The mandate of a Secretary of State cannot control the colonial authorities: granted. But an act of Parliament can control them. Has then the Secretary of State applied to Parliament for an act, and been refused? To what purpose is it, therefore, to affirm the independence of the colonial legislatures on the orders of a Secretary of State, when that Secretary of State has only to apply to Parliament, with a certainty of obtaining it, for an act which shall enforce the measures he deems to be necessary in order to redeem the pledges, not only of the Government, but of the Parliament too. But this is using force. And would you use force? Yes, that species of force by which this country, free as it is, is governed; that only species of force which either Lord Calthorpe, or any man in his senses could contemplate except in extreme cases, we mean the *force of law*. And why should any colony, or class of colonies be exempt from this legitimate species of force? It is one thing to compel a legislature to adopt certain measures by the application of the bayonet, by rude physical force,—an expedient of which no man in his senses could even dream. It is quite another thing for a competent legislative authority to pass a law, and, having passed it, to require obedience to it under the penalties it prescribes, and to enforce those penalties by due legal process. Acts of Parliament are, and ever have been, binding on the colonies, though an order of a Secretary of State is not. It is not, therefore, constitutionally correct to say, that we can *only* govern the colonies by laws enacted by their own legislatures; for it is not only in the power, but within the competency, as it is also the practice, of Parliament to legislate for them.

But then we are told of the inexpediency and the danger of employing this species of constraint; of thus interfering by parliamentary enactment with the spontaneous movements of the local legislatures. But how directly at variance is this argument with the conduct which the government has unhesitatingly pursued in other and strictly analogous cases. Great Britain possesses two classes of Colonies. The one class is under the supreme legislation of the king in council, but having its own subordinate and local council, or cabildo, or court of policy. The other class is under the supreme legislation of Parliament, having local elective assemblies of its own. In the former case, when any disposition is manifested to refuse compliance with the recommendation of the Secretary of State, he makes no scruple of applying to the king in council for an order which supersedes all further resistance. In the latter, he has it equally in his power to enforce his recommendation, if it should be rejected or evaded, by calling upon parliament for its aid.

And observe how the Secretary of State actually proceeded in the former case. In 1824, he combined the various measures of reform, which were deemed necessary for Trinidad, into one enactment, and then obtained an order in council imposing all these measuses *at once* on that Colony. The colonists remonstrated against this summary process, but in vain. The mandate of the Secretary of State, thus backed, was imperative, and it proved also irresistible. The colonists of Trinidad clamored at first, but they submitted with the best grace they could, as soon as they found clamour to be unavailing. The same course, with slight variations, has

been generally pursued in the other crown colonies. In some instances, there has been a shew of consulting the local authorities, previous to the imposition of the enactment framed by the Secretary of State; but if their opinions happened to be opposed to his recommendation, he forthwith assumed a more peremptory tone, and then that recommendation was either prudently and quietly adopted, or, being backed by an order in council, became at once irresistible.

Now what is there which can justify the Secretary of State, as far at least as the question of inexpediency or of danger is involved, in pursuing such a line of policy with respect to the crown colonies, which would not equally justify its adoption in the case of the colonies having local assemblies? The only difference would be that the support which he derives in the one case from an order in council, he must derive in the other from an act of parliament.

Is it just and right that he should be able to compel, by an order in council, the colonies of Trinidad, St. Lucia, Demerara, and Berbice, to submit to the laws he may prescribe for abolishing the cartwhip and the flogging of females; granting to the slaves various civil rights, as those of property, redemption, marriage, evidence, &c.; restoring to them the sabbath of which they have been iniquitously deprived; interposing an independent protector of their rights against the encroachments of arbitrary power, and the injustice and oppressions of masters and their delegates:—Is this just and right? And is it not equally just and right, when Jamaica, Barbadoes, St. Kitts, Grenada, St. Vincents, and the other islands, having assemblies of their own, absolutely refuse to comply with these reasonable requisitions, that they also should be compelled to submit to them by an act of parliament, to the authority of which they are to the full as amenable as the others are to an order in council? Is there any greater hardship to the whites in the one case than in the other? Is there any benefit conferred on the slaves by the compulsory enactment of the supreme legislative authority in the one case, which would not be equally attained by a similar compulsion in the other? The danger too of interference between master and slave, in either case, whatever be its amount, is precisely the same: nor is there a single opposing consideration, drawn from that relation, which does not apply equally to both classes of colonies. In truth, however, experience has established, beyond controversy, the perfect safety of such interference.

But we must have the concurrence, we are told, of the colonists, or all our legislation will be useless. Be it so. But is not that concurrence equally necessary in Trinidad or Demerara, as in Jamaica or Barbadoes? You who make this objection have not been deterred, by this consideration, from imposing your just and humane reforms on Trinidad and Demerara. On what ground of consistency do you decline to impose them on Jamaica and Barbadoes? Are you not equally pledged respecting the one as the other? Are not your means of enforcement as legitimate and as irresistible in the one case as in the other? Are not the king's black subjects in Jamaica and Barbadoes as fully entitled to the protection of beneficent laws as those in Trinidad and Demerara? And if what is right to be done in the two first, must, as we are told, be done only by degrees, and without even the force of law,

and only by persuasion, why has not this principle been acted upon throughout, and applied to the two last also? No weight was given in their case to the fear of irritation. The act of the king in council, aided by his colonial courts of law, put an end at once to all resistance. And would not an act of Parliament, administered by independent protectors and other independent functionaries, have equal power in Jamaica and Barbadoes? It is quite a new principle in British Legislation to be deterred, by the fear of irritating offenders, from enacting laws to punish their crimes, or to protect the weak from oppression and wrong.

4. While indulgence is said to be due to the West Indian legislators on account of their inaptitude for legislation, it seems to be assumed as the most desirable course, that the delicate and difficult task of legislating between master and slave, and of raising the latter to his master's moral, and social, and political level, should be committed to the masters alone. Now we confess that we differ entirely from this view of the subject, whether propounded by the friends or by the enemies of colonial reform. We are so far from being of this opinion, that we maintain, with Mr. Canning, that there is a necessary and insuperable unfitness, in persons nurtured as it were in the lap of slavery and in habits of uncontrolled despotism, to legislate efficaciously, with a view to the protection and freedom, and the eventual civil equality of their bondsmen. And so have our ministers thought in the case of Trinidad, Demerara, Berbice, St. Lucia, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Mauritius, with their 250,000 slaves. The colonists there have been regarded, it is true, as unapt legislators for such a purpose, but they have not, on that account, been *indulged* with the liberty of passing such crude, and partial, and selfish acts, as must necessarily result from the combination of gross ignorance of general principles, with the habitual practice of unmeasured despotism, and from the pride, passion, and prejudice which are, and must be, their unfailing fruits. On the contrary, the colonial Secretary, backed by the authority of the king in council, has peremptorily prescribed, to the slave holders of these colonies, not only the measures that are to be enacted, but the very terms in which the enactments are to be expressed. No material deviation from these terms has been permitted. And it is impossible to go through the despatches of Lord Bathurst, when Secretary of State, without perceiving that his conviction of the inaptitude of the colonists for the work of legislation, had determined him not only not to throw upon them that task, but, on the contrary, wholly to relieve them from it; and that, therefore, he had imposed upon them, without scruple, the laws which were thought necessary, clothing those laws in the terms, and arming them with the sanctions, which were deemed to be best adapted to the ends of enlightened legislation. We are not now considering the sufficiency or insufficiency of these laws for their professed purpose, but simply the course which Government has thought it wise and politic to pursue with respect to the above six colonies.—But what are the peculiar internal circumstances of these six colonies, which have rendered it so necessary that they should not be left to frame a slave code for themselves, and that the very form and language of it should be peremptorily prescribed by the king in council; while it is inexpedient and undesirable that, in the remaining thirteen colonies, parliament should do for them what the king in council

has done for the others? What is the radical ground of distinction? None whatever, except that the propriety of such a policy might be rendered, if possible, still more apparent in the case of the Colonies having legislative assemblies of their own, than in that of the others. Let any one contemplate the absurdity of investing each petty community of whites in the West Indies with all the attributes of a parliament, and calling them to deliberate and decide, on the gravest questions in legislation, for persons with whom they have no feelings of social and civil sympathy, and no sense of identity of interest, but whom they regard as their goods and chattels, as mere instruments of profit; from whose bones and sinews, from whose wasted health and shortened life, from whose incessant and uncompensated toil, wrung from them by the compelling and torturing power of the cartwhip or the cat, they derive their income, their means of gratification and even of subsistence. And then consider how this white community is composed. We need only refer our readers for an accurate account of a considerable portion of it to a living authority of great respectability, the Right Honourable Hugh Elliot, who, after a residence for some time as Governor in the Leeward Islands, thus describes, in a despatch to Lord Liverpool, of November 21, 1810, the dominant class of their inhabitants. Speaking of the state of the local governments, he observes, "I do not apprehend that the defects complained of are to be ascribed principally to the remissness or culpability of their leading members. The root of the evil lies deeper. The fact is, the governments of these Islands were formed in times when many of the proprietors lived upon their estates, and the white population was more numerous than it now is. Of the free white inhabitants who remain, managers, overseers, self-created lawyers, self-educated physicians, and adventurous merchants, with little real capital and scanty credit, comprise the greatest part. The acquirements of education, among many of this description of persons, are very unequal to the task of taking a share in the Governments. The prevalence of principle is also, I fear, not to be fairly calculated from the repetition of the hackneyed expressions of which an ostentatious use is frequently made in addresses, and on all occasions meant to meet the public eye at home. *To collect, from such a state of society, men fit to be legislators, judges, or jurymen is perfectly impracticable.* Individual interest, personal influence, animosity of party feuds, weigh down the scale of justice, and direct the course of legislative authority into acts of arbitrary and unjustifiable power, cloaked under the semblance, and dignified with the name of constitutional acts. * In short, I apprehend the defects prevailing in the present state of the governments cannot be remedied without a future appeal to the wisdom of His Majesty's enlightened councils at home." And yet it is to these men we deem it right to intrust the solution of perhaps the most difficult problem in legislation, the peaceful transmutation of slaves into freemen!

If the fairness of Mr. Elliot's description is doubted, look at their sta-

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* The aggregate of the whole constituent body of the thirteen *independent* West India Legislatures, does not equal, either in number or respectability, the electors of the single borough of Leicester.

tute books. Read the disgusting and barbarous enactments which pervade them, marking throughout the uniform effect of unmeasured despotism stimulated by cupidity, in blinding the understanding, hardening the heart, and deadening every human sympathy. Examine even their latest and best efforts of legislation: examine them with the commentaries, not to say of the Anti-Slavery Society, but of Lord Bathurst and Mr. Huskisson, in your hands, and you will at once be convinced of the utter hopelessness and impossibility of seeing the pledges of parliament fulfilled, by leaving to colonial legislators the construction of their slave codes. This is a work which parliament is constitutionally empowered to effect, and which parliament alone can accomplish. We trust that the people of England will become more deeply impressed every day with this truth, and that they will not rest from their efforts, their prayers, and their remonstrances, until they shall have fixed the same conviction deep in the minds of their representatives.

We had intended to have laid before our readers the substance of two speeches which were delivered by Lord Seaford, in the House of Lords, in reply to Lord Calthorpe, with our comments upon them, but our space is exhausted, and we must defer our purpose. When we have the opportunity of resuming the subject, his Lordship will find that we have not been inattentive to his claims on the public attention. In the mean time let it suffice to remark, that in the whole of his two elaborate speeches, there scarcely occurs a single position which we are not prepared to controvert.

It was also our intention to have given an abstract of the various discussions which have taken place on the subject of the sugar duties, and other points connected with the West Indian monopoly, but we are under the necessity of postponing, for the present, any reference to that important question.

We are further compelled to defer the analysis, which we had prepared, of the reports lately published, with no small ostentation, on the subject of religious instruction in the West Indies. These, we regret to say, are marked by some of the same traits of delusion which have so generally characterized the representations of the colonists on the subject of reform; but which, we had hoped, would have found no place in the publications of religious societies.

All Communications to be addressed to the Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, 18, Aldermanbury, London; where the publications of the Society are on sale, and also at Hatchard's, Piccadilly, and Arch's, Cornhill.

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The "Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter" will be ready for delivery on the first day of every month. Copies will be forwarded at the request of any Anti-Slavery Society, at the rate of four shillings per hundred, when not exceeding half a sheet, and in proportion, when it exceeds that quantity. All persons wishing to receive a regular supply are requested to make application to the Secretary, at the Society's office, No. 18, Aldermanbury, and mention the conveyance by which they may be most conveniently sent. Single Copies may be had of all booksellers and newsmen, at the rate of 1*d.* per half-sheet of eight pages, or 2*d.* per sheet of sixteen pages.

REVIEW OF THE LAST SESSION OF PARLIAMENT.—SPEECHES OF LORD SEAFORD, WITH CURSORY OBSERVATIONS UPON THEM.

We promised, at the close of the last Reporter, to make some remarks on the positions contained in two speeches said to have been delivered in the House of Lords by Lord Seaford, on the 23d of June and the 18th of July last. We proceed to fulfil our promise.

The main object of the first of these speeches (which was a mere abstract of a great part of Mr. Wilmot Horton's pamphlet, "The West India question practically considered,") was to show that the abolitionists had departed from the principles they formerly professed on the subject of the extinction of slavery. While the slave trade still existed, Mr. Fox, Mr. Brougham, and Mr. Wilberforce himself, his Lordship labours to prove, had deprecated any parliamentary interference with the colonial legislatures; and were of opinion, that, the slave trade being abolished, the measures to be subsequently taken for improving the condition of the slaves should be left to the colonial assemblies. He also cites the Directors of the African Institution as looking forward to emancipation not by any convulsion, nor even by the effect of positive law, but by a benign though insensible revolution in opinions and manners; by the encouragement of individual manumissions; and by a progressive amelioration of the condition of the slaves, producing an increase of their numbers; of which changes their masters would be the authors and the willing instruments, and by means of which slavery would silently and imperceptibly glide into freedom.

If the point were at all material, it would be easy to show that Lord Seaford's representation of the early views of the abolitionists is altogether incorrect. Those who deem the matter worth a moment's inquiry may consult a pamphlet published in 1823, for the Anti-Slavery Society, and entitled "A Review of the Arguments against parliamentary interference on behalf of the Negro Slaves," in which is given a statement of the views, on that subject, of many of our most eminent statesmen, in-

cluding the names of Burke, Pitt, Dundas, Fox, Windham, Grenville, Grey, Canning, Romilly, Wilberforce, &c. At the same time we have no solicitude to prove, that none of the earlier abolitionists entertained, at one time, sentiments which have subsequently been modified, or even reversed, by a change of circumstances,—by a more correct knowledge of facts, by improved lights and increasing experience, by the occurrence of unlooked-for opposition, and by the misconduct of those on whom they may have relied for aid and co-operation. To Lord Seaford, therefore, we would say, as we have already said, in reply to Mr. Wilmot Horton, that if, at a former period, the abolitionists were led to place an undeserved and unwarranted confidence in the purposes of the colonists, respecting the improvement of the condition of their slaves, neither they, nor those who have entered into their labours, are to be blamed as wanting in good faith, because the experience of thirty or forty years has satisfied them that their confidence was misplaced, and that all hope of improvement, except from parliamentary interference, has become vain and illusory.

But have Lord Seaford's own opinions undergone no revolution? Has he forgot that, during his early parliamentary career, he was (as we shall hereafter show) the strenuous supporter of the slave trade, and the opponent of its abolition? And yet he now praises that very measure, and concurs in attributing to it the most salutary results. He then also (we allude to the year 1797) praised as loudly as he does now the condition of the slave population. *We* contend indeed that since that time it has undergone little or no improvement. But this is not the language of him and of his party. They maintain, with Mr. Dwarris, that a most signal and complete change for the better has taken place since 1797. And yet Lord Seaford's eulogy of the slave system in 1797 may be substituted for that of 1828, without detracting from the force of the latter. The truth is there never has been, and never will be, in the grammar of slave-holders, any present tense for the oppressions of slavery.* When has any one of them, even Lord Seaford himself, been found to come forward, voluntarily, to denounce, instead of to palliate and defend, its evils?

We do not deny, indeed, that some excuse may be made for his Lordship. He is the proprietor of perhaps a thousand negroes. A large part of his income, many of his enjoyments, and probably even the elevation of his rank, are the fruits of their bondage, of their forced and uncompensated toil, of what *we* regard as their degradation and oppression. Now it is perfectly natural that Lord Seaford should be anxious to persuade himself and others that there is nothing, in this dependence of his on the slavery of his fellow-creatures, which should wound his self-esteem, or abate the confidence of the public in his statements respecting that condition of society; and that he should endeavour, nay, that he should even succeed in the endeavour, to hide from his own view the deformity of the system with which he is so very closely and profitably connected. But though this be natural, and may serve as some apology both for his Lordship's views of the subject, and for his vitupe-

* See Anti-Slavery Reporters, No. 18, p. 255, and No. 37, p. 250.

ration of those who differ from him, yet the public, whose eyes are open, are not unlikely, we apprehend, to form a somewhat different judgment from his Lordship, and to doubt whether his testimony or his advocacy, in favour of colonial bondage, derives the weight to which his private character might otherwise entitle it, from his being the proprietor of a thousand slaves.

Lord Seaford professes to entertain views now which are exactly in unison with those which were formerly held by the abolitionists. To the abolitionists, however, at the time he alleges them to have held those views, he was stoutly opposed. Thirty years ago, it seems from his statement of their sentiments, they hoped that the effect of abolishing the slave trade, would be an improvement in the condition of the slaves, and a consequent increase of the native slave population. But, supposing that to have been the case, in what way has this hope been realized? Instead of an increase of the population, the fact is, that there has been a progressive decrease; nor does his Lordship attempt to shew that the intensity and continuity of their labours, which were always the great sources of that decrease, have been diminished, or that women do not still bear an equal share with the men, in the exhausting labours of the field, under a tropical sun, and impelled by the lash of the driver. Even in Jamaica, where Lord Seaford's estates lie, and even if the new act of 1826 had not been disallowed, eleven hours and a half of such labour might, by law, be daily exacted from them, independently of a variety of other offices which cannot be dispensed with; and to all this, during five months of the year, the toil of half the night might still be superadded. And what other results could be expected from such a system than those which have actually followed from it, namely, a frightful waste of human life; and, in the women, almost an extinction of the very powers of procreation.* Accordingly, while population, in every other part of the world, is advancing; while the negro slaves in the United States, and the free negroes of Hayti; nay, while the free negroes and people of colour in our West Indian possessions, including the maroons of Jamaica, are doubling their numbers in periods of from twenty to thirty-five years, the colonial slaves of Great Britain are annually diminishing. Among the 330,000 slaves of Jamaica there is a positive waste of human life, as compared either with the free blacks of Hayti, or the negro slaves of the United States, amounting to little short of 10,000 human beings annually. And to what can we attribute this enormous waste of life, but to the system of oppression under which they groan?

We are perfectly ready to yield to Lord Seaford the fullest credit for an earnest desire to promote the comfort and well-being of his own slaves. And yet is it possible for us wholly to overlook the results of the colonial system, even as it is administered, under his directions, by

* It has been affirmed, and apparently on sufficient data, though we ourselves have had no opportunity of verifying them, that, in Mexico, the annual proportion of births to the whole population, is one in eighteen, or five and a half per cent.; while, in Jamaica, it is only one in forty-two, or two and a half per cent. Supposing this fact established, what stronger confirmation could be given of the curse which colonial slavery entails on its victims!

stipendiary agents, at a distance of some thousand miles from his own immediate inspection and effectual control? The following appear to be the returns of the slave population, on three estates belonging to his Lordship, between the month of March, 1820, and the month of March, 1824:

	March, 1820.	March, 1824.
Shettlewood . .	155	148
New Montpelier .	354	328
Old Montpelier .	416	399
	925	875

These returns exhibit a decrease, in four years, of fifty lives, or nearly five and a half per cent., being at the rate of a little more than one and a half per cent. per annum. If, during that period, his slaves had increased only in the proportion of the maroons, who reside in their immediate vicinity, that is to say, at the rate of two per cent. per annum, they would have grown to 1000. Instead of this they have decreased to 875, being a difference, in four years, of 125, or from a seventh to an eighth of the whole.*

We select this instance as exhibiting a view of the operation of the colonial system under its most favourable aspect. We cannot doubt for one moment that the slaves of Lord Seaford enjoy a rate of comfort not below, but above, the average rate. Will even his Lordship then deem us unreasonable, if, in the contemplation of such results, we can no longer indulge those day-dreams of improvement and ultimate freedom, wrought out by the humanity of the planters themselves, which, some thirty or forty years ago, may have floated in dim and distant vision before the minds of some abolitionists? They have long since vanished, and it is with deep regret, and bitter disappointment, we are forced to declare, that we have no hope to see any remedy, for the evils we deplore, proceeding voluntarily from those to whose agency Lord Seaford in 1828, as in 1797, would still persuade us to trust. For our own parts, we can now expect no such remedy, except from the direct interposition of Parliament, or from the more awful and uncontrollable interposition of the Divine power and providence.

The abolitionists therefore, we maintain, may have been justified, thirty or forty years ago, in looking forward to the extinction of slavery in the West Indies, by means similar to those which had put an end to villenage in England, namely, a progressive amelioration in the condition of the slaves, the unforced fruit of the masters' humanity, leading to a progressive and rapid increase in their numbers, until slavery should glide insensibly into freedom; and yet it might be perfectly inexcusable in them if they were now to indulge in any such expectation.

And here let it be carefully noted, that there are some grand and essential distinctions between the existing slavery of our Colonies and the ancient villenage of England. It would be endless to recount

* If there be any inaccuracy in these returns it will, of course, be capable of explanation. We can only take them as we find them.

them all. We will at present advert only to one. Villenage had no bounties or protecting duties to support it: it therefore fell before the competition of free labour. If then Lord Seaford really desires, as he says, the termination of colonial slavery, "by the same means which formerly put an end to it in England," he will assist in removing those bounties and protections which prevent that happy change from taking place in the West Indies, which they would have equally prevented in England had they existed there. If he duly considers the subject, he cannot fail to attain to a full conviction that while, by such means, the value of the slaves is artificially raised, and the destruction of their lives is largely paid for in the high prices of slave grown sugar, imposed by those bounties and protecting duties on the people of England, there will not, and there cannot, be any rapid increase of the population, and no hope can be rationally indulged of effectual improvement, and still less of an emancipation of which the masters will be the willing instruments or authors.

We think it unnecessary to make any general remarks on the hope, said to have been cherished by the abolitionists, of a termination to slavery by encouragement to be given by masters to individual manumissions, because the whole policy of the West Indians, from the commencement of this controversy to the present hour, has been to discourage manumissions, and indeed, in many cases, to obstruct, by fines and other expedients, the free exercise even of the master's benevolence. We shall here content ourselves for the present with referring again to Lord Seaford's own case. After examining with great care the returns, from Jamaica, of the manumissions effected there in six years, namely from 1821 to 1826, we find only one case recorded of voluntary manumission by his Lordship. It is the case of Catherine Dodd, (we believe) and her children; the concubine and mulatto offspring, it may be presumed, of one of his overseers. But this, though a voluntary, is by no means a gratuitous act of manumission, on the part of his Lordship; the price paid to him, for the mother and children, having been £700 currency or £500 sterling.

Having now noticed all that appears to be material in the first speech of Lord Seaford, we come now to the second, as it is reported to have been delivered by his Lordship on the 18th of last July.

1. His Lordship by no means agreed with Lord Calthorpe in believing, that there existed an indisposition (amounting almost it would seem according to him to a physical disqualification) in the inhabitants of the slave colonies, to concur in the views of Parliament and of the country for ameliorating the condition of the slaves. He was satisfied, on the contrary, that there existed a sincere desire among them to ameliorate that condition, which desire was only checked by a due regard to the public tranquillity, and the security of property. If any other obstacles had arisen from intemperate feelings, on the part of the inhabitants of the colonies, the cause was to be traced, he said, to the intemperate feelings, and to the unmeasured and indiscreet conduct, of the advocates of emancipation, in short, of what is called the Anti-Slavery party.

Our reply to this statement, the truth of which we wholly deny, will be found in the following facts.

In 1797, (we have already referred to this period,) Lord Seaford, then Mr. Ellis, moved an address to His Majesty, praying him to call on the different colonial legislatures, to adopt such measures as should "*appear to them best calculated to obviate the causes which have hitherto impeded the natural increase of the negroes, in order gradually to diminish the necessity of the slave trade, and ultimately to lead to its complete termination; and with a view to the same effects, to employ such means as might conduce to the moral and religious improvement of the negroes, and promote their happiness by securing to them, throughout all the British West India Islands, the certain, immediate, and active protection of the law.*" This motion was brought forward by the authority of the same West India Committee, of which we believe Lord Seaford is now, if he was not then, the Chairman. It was supported by all the West Indians at that time in Parliament; and the language employed by its advocates was throughout of the most conciliatory and even complimentary description towards the colonists. Still, however, it would appear that the West India Committee of that day so far distrusted the disposition of the colonies, that they thought it necessary to communicate confidentially with the different colonial authorities, in order to give them every possible assurance, that the true object of the motion was not what it might seem at first sight to be, (namely to terminate the slave trade, and really to improve the condition of the slaves,) but that it was actually designed to *prevent* the passing of an act of Parliament for the abolition of the slave trade, "an act," as they say in a formal resolution, which, "should it ever pass the British Parliament, would be fatal to the West Indies." To avert this dreadful issue, therefore, they further resolve, that "for the joint purpose of opposing the plan of Mr. Wilberforce, and establishing the character of the West India body, it is essential that they (the colonial legislatures) should manifest their willingness to promote actively the cause of humanity, by such steps as shall be consistent with safety to the property of individuals, and the general interests of the Colonies." The communication of these resolutions of the West India Committee, was accompanied by a circular letter from Sir William Young, the Secretary of that body, declaring it to be indispensable "*to take some steps* in the colonies, by legislative provisions, touching the situation of the negroes in respect to society, and to promote a natural increase of their population; and thus not only to *stop*, for the present, but to *supersede the very pretensions, at a future period, to a measure of direct abolition of the slave trade by the mother country;* a measure which would blast the root of all our settlements of property, change the foundation of every bequest, loan, and security; turn every mortgage into an annuity on the lives of the negroes; institute a general system of foreclosure; and, depreciating our estates, preclude all immediate resources, and ruin every interest."

Our object in bringing forward these facts, is not to expose the gross disingenuousness of the conduct pursued by the West India

party in the whole of this transaction; that being sufficiently effected by the bare detail of it; but to shew that though no pains were spared to conciliate the colonists, and to induce them to concur in taking "some steps" which should "manifest a willingness" to improve the condition of the slaves, yet nothing whatever was done by them to that effect; nor was any such thing even seriously contemplated by them, until, in 1823, the Anti-Slavery Society called upon parliament and the public to interfere. "Then," says Lord Seaford, "when this question was brought before parliament—in the very first instance—before the colonial governments had been tried, and therefore, before they had given any grounds for dissatisfaction or distrust," did the Anti-Slavery party call upon parliament to take the work of legislating for the colonies into its own hands.

We certainly feel some surprise, that Lord Seaford should have made such a statement as this. No cause for dissatisfaction or distrust! No trial made of the colonial governments! And yet, after nearly thirty years had elapsed from the period of the above motion of Lord Seaford, not one of his own suggestions, though backed by the earnest recommendations of His Majesty, had been adopted by the West Indian legislatures, but on the contrary, all of them had been treated with utter disregard. Their neglect of the royal and parliamentary propositions of that day is undisputed. No public provision whatever, for the religious instruction of the slaves, or for the institution of marriage, had, in 1823, been adopted. Missionaries, instead of having been encouraged, had been treated, in most of the colonies, and in none more than in Jamaica, with contempt and even persecution. No Sunday had been given to the slaves. Nor had one effective measure been taken to secure to them the due, certain, and active protection of law.

Fifteen years after this recommendation, (in 1811) what is the testimony of Sir William Young himself, the quondam Secretary of the West Indian Committee, in an official Report to the Secretary of State, when he had become the Governor of Tobago? It was this. "I think the slaves have, by law, no protection." "There appears to me a radical defect in the administration of justice throughout the West Indies, in whatever case the wrongs done to a slave are under consideration. Justice cannot, in truth, be administered, controlled, as it is, by a law of evidence which covers the most guilty European with impunity."—In 1817, what is the report from the West Indies of some of the clergy? It is this, "If the negroes come to church, they must starve, as Sunday is the only day they have to cultivate their gardens, and to go to market."—In 1823, what had been done to amend this state of things? We boldly challenge Lord Seaford to give an answer to this question. Even in Jamaica, if the slave law of 1788 is compared with that of 1816, (its latest edition,) it will be found that no improvement had taken place with respect either to the religious instruction and education of the slaves, or to their effectual protection by law. Lord Seaford himself had allowed twenty-six years to elapse without having taken a single step to promote the moral and religious improvement of his own slaves, by affording them the means of education; or by giving them Sunday as a day of rest and religious instruction; or by encouraging marriage; or by repressing immoralities; or by abolishing the driving system; or

by exempting women from the labour of the field, or from the punishment of the cart-whip. All, in short, remained in 1823, both in law and in fact, in precisely the same state, as to moral and religious improvement, and as to the effectual, legal, protection of the slave, which the very resolution proposed by Lord Seaford fully admitted to exist in 1797. The slaves were then in a state of pagan ignorance, and they were unprotected by law. In 1823, notwithstanding all the conciliatory propositions which had been made, had any thing effectual been done, by the colonial legislatures, to remedy that state of things? Effectively nothing.* The slaves were still left without any legal provision for their education or instruction, or any effectual protection by law. And yet Lord Seaford scruples not to affirm, that no trial had been made of the colonial legislatures, and that no ground had been given for dissatisfaction with their conduct, or distrust of their dispositions! Surely this is not quite fair on the part of his Lordship.

2. Lord Seaford then proceeds to accuse the abolitionists of having set out with a proposal, the effect of which was a direct violation of the property of all the owners of slaves, "It was proposed," he says, "to enact that all the children of slaves, born after some short period from the date of the enactment, should be declared free; by which act, the property of every owner of a slave would have been at once converted *from a property in fee to a life interest.*" "But was this attack of property accompanied," asks his Lordship, "with any offer of compensation? No. On the contrary, it was accompanied by a doctrine which struck at the root of all compensation. It was argued then, and it has since been many times asserted, that the title to such property was fundamentally vicious, that it was tainted in its origin by acts of violence and injustice,—and was inconsistent with the rights of man, which forbade that man should be the property of man."

His Lordship then, after endeavouring to shew the mischievous consequences to all kinds of property, if the possessors of it should be called upon to prove that their title was free from all taint of violence and injustice; and also the dangerous effect which such doctrine might have on the minds of the slaves,† proceeds to say, that "Whatever may be the justice of this principle, as between the slave and those

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* We reserve ourselves on the subject of religious instruction. In the mean time we would remark, that the Curates' Act of 1816 forms no valid objection to what is said above. It was not calculated for any purpose of good, and its chief effect was that of prostituting the holy sacrament of baptism, so as to throw dust in the eyes of the people of England, and to put some money into the pockets of the colonial clergy. Even in 1825, the Bishop says, that, in the parishes of the interior, there was actually no semblance of the forms of religious worship.—The only material change in the present slave code, as compared with that of 1788, was adding ten days for cultivating the slaves provision grounds to the number formerly allowed. By law, slaves were as unprotected as before.

† This is a stale argument for blinking the truth, and cloaking injustice and oppression. It was used still more vehemently in the slave trade debates of 1807.—It is vain to hope, that the slaves can be instructed in the doctrines of Christianity, even if they had not the feelings of men, without making them to comprehend the radical injustice of the bondage in which they are held. They may learn submission to the yoke. They never can learn to think it otherwise than an outrage on their own rights, as well as on humanity and religion.

who had originally imposed upon them the condition of slavery; it could not, with any sort of fairness, be applied to a question between the owners of the slaves in the colonies, and the government of the mother country, who, with a view to her own special interests, had established the state of slavery in her colonies, had given to her merchants the monopoly of the slave trade, and sanctioned the purchase of the slaves by the inhabitants of the colonies. As against the mother country, then, the title of the owners of the slave was complete and conclusive, in bar of any right on the part of the mother country, to annihilate or injure, in any degree, that property."

We are perfectly willing to admit, in the fullest and most explicit manner, the truth of that part of this charge which attributes to us the belief and avowal that the title to such property is fundamentally vicious,—tainted to the very core. Nay, we believe that the holding of such property, as it is held in the colonies, is a crime; an outrage on the spirit and the precepts of the Christian religion; a practice radically inhuman, unjust, and unconstitutional; a foul stain on the character of this country; and a source of guilt not to those only who directly participate in its polluted gains, but to all who, with their eyes open, continue to uphold or to palliate its enormities. This view of the subject we not only do not deny: we proclaim it aloud: we place it as the corner-stone of our association: it is the grand motive and stimulus to our exertions. Here we can admit no compromise of principle, in deference to any man or set of men. And we think ourselves borne out in this view of slavery, by the conduct of the legislature respecting the slave trade. For is it not in slavery that the slave trade has its origin? Is it not the market provided by the slave-holder which supplies the direct incentive to all the crimes of a trade in slaves? The slave trade is now constituted a crime of the deepest die. The slave trader is a felon and a pirate. And if the atrocities of the slave trade exceed those of slavery, yet surely the principle of both is identically the same; equally opposed to morality and religion; and equally indefensible on every plea of financial and commercial expediency. An act of parliament or a degree of latitude cannot annul a principle, or turn moral guilt into innocence. And who, we ask, is able to adjust, in nicely-balanced scales, the sum of practical misery which the slave trade and slavery respectively produce? The evils of the first are now well known and appreciated. Even the advocates of West India slavery admit they are no longer to be endured. After years of furious opposition and bitter obloquy against the earlier abolitionists, as now against those of this day, it has become the fashion with them, to repudiate the former object of their fond and affectionate attachment, the slave trade. But who that is disinterested, can condemn the slave trade, and yet contemplate the evils of slavery without kindred feelings of horror? "Can we think of a protracted and irremediable and perpetual bondage, living through the life of the slave, and renewed in his children and children's children to the latest generation;—of the constantly impending scourge and the interminable toil to which it urges; of the blows, the stocks, the contempt, the degradation, the hunger, the lassitude, the disease, the anguish of broken and bleeding hearts, to which the slave is liable;---can we think of all the nameless and scarcely

conceivable agonies which await those whose own destinies, and those of every endeared relation—wife, husband, child—are bound up in the will of another, from whose tyranny and caprice there is no protection in law;---can we think, in short, of all the demoralizing, and dehumanizing, and still more the anti-christianizing effects of such a system; and not be at some loss to discover any very cogent reason for exempting the slavery which exists in our colonies from a moral reprobation as severe as we pass on the slave trade itself, or for exhibiting the former as less an outrage than the latter on every principle of justice, humanity, and true religion?"

But Lord Seaford would infer, from our holding this view of the subject that we strike at the root of compensation, and thus attack those general and sacred rights of property which ought not ever to be violated. The inference is neither necessary nor obvious. We freely admit, however, that the nation are here parties, and are at least equally guilty with (or if the noble Lord will have it so, more guilty than) the planters; and it is for that very reason, and because we view the matter in this light, that we are disposed to proclaim its guilt so loudly. We are anxious not only that the planters should repent of their evil deeds, but that the Parliament and people of this country should do so too. And while we think that the Parliament and the people are equally bound with the West Indians to retrace their steps, and to make at length an ample though tardy reparation to the victims of their common crime, we think also that they are equally bound to sustain the cost of that reparation. Our view of the radical iniquity, the incurable injustice of colonial slavery, has no necessary tendency, therefore, to exclude, from equitable consideration, any claim which the slave-holders may have on Parliament and the country. That they may have such a claim we do not deny; but both parties we conceive would better mark their penitence by forthwith agreeing, first to abandon their crime, and then to settle the account of indemnities between themselves, than by railing either at each other, or at those who denounce the evil, yet profess their readiness to bear a part in the cost of bringing it to an early and effectual termination.

We perfectly concur with Lord Seaford, that the question is not a question between the planters and the slaves, but between the planters and the nation at large. And this very opinion he will find the Anti-Slavery Society promulgated within a few weeks of its first formation, and has since uniformly maintained. In "A Brief View" of the subject, published in April, 1823, and of which some scores of thousands of copies have been circulated, and many are still circulating, stand the following passages:

"It is by no means intended to attribute the existence and continuance of this most opprobrious system to our Colonies exclusively. On the contrary, the guilt and shame arising from it belong, in perhaps an equal degree, to the people and Parliament of this country. But on that very account are we the more rigidly bound to lose no time in investigating the state of colonial bondage, and in adopting such measures as shall bring it to the earliest termination, *compatible with the well-being of the parties who sustain its grievous yoke.*"

"It is our clear and indispensable duty completely to reform our

present colonial system, even if it should require a large pecuniary sacrifice to accomplish that object. The colonists say, they shall sustain a great actual loss by the proposed change. If so, they will have an opportunity of preferring and establishing their claim. But whatever the extent of that claim may be, it is obvious that it attaches, not to the negro bondsman, but to the British nation. It would be repugnant to every idea of equity, if we were to discharge any debt we may owe the colonists, not from our own resources, but with the toil and sweat and blood of our African brethren."

So far then, with respect to the general principle, Lord Seaford and ourselves seem to be in perfect agreement; and we conclude, therefore, that he would concur with us in indignantly reprobating the principle which, in substance, some West Indian advocates have not scrupled to put forward, and which we have already endeavoured to stigmatize as it deserves, (see Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 11, p. 170),—"That though it is admitted that the British nation and the colonists have been guilty of a great crime in enslaving the negroes, yet compensation is due, not from the criminals to each other, or to the victims of their crime, but is due from the negroes to their oppressors; and that in order to furnish this compensation to the criminals, the unoffending victims of their common crime may be retained for ages, if need be, in their present abject and degraded state."

But, says Lord Seaford, "It was proposed to enact that all the children of slaves should be declared free; by which act the property of every slave-owner would be converted from a property in fee, into a life interest.* But was this attack of property accompanied with any offer of compensation? No."—We are again not a little surprised at his Lordship's inaccuracy respecting facts of so recent a date, and the circumstance raises a strong presumption against the general clearness of his recollections. We are not now discussing the principle of compensation, or whether children should be made free with or without it: we are merely considering the truth of Lord Seaford's unhesitating affirmation that "it was proposed to enact" the liberty of all children of slaves to be hereafter born, and that too "unaccompanied with any offer of compensation." We ask him when and where?—On the 15th of May, 1823, Mr. Buxton certainly did, in the House of Commons, state it to be his intention to move, among various other measures, that all children of slaves should hereafter be born free, the planter having no just claim to them; but he added, "When I say that the planter has no claim against the slave, I do not say that he has no claim against the British nation. If slavery be an injustice, it is an injustice which has been licensed by British law. But whatever be the claim of the planter against the British Government, he can pretend to none to the person of a child born of negro parents." And at the close of the debate, in reply to Mr. Baring, who accused him of not having whispered a syllable about compensation, he said, "I appeal to the House whether there is justice in the charge. I clearly and explicitly declared my opinion

* See the identity of this proposition with his old argument in 1797, on the slave trade, (above, p. 298, near the bottom of the page).

that the question of compensation to the planter was one that merited attention. The crime is ours, and ours must be the expence of getting rid of it." Wherein then does Mr. Buxton differ from Lord Seaford? But this was not all. Mr. Buxton laid before His Majesty's Government, only a few days after this debate, a detailed plan, with a view to the emancipation, the due education, and the maintenance of the children who should be born hereafter. A prominent part of this plan was a large indemnity to the planters for the children so to be freed, an indemnity, in fact, which would have been far more than their actual value! Mr. Canning was understood, at the time, to have consulted Lord Seaford upon this plan, but his Lordship may have forgotten it. If he now wishes for it he may be furnished with a copy.

Mr. Canning having, however, signified his unwillingness to adopt this plan, another was proposed to him, which Lord Seaford may see in the Appendix to the Anti-Slavery Society's second Report, p. 168—179. Of this plan, which he will also find to have embraced the principle of ample compensation, both Mr. Canning and Lord Liverpool, on several occasions, expressed their approbation. Objections were raised to it, however, in another quarter, and those objections, we regret to say, ultimately prevailed. The substance of them will be found stated and answered at p. 179—187. The observations on the subject in the body of the second Report were to the following effect:

"If we look narrowly into the subject of compensation, we shall find it far from being attended with those formidable and apparently insuperable difficulties with which the exaggerated claims of the West Indians have invested it."—Mr. Barham's estimate of the annual net income of the West Indies, viz. £. 2,100,000 is then taken as the basis of calculation, and being valued at sixteen years purchase, is made to amount to £.33,000,000, which sum, it is shown, might be liquidated by a perpetual annuity, at three and a half per cent, of £.1,176,000, "a sum," it is added, "less than the nation is now made to pay" (this was in 1825) "to the West Indians, in consequence of the mode of regulating the drawback on sugar, independently of the protecting duties, and exclusive of all other charges civil or military. What we now pay, however, we pay to uphold and aggravate slavery. A less sum, if Mr. Barham is right in his estimate, would be sufficient to buy out the whole system. And even if this were thought too large a step to take at once, by less than a third of what we now pay," (viz. £450,000 annually) "we might redeem from their bondage the whole of the female population" (alluding to the plan in the Appendix) "and thus extinguish slavery in a single generation."

The reader is now in a capacity of judging whether Lord Seaford is correct in asserting that it was proposed to free the children without compensation.

3. Lord Seaford is further displeased, that the abolitionists should call so strongly and urgently for the interference of parliament with the colonial legislatures, and he labours hard to shew the inexpediency of that course. But we have already dwelt at so much length, and, as we conceive, so unanswerably, on this point, in our last Number, that it seems superfluous to recur to it. We can see no reason why the negroes

in Jamaica should not be as effectually protected from the oppressions, and exactions, and cruelties of the whites, by an act of parliament, as, in Demerara or Trinidad, by an order in council. Of this we feel confident, and that confidence is not a little increased by the tenor of Lord Seaford's speech, that without parliamentary interference, all hope of the fulfilment of the pledges of 1823 must be abandoned. The West India committee, with Lord Seaford at their head, choose to put it forth to the public, and require it to be believed on their word, and without a single attempt at proof, nay, in opposition to the most conclusive evidence—the returns on the table of parliament, and the whole tenor of the correspondence of the colonial secretary of state, with the colonial authorities,—that the spirit, though not the detail of almost every one of the recommendations of the Government has been adopted by every one of the legislatures. The hardihood of unsupported and unwarranted assertion can go no farther than this.*

4. But there remains a still heavier charge against the abolitionists. They have calumniated, his Lordship tells us, the character of the colonists. Acts of individual cruelty have been collected and detailed to inflame the public feeling. The general state of colonial morals and manners has been misrepresented, while the testimony in favour of the whites has been set aside; and thus has hostility been excited to all plans of reform among the colonists, who, he assures us, are the only instruments of reform. In short, the non-improvement of the condition of the slaves, and the prolongation of their bondage, is the work not of the planters, but of the abolitionists.—This is ludicrous enough; but it is not new. It has been one of the main weapons of colonial controversy from the year 1787 to the present day. Every thing alleged against cruelty, oppression, and injustice, in the case of the slave trade, was, with all the West Indians of that day, as of every succeeding day, just as it now is in the parliamentary report of Lord Seaford's speech;—calumny and falsehood, a vilifying and traducing of character. And so it ever will and must be. For in what terms, we ask, are we to tell the world of that dreadful state of law in Jamaica which enacts that "*In order to restrain arbitrary punishments*—such is the preamble in all the successive acts;—*In order to restrain arbitrary punishments*," every driver or *quasi* driver may inflict ten lashes, and every owner, attorney, guardian, executor, administrator, or overseer, may inflict thirty-nine lashes of the cart-whip on the bare body of any man, woman, or child, without being required, by law, to assign the slightest reason, or being liable, in law, to one question, for so doing;—in what terms, we ask again, are we to tell parliament and the country of this dreadful state of law in Jamaica, so as to avoid appearing, to the sensitive minds of Lord Seaford and his West Indian brethren, to be traducing and vilifying their characters? We do not say, because we do not know, that on every estate, every driver, or every overseer, is constantly exercising the power he possesses of lacerating the slaves under him; but we do say he has that power and

* See Slave Colonies of Great Britain; and Anti-Slavery Reporter, Nos. 11, 28, 29, 30, 31, 37, 38, &c.

may exercise it, and (seeing what human nature is) he doubtless often does exercise it; and we further say, that the planters of Jamaica have not only refused to protect the slave by law from such torture, but that their indignation—(we regret that Lord Seaford should, in any measure, have seemed to participate in the feeling) is directed against those who dare to denounce the cart-whip as an object of reprobation.

It were easy to take one law after another, and in the same way to shew what is, in truth, the calumny of which we have been guilty, and which has so strongly excited Lord Seaford's ire, not against the framers and favourers of such atrocious enactments, but against those who hold them forth in their true and proper colours. But we forbear.—If any one wishes to obtain a just view of West India society, or of West India manners and morals, let him take it, not from the pages of the abolitionists; but let him take it from any and every week's Jamaica Gazette; let him take it from writers who are themselves West Indians; from the returns furnished by the colonial authorities; from the successive reports and addresses of the Jamaica assembly from 1788 downwards to the present day; from the solemn, and deliberate, and recent enactments of the Jamaica and other colonial legislatures; and from the very apologies and defences they make of their system. It is utter folly and drivelling to imagine that any great fabric of crime, and oppression, like slavery, especially if it minister to the cupidity of multitudes, and is attended with the gratifying exercise of that power which is so dear to the corrupt heart of man, can be overthrown without a full and unsparing exposure. It has been our object to expose it in its true colours: we have done so, and shall continue to do so. But we absolutely repel the insinuation that we have calumniated individuals, much more calumniated slavery, if that were possible. All our pages are open to Lord Seaford. We challenge him to point out the passages in them on which he rests (we will not say, in the words of his Lordship, his *calumny*, but) his *charge* against us. We boldly and unequivocally deny its truth, and if he will condescend to make it more specific, we pledge ourselves not simply to deny, but to refute it. All the plausible ingenuity which he has so often employed to varnish over this bad system, if called again into full operation, will only serve, we feel persuaded, to make the triumph of the cause the nation has espoused, more complete; for it is the cause of truth, of humanity, and of justice; the cause of Him who has commanded us to love our neighbour as ourselves, and to do unto our fellow-men as we would they should do unto us; of Him who regards with the same benignity, and has redeemed with the same costly sacrifice, the black and the white, the bond and the free, the whip-galled slave, and the master whose sumptuous table and splendid equipage, and magnificent establishments and dignified station, are the fruit of that slave's misery and degradation.

Lord Seaford has strangely fancied that we have been anxious to press into our service every instance of cruelty which the criminal calendars of the colonies may furnish, in order to serve the purposes of inflammation against the persons and characters of the colonists. He has miserably miscalculated and underrated our object. It has been to illustrate the real nature of colonial bondage, and the total destitution of

legal protection enjoyed by the slave under the existing system, and not to excite odium against individuals, that particular instances of atrocity have been referred to:—it has been done to illustrate principles, not to inflame the passions. To take an example:

In the memorable report of the fiscal of Berbice, of the details of which Lord Seaford himself has spoken in proper terms of disgust and abhorrence, there occurs the following statement:

"Complaint of the woman Minkie, belonging to Thomas C. Jones. 'Mr. Jones took me out of the barracks on Tuesday. He sent me to Mr. Henery; he would not buy me. He sent me to another gentleman. Both said my master asked too much money for me, and sent me back. I begged for a pass to look for an owner. He said no, he would put me down, and cut my ——. I was then laid down, and tied to three stakes, and Chance flogged me with a cart-whip. I got a severe flogging. I have marks of severe punishment visible on me; old and recent floggings, all inflicted by Jones.' She exhibits her ———, which are covered with a plaster by order of the doctor, and apparently lacerated to that degree, that the Court judged it expedient not to uncover it. Mr. Jones being called upon, said he *had* flogged her, and also broken her mouth for her insolence. He had had thirty-nine laid on her, and they were *well* inflicted. When he sent for her he had no intention of flogging her, but, after sending her to three persons for sale and not succeeding, he told her she had often deserved a flogging. He then directed her to be flogged, and that it should be well laid on, which was done."—Berbice Fiscal's First Report, p. 14.

In the Fiscal's second Report, still more memorable, if possible, than the first, because it sometimes adds, to the atrocities of the simple details of the facts of some of the cases, their judicial results, we have the conclusion of this matter,---the legal issue of Minkie's complaint. The Fiscal had referred it, along with his minutes of evidence, to the judgment of the Court of Policy; and this is the account of their decision:

"His Honour, the President, and the Court, were highly indignant at the treatment of this female. No evidence, however, could be obtained to convict Mr. Jones of *having inflicted a severer punishment than that prescribed by law*, although the Court were fully satisfied that the unfortunate female slave had been flogged in a severe and *cruel* manner, and to her sufferings, by her master's own confession, was added the breaking of her mouth in a most brutal manner," p. 10. And what was the final proceeding of his Honour the President, and the Court? They directed Mr. Jones the master to take this wretched woman Minkie from the custody of the under-sheriff on payment of the fees. She was returned into the unlimited power, and placed at the absolute disposal, of this merciless tyrant, without the slightest guarantee against the renewal of the same barbarous treatment. Such is the tale as it stands on the Records of the Fiscal of Berbice.

We have no doubt that Lord Seaford is as much shocked with that tale as any member of the Anti-Slavery Committee. He is greatly mistaken, however, if he supposes that the reason for having produced it before the public was to excite horror against individuals. Who is Mr. Thomas C. Jones? Who cares for him? Or what is the value of his character? And as for all the other parties in the transaction, they appear

to have acted with feeling and propriety. What could *they* do more? The *law* acquitted Mr. Jones. In the view of the Berbice code, (and that of Jamaica is, in this respect, the same,) he had done nothing wrong. He had only exercised the power which that *merciful* and *considerate* law gives to every ruffian, not himself a slave, of inflicting thirty-nine lacerations of the cart-whip on the bare and quivering limbs of a wretched female; nay, we see him insolently bearding the Supreme Court of Justice in the colony, with his daring avowal of the deed, and his exultation in it; and demanding to have the wretched sufferer given up to him as his property; while the President and his associates have no alternative but to restore this poor helpless, unprotected female, to his blows and stripes, and ruffian violence. Nor is it merely the state of the law, as regulating the master's tremendous power, which is here illustrated, but the effect of that most cherished inheritance of the planters, from the touch of which they so sensitively shrink that it is like touching the apple of the eye, (a feeling in which even Lord Seaford sympathizes,) we mean *the* SACRED *right of property in their fellow-men*, in men made like themselves in the image of God, redeemed like them by the blood of Christ, and heirs like them of immortality.

We shall be probably told again, as we have been told before, to admire the lenity of the slave code of Jamaica, which is so anxious to restrain arbitrary punishments, that it permits no man to inflict, at his own discretion, more than thirty-nine lacerations of the cart-whip at a time; and we may be called, therefore, to express our thankfulness, as has of late been so emphatically done in the House of Lords, that Jamaica has done so much, rather than to complain that she has done so little. *We*, however, cannot concur with any noble Lord in that view of the subject. The Assembly of Barbadoes, and they are plain spoken men, deride the disingenuousness of affecting squeamishly to limit the number of the stripes, for, they tell us, it is far better to leave every man to give as many as he pleases, because such is the power of this instrument, that "in the hands of a relentless executioner, a given number of stripes may, under the sanction of the law, be so inflicted as to amount to an act of cruelty." Indeed, as is well known, even a few stripes may do so. And what says Mr. Barrett, one of the members of the Jamaica Assembly, himself a planter, of this instrument, which that Assembly maintains in its plenitude of operation, not only as a regular mode of arbitrarily punishing men and women for whatever an overseer, in his discretion, or caprice, or passion, or drunkenness, may deem to be an offence; but as the stimulus, the quickener of the labour in the field, both of men and women? He calls it "the fellow of the rack and the thumbscrew"—and he affirms, "that thirty-nine lashes of this horrid instrument can be made more grievous than five hundred lashes with a cat."

But the sheet is full, and we must lay down the cart-whip which Lord Seaford has compelled us to take up in our own defence, reserving the counsel we had meant to give him, for another occasion.

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The "Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter" will be ready for delivery on the first day of every month. Copies will be forwarded at the request of any Anti-Slavery Society, at the rate of four shillings per hundred, when not exceeding half a sheet, and in proportion, when it exceeds that quantity. All persons wishing to receive a regular supply are requested to make application to the Secretary, at the Society's office, No. 18, Aldermanbury, and mention the conveyance by which they may be most conveniently sent. Single Copies may be had of all booksellers and newsmen, at the rate of 1*d.* per half-sheet of eight pages, or 2*d.* per sheet of sixteen pages.

STATE OF RELIGION AMONG THE SLAVES IN THE WEST INDIES; REPORT OF SOCIETY FOR THE CONVERSION, INSTRUCTION, AND EDUCATION OF NEGRO SLAVES—BERMUDIAN SLAVES—EAST INDIA SLAVERY.

Pursuant to the intention expressed in a former number, we shall now proceed to make some observations on a recently published Report on the state of religion among the slaves in our colonies. These observations may be found to apply, although in degrees very greatly varying, to more than one society, professing to be employed in instructing and educating the slaves. They will refer, however, more directly and immediately to a Society, entitled "The Incorporated Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction and Education of the Negro Slaves in the British West India Islands," whose Report for 1827, forming a volume of 240 pages, has lately reached us. This Report particularly claims attention, as the Society from which it proceeds has obtained the special patronage of the West India Bishops and Clergy, and of many distinguished Planters, and professes to extend its Christian efforts over the whole range of our West India possessions, thus taking the lead in the great work of evangelizing the slave population.

This Society was first incorporated in 1795, under the management of trustees, at the head of whom was placed the late Bishop Porteus, who had succeeded in obtaining, by a suit in Chancery, the appropriation to this, its original purpose, of a large bequest of that eminent Christian philosopher the Honourable Robert Boyle. In the year 1823, its form was materially changed, and its operations enlarged; and donations and annual subscriptions were solicited from the public at home and abroad, in order to promote more effectually the spiritual interests of the slave population, which had just then become the object of revived and intense interest. To give new vigour and activity to its operations, a Board of Governors was appointed, consisting not only of the former Trustees, but of several distinguished Prelates and Statesmen, and among them the two West Indian Bishops, to whom were

joined about sixteen of the Metropolitan Clergy, (some of them dignitaries of the Church,) the Lord Mayor and the two senior Aldermen of the city of London, and five or six of the most eminent of the West India body, namely, Lord Seaford, Sir H. W. Martin, Bart., Mr. Manning, Mr. Pallmer, Mr. Hibbert, Mr. Mathison, Major Moody, and Mr. Colquhoun.

Soon after the Society had assumed its present form, (in 1823,) it published a brief report, which was intended " to shew the promise rather than the produce of its labours." This report we perused at the time with considerable satisfaction. We were particularly gratified with perceiving that the Governors did not shrink from including in their promise the hope of recovering for the slaves the enjoyment of a Christian sabbath. Their first report records, with apparent approbation, the suggestions of four West Indian clergymen on this important point. The Reverend Mr. Davis, of Nevis, contemplates the regulation of the Lord's day, and the allowing of some other time than Sunday for markets, as " a step *essential* to the progress of Christianity in the colonies," and conceives, that when once " wholesome laws are enacted on this head, and *carried into effect*, it will only need the active exertions of the clergy to secure, under the Divine blessing, a very considerable share of success." The Reverend Mr. Gilbert, of Antigua, himself the owner of an estate cultivated by slaves, declares that, if " *Sunday markets were abolished*, and *marriage sanctioned and encouraged*, he sees no reason why the slave population of Antigua should not become as moral, intelligent, and industrious as the free people of England." The Reverend Mr. Jefferson, of Vere, in Jamaica, expresses his hope that an alteration in the Sunday markets might take place, whence " the *best possible results* might be expected;" and the Reverend Mr. Stainsby, of the same Island, looks forward, with the utmost solicitude, to a law " for *giving* (to the slaves) *one day in the week throughout the year besides Sunday, and for abolishing that bane of colonial improvement, Sunday markets.*"

The hope on the subject of the Sunday which was excited in our minds, by the apparently cordial concurrence of the Society's first Report in these just views of its correspondents, was further strengthened by the insertion of the following resolution, which had been adopted at a meeting, held in the Court Hall of Basseterre, St. Christopher's, in October, 1823, for the purpose of forming a Society auxiliary to this. " Resolved, That the *first*, and *most material* point for effecting *any* change in the moral and religious instruction of the slaves, is *the abolition of the Sunday markets*, and *the dispensing, in every possible way, with all manner of work on that day.*"

If, however, we were gratified in discovering, in the Society's *first* communications to the public, such indications of its sense of the essential importance of securing a Sabbath to the slaves, our mortification has been proportionably increased on finding, in the years which have followed these hopeful notices, not even the slightest allusion of its own to the subject. Its subsequent reports maintain upon it, as far as its own opinions are concerned, the silence of death. How is this to be explained? Our solution of it is this. When the Governors of the

Society first came before the public, it was prior to their having had any specific information of the extraordinary state of feeling which pervades the West Indies, on the subject of Sunday labour and Sunday marketing, though, by one of their own correspondents, who well knew the case, it was said, " It is my opinion, this point will stand unredressed longer than any by the planters; and there is nothing by which they are so much offended as by an appeal to their conscience on this point." In this ignorance as to the real feeling of the colonists, when Mr. Canning declared, in Parliament, that it was the intention of his Majesty's Government to abolish Sunday markets, and Sunday labour, and to give to the slaves other time in lieu of Sunday, the Governor of the Society took it for granted that a proposition so reasonable, and to which the West India body in this country had signified their assent, was not likely to meet with any serious opposition abroad, and would, as a matter of course, be generally adopted. Acting on that expectation, they did not hesitate to give to the public the different extracts cited above. But, before another year had rolled round, the Society, or at least some of its members, had, very probably, discovered that the colonial legislatures, and the colonists at large, were determined neither to abolish Sunday markets, nor to afford to the slaves adequate time, in lieu of Sunday, for cultivating their provision grounds. From that moment, at least from a time coincident with this discovery, all allusion to the desecration of the Sabbath, which did not slip in incidentally, disappeared from the reports of the Society, and the reader, therefore, who has not had access to know the state of things in the West Indies, might easily and naturally infer, from the language and tone of its later reports, and especially of that for 1827, that Sunday is observed as in this country, and is a day, not of marketing and labour, as it really is, but a day of repose and religious observance.

This we cannot but regard as a failure in the Society's high obligations, and as involving a violation of their pledge to the public, although from any such intention we do most entirely acquit the great majority of those who ostensibly manage its affairs. It is for them, however, to probe the matter to the bottom, and to explain the causes why the reports of such a Society should seem studiously to shun to expose the fact that the slaves generally, and the agricultural slaves in particular, are deprived, by the existing colonial institutions, of the benefits of a Christian Sabbath; and why they should not distinctly have pointed out and denounced this evil as being, in truth, the grand impediment, in a professedly Christian land, to the success of the special objects of the Society, " the *conversion* and *religious instruction* and *education* of the negro slaves;" an impediment too, which, if it be not removed, must render abortive the Society's best efforts to introduce and extend among those slaves the light and influence of Divine truth.

The facts of the case must be well known to several of the Governors of the Society, as well as to the Bishops of Jamaica and Barbadoes; and, we believe, it has been pressed on their attention by several of the colonial Clergy, who have given it as their clear opinion that little can be done in converting, instructing, and educating the slave population, so long as Sunday, instead of being set apart for repose and religious

purposes, may not only be legally employed by the slaves in going to market and in cultivating their provision grounds, but must, of necessity, while things remain as they are, be so employed.

Now we hold, in common with the resolutionists of St. Cristophers, and in common, we believe, with all who have a real regard for religion, that of all the measures that can be adopted with a view to christianizing the slaves, no single measure is more indispensable, (it is "the first and the most material," and that without which every other must prove comparatively unavailing) than to grant them equivalent time, in lieu of Sunday, for those secular objects of marketing and providing for their sustenance, by which, in Jamaica and in most of the colonies, Sunday has always been and is now occupied.

Let us make the case our own. Let us suppose Sunday to be, throughout this country, as it is in Jamaica, the *universal* market day, and, for the great mass of our population, the *only* market day. And let us further suppose that the whole of our labourers, men and women, nay, the very children too from six years old and upwards, were compelled by the dread or actual infliction of the lash, to labour, without wages, for the sole profit of a few privileged individuals, during 285 days of the year, from five in the morning till seven at night; and many of them, for about 130 of those days, for half the night besides; and that, with the exception of half a herring or at most a whole herring a day, given them by their masters, their sole means of procuring food for their sustenance was by employing the remaining 78 days of the year, being the 52 Sundays and 26 week days besides, in raising, on the waste, the corn, or potatoes, or oats, or beans, which they should either require for their own consumption, or which, on the Sunday, they should carry on foot to the market held only on that day in the distant town, to be exchanged for other necessaries or comforts. And then, having made these suppositions, let us ask ourselves what hope we could possibly indulge of seeing the people so employed become a moral and Christian people? And if a Society were to undertake the task of *converting*, *instructing*, and *educating* this people, should we not deem it that Society's first duty, especially if its members had power and influence, to represent, to the professedly Christian government under which they lived, the unchristian nature of such a system? If, however, instead of doing this, it should employ no effort to put an end to such an abomination, but should silently, and without a single remonstrance, acquiesce in the universal desecration of the Sabbath, what should we think of the aptitude of such a Society for the great and good work it had undertaken? Let us only imagine to ourselves Sunday after Sunday, without interruption, passed, by the whole of the labouring classes of this country, either in the journey to and from the market town, and in the din and bustle and dissipation of the market itself; or in the painful effort, after six days of uncompensated toil, of raising food to avert the famine of themselves and their families; and though we might say, as in the colonial case, that the labours of Bishops, and of Clergymen, and of Societies for conversion, instruction, and education, with their missionaries and catechists, were only the more needed on this account, yet, could we

suppose, that all of these should go on for years, omitting to point out this grand impediment to their own efficiency, and not making one vigorous effort for its removal?

When this momentous subject has been pressed on the consciences of colonial Clergymen, their reply has been, "We have nothing to do with the temporal or political condition of the slaves; we meddle not, therefore, with the question of the Sabbath." But is it not to lose sight of all sound principle, to confound that question with merely *secular* objects? We admit, indeed, that the *temporal* interests of the slaves, as of our own labouring classes, are deeply involved in it; but is it not mainly and properly a *spiritual* question? Nay, does it not lie at the very root of *spiritual* improvement? Is it less of a spiritual object to obtain for the slaves the holy rest of the Sabbath, with all its attendant blessings, than to send forth catechists to teach them to learn, by rote, the creed, the Lord's prayer, and the ten commandments? Is it, in a *spiritual* point of view, a matter of indifference whether the slave shall have a breathing time of repose, and be free to turn his feet to the house of God on the Sabbath; or shall be forced, on pain of starving, to drag, on that day, his wearied limbs to his distant provision grounds, there to provide food for himself and his family during the week; or shall have to pant under his load to the still more distant market town, there to mingle in the confusion and tumult and debauchery of, what Mr. Bickell justly designates a Pandemonium—a West India Sunday market? To apply to this evil the term *temporal*, as distinguished from *spiritual*, seems to us a most extraordinary perversion of language. It is not a question of the cart-whip, or of the slave's legal rights of property, or of his right of giving evidence, or of his general destitution of civil privileges. It is a question which comes within the peculiar province of ministers of the Gospel in a Christian land, and lies at the very root of their usefulness in that capacity. What a mockery, on any other supposition, is the daily solemn recitation, at the altar, of the fourth commandment, followed by the earnest supplication of ministers and people, "Lord have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep this law?"

We certainly do not well know how to excuse Conversion Societies, or Bishops, or Clergymen, or Missionaries, in their apparent oblivion of the duty of vindicating the sacredness of the Sabbath, and the *right* of the people, in countries avowedly Christian, to its blessings. We do not expect them to become partizans of the Anti-Slavery cause. But we do expect them to fulfil their solemn engagements, to discharge their duties as in the sight of God, and to vindicate the *right* of the negro to the Sabbath, of which he is iniquitously deprived. And putting the *slaves* out of the question, we would ask, what have they done to awaken the *free*, the *masters*, to a sense of their share in this crying sin? Will they say that the habitual violation of the Sabbath is not a crime, or that the fourth commandment is no longer a part of the Decalogue, or that the Bible does not abound with awful denunciations on this subject? At least the members and ministers of the Church of England cannot take such ground. Was it not always, and is it not now, their solemn and imperious duty, as intrusted with

the care of the souls of both black and white, to lift up their voice as a trumpet against this iniquity? Their past omission of the duty will be but a very inadequate reason for continuing to neglect it. As well might St. Paul have found, in the inconsistency of his previous conduct, a valid argument for declining to preach the faith he had once laboured to destroy. If Societies, or if the Clergy of the West Indies, have hitherto neglected this important part of their duty; if they have suffered whole generations to perish in ignorance, for want of a Sabbath; if they have seen that day cruelly wrested, and still withheld from them without apparently a single effort on their part, either from the pulpit or the press, to arrest an evil so destructive of men's best interests; if in short, they have hitherto silently contemplated the almost entire *extinction of the Sabbath* in countries calling themselves Christian; this, so far from being a good reason for continuing to do so, sounds to them so much the louder call to retrace their steps, and to repair, if that be possible, the multiplied evils of past supineness. And indeed if they will not at length claim, for these wretched outcasts of humanity, the Sabbath to which they are entitled by the laws both of God and man, but of which they are forcibly and unjustly deprived by men pretending to be Christians, their labours, if not wholly fruitless, can at least extend to no more than a petty fraction of the slave population. And it cannot but one day become a subject of awful consideration, that they should have gone on witnessing the universal and outrageous violation of the Sabbath, and never have opened their lips in the pulpit to vindicate the honour of God and the sanctity of his day; never have borne their clear and unequivocal testimony against its public and recognised desecration; and should have permitted generations of masters to pass into their graves, without addressing to them one solemn warning as to their guilt, though these masters were not only living in the daring violation of the Sabbath themselves, but pertinaciously and systematically withholding its blessings from whole generations of their dependents.

Such then is our first complaint against the Society for the Conversion, Instruction, and Education of the negroes, and against such of its members as are cognizant of the actual position of things in the West Indies. We are very far, however, from attributing any adequate knowledge of it to many most highly respectable names, who are enrolled in the list of the Governors, and who, we are persuaded, will feel indebted to us for having directed their attention to the subject, and opened their eyes to the real state of this most opprobrious case. And let it be carefully noted, that though we have applied our observations more directly to one Society, yet we hope that every other Society, whether Episcopalian or Presbyterian, Moravian or Methodist, Baptist or Pædobaptist; and every Bishop; and every minister of Christ; and every missionary, will make the application for themselves, and consider well what they will have to plead at the last, if through their neglect, supineness and indifference, the poor negro slave continues to be shut out from the inestimable benefits of a Christian Sabbath.*

* We know that there are men who pretend to deny, that in those colonies where the slaves are fed from provision grounds cultivated by themselves, as in

The second head of complaint we have against this Society, is the ignorance in which the public are kept as to the precise nature of the

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Jamaica, Grenada, St. Vincent's, Trinidad, Tobago, Dominica, &c. Sunday labour is compulsory on the slaves. They have had the boldness to affirm, that Sunday is, in fact, a day of repose for the slaves, as respects the necessity of labouring in their grounds on that day, the time allowed them by law, exclusive of Sunday, being, as is alleged, amply sufficient for that purpose. Among others a Mr. Barclay, of Jamaica, and a Mr. Green, formerly of the same island, but now of Suffolk, have ventured dauntlessly to advocate that position, and have thus, as we shall shew, completely discredited their testimony as witnesses in this controversy. Lest the hardihood of their assertions, however, should impose upon some, it may be worth while, once for all, to lay this question at rest.

Before the slave trade controversy commenced, no time, excepting Sunday, was, by any law, allowed the slaves in the English colonies for cultivating their provision grounds, even where their whole subsistence, (a few herrings or a little salt fish excepted,) proceeded from this source. If there were any such law, let it be produced. But, indeed, our view of the case is fully established by the testimony of all the West Indian authorities, as recorded in the proceedings of the Privy Council, on an inquiry begun in 1787, and concluded in 1789. It thence appears, that though it was alleged to have been a frequent practice to give the slaves, out of crop, besides Sundays, an occasional day or half-day for their grounds, yet there was no law in any colony requiring it. To give or withhold it was wholly a matter of option. No day besides Sunday was given them, by law, for their own sustentation, and that of their families. In 1788, for the first time, was any law adopted in Jamaica itself on this subject—and the act of that year states, (whether true or false, is not the question), that though it had been customary to allow slaves one day in every fortnight, exclusive of Sundays, out of crop, to cultivate their grounds, yet *this indulgence not being compulsory*, it was enacted, "That the slaves, over and above the holidays of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, shall be allowed one day in every fortnight to cultivate their own provision grounds, exclusive of Sundays, except during the time of crop." Now it will not be denied, that at the period in question the slaves were compelled to work on the Sundays on pain of starving; for though, prior to 1788, fifty-two Sundays in the year were allowed them for their grounds, yet the insufficiency of the time was such, that when the mother country began to look into the matter, it was thought necessary to enlarge it; and about fifteen or sixteen days were therefore added, by law, to the fifty-two Sundays already allowed them for that purpose. It is no where said in this or any subsequent act, nor was it alleged at the time, that those days were given for the purpose of securing to slaves the repose of the Sabbath. It was given them, exclusive of Sundays, expressly for cultivating their provision grounds. The reason of this enactment might be partly a conviction of its necessity, on account of the decreasing fertility of the soil—a curse which always follows slave cultivation. But this consideration, if it operated, was doubtless quickened in its effect, by being combined with the dread of the inquiry which had been commenced in England. However that may be, about this time Jamaica, and a few other islands, passed laws allowing to their slaves from fourteen to sixteen days in the year. for their grounds, besides Sundays. This number has since been increased in Jamaica to twenty-six; while in Trinidad, Grenada, and some other islands there has been no increase, and in some no time at all is yet given by law. This increase in Jamaica may be supposed to proceed from the greater liberality of its planters; but, in truth, it arises from dire necessity. The slaves must be fed, though ever so scantily, in order to live. In Trinidad and Grenada, where the soil is far more fertile than in Jamaica, sixty-eight days labour in the year, which is the utmost the slaves are there allowed, including Sundays, and which we shall shew is barely sufficient for their sustenance, will nevertheless do more to that end than seventy-eight days in Jamaica, where the soil is greatly inferior to that of the other two islands. The argument, however, of Mr. Barclay and his coadjutor is, that seventy-eight days are quite unnecessary; that twenty-six days are amply sufficient, and that the other fifty-two

Education which it is employed in imparting to the Negroes, so far as it imparts to them any education at all. When in this country we

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days, (the Sundays,) with the exception, indeed, of Sunday marketing, are days of repose and relaxation. This assertion, however, is not only untrue, but absolutely absurd. If twenty-six working days in the year, during which alone the negroes labour for themselves, without the compelling power of the cart-whip behind them, can raise produce equal to the food of the entire year, the remaining two hundred and eighty-five days, during which they labour exclusively for their masters' benefit, would, of course, be capable of producing, at least, eleven times that quantity of produce. But is it the fact that in the West Indies the labourer yields to his master eleven times the value of the produce which he consumes? And even when the fifty-two Sundays are added to the twenty-six week days, it will still be perfectly clear that even this increased number of days must, in the nature of things, be barely adequate to the sustentation of the labourer. In the Spanish and Portuguese colonies this is so strongly felt, that, inclusive of the Sunday, at least one hundred and thirty days in the year are allowed to the slave who raises his own food for that purpose.

We have, however, a still more decisive proof of our position in our own islands. In Barbadoes the slaves are chiefly fed, not by provisions raised on separate allotments, but by provisions raised in common, on the working days, on the master's account, and under the same impulse by which sugar or cotton is raised. Now, the masters in Barbadoes concur with the authorities of the island in declaring that it requires one third of the labour of the year to raise the food necessary for this purpose, being one hundred and three days in all. (See Papers presented by command for 1827, part 1, p. 286; see also Reporter, No. 15, p. 261.) But this is four times as much as the twenty-six working days allowed to the slaves in Jamaica; besides which, it is admitted, that in Barbadoes the slaves do add to their means of subsistence, by appropriating Sunday to the culture of their little gardens, for they have no regular grounds. Even when the Sundays are added, the Jamaica slave has, for his subsistence, only seventy-eight days' labour in the year, while the Barbadoes slave has thus, according to Barbadian testimony, the labour of a hundred and fifty-five days. Now it is doubtless in part owing to this circumstance, that notwithstanding the extreme harshness of the laws of Barbadoes, the slaves increase there, while they decrease in Jamaica; for whatever be the difference in the quality of their soils, it cannot possibly be so great as to account for the vast disproportion of time required for the sustenance of the labourer in the two cases. Certainly Jamaica does not exceed Barbadoes in fertility half so much as Grenada and Trinidad exceed Jamaica—and yet, as we shall see, in the latter islands, sixteen days, in addition to fifty-two Sundays, are absolutely necessary to keep the slaves from starving. The proportion of sugar grown in Barbadoes is $3\frac{3}{5}$ cwt. to a slave; in Jamaica it is $4\frac{1}{6}$ cwt; in Grenada it is $8\frac{1}{10}$; and in Trinidad $11\frac{6}{10}$. It cannot therefore be that a hundred and three week days, besides Sundays, should be required to raise the food of the slave in Barbadoes, and that twenty-six week days (Sunday, as is asserted, being wholly unoccupied by labour,) should be sufficient in Jamaica. Neither can it be that twenty-six week days should be sufficient for the slave's sustentation in Jamaica, without his being forced to add to them the labour of Sunday; while in Grenada and Trinidad sixteen week days are declared to be wholly insufficient unless the fifty-two Sundays are added to the number.

But though this reasoning seems perfectly conclusive, yet we will not leave the matter to rest even on such undeniable inferences. We will therefore adduce some corroborative testimony.

Though in Trinidad time equal to sixteen days in the year is allowed to the slave for cultivating his provision grounds, yet we learn from the official statements of the planters themselves, by a committee of their body, that, previous to the order in council of March, 1824, they had been in the habit of compelling the slaves to cultivate their grounds on the Sunday; and we learn also from Sir Ralph Woodford's official communications, that as a day in lieu of Sunday

speak of *educating* the lower orders, we may attach various meanings to the expression. The most ordinary comprehends reading, writing,

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had not been given to the slaves, he had found it impracticable to carry into effect that part of the order which forbade Sunday labour; and which, in point of fact, had not been executed, the slaves continuing to work regularly in their grounds on Sunday as before.* They must have done so or starved. In Grenada, about sixteen week days were also allowed to the slave by law, yet in the year 1817, when that law was in full force, we have the Rev. Mr. Nash, a clergyman of that island, distinctly telling us, that when he remonstrated with the slaves for not coming to church, their reply to him was, that if they came to church they must starve. "The plea," says Mr. Nash, "is so reasonable, that I cannot oppose it, but I heartily wish their masters would deprive them of it by allowing them one day in each week to labour for themselves."

The language quoted above (p. 310) from the *first* report of the Society, whose *last* report we are now considering, is also decisive. But this is not all—in the report now before us, the framers of it, with all their caution, have let out a very curious and important fact. It occurs in the letter of a clergyman of St. Vincent's, (p. 32.) "There is reason to believe," says this clergyman, "that the congregation of slaves will increase in number; and particularly *when the obligation to cultivate their lands on the Sabbath day ceases.* On *one* or *two* estates this obligation does not exist, one day in the week throughout the year being allowed them." This single sentence thus incidentally introduced establishes irrefragably every word we have ever asserted on this subject.

But let us come to Jamaica itself.—In addition to what we have already said respecting this island, we will not dwell on the testimony of the Rev. Richard Bickell, though it is quite decisive; nor on that of the Rev. Mr. Cooper, which is no less so; because *they* will be held to be partizans of the Anti-Slavery cause. And yet can any circumstance more strongly prove the point, than that Mr. Hibbert, and his agent, Mr. Oates, when desirous of affording Mr. Cooper an opportunity of preaching to Mr. Hibbert's negroes, should feel that they could not, in justice, require the negroes to attend him on Sunday, but set apart an afternoon in the week for the purpose. Why not on Sunday, if on Sunday they were disengaged from labour?—Neither will we dwell on the unexceptionable testimony of the Wesleyan Methodists, as forced from them by Mr. Marryat's unwarrantable attack in 1816, when the Rev. Richard Watson, in his admirable defence of their missions, was under the necessity of citing, from their private communications, such facts as these, "Sunday is chiefly spent by the field negroes in working their own grounds, *which is the source whence they derive their food*, or in bringing what little produce they may have to market; for Sunday is the grand public market day throughout the West Indies."—Again, on the Sabbath, "a driver, with an overseer, accompanies the slaves to the negro grounds, given to them in lieu of allowance from their masters. Here they spend the blessed Sabbath, toiling all day. This is their rest." (Watson's Defence of Methodist Missions, published by Blanshard, p. 59, 60.) We will not, as we have said, dwell on these testimonies, strong and decisive as they are, but refer to authorities wholly and properly West Indian.

Our first shall be Dr. Williamson's, who resided for fourteen years in Jamaica, a part of that time on Lord Harewood's estate in St. Thomas in the Vale. This gentleman was most vehemently opposed to the views and projects of the abolitionists, and a strenuous advocate for the continuance of slavery; and yet his work, published in 1817, abounds in statements respecting the desecration of the Sabbath, which, he tells us over and over again, is a day of marketing and *labour* for the slaves, and of excess and brutal debauchery for the Whites. He returned to Jamaica in 1823, on the medical staff of the Island: in a letter of his now before us, written in the following year, and only a few months before his death, and which exhibits the same opposition as before to the views of the abolitionists, he fully confirms his former testimony respecting the

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* See papers for 1827, part ii, p. 254, and 258.

and some acquaintance with the first four rules of arithmetic. No one ever uses the term in its very lowest sense without including such a knowledge of letters as enables pupils to read the Bible with facility. The *Education* of the Society whose report we are now considering does not, except in a few cases, rise even to this first step in the ladder of learning. We do not mean to say that the Society of itself excludes

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desecration of the Sabbath, as equally applicable to the period at which he wrote.

Our next witness shall be Mr. Stewart, a gentleman who quitted Jamaica in 1821, after residing there above twenty years. He is no friend to the Anti-Slavery cause; but takes the part of the colonists against its supporters. He is apologizing for the alleged inattention of the Jamaica clergy to the religious instruction of the slaves; and "the truth," he says, "is, that however willing they may be to perform their duty, very few of the slaves have it in their power to attend church. *They are either in attendance on their owners, or their time is occupied in a necessary attention to their own affairs; for Sunday is not a day of rest or relaxation to the plantation slave: he must work on that day or starve.*" (Stewart's View of the Past and Present State of Jamaica, p. 157.) Yet from 1816, the slaves had had twenty-six week days in the year allowed them, and they have no more now.

A still more important witness, if possible, is a gentleman of the same name, member for Trelawney, and Father of the House of Assembly, the Hon. James Stewart. In a speech which he made to his constituents in May, 1826, and which is recorded in the Gazette of Jamaica of the 3rd of June 1826, we find the following passage:—"In respect to the instruction of the negroes in the principles of religion, it is not sufficient to build extra chapels for their accommodation. It is also absolutely necessary, *if we are sincere in our desire to improve their moral condition, that Sunday markets should be abolished altogether, and another day in the week be allowed the negro for the cultivation of his land, and the sale of his provisions.*" Mr. Stewart is himself a planter.

In the very same newspaper which contained this speech, there appeared a communication from a correspondent, seconding the recommendations of Mr. Stewart to abolish Sunday markets, and to give to the slaves a day instead of Sunday. "The negroes," he adds, "would feel this a great boon, and a few years would produce a great improvement in their moral character."

We will adduce one more witness on this head, and that is, the gentlemen of the West Indian Committee in London, who, in 1823, were so convinced of the truth we are now endeavouring to establish, that they fully assented to the necessity of putting an end to marketing and labour on the Sunday, and of giving equivalent time to the slaves on other days for those purposes. Would they have done so had they not known that the desecration of the Sabbath to such purposes was undeniable? And yet these gentlemen, some of them Governors or Members of the Society for the Conversion, Instruction, and Education of the Negro Slaves, have allowed more than five years to pass without an effort to apply a remedy to the admitted evil, nay, almost hiding its very existence. Their own slaves, and the slaves of many other distinguished Members of both Houses of Parliament, and of many others not in Parliament, who profess a high regard for the spiritual interests of their dependents,—are still left without a Sabbath; are still left, after a week of forced labour in the cane piece, to toil, throughout the whole of that blessed day, in raising food for themselves and their families, or in carrying the produce so raised to market. What possible excuse can be given, by these planters, to God, and to their country, and to their own consciences, for the continuance of this enormous evil?

After this detail we leave the public to judge of the confidence which may be placed in such writers, on the side of slavery, countenanced and boasted of by many of the West Indian party, as Mr. Barclay and Mr. Green.

We must increase the size of this note by a single additional observation drawn from us by seeing the West India practice respecting Sunday defended

letters from its plan of education, but it acquiesces in their exclusion, not only without remonstrance but with an appearance of complacency and satisfaction, and at least without a single murmur. Nay, it is only by means of incidental notices, and not from distinct and direct statements, that we are enabled to collect the fact, that the art of reading is generally excluded. The common reader of these Reports therefore whose jealousy may not have been awakened by circumstances, or whose opportunities of information from other sources may be small, would not be led to suspect that, notwithstanding all the multiplied details respecting education which the Report before us contains, and notwithstanding all the busy bustling activity of catechists and teachers of which it gives an account, the knowledge of letters is the subject of almost universal exclusion from the Society's efforts to promote education among the slaves. We do not mean to say that the Society is answerable for those inveterate prejudices of the planters which confine its teachers to oral instruction; or for that lust of gain which leads them to refuse to spare even the youngest children from their unceasing toil, in order to learn to read the word of God. But we think the Society ought to tell us precisely how the case stands; what are the hindrances to its success; what measures also it has adopted to introduce a better state of things; and how those measures have been hitherto defeated. It seems extraordinary that a Society for the *conversion*, *instruction*, and *education* of a whole community, should have made no palpable efforts to have them taught reading, that grand medium of effective and permanent instruction. Its funds appear to be employed almost entirely in sending catechists to such plantations as will receive them, for an hour or two in every week, or fortnight, or three weeks, or month, to teach a few children on each to repeat the creed, the Lord's prayer, and the ten commandments, and among the rest, as in mockery, the *fourth*. And if we allow that even this is better than nothing, yet let its actual amount be understood and appreciated. Let us at least be plainly told the whole truth. We shall then see the real magnitude of the obstacles which slavery presents to the temporal and spiritual interests of its wretched thralls.

A third point of defect observable in this Report and in all the Reports we have seen of Societies engaged in teaching the negroes, is a want of precision and distinctness, or what appears almost like a purposed obscurity, in communicating to the public the real nature and amount of their labours. We ought to have clear tabular statements, shewing the *number* of pupils who are taught; the particular *days* and *hours of the day* they are engaged in being taught; the *things* they are

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by the laxity of its observance on the Continent, and in the purlieus of London and other great towns; and by the Sunday posting and travelling which prevail among us. We wish neither to deny nor to palliate these evils. And yet there is surely a wide difference between the two cases. We may admit it to be impossible to compel men to sanctify the sabbath, without admitting it to be right to compel them to employ it in labour. We may question whether it be in the power of human legislation to restrain its voluntary profanations, and yet absolutely deny the propriety of making starvation the penalty inflicted on the West Indian slave who shall rest from his labours on that day and keep it holy.

taught; their progress in the art of *reading*, *writing*, &c.; or whether the teaching is strictly and *exclusively oral*. We ought also to be told distinctly how many of the scholars under these several heads are *free*, and how many *slaves*. At present the whole are for the most part confounded together without discrimination, so that when fifty or a hundred children are said to attend a school, for any thing that appears, they may be all slaves, or they may be all free. The impression on the minds of uninformed persons would generally be that they were all slaves. The probability is where reading is taught, if the contrary be not *clearly stated*, that they are all free.—Why all this particularity, it may be asked? Is it not equally important to teach the free as the slaves? Without doubt we would have them all taught. But the professed, the special object of this Society, as well as the more prominent object of other Societies, and the special ground on which they solicit and obtain subscriptions, are the Conversion, Instruction, and Education of the Negro *Slaves*, who, unlike the free, have no access to other means of being taught than such as may thus be opened to them. The *free* may send their children to school every day and all day long. If schools are not erected for them, it is in a great measure their own fault: they have the means of instituting them; and in Jamaica and various other colonies, with the aid of the Baptists and Methodists, they have already done much. If they are actually solicitous for education, they can obtain it. Not so in the case of slaves. In respect to them the matter *wholly* depends on the will of the master or his delegate. Although therefore it is as important that the free should be taught as that the slaves should be taught, yet it is of still higher moment that we should take special care, that under vague and general terms, which apply alike to slave and free, we are not led to suppose that the slaves are taught, when in truth they are not taught. The nation's money has been given, and the Society's money has been subscribed, for this special object. We ought to know that both are duly applied to that object. A striking instance of the injurious effect of this vagueness occurs at the very outset of the present Report, where we are told of associations formed in the different islands for the *same* objects as those of the Society, so that "there is not at the present moment" it is said "an island in the West India colonies without its regular school in full operation." p. 9. Now when we come to look carefully into particulars, we find that the Associations spoken of, and which are enumerated in the Report, are *all*, not for the benefit or instruction of *slaves*, but for the benefit of the *free exclusively*, and what is more, they are chiefly supported by the free people of colour themselves.

On the absence of all legal sanction to marriage, and of all legal protection to connubial rights, as respects the slaves in Jamaica and the other colonies we have already said so much, that we need not now enlarge upon it. We advert to it merely for the purpose of saying that this sad evil, tainting to the very core the moral condition of the slaves, is overlooked by the Society, just as it has overlooked the universal desecration of the sabbath. Marriages are talked of indeed, but nothing is said of their utter nullity in point of law. (See No. 19, p. 265.)

The last complaint we mean to prefer against this Society, is its

permitting the framers of its Reports to make them subserve the purposes of a party. They contrive, for example, by means of a foot-note at p. 3, to inform the public, that "a bill for the improvement of the slave population has been passed in St. Kitt's: the Sunday market is limited." Now really, if the Society deems it a temporal object, inconsistent with its spiritual functions, to contend for giving a Christian Sabbath to the slaves, they ought not at least to do what they can to impede that object, by representing it as in any degree already effected, when it is in no degree effected. By the law of St. Kitt's,* which the Report designates as an improvement, Sunday markets, instead of being abolished, are continued and legalized; and neither by that or by any other law of St. Kitt's, is any time, no not an hour in the week, given to the slave for marketing or for labouring for himself, besides Sunday. In St. Kitt's, the legislature, instead of recognising the sacredness of the Sabbath, has legalized its desecration. And this is the Act which this Society exhibits as an *improvement*. Even Mr. Huskisson, less sensitive, it may be assumed, on this point, than the conductors of a religious institution, cannot approve of the manner in which the law of St. Kitt's regulates Sunday markets and Sunday labour; and even his extenuatory remarks are less applicable to St. Kitt's than to any other island in the West Indies. (No. 38, p. 273.)

Again the Report takes occasion to inform the public that Sunday markets are abolished in Barbadoes; but it omits to tell them that no time is given to the slave in lieu of Sunday. It informs them too, that slave evidence is in certain cases admitted, and a protectorate for the slaves constituted by law;† but it wholly overlooks the fact that Mr. Huskisson, in his letter of the 18th of October, 1827, distinctly states that both regulations are almost worthless; the qualifications of the law of evidence being such as "greatly to impair its value;" and it being "*impossible* to regard the establishment," of a protectorate under the present law "as an effectual substitute for the office of protector of slaves," recommended by Lord Bathurst. Let these specimens suffice to shew the ground of this last head of complaint.

We have been detained so long by these general observations, that we have little space left for the details of the Report. It has for its motto, an extract from a letter of the Bishop of Barbadoes, which, in a somewhat different sense from his Lordship, we have endeavoured in the preceding pages to reduce to practice. "Could the public throughout the mother country be once put in possession" says the Bishop, "of what is really doing, and an earnest appeal be made to their religious feelings, I cannot think that means would be wanting to enable the Society not only to support, but to extend still further, and with such alterations as circumstances may require, the present system of religious instruction." We believe, on the contrary, that if the case were understood, means would not be wanting radically to reform the whole of that system.—The Bishop of Jamaica indeed goes farther, and speaks of his conviction of its *efficacy;* and his mere authority may have weight with some. But we venture to think, that both he and the Bishop of

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* See No. 38, p. 273. † No. 28, p. 88, 89.

Barbadoes would have done more for their own efficiency and for that of this and every other similar Society, by the single measure of obtaining a Christian Sabbath for the slaves, than by all they have done, or can do besides; or by all the sums they have raised, or may yet raise, for their catechists.

But let us come to particulars,—and first as to the Diocese of JAMAICA. In Jamaica are twenty-one parishes, which the Report estimates to contain about 15,000 Whites, 30,000 free Blacks and People of Colour, and upwards of 326,000 Slaves—in all 371,000 souls. The number of places of worship amounts in all, (including Churches, Chapels, and Licensed Houses connected with the Church of England) to thirty-eight, capable of accommodating 15,400 persons, or a twenty-seventh part of the population. In most of these places there is only one *service*, in several of them two services, and in two or three, three services a-week; but in not a few of them there is no sermon, except occasionally. In many cases the attendance appears to be very small.

With respect to *education*, such as is given to the slaves (and to them we confine our view) appears to consist almost exclusively of oral instruction, and is confined either to the catechising after service of such as choose to present themselves for that purpose, or to the visits of the catechists to those estates the owners of which are willing to admit them. The whole number of such estates appears to be about 120, nearly half of which are situated in a single parish, St. Thomas in the East. The catechetical instruction there given, consists almost exclusively in teaching those who attend in church, or the children on the estates, to repeat the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, and sometimes the Catechism of the Church; and even this measure of instruction is limited at most, to a single hour or two in the week, and in many cases to the same time once in a fortnight, or three weeks, or even a month.

Having thus mentioned the circumstances which apply generally to the whole Island, we shall proceed to notice what there is peculiar in the account given of the different parishes.

1. In *St. Catharine's*, (in which Spanish town, the capital, is situated) 193 adults and 192 children, chiefly domestics, out of 7,500, are catechised during ten hours of the week, forty or fifty attending at a time. "Their instruction is altogether oral."

2. In *St. Dorothy's* there are *no* schools. After the single weekly service performed in the church, the rector is ready to catechise such slaves as offer themselves, but it is not said that any do offer themselves. The rector thinks that "*one school at least is necessary*" in this parish, containing upwards of 4,000 slaves. This is only ridiculous; but when he adds, that improvement is making greater and more rapid strides every day among the slaves, and that their superstitions decline daily; this must be mere romance. It is reaping without culture—the result without the means. How can the Society give currency to such crude statements!

3. In *St. John's*, containing 6,300 slaves, the only place of worship holds 100 persons; and after its one weekly service, twenty children are catechised, whether free or slaves does not appear.

4. In *Clarendon*, containing 18,000 slaves, there is church-room for only 218 hearers. The catechists give oral instruction occaiionally to 925 adults and 215 children, but neither in this parish nor St. John's, is there any school of any kind for the Slaves.*

5. In *St. Thomas in the Vale*, containing 12,000 slaves, very few slave children appear to be even catechised. It is mentioned as a peculiar *indulgence* on ONE estate, that during crop, "a portion" it is not said what portion, "of the Saturday afternoon is allowed the slaves *to visit their provision grounds*, that there may be no excuse for absence from service on the following day."—There

* Mr. Pallmer the member for Surrey, and one of the governors of this Society, has an estate in each of the three parishes last mentioned, on which there are about 500 slaves. But we cannot discover, notwithstanding the memorable account he gave on the hustings at Guildford of the astonishing effects produced among them by christian instruction, that any such instruction is even now imparted to them. We have looked in vain for any traces even of catechetical labours among them, in this report, sufficiently prone as it is to magnify the good which the Society has effected.

would otherwise then be an excuse for not attending chapel on Sunday. Truth is mighty, and we see how this incidental expression demolishes whole hosts of hardy and groundless assertions, as to the repose enjoyed on Sunday by the slaves of Jamaica.—And with all this meagreness of instruction, the rector tells us that "a decided moral and religious change" has taken place among the negroes since he has been there! This is miraculous!

The most extraordinary circumstance in this Report is, that the Society should have chosen to give publicity to an evidently false and fabricated statement, proceeding from the rector of this parish, which, both for his sake and that of the Society, ought to have been suppressed. It appears to be pointed at the Baptists or Methodists, and reminds us of the tales circulated in the first ages respecting the early Christians. "It is stated," says the rector, "*on unquestionable authority*, that secret meetings take place in parts of this parish, at which are black and brown preachers, both free and slave, of the greatest ignorance, and of the lowest description. Money is exacted; penance and fasts enjoined." "The usual practice is to assemble at night once or twice a week." "In the altered countenances and emaciated appearance of the deluded creatures who attend these nocturnal meetings, *there is ample proof* of the injury sustained by their health, as also by their habits of fasting, exposure to the night air, and loss of rest. The evil arising from total abstinence from any food, during the day, or a longer period, is further increased by their afterwards eating such a quantity of victuals, as has in some cases, caused almost immediate death, and always brings on an unhealthy state of body. There are farther evils which have a most pernicious effect upon health and morals prevalent among the females,* who through fear or disgrace consequent upon a public expulsion from the religious society which they have joined, are induced to take measures to prevent their frailties being discovered."—Disgrace! frailties!—The hoax is somewhat too broad and palpable even for Great Britain.—And yet, with all this pretence to minute accuracy, to "unquestionable authority," to "ample proof," we are further told—"It is difficult to ascertain the real persuasion of those who attend. They denominate themselves Baptists, although the ministers in town disclaim all connexion whatever with them, or even *any knowledge of them.*" "*As they disperse immediately on the approach of a white person, it is not easy to speak with accuracy of their proceedings.* It is stated, however, that they baptize, *marry*, and administer the Sacrament; but, there is reason to believe, that many of their doctrines are grossly repugnant to the spirit of Christianity"—Certainly repugnant to it as practised generally in Jamaica, if marriage be a part of their religion.—Now, we ask, is it possible that a rector can have written such a statement as this; that a Bishop can have gravely transmitted it across the Atlantic; and that a Society, governed by such high and respectable names, can have deemed it right to publish it to the world, in a detail of their efforts to convert, instruct, and educate the 330,000 slaves of Jamaica?—Alas! alas!

6. In *St. Mary's*, containing 26,200 slaves, there are no schools for slaves either on Sundays or week days. The curate catechises candidates for baptism and marriage on a Sunday, and gives a lecture, and reads prayers to those who choose to attend. It is not said that any do attend. For two hours, once a week, he teaches about forty-five slave children, on *two* estates, Hopewell and Cromwell, to repeat the Lord's Prayer and Creed. It is then added, as an instance, we presume, of extraordinary liberality on the part of the owners of these two estates.—"The time," namely, the two hours a week, "is, in both instances, taken from the master." That is to say, it is not taken from the Sunday, nor from the interval of two hours at noon tide allowed the slaves on other days for relaxation. The proprietors of St. Mary's, it is said, "do not object to their slaves being taught to read." It does not appear, however, that one slave is taught to read in that parish.

7. In *St. Anne's*, containing 24,000 slaves, all we hear of the labours of the rector, the well-known Mr. Bridges, besides his single service in the week, is his having given notice, that he means, on the morning of each Wednesday and

* We marvel greatly what *peculiar* and *secret* evils can prevail among these female devotees, to distinguish their case from the *open* and *universal* dissoluteness of manners prevailing around them.

Saturday, to instruct the slaves for baptism. A chapel in his parish, he tells us, holds eighty whites, and one hundred negroes. This singular appropriation brings into view the general prevalence of that scrupulous and systematic separation of the spaces allotted to different classes, in West India churches, so as to prevent the parts allotted to the whites being contaminated by the negro touch.

8. In *Vere*, containing 7,500 slaves, the rector, after his one weekly service, is said to be ready to catechise, but we are not told that any come to be catechised. On an estate of Sir H. Fitzherbert, thirty children receive *oral* instruction. On another estate, belonging to Mr. Wildman a catechist resides to instruct the slaves. It is not said what they are taught, but the Bishop expresses himself much pleased with their progress.

9. In *Manchester*, some slaves, we are not told how many of its 16,000, receive *oral* instruction. A few children learn to read, but whether they are free or slaves does not appear.

10. In *Port Royal*, of 7000 slaves, about twenty children are catechized.

11. In *St. David's*, there are no schools of any kind. The slaves are 7700, and the church holds 150.

12. In *St. Thomas's in the East*, there is church room for 1,500, the slaves being 24,500. On five estates the children enjoy the peculiar privilege of being taught to read, and on forty-five other estates the children are catechized, so that 3060 slaves receive more or less of religious instruction. And, on the whole, through the zeal of its rector, Mr. Trew, this parish has exhibited far more of effort and of success in the instruction of the slaves than any other in the island.

13. In *Portland*, from thirty to sixty slaves, out of 7,500, are catechized at church, after its single weekly service. Eight estates are visited occasionally by a catechist.

14. In *St. George's*, containing 13,000 slaves, the children of ten estates are occasionally visited for catechetical instruction.

15. In *St. Andrew's*, a few slaves are catechised after service on Sunday, and 300 out of 14,500 on the estates to which they belong.

16. In *Kingston*, a school has recently been established by the Bishop, which is attended by 100 slaves out of 15,500, but nothing specific is said of the nature or extent of the instruction given them. In this city the free people of colour have done much to educate themselves, and the Presbyterians, Methodists, and Baptists, are said to have been active in the work of instruction.

17. In *St. Elizabeth's*, containing 19,500 slaves, there is church room for 3200 persons. A curate occasionally catechises the children on ten or twelve estates. Another curate is preparing 378 slaves for baptism, and hopes "*to have several made Christians by the end of the year.*"

18. In *Trelawny*, containing 26,500 slaves, two hours in the week are given to catechising the children on the estates of Mr. Minto. After service, (there being room for 550 persons) those who present themselves are catechised.

19. In *St. James's* containing 24,000 slaves, 100 adults and twenty or thirty children, (whether free or slaves, is not said) attend in church for catechetical instruction. A chaplain of the Society resides on Lord Seaford's estates, who allows him £100 a year and a house. He preaches there to a congregation of 150, and thence as from a centre visits and catechises once a week the children on sixteen estates.

20. In *Hanover*, containing 22,500 slaves, there is said to be a Sunday school at a chapel, but nothing is told us of its nature or numbers.

21. In *Westmorland* there is said to be a Sunday school for slaves, but without stating by how many it is attended. On two estates 116 children, and at the chapels 100 to 150 adults are catechised. Something is said of Sunday traffic having been stopped at Savannah la Mar, the chief town. It is also said, that a great and visible improvement has taken place among the people of colour, who have become more religious and more industrious, while, through *their* improved morals and industry, the general prosperity of the parish has also increased.

The main features of the Report from the Diocese of BARBADOES, including the Windward and Leeward islands and Guiana, do not differ materially from

those of the Jamaica Report. The white and free coloured population appears to amount to about 80,000, the slaves to 356,000. The church room for this mass of 436,000 human beings falls short of 17,000. The instruction given is, with rare exceptions, exclusively of the oral and catechetical kind.—The recitation of the Lord's prayer, the creed, the ten commandments, and the catechism seems to comprehend the whole.

Something is said in speaking of *Barbadoes* itself, in praise of the system now pursued with the too long neglected bondsmen of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. We will not now enter on that opprobrious case, trusting that a beneficial effect may have been produced by the salutary exposure of more than a century of irreparable supineness which has been made by the Rev. John Riland, with equal boldness, judgment and truth.* We shall rejoice to find that things have really improved.—In the Parish of St. Michael, where Bridgetown, the capital stands, 454 slaves, out of nearly 18,000, are said to be educated, but nothing is said of the kind of education they receive, or of the time given to it.—The Rector of St. George's talks largely of the good done and doing, yet we find that with a population of 8,500, he cannot fill a church which holds but 300. He is only *looking forward* to such an enlargement of his congregation as may eventually fill it.—In St. Lucy's, the parish of the persecuted Mr. Hart, the children of three estates belonging to Mr Goodrich are taught to read. There is only one other estate in the island, on which we can trace the existence of the same mode of instruction. Oral instruction indeed extends to many estates, to the extent of an hour occasionally, once a week, or fortnight, or month; but how many are taught even in this unprofitable manner does not appear. In the same parish of St. Lucy, and in that alone, we hear of the gratifying sight of some "adults"—slaves, we presume—who having found means *from their own resources* to have themselves taught to read, appear at church with their prayer books, and join in the service.—In St. James's, it is said that £500 a year is expended on *the poor*. This might be supposed to refer to *the slaves*. Not so: there are returns before parliament which show that all the money expended on *the poor*, is expended not on *blacks*, but on *whites* exclusively.

In *Antigua*, much had been done to instruct the slaves long before the appointment of a Bishop, although on a plan certainly very defective, yet we believe superior to that which now generally prevails. Since that plan has superseded the former, things appear to us to have retrograded. The Bishop's new rules have led to the removal of some experienced and pious teachers, and filled their places with persons not very fit to be religious instructors. Happily the Moravians and Methodists have large and flourishing establishments in this island, so that the evil of the new measures has to a certain degree been counteracted. But even in this favoured island, we hear but of two instances of slaves being taught to read, and we have no clear information of the nature and extent of the education given to the slaves; and this obscurity too much pervades the Reports of other Societies as well as of this. Still great good is evidently doing in Antigua.

In *St. Christopher's*, the work of education appears remarkably backward. One clergyman complains of the general unwillingness of the planters to admit upon their estates even the catechists, harmless as they are rendered either for good or evil. By another, Proprietors are urged, if they cannot spare all the slave children from work, they would at least allow *some* to attend, who, after a time, may impart to others what they acquire. (p. 186.) Even in Antigua, we hear of children, (p. 103.) whom their teachers, in order to instruct at all, must instruct at night.

In *Dominica*, it is not stated that any thing in the way of instruction has been effected. And yet, we all remember the loud boasts made there, in 1824, of religious progress, and the indignation with which the charge of neglecting to instruct their slaves was repelled.

In *St. Vincent's*, it is just possible that thirty-six children may be taught

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* See a pamphlet, published by Hatchard, entitled "Two Letters, &c. relative to the slave cultured estates of the Society for the propagation of the Gospel, by the Rev. John Riland, M. A."

their letters. In *Grenada*, it is still more doubtful whether a single slave be so taught. In *Trinidad*, we do not find that any thing has yet been attempted in the way of educating *slaves*. In *Demerara*, the only traces of such education we discover, are in about fifty slaves living near le Resouvenir, the former residence of the murdered Missionary Smith, who are doubtless the fruits of his labours, and who appear in Church with their prayer books; and in a school formed by the Church Missionary Society, under the Rev. Mr. Strong.

We have alluded to the restrictive regulations of the Bishop. One of them is that Catechists, before being licensed, shall subscribe a declaration that they shall not preach nor *interpret*, but only teach and read what the Minister shall direct. Now this rule seems to nullify the very end of a West India catechist's appointment. He is not to *interpret* to the slaves what he reads. If the catechists are not wholly unfit for their office, surely they ought at least to be allowed to *interpret* what they read, to pupils who probably do not know the meaning of a single sentence of what they are made to commit to memory. They are thus, it would seem, debarred from satisfying curiosity, or solving difficulties; and if asked the meaning of the words *thy kingdom come*, they must refer the inquirer to the Rector's next visit. This is going beyond even the Church of Rome.—Nor is all that is prescribed to be read by the catechists quite unexceptionable. What shall we say to such words as these inserted in a prayer which the Bishop directs to be used, every morning, on plantations, "Thou, O God, didst, in our baptism, pour thy Holy Spirit into our hearts, and receive us into the number of thy children by adoption and grace." Are all plantation slaves then baptized? Or if they are, is it decent to apply such terms to them universally? Supposing them to be applied to the 9000, whom a few years ago the Rev. Mr. Bridges baptized at half a crown a head, while Rector of Manchester; or to the 25,000 baptized in the course of a few months, in St. Mary's, by another Jamaica Rector;—should we not say that it was little better than a profanation of the most sublime truths of Christianity?

BERMUDA SLAVES.

About the middle of September last, two vessels arrived at Belfast, from Bermuda, navigated by eleven negroes of that Island, who were slaves. Their circumstances led to some inquiry before the magistrates of Belfast, during which it was explained to them that they were under no obligation to return to Bermuda, if they preferred to remain in England. Eight of them declared it to be their wish to return to their families and friends. Three preferred the alternative of remaining in England, saying they wished to be free. The Belfast Newspaper adds the following statement.—

"The men spoke English very well, and conversed familiarly with different gentlemen in the Court room. They said, that in Bermuda their employment was not very laborious; they did some work on the Sabbath days, but not much. They usually attended a Protestant place of worship; there were not any Roman Catholics in Bermuda. They said they were usually hired out by their masters, who got two-thirds of their earnings, and they got the other third. Before they came away they knew they might be free here. They appeared to be content and happy, and made no complaint against either their masters or captains. When they spoke of returning to their families and friends, their looks indicated the finest emotions and susceptibilities of affection. They all left the Court House together, and returned to their ships, except the three young men before mentioned, who had claimed their freedom.

"Let not the advocates of slavery hope from this fact to shelter their system from the odium which it deserves; for be it remembered, that in Bermuda, slavery exists in a form comparatively mild, and that even in this case, the poor men were prevented from claiming their freedom, solely by the power of friendship and the influence of domestic attachments—principles which, it is well known, would lead human nature to endure persecution itself, rather than

be torn from a class of loved objects.—However sensible the men might be of the great benefit offered to them individually, in the change from slavery to freedom; it was clear that that benefit was only to be obtained by breaking every tie of natural affection and duty to their wives and children, whom they had left behind in Bermuda. Rather than remain here as freemen, they chose to partake of affliction with those they loved, like the lawgiver of the Jews, rather than, by deserting them, to escape from slavery. After this, are we to be told that the negroes have not those sentiments of natural affection, that should restrain those who hold them in bondage, from separating the members of a family from each other?"

But, in point of fact, slavery in the Bermudas bears no resemblance whatever in its characteristic features to the slavery of our sugar colonies. The Bermudas produce no sugar, nor will their soil pay for cultivation under the stimulus of the whip. Their occupations are almost wholly either domestic, or mechanic, or connected with fishing and navigation; and none of these occupations admit of the driving system, nor of those exactions of labour by night, as well as by day, which wear down the strength, and shorten the lives of the slaves in our sugar colonies. The condition of the slaves is, of course, materially raised above the brutish level to which the impulse of the lash necessarily reduces the human team. The stimulating motive to labour is necessarily changed, in some degree, from that of an escape from mere bodily pain to those higher inducements which act upon free and intelligent minds. Even the third of their earnings is, of itself, a powerful incitement to industry and good conduct. What a change would it make in the condition of the Jamaica slave if not only the nature of his employment exempted him from the physical excitement of the driving-whip, and he were delivered from the night labour of crop; but if a third part of his time were regularly given up to him, so that, besides the Sundays, he should have two days in the week to himself, or 104 days in the year, wherein to labour for his own benefit, instead of the twenty-six days, which are all he has, besides Sundays, at present?

The Bermudian slaves are, moreover, all natives of the islands where their progenitors have lived for at least two or three generations. As compared with the lot that may follow his expatriation, the slave of Bermuda is, probably, wise in preferring his present condition. Supposing him to escape to the United States, he would be immediately taken up and sold as a slave. The same fate would await him in all the colonies of the West Indies. He cannot even embark on board a ship of any nation, as a seaman, without incurring the risk, should he touch at any port where slavery prevails, of being seized, on the ground of his complexion alone, and sold again into a far worse bondage than that from which he had escaped. Let it be considered what might be his condition even in England, independently of climate. How much would the Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese refugees be content to have borne in their own country, and what dangers of oppression, imprisonment, and even death would they not have encountered, could they have foreseen the variety of actual evils they have sustained in exile. The Bermudian slave who should exile himself, besides being liable to the same evils, if ever, either by choice or by accident, he should return to his native Island, would be liable to death as a runaway. He could never hope again to see the face of a relation however endeared to him. He could only attempt to revisit the

place of his birth, and the abode of his family, at the imminent hazard, nay, with the almost certain prospect of being hanged as a deserter. We therefore are surprised, not that eight out of eleven should make their election to return to Bermuda, but that even one of the eleven should be tempted to expatriate himself for ever, for the sake of freedom, with all the risks and disadvantages with which that freedom must, under existing circumstances, almost necessarily be attended, in the case of a person of African descent.

EAST INDIA SLAVERY.

A volume of about 1,000 folio pages has recently been printed by order of the House of Commons, containing all the information which the Company's records furnish on the subject of slavery in India. We shall take an early opportunity of examining and analysing the contents of this massy volume, and faithfully communicating to the public the result of that analysis. In the mean time our readers may be assured that the general account already given of East India Slavery, in a letter to Mr. Whitmore, published by the Anti-Slavery Society, is completely borne out by the authentic and valuable documents now laid before the public. In some parts of the British dominions in India, which are situated on or near the Malabar coast, and in some of the newly conquered districts, slavery is found. Throughout the whole of the Bengal provinces, predial slavery is extinct; but slavery still exists among domestics and Nautch girls, in cases where courts of justice have not been called to interfere. The decisions of the courts of justice in these provinces are uniformly on the side of freedom, and in opposition to the exercise of the master's power.

The great object of those who have been busy in garbling these documents, is to prove that East India sugar is not grown by free but by slave labour. Now we affirm, and we undertake in due time to prove, that from no part of the Eastern hemisphere is any sugar imported into this country, except from the Mauritius, which is grown by the labour of slaves.

But in whatever degree, and to whatever extent slavery exists in the East Indies, we feel equally anxious to see it extinguished there, as in the West Indies. There is this grand difference, however, between the two cases. In the East all the authorities are on our side, and are quite as eager to extinguish every trace of slavery as we are. They seem to anticipate every suggestion, and to have a uniform, wakeful, and intense desire to prevent or to suppress the evil.—In the West Indies, on the other hand, the authorities are systematically opposed to every effort of the kind; and no means of influence, combination, misrepresentation, and delusion, are left untried for preserving, in their unmitigated harshness, all the most revolting and disgusting features of the system.

This, and all other publications of the Society, may be had at their office, 18, *Aldermanbury; or at Messrs. Hatchards,* 187, *Piccadilly, and Arch's, Cornhill, They may also be procured, through any bookseller, or at the depots of the Anti-Slavery Society throughout the kingdom.*

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The "Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter" will be ready for delivery on the first day of every month. Copies will be forwarded at the request of any Anti-Slavery Society, at the rate of four shillings per hundred, when not exceeding half a sheet, and in proportion, when it exceeds that quantity. All persons wishing to receive a regular supply are requested to make application to the Secretary, at the Society's office, No. 18, Aldermanbury, and mention the conveyance by which they may be most conveniently sent. Single Copies may be had of all booksellers and newsmen, at the rate of 1*d.* per half-sheet of eight pages, or 2*d.* per sheet of sixteen pages.

CORRECTION OF ERRORS IN No. 40 AND IN No. 41.—LETTER OF A CORRESPONDENT ON THE VIEWS OF COMPENSATION GIVEN IN A FORMER NUMBER.—SLAVE LAWS OF THE MAURITIUS AND SIR ROBERT FARQUHAR.—JAMAICA OPPRESSION.

1.—Correction of Errors in Nos. 40 and 41.

We omitted in our last No. to point out a material typographical error, which occurred at p. 296 of No. 40, where, at the thirteenth line, the decrease on Lord Seaford's estates is stated to be "a little more than 1½ per cent." It ought to have been "a little more than 1¼ per cent."

When we said in our last No., p. 328, that there had been laid on the table of the House of Commons a volume, containing *all* the information which the East India Company's records furnished on the subject of slavery in India, we had not adverted to the circumstance, that neither the Bombay records nor those of Sumatra and St. Helena had yet been produced. We may expect that these will be added in the course of the ensuing session.

Letter of a Correspondent on Compensation.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter.

With all the deference I feel to your judgment, I yet cannot bring myself to acquiesce entirely in the views of the compensation due to the colonists for the emancipation of their slaves, which you have given in your 40th Number at pp. 301—304. I am ready to allow, that if loss be sustained by the removal of existing evils, it should be shared among those who either actually inflict them, or who have authorised their infliction, or who have derived advantage from their support and continuance; and from the burthen which this principle imposes, I do not wish to exonerate the community at large in the case before us. But I contend, and, as I think, undeniably, that the levy on each party should be in proportion to their respective shares of guilt and advantage. And hence I am led to deduce the inference, that the mother country, though far from guiltless, will be found liable to a much less proportion than the colonists seem disposed to throw upon her. They indeed would throw upon her the whole, nay, and far more than the whole.

Neither your limits nor my own leisure will allow me, at this time, to go fully into every branch of the argument; but I request of you to in-

sert the following queries and observations as heads on which I may perhaps reason further at no distant period.

If Christianity be "part and parcel" of the law of England, would not any law directly contradicting its spirit and temper, and even its positive precepts, be *ipso facto*, *et ab initio*, void?

Is not the state of slavery, as it has existed in the West Indies, contrary to the acknowledged principles of Christianity, and of our constitutional laws; and could such a state of things be now created?

Has not the Parliament of England constantly asserted and exercised its right to alter the circumstances under which any established branch of commerce or cultivation is carried on, even where no moral guilt has been alleged; and has not this been often done without compensation even in cases of acknowledged loss?

Did it not appear on the investigations which preceded the abolition of the slave trade, that great abuses had prevailed, not only in the conduct of the trade itself, but in the management of the plantation slaves; and had this country till that time any precise or accurate knowledge of these subjects?

Did not the West Indians *then* deny the existence of those abuses; and yet have they not since repeatedly allowed that they did then exist, and argued, from their subsequent diminution, against the interference of this country in suppressing them?

Did they not *then* loudly and specifically demand compensation for the injury they would suffer from the abolition of the slave trade, as deteriorating their then existing cultivation, and preventing the breaking up of new lands, which they asserted a right to do at will?

Was this demand listened to? And yet, have they since complained of the measure of abolition as injurious and illegal; or have they not acknowledged it to have been salutary?

Was not the general principle and bearing of that measure similar to that of emancipation; and was it not considered as having a direct tendency to produce the latter result?

Did not Mr. Dundas, although an advocate for West Indian interests, and opposed to the immediate abolition of the slave trade, actually propose a plan by which every negro in the West Indies, born after 1800, would have now been free?

Did not all these circumstances afford sufficient warning to the West Indians to prepare for ultimate emancipation?

Have those warnings however been taken, and have any measures to that end been generally adopted and systematically pursued by the colonists;—and if not, to whom is this deplorable neglect to be attributed?

If the slaves, after the lapse of forty years since the first agitation of the question, and of twenty-one years since the slave trade (represented as the great obstacle to improvement) was abolished, are still so unfit for freedom, that the whip alone can be depended upon to ensure a reasonable degree of industry;—if their habits and dispositions are still so vicious and untamed that it is unsafe to establish a system of even gradual manumission, and that no period can yet be even hinted at for the cessation of their bondage; so that their innocent children and children's children are yet to look forward to no other inheritance than

a state, compared with which, the punishment of every crime in this country, short of murder, is light;—if they even yet cannot, or do not, keep up their numbers, while all mankind around them are steadily and even rapidly increasing;—may it not be reasonably asked, by whom have such an untoward race been formed? Under whose care have they lived? Who has superintended their education? On whom lies the heavy charge of having permitted such worse than barbarian ignorance and vice to have continued so long, and still to continue? Will the planters reply that it does not lie on them; that their utmost powers, as the rulers of those slaves, have been exerted to correct the mischief; that they have called in vain for the assistance of the State on which they depend; and that therefore they are justly entitled to reproach *her* as the cause of all the evil, and to call on *her* to pay the penalty?

It were idle to attempt to refute such a plea, and yet the complaint against the mother country is, that she claims and seeks, though with moderation, to interfere in order to rectify the existing evils. Persons, calling themselves Englishmen, contend, with pertinacity and even rage, for the uninterrupted exercise of a tyranny which has been proved, by woful experience, to have produced the most deplorable effects, and which operates as a bar to all improvement both of master and slave.

It may and ought to be further asked, whether this system, under the management of its former administrators, who still claim the sole and exclusive right of administering it, has proved, if not honourable, yet profitable; if not prosperous, yet strong, safe, and at least independent of foreign support. And what, if it should be found that this very system, for reforming which Great Britain is called on to pay a heavy indemnification, instead of being a source of immense advantage, has produced the ruin of thousands, and has yielded on an average little more than one half of a fair mercantile profit to the adventurers? And are not even its scanty profits derived from the illegitimate source of protecting duties and bounties—its ricketty existence requiring to be bolstered up in order to prevent it from sinking under the slightest attack of competition; while, in addition to all this, the expense of an army for internal, and of a navy for external defence, is to be borne by those who are to be denied the right of interfering to prevent the prolongation of that unjust and profligate misgovernment, by which the happiness of multitudes is sacrificed to a mere handful of men, whose prejudices and love of power blind them to their true interests, and whose pride, cherished by living among herds of their dependents, debased by their policy and trembling at their nod, leads them to entertain ideas of their own importance, which are exaggerated to the most ridiculous degree?

It may further be asked, Have not the interests of Great Britain, separately considered, been seriously injured by yielding to the clamour of the Colonists, and continuing so long to tolerate that system, for the correction of which they now call on her to pay them a vast fine? But this is too wide a field upon which now to enter. At some future time I may resume the subject, and exhibit my views not in the form of questions, but of proofs which I conceive will prove irrefragable.

I am, &c. M. H.

We have thought it right to insert the above letter of our correspondent, whose views, we doubt not, will be allowed their due weight when the details of the question of indemnity come to be considered. Still what he has said does not seem to us to invalidate our general position, that the claims of the colonists to compensation, whatever they may be, ought to be maturely and fairly examined, and equitably met, by the mother country. See No. 40, p. 301, &c.

3.—Slavery in the Mauritius, and Sir R. Farquhar.

For several years past we have been anxious to obtain information as to the real nature of the slave laws in the Mauritius. They have recently for the first time been submitted to Parliament, and we have it now in our power to lay an abstract of them before our readers. They are contained in a paper, No. 526, ordered to be printed July 10, 1828.

Until the last year the whole slave law of the Mauritius was comprised in an edict of the King of France, of December 1723, which, having fallen into disuse, was revived and modified by a decree of the local government of September, 1767. The following is the substance of these decrees.

1. All slaves shall be instructed in the Catholic religion, and shall be baptized, under pain of an arbitrary penalty. No *black* shall be appointed to superintend other blacks, unless certified by the curate to profess the Catholic religion, on pain of confiscation if a slave, and of forced labour for life if free.

2. The exercise of any other religion than the Catholic is declared to be illicit, seditious and rebellious, and those guilty of it are to be punished as rebels.

3. All persons are forbidden to make their slaves work on the Sundays and holidays, in the cultivation of the ground or in other labour, under pain of fine and arbitrary punishment on the master, as well as confiscation of the slaves found at work. Masters, however, may, on Sundays and holidays, send their slaves to market, and may make them work also in case of pressing necessity, first asking leave of the curate, or of the judge of police.

4. All persons are forbidden to sell any Christian slave to a Gentile or Mahommedan, or to any who is not a Catholic, under the penalty of 1000 livres on each of both seller and buyer, and confiscation of the slave.*

5. Whites are forbidden to intermarry with *blacks*, under pain of punishment and arbitrary fine. Whites and free blacks are also forbidden to cohabit with slaves. Those having children from such a connection, as well as the masters allowing it, shall each pay 300 livres. And if such children are the master's own, the mother and children shall be confiscated to the public, and prevented from ever being made free. If, however, the free black shall marry the slave, she and her children shall be made free and legitimate.

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* These four rules, as well as that part of the following, which prohibits the cohabitation of free persons with slaves, if they were ever enforced, have long fallen into disuse.

6. The Ordinance of 1723 prescribes and regulates the marriage of slaves; but that of 1767 entirely omits all mention of the subject. It had never been thought of in practice.

7. All *blacks* are forbidden to play for money, on pain of the stocks and whip.

8. Slaves are forbidden to carry offensive weapons, or large sticks or knives, without a registered licence to do so, on pain of thirty lashes.

9. Slaves are forbidden to sell *any thing whatever* without a written permission bearing a date, and which can only serve for one day, and must specially name the articles to be sold, on pain of confiscation of goods and punishment; those who buy of them paying 1000 livres.—No blacks having reared poultry, kids, &c. shall be able to sell them without a declaration, to be registered in the office of the police, stating the number of animals to be sold, and the manner in which they became possessed of them.—A separate spot shall be allotted to the slaves in the public market, where alone they will be allowed to traffic, under pain of the whip and confiscation of goods.

10. Masters are ordered to furnish to each slave two pounds of Indian corn, or an equivalent in other food, every day, together with the yearly clothing necessary. Old and infirm slaves are to be maintained by their masters, otherwise by the hospital, which may demand and levy six sous per day for each.

11. Slaves not fed and clothed, or barbarously and inhumanly treated, may complain to the Solicitor-General, by whom the masters shall be prosecuted.

12. All persons are forbidden to inflict more than thirty lashes on their slaves. If masters think they deserve more, they must make known the case to the magistrate of police, who shall fix the number of lashes according to the exigency of the case.

13. Slaves going out, after the retreat has beat, without a light and a licence, shall be flogged and put to a month's labour on the public works. Even free blacks shall be liable to arrest if they go out after eleven at night.

14. Slaves harbouring slaves shall be flogged; whites and free blacks doing so shall be heavily fined; and if the free blacks cannot pay the fine they shall be sold.

15. Slaves belonging to different masters, assembling together by day or night, whether at their master's houses, in high roads, or remote places, are to be flogged and branded with the fleur-de-lys; or, on frequent repetition of the offence, may suffer death at the discretion of the judge; masters, permitting them, are to repair all damage done by such assemblies, and to be fined.

16. Masters are forbidden to get rid of their obligation to feed their slaves, by allowing them to work certain days in the week for their own account.

17. Slaves can possess nothing, and can gain nothing, by their own industry or the liberality of others, that shall not belong in full property to their masters, without the power, on the part of their children, or other relations, to claim any portion thereof from any disposition whatever they may make; which is declared null and void, as proceeding from parties incapable of performing any valid act.

18. Slaves can hold no office or commission; nor be agents, arbitrators, or appraisers; nor be witnesses, unless indispensable, and in default of whites, and in no case against their masters; nor can they prosecute in any suit, though they may themselves be prosecuted criminally.

19. A slave striking his master or mistress, or their children, and causing a wound, shall suffer death; and if he commit violence upon a free person, he shall be severely punished, even with death, as the case may be.

20. Robberies by a slave shall be punished, as the case may require, with flogging and branding, or death; the master being bound to make good the damage, or to give up the slave to the injured party.

21. A fugitive slave, absent a month after being denounced, shall have his ears cut off, and be branded with a fleur-de-lys; if absent a second time, for the same space, his hamstrings shall be cut and he shall again be branded; if a third time, he shall suffer death.

22. Slaves condemned to death, on the denunciation of their masters, shall be valued, and their price shall be paid to their masters.

23. The slaves, when deemed deserving of it, may be put in chains and flogged by their masters; but all persons are forbidden to torture or mutilate slaves, on pain of confiscation, and of being proceeded against criminally.

24. The officers of justice are to proceed criminally against masters who shall kill or mutilate slaves, and may even inflict on them the punishment of death. But in case there is ground for pardoning them, a pardon may be granted without waiting to apply to the king.

25. Husband and wife, and children below the age of puberty, cannot be judicially seized and sold separately, if belonging to the same master. Such seizures and sales are null and void. And the same rule shall also apply to voluntary sales, on pain of being deprived of the slaves that may be sold.*

26. Masters may manumit their slaves by deed or will, but they are not to do so without leave of the local government. Without this, all manumissions shall be void, and the manumitted persons also shall be confiscated and continue slaves. With such leave, manumission will confer the advantges of natural born subjects, except that no free black, or manumitted slave, shall be capable of receiving gifts or bequests from whites, all which shall be void and applied to the hospital. Manumitted slaves are freed from all service to their old masters, but must treat them and their children with respect, and any injury to *them* will be punished with peculiar severity. With these exceptions manumitted slaves shall enjoy the same rights as are enjoyed by other free-born subjects, both in regard to person and property.

Such was the slave law of the Mauritius, when it surrendered to the British arms. From that time to the end of 1826, a period of sixteen years, with a single exception, no modification of it took place. This single exception consisted in an edict issued by Governor Farquhar, on

* The draft of the new slave code for the Mauritius, which possibly may now be in force, actually deteriorates the slave's condition, by limiting the non-separation of families to judicial sales only.

the 30th Dec. 1814, which, besides requiring many onerous formalities, and renewing the old law, that no slave shall be manumitted without the permission of the Governor, who alone is to decide whether the proposed manumission may be carried into effect without injury to the community, actually imposes a fine of 150 to 300 dollars on each act of manumission. By this edict, the Governor further empowers himself to employ on the highways all freed persons having no visible means of support.—This unjust enactment was slightly modified by an ordinance of Sir Lowry Cole, of the 27th January 1827, and the amount of the fine was reduced to £5. But the modification has had the effect of bringing the matter before the acute mind of Mr. Huskisson, who, in his letter of 10th Oct. 1827, peremptorily annulled the whole proceeding, and directed both these vile proclamations to be forthwith revoked.

On the 13th of Dec. 1826, Sir Lowry Cole published an ordinance to *regulate the weight* of the chains and fetters which masters are authorised, by the existing laws, to fasten upon their slaves at their own discretion. This new regulation directs, that when two male slaves of fifteen years of age are chained together, the chains and collars are not to exceed nine pounds, and for a single male slave six pounds;—for two negresses five pounds; and for one negress, or for a child, three pounds! The fetters on the *feet* of a male slave are not to exceed three pounds! This weight, however, may in all cases be augmented by the civil commissaries at their discretion! Negresses and children, though they may be chained, are not to be fettered; and no slave is to be both chained and fettered at the same time, without a commissary's* authority. The use of the collar with three branches is forbidden. The penalty for violating this law, a law which, our readers will see, leaves sufficient scope to the inflictions of arbitrary power, is a fine of two to ten pounds for the first offence, and of ten to twenty pounds for the second.

The same ordinance imposes a fine of from five to forty pounds on any proprietor who shall punish a slave that has been sent back to him by any judge or commissary of police, with an injunction "to treat him without resentment."†

Sir Lowry Cole, about the same time that he made this first and feeble attempt to abate the excessive rigour of the Mauritius system of slavery, addressed two circular letters to the commissaries of districts. These were accompanied by a transcript of four of the clauses of the slave codes of 1723 and 1767, the substance of which is given above, p. 333, under the heads, 3, 10, 11, and 12. They respect the Sunday labour, the food and clothing, and the arbitrary punishment of the slaves. The circulars state, that notwithstanding the laws which forbid masters, on

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* The commissaries, be it remembered, are all slave-holders.

† We have often protested against the iniquity of that principle which pervades our slave codes, and is unfortunately embodied in that for Trinidad, and which inflicts punishment on the slave who fails to prove his complaint. This principle, we are happy to perceive, Mr. Huskisson, in his despatch to Sir Lowry Cole, of the 19th of March, 1828, has explicitly proscribed.—"It will be *necessary*," he says, "to provide that no slave may be punished for preferring a complaint, unless he be distinctly convicted of the offence of having preferred a calumnious charge from improper motives, that conviction proceeding upon adequate and legal evidence."

pain of arbitrary punishment and confiscation, to make their slaves work on Sundays, the Governor has learned that, on *many* estates, the slaves do work on Sundays as on other days. This, he says, can no longer be tolerated, and he invites the commissaries to employ their influence *to persuade* the planters to give their slaves the rest of the Sunday, and on other days not to require them to work until half an hour before sunrise, or beyond a quarter of an hour beyond sunset.* He admits the planters may find it necessary to work their sugar houses at night, and does "not pretend to oppose it;" but, in that case, he thinks the slaves ought to have the following day to rest themselves, and when circumstances oblige them to deprive their slaves of Sundays, he *hopes* they will feel the justice of an indemnity. He also directs their attention to the food, clothing and correction of the slaves. "There exist," he says, "in this respect, abuses which it is your duty to remove, by denouncing them to the Solicitor General." And if this warning should not be attended to, "I will find myself compelled to measures of rigour which will be repugnant to my feelings, but will be called for by the dictates of humanity, by the laws, and by the colonial interests." He afterwards adverts strongly to the excess of punishment inflicted, by some masters, beyond the thirty lashes allowed by law, and to the various punishments inflicted on the negro women, between whom and the men, he tells us, no difference is made. "The weakness of their sex and public decency seem to require that negro women should undergo the lash only in extraordinary cases. Do not irons, the stocks, imprisonment, offer sufficient means of punishing a negro woman, whose condition, besides being almost always precarious, requires great care." He trusts, therefore, they will give up of their own accord the use of flogging in respect of females, and "not stand in need of being compelled by coercive measures to adopt a course which sound morality calls for."

Can Sir Lowry Cole have been weak enough to imagine that a few impotent recommendations of this sort, addressed to commissaries, all of whom are slave-holders or slave-drivers, would have any other result than that of exciting their rage or their ridicule? Or that they would have more effect in protecting the slaves from oppression than his known wishes had in protecting Sir Hudson Lowe from insult? Besides, was it only in December, 1826, that he discovered, for the first time during a residence of three or four years in this island, that men and women were cruelly and excessively flogged; that, even while at work, their limbs might be loaded with chains and fetters, and their necks so surrounded with three-pronged collars, as to prevent the sufferers from extending themselves on the earth? Was it then he first discovered that slaves were forced to work night as well as day with scarcely an interval of rest; and to work on Sundays just as on other days; and that their clothing was insufficient to cover them, and their food to sustain them? He might have known all this, and denounced it in 1823 as well as in 1826, and thus perhaps spared the miserable wretches under his government at least some small part of those sufferings, which the very terms of his circular so forcibly depict.

Lord Bathurst and Sir Robert Farquhar appear to us to have much

* This may give us some idea of what the practice has been as to hours of labour.

to answer for in what respects the slave population of the Mauritius. They governed that colony together for many years without introducing one solitary regulation for the defence or protection of the slaves, and apparently without a single attempt, on the part of his Lordship, to ascertain their real condition. He never seems to have even required that the laws by which the slaves were governed should be communicated to him, but seems on the contrary to have placed an unlimited confidence in Sir R. Farquhar's vague and delusive statements. And yet we think his Lordship must have known that the very persons composing that gentleman's household, and who stood the highest in his confidence, were deeply interested in upholding the very worst evils of slavery. But not to dwell at present on his Lordship's part in the administration of the affairs of this unhappy island, we will confine ourselves to that of Sir R. Farquhar.

In perusing the papers before us, we were surprised to find, that during the whole period of Sir R. Farquhar's government, extending from the conquest of the colony to the year 1823, not a single regulation was passed for restraining the oppressions of the master, or protecting the persons and improving the condition of the slaves. And we were the more surprised at this, on recurring to certain passages, both in his speeches in parliament, and in his communications, at different times, with the Secretary of State. He told Lord Liverpool, indeed, soon after his first arrival, that the slaves in the Mauritius had been decreasing during the preceding seven years, at the rate of five per cent. per annum; and he made use of this fact to convince his Lordship of the necessity of continuing to import slaves, as otherwise the island would become a desert.* Lord Liverpool, however, regarded this fact in a very different light from the Governor; and instead of consenting to force more human beings into this charnel house, seemed rather alarmed by so flagrant a proof of oppression, and requested to know "the state of the laws in respect to the protection of the slaves from the cruelty and oppression of their masters," with a view to secure to them a mild treatment.—Soon after this letter was written, Lord Liverpool quitted the colonial office, and was succeeded by Earl Bathurst; and it does not appear that the inquiry thus begun was prosecuted to any clear result, or to any effectual purpose. And the language adopted by Sir Robert Farquhar upon the subject appears to have been well calculated to lull suspicion, and to prevent troublesome investigations: and with Lord Bathurst it succeeded but too completely. On the 15th of February, 1811, Sir Robert wrote as follows:

"I deem it proper, in regard to myself, to state that I am not by any means disposed to be a supporter of slavery; and while political considerations and my immediate duty call upon me to forward the communication," (an earnest petition of the planters to be allowed to continue the slave trade) "I have looked, on the other hand, with the feelings of humanity on the slave, and endeavoured, in every practicable instance, to alleviate the burden of his condition; to which I must add, that from observation, I am happy to bear this testimony to the inhabitants of these islands, that I believe they are not by any means cruel masters."

* Papers of 29th of April, 1826, p. 295. p. 5 and 21.

What a singular testimony is this on the part of Sir R. Farquhar, considering that the Mauritius slaves were decreasing, according to his own contemporaneous statement, at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum! This wholesale rate of butchery he not only views without emotion, but he is even *happy* in testifying that the keepers of these human shambles "are not by any means cruel."

"At the same time, however," continues Sir Robert, "that I do them this *justice*," (justice indeed!) "*I have judged it proper to order that when slaves are to be chained for security or punishment, these chains shall not be heavier than are indispensably necessary to secure the person of the slave; and in the event of proprietors transgressing the order, the slaves are to become forfeited to the use of Government. By this order*, and *others of a similar nature*,* I do not revoke any part of the assurances given to the planters, and considered indispensably necessary for the tranquillity and prosperity of these colonies, and their attachment to their new government; *because* the use of chains is still allowed for security and punishment. And as the preservation of the slaves from becoming Maroons, or runaways and vagabonds, and keeping them in proper subjection to, and respect for, their masters, embrace every object which can be really beneficial to the proprietors, these measures are secured by chains of the allowed weight; while the principles of humanity and Christianity, on which the Order is founded, conduce to the alleviation of unnecessary burdens on our suffering fellow-creatures. I hope it is unnecessary to assure your Lordship that it will be a prominent feature of my administration to ameliorate, in every possible mode, the fate of these unfortunate beings."†

But this is not all. We have a letter of Sir R. Farquhar, dated a few months later, viz. on the 1st of February, 1812, in which he says,

"I beg leave to assure your Lordship, that the motives which have long incited me, as well as other gentlemen, to support human freedom, have never ceased to be the constant care of my government; and I am happy to be able to add, that it has been in my power, *by a series of measures, to ameliorate the condition of the slaves in these colonies in general, and to bring into practice a system for their treatment, which must lead to their benefit and comfort, and ultimately, I trust, be productive of material advantage to society in general, and the highest interests of humanity.* These proceedings have not passed without evident and *avowed* dissatisfaction expressed by many, nor without occasional highly coloured representations of the danger to be apprehended from my successive efforts in favour of the slaves." "I trust, nevertheless, that your Lordship will always have occasion to remark my exertions to meet their alarms and remonstrances, by a prudent, though not less obstinate,

* Neither this order, nor the "others of a similar nature," of which he speaks, have ever been produced, though all such orders have been called for. May we not conclude, therefore, that none such were ever issued? Indeed the ordinance promulgated, on the subject of chains and fetters, by Sir Lowry Cole, in December, 1826, seems to prove, that, independently of the fact of their non-production, the alleged orders of 1811 had really no existence.

† And yet with all this ostentatious parade of humanity, this anxiety to apologize for his excess of tenderness, we cannot find that, during the whole of Sir R. Farquhar's administration, one single law was passed by him for the protection of the slaves.

firmness and resistance. A consciousness of my duty to my king and country, as the chief member of one of His Majesty's Governments at this enlightened epoch of the world, as well as my ardent desire to accelerate the civilization of the surrounding African states, will not only induce my perseverance in such a course, but prompt me to fulfil the task with all that cheerfulness and zeal, which its tendency to the development of general prosperity, and to the extension of British arts and industry, to foreign countries under my immediate auspices, is calculated to inspire." p. 11.

And yet, can it be;—will it be believed,—that the whole of this loud sounding language is pure mystification; that not one of the series of measures, so ostentatiously obtruded on the admiring confidence of the Secretary of State, should have been ever promulgated; and that the Baronet's entire statement, with all its imposing circumstances, should now wear the air of absolute fabrication? At least, we cannot discover a single trace, in the legislative records of the Mauritius, of these boasted ameliorations of Sir Robert Farquhar; although Lord Bathurst seems to have been satisfied with his specious but groundless generalities without ever calling for the acts themselves. It is difficult to speak with the necessary moderation of conduct such as this, of inaccuracy so unaccountable on the one hand, and of delusion so complete on the other.

But to proceed. On the first of September, 1812, Sir R. Farquhar again writes:

" I have, ever since my arrival in these colonies, done all in my power to better the condition and alleviate the oppression of the slaves. *The laws are strongly in their favour;* but, with courts of justice constituted as those at present in these colonies are, it is difficult to obtain justice. I shall transmit to your Lordship a statement of the laws in regard to their protection as soon as it can be compiled. At present these laws are diffused amongst a mass of others which form the Colonial Code." Page 23.

Can any thing more resemble a course of delusion systematically pursued than this? " The laws" of the colony " are strongly," says Sir Robert, " in favour of the slaves." We have seen what those laws were, and had Sir Robert Farquhar transmitted them to England at the time, the spell, which his representations wound around Lord Bathurst, would have been broken. His reason for not transmitting them is as incorrect as the character he gives of them, and could only tend to excuse delay, and thus throw the matter into oblivion. In fact he never did transmit them. They are diffused, he tells us, amongst a mass of other laws, but will be sent as soon as they can be compiled. And yet, now that they are produced, they fill only eleven widely printed folio pages, and consist only of two ordinances. In any case he might surely have transmitted *his own* enactments, his own " series of measures." These at least must have been accessible; nay, they must have been printed and distributed in the island to produce the effect he speaks of. How came they not to be sent over? Was it because they were never framed? Neither they nor even the previous laws of the island appear to have been ever furnished by Sir Robert Farquhar. The latter were

first produced in the last session of parliament. The former have not yet been produced, and, there seems ground to believe, never will.

In quitting this subject for a time, we beg to direct the serious attention of our readers to the fatal effects of incorrect statements, proceeding officially from public functionaries in distant colonies. In this case they involve the comfort and happiness of a whole community, and the lives of thousands. It would be wrong to lose the benefit of such an example.

4.—Jamaica Oppression.

We beg to direct the special attention of the Colonial Office to the following insertions in the Royal Gazette of Jamaica, of the 30th of August last, where certain persons are advertised as runaway slaves, who, if they continue unable to produce *documentary* evidence of their freedom, even though they claim to be free, and are claimed by no one, will, in a short time, according to the workhouse law of Jamaica, be sold into perpetual bondage, for the benefit, after payment of their gaol fees, of the revenue of the island. Among them we find as follows:

John Seymour, a creole of Sierra Leone,* 5 feet 5¼ inches, says he is free, but can produce no document thereof, and was brought to this island by the Transport Finsbury about three years ago, with troops, and that Mr. Briscoe, formerly bandmaster of the 2nd West India Regiment, knows he is free.

Elizabeth, a black woman, a native of New York in America, 5 feet ½ inch; committed as belonging to a Mr. Hughes, Rock Castle, St. Andrew's, but she says that her name is Eliza Weeks, that she was born free, and that she came to this island after New York had been given up by the British, along with a number of other refugees, who had attached themselves to the British cause during the war.

Mary-Ann Miller, a likely, young, creole, mulatto woman, 5 feet 3½ inches, has a small mark from a ring-worm, under the left eye; committed by the Sitting Magistrates as belonging to some person unknown, but she says that she is free, and was born free, and her mother also, at Montego Bay; says that her mother's name was Eleanor Miller, but she afterwards married a free black man, named George Sutherland, a house-carpenter, with whom she went to the Bay of Honduras about eleven or twelve months ago.

Susanna, alias Susanna Terry, an elderly creole sambo woman, 5 feet 4 inches, her lower front teeth are decayed, committed as belonging to some person unknown, says that she is free, but can show no document thereof, and that her mother, named Jenny Terry, (who is dead,) was born free in the parish of St. Ann.

Can these individuals be sold without infringing the Abolition Act? Or is the workhouse law of Jamaica of sufficient potency to supersede that solemn enactment of the Imperial Legislature, which affixes to both the seller and buyer, in such cases, the stigma, and the guilt, and the penalties of piracy?

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* Therefore a free-born subject of His Majesty, who cannot, by any possibility, possess documentary evidence of his manumission.

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The "Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter" will be ready for delivery on the first day of every month. Copies will be forwarded at the request of any Anti-Slavery Society, at the rate of four shillings per hundred, when not exceeding half a sheet, and in proportion, when it exceeds that quantity. All persons wishing to receive a regular supply are requested to make application to the Secretary, at the Society's office, No. 18, Aldermanbury, and mention the conveyance by which they may be most conveniently sent. Single Copies may be had of all booksellers and newsmen, at the rate of 1*d.* per half-sheet of eight pages, or 2*d.* per sheet of sixteen pages.

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE GOVERNMENT WITH THE COLONIES.—FRESH CRUELTIES IN BERBICE.—FRESH PERSECUTIONS IN JAMAICA.

Towards the close of the last session of Parliament, a volume of 375 folio pages was presented by his Majesty's command, entitled "Papers in explanation of the measures adopted by his Majesty's Government for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Slave Population" in the slave colonies belonging to the crown, (in continuation of the papers presented in the year 1827.) We have already had occasion to allude to various parts of this mass. But it seems important to give a brief and connected view of its remaining contents. We will take, in the order in which they stand in the volume, the colonies of which it treats.

1.—Jamaica, p. 1—32.

In the former Reporters, No. 21, 29, 31, 33, and 38 is given a complete view of the slave law of Jamaica, which was passed in December, 1826, but was afterwards disallowed by his Majesty, not so much on account of its numerous admitted defects and the flagrant injustice of many of its provisions, as on account of its outrageous intolerance towards sectaries. The despatch of Mr. Huskisson, notifying his Majesty's disallowance, is contained in No. 33, and abounds in large and statesmanlike views of the subject. This despatch stands at the head of the documents before us, and is followed by an elaborate reply of a Committee of the Jamaica House of Assembly, dated the 14th of December, 1827, in which they combat the positions of the Secretary of State with much vehemence indeed, but so very feebly, in point of argument, as scarcely to merit the pains which he has taken to refute it. The following, for example, is their defence of the clause, which made it penal in the Missionary to receive, and in the slave to pay, any voluntary contributions for charitable or religious uses.

"The master," they say, "provides all the necessaries of life for his slaves, and he has an unquestionable right to guard against their misappropriation. The slave must neither be suffered to injure his health and strength by nightly wanderings, nor to strip himself of his tools

and food, under pretence of contributing to the support of itinerant expounders of the Gospel. An ample provision is already made by the public and by private persons for the religious instruction of slaves.* And persons, whatever may be their profession and pretension, who use that most irresistible engine with weak minds, the power of persuasion, to extort from slaves the hard earned rewards of industry, and indirectly tempt them, when their own resources fail, to rob their masters and their fellow slaves; such persons, so preying on the poverty, the superstitious fears, and too often on the crimes of their proselytes, brand themselves, by this act alone, with meanness and hypocrisy, and deserve a far more heavy punishment than the being compelled to disgorge a small part of the profits of their extortion. Mr. Huskisson says, that the clause affixes an unmerited stigma on the collector of money from slaves: but it is submitted, that the extreme disgust and detestation in which all free persons are held who accept gifts without return, and who in any way take advantage of the easy disposition and ignorance of slaves, is a feeling rather to be encouraged than suppressed. Their peculium was thereby protected."† When "it was determined to give to negro property that protection by express law" (and this the disallowed act did not do) "which it before derived from usage, it naturally followed, that in securing the negro from the imaginary oppression of his master, the legislature would not leave him a prey to the oily and delusive tongue of a self-ordained preacher. This prohibition of levying a revenue on slaves is not, as Mr. Huskisson terms it, a gratuitous aggravation of the evils of their condition, but it is designed as a security against the avarice of unhallowed men, who are known to cajole slaves out of their substance, and, where soft words fail, do not forbear to call up the most fearful images to their assistance, threatening their simple followers with the pains of hell fire, and with eternal damnation, if they are slow and scanty in their contributions."‡

Mr. Huskisson's reply to these observations, though evidently enfeebled by his anxiety to sooth the angry feelings of the assembly, is nevertheless quite decisive. "The restraints" he says "imposed on the collection of contributions from slaves, are vindicated by charges against the Missionaries, which, *if well founded*, must be easily susceptible of proof; but which, at present, remain unproved. I am persuaded that on a review of the subject, the assembly will feel that it would be impos-

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* The absolute falsehood in point of fact of this assertion, on which the assembly rest the whole even of the semblance of argument for their persecuting enactment, may be seen in No. 13, and 41. But if it were as true as it is false, it would not justify their cruel interference with the rights of conscience or the exercise of Christian charity.

† So that these sapient legislators would protect property by controuling its use under severe penalties; and would make us believe that it is disgusting and detestable to collect from willing contributors however abject, a penny a week for example, to obtain a Bible, or to assist in extending the benefit of instruction to others as abject as themselves.

‡ Let us only imagine for a single moment that we heard such arguments as those contained in the above extract used in Parliament, in support of a bill to make it penal for Methodist and Dissenting ministers to receive voluntary contributions from their flock for religious and charitable purposes.

sible to sanction a law which interdicted to any class of men the performance of the duty of almsgiving." "If it should be satisfactorily shewn that any religious teacher has so far abused his influence over the slaves as to extort money from them, under any false or improper pretext, His Majesty's ministers would not hesitate to advise the Crown to sanction any law, properly framed, for the correction of so serious a mischief." "It is difficult, however, to see, how such a subject as this could be safely or properly regulated by any positive enactment." He might have justly added, that the whole of the reasoning which he combats, proceeds on false assumptions and gross misrepresentations, and manifests not only a deplorable ignorance of the acknowledged maxims of sound legislation and of rational economy, but an utter contempt of the rights of conscience and of the most sacred obligations and principles of that religion for which they untruly pretend to have made ample provision. The religion, however, for which they would provide, is a religion stripped of its most essential attributes, and as destitute of that charity which is the bond of perfectness, as it is of the holy rest of a sabbath, the best foretaste of heaven, and the best preparative for its final enjoyment.

The above will suffice to shew what is the spirit of the Jamaica legislature as displayed in this laboured vindication of its disallowed enactments. Mr. Huskisson's reply, dated 22nd March, 1828, proceeds on the same immoveable foundation of sound principle which dictated almost the whole of his former memorable despatch of the 22nd September, 1827. He now repeats the same truths, and baffles with singular calmness and moderation the miserable sophisms by which the assembly have attempted to invalidate them. We will give a few examples.

"The objections made to nocturnal meetings for religious worship," says Mr. Huskisson, "would have greater weight if the act itself had not provided that the labour of the slave should commence at five in the morning, and close at seven in the evening. It is difficult to repel the objection that, under such a law, if the work of religious instruction be not performed in the evening, it cannot be performed at all."

The assembly alleged that Sunday was sufficient for the instruction of the slaves. Mr. Huskisson would have answered this plea more effectually, had he referred to the fact, that Sunday cannot be applied to that purpose, as the slave in Jamaica, besides having no other market day, must cultivate his grounds on that day or starve (see Reporter, No. 41. p. 315, &c.) He denies, however, the necessity of any legal limitation of the hours of instruction, since the assembly itself asserts, that, by the mere exercise of his domestic authority, the owner can always prevent the access of preachers and instructors to the slaves, or the resort of the slaves to them.

In replying to the assembly's vindication of the invidious distinction they had made in favour of Jews and Catholics, he observes, that, though "it is true that certain nocturnal ceremonies may form part of the discipline of Jews and Catholics, it is no less true, that when labour is to be continued till seven in the evening, Protestant Dissenters also must have occasion to resort to nocturnal teaching for the instruction of their followers."

The assembly objected to the law requiring reports of arbitrary punishment by the master, as inconvenient. The same objection, Mr. Huskisson replies, might be made to every improvement enforced by legislation; while "the assembly do not advert to the compensatory advantages of such returns."—The assembly had even considered the demand of such returns as an imputation on their character to be warmly repelled. Mr. Huskisson on the other hand conceived it "consistent with the most perfect respect for the inhabitants of Jamaica, to think that any person, intrusted with the power of summary conviction and punishment, should render an account of the manner in which that power is exercised."

The assembly had defended the unlimited right of the master to delegate to a slave (a Driver for example), the power of punishing his fellow, as a reward for past good conduct. Mr. Huskisson says, with a *naiveté* that has all the effect of the keenest irony, that this defence rests "on a ground which can scarcely be maintained; for of the various modes of rewarding good conduct, few are more open to objection than that of investing the meritorious slave with a power of punishment."

"I cannot accede," says Mr. Huskisson, "to the justice of the reasoning by which the assembly vindicate" the master's power of punishing arbitrarily with thirty-nine lashes; or of arbitrarily committing his slave to gaol; or the authority given to the gaoler "to aggravate the punishment of prisoners by inflicting punishment upon them at his discretion, without any previous trial,"—for such are some of the humane enactments of the boasted slave code of Jamaica, and even of its latest edition in 1826! But to proceed with Mr. Huskisson's terse remarks.

"His Majesty's government cannot acquiesce in the *defence* which is made by the assembly *for retaining the use of the whip in the field, and the punishment of females by whipping.*"—"As the assembly *allow that the property of slaves is inadequately protected,* it were useless further to pursue the discussion of *that* question."—"I fear that the *defence of the continuance of labour without limit, during a great part of the year,* and for eleven hours and a half daily out of crop, can hardly be considered as sufficient."—"It will I think scarcely be denied, upon a reference to the act, that the process" (for bringing criminals to justice) "in case of mutilation, &c. is singularly complex."—"Admitting that the unlimited discretion of courts as to the amount of punishments, may on the whole have the effect of mitigating their severity, it is no less true that such a mode of legislation must lead to extreme uncertainty in the administration of justice, and to a corresponding recklessness on the part of those who are tempted to the commission of crime."—"The necessity of some precise definition of the term *rebellion* is the more apparent, since the ninety-ninth clause of the Act authorizes the execution of a slave convicted of this offence, without any previous reference to the Governor. The precise nature of a crime, against which, such peculiar precautions are taken, ought at least to be distinctly ascertained."—"Admitting the necessity of affording a more than ordinary protection to the persons of

free men in a slave colony, the extreme severity with which it was proposed to punish offences of this kind, can scarcely be considered as defensible. If I understand the Assembly, it hardly undertakes to defend it."

In the midst of so much that is marked by the most enlightened views of policy, we were surprised to find a mind like that of Mr. Huskisson conceding, for a single moment, the propriety of enactments against Obeah. He might as well have admitted the justice of our ancient laws against witchcraft. On the whole, however, and with the exception of a few complimentary phrases, which it is difficult to regard as quite *ex animo*, the correspondence of Mr. Huskisson with the authorities of Jamaica is most highly honourable both to his wisdom as a statesman and his feelings as a man; and viewed in connection with the miserable attempt of the Assembly to vindicate its barbarous enactments, and its short-sighted and selfish principles of policy, gives a confirmation to the views we have ever maintained and promulgated on this subject, which cannot but be most gratifying to our feelings. There is not a defect pointed out, or an abuse denounced, or a principle asserted by this distinguished statesman, in treating of West Indian legislation, which has not been over and over again dwelt upon in our pages, and anxiously pressed on the attention of the Government and of the public. This circumstance is of itself no mean reward of past exertion, while it affords an animating pledge of future success. When just principles of law and civil polity are once fully and fairly recognised by men of influence and authority in the state, their practical adoption into the code of social and civil economy cannot be very remote; and yet if their adoption is to be left to the choice of such legislators as those of Jamaica have, by their enactments, and still more by their elaborate vindication of those enactments, shewn themselves to be, another century may elapse before the just and enlightened views of Mr. Huskisson shall have transfused themselves into the institutions of that island.

2.—Bahamas, p. 33—36.

In the Reporter, No. 28, p. 80—86 will be found a detailed examination of the new slave acts of this colony, in which their absurdities and enormities are fully exposed. Mr. Huskisson, in his despatch of the 3rd of March, 1828, enters upon a similar examination, and it is curious to observe the general coincidence of his conclusions with ours. Indeed this was to be expected. Two men of common sense and ordinary information, considering the very same documents, could hardly arrive at different conclusions.

3.—Barbadoes, p. 37—45.

The Society for the Conversion of the Slaves in the West Indies has thought proper to step out of its province to laud the improved legislation of Barbadoes, and to tell us that there, "a protectorate for the slave is constituted by law." But what says Mr. Huskisson on that point in his despatch of Oct. 18, 1827? The following is *his* judgment:

"On the subject of the protection of slaves, it is impossible to regard the establishment, formed by the present law, as an effectual substitute

for the office of Protector and Guardian of slaves, as suggested by Lord Bathurst. There is a very serious objection to intrusting the selection of the acting Protector to any other authority than that of his Majesty. It is also highly inconvenient that the Governor should be associated with other persons on a footing of precise equality in discharging any duty connected with the executive government. The salary of £400 currency is plainly insufficient to ensure the constant attention of any gentleman of adequate qualifications. The power of removing this officer at pleasure by the committee will place him too much within the reach of local and personal influence. He is not required to perform the duties of his office in person, or to be constantly resident in the island, or to keep his official records with punctuality, or in any prescribed form. There is no provision for appointing persons to assist him in the discharge of his duties in the more distant parts of the island. The accounts of the administration of his office are not to be rendered on oath nor at any fixed intervals. The exhibition of such accounts is not required, as the condition on which alone his salary can be paid. His powers are limited in such a manner as to deprive the office of the greater part of its value and efficiency. He is permitted himself to be the owner of slaves, an indulgence, which, for very obvious reasons, ought not to have been granted. *It would be vain to suppose* that a law thus imperfectly constituted, would ensure an effectual protection to the slaves, or the punctual execution of the laws in their favour."

And yet the framers of the Report of the Conversion Society, from whom we might expect some sympathy with the oppressed and *unprotected* slave, in their eagerness to accredit those who oppress him and who actually refuse to him the protection of law, step aside in order to commend this abortive, and delusive, and deceptive protectorate; thus aiding the colonial authorities to throw dust into the eyes of the people of England, and to perpetuate, in all its unmitigated harshness, the wretched system of colonial bondage. They thus, in fact, counteract the efforts of His Majesty to extinguish slavery, and even assist to rivet more firmly the chains of the slaves. Their conduct is actual treason to the cause they have undertaken.

We cannot but express our surprise that Mr. Huskisson's acute mind should have suffered him to assume as true, the allegations of a colonial preamble. The abolition of Sunday markets, he trusts, will not be productive of distress or hardship to the slaves, although a day is not given in lieu of it, "as it appears, *by the preamble*, that it has been customary for slaves to bring the produce of their labours to market on other days than Sundays." Now Mr. Huskisson might have ascertained, that this preamble has no foundation whatever in truth. Slaves do indeed bring produce to market on other days than Sunday, but it is only their master's produce and not their own. The masters may *send* them thither during the week. They cannot by any possibility go there of themselves. They are at work every day in the week from five in the morning till seven at night. They cannot, and they do not go to market on those days on their own account. If employed to carry loads thither on their master's account, it is but a part of their daily toil, and there-

fore when the Assembly assert it to be *customary* for the slaves to bring their produce to market on other days than Sunday, they assert what is altogether untrue. (See Reporter, No. 15, p. 21, and No. 41, p. 316.)

In every other part of Mr. Huskisson's able comment we most entirely concur. "These acts," he says, "do not prohibit the use of the whip as a stimulus to labour. They do not attempt to define the extent of punishment an owner may inflict. They impose no restraint on the frequency of punishments, nor do they require the suspension of them for any period after the commission of the crime. The punishment of slaves may be inflicted in the absence of all free witnesses, and women are to remain liable to be corrected by the whip. The owner is not required to record the punishments he may inflict, or to make any report of them to any official authority. A second conviction of cruelty in punishing slaves is not to be followed by any forfeiture of property, or by any incapacity for the future management of slaves."

"The clause requiring that punishments by whipping should be inflicted 'with the like instrument and in the like manner now in use in the navy and army,' would seem to have been inconsiderately adopted. These instruments are intended for the correction of men in the maturity of life, guilty of serious offences. They would be most formidable instruments, if the young, the aged, and the infirm, were to be the sufferers; and, in the case of females, I should hope that no man could seriously think of resorting to them.* The case supposed of a woman being flogged in an indecent manner, or of a pregnant woman being flogged at all, would seem to require some much more severe punishment than a fine of £10 currency." "There is no limitation as to the time during which refractory, disorderly, or runaway slaves may be confined in the stocks. The offence of maiming, mutilating, or dismembering a slave, even if twice committed, is to be punished in a manner very inadequate to the enormity of such an offence. Such a criminal certainly ought not to retain the profits to arise from the property he has so maimed."

"On the subject of marriage, I regret to say, that the provisions of this Act are very defective;" and after specifying some particulars, he observes, "that it cannot be permitted that any class of his Majesty's subjects should be deprived of the power" (as they are by this Act) "of forming matrimonial connections, except upon conditions which may often be revolting to their feelings and injurious to their moral character."

"The means of protecting the property of slaves are very inadequate. A remedy is given in the single case of property being taken away; but this is only one of many injuries the slave may sustain," for which "no action could be brought by the slave or for his benefit. The right of property is further restricted, without any apparent necessity, by the long list of articles of which a slave is not permitted to be the proprietor."

"The rule of admitting the evidence of slaves is laid down with so

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* How will those gentlemen legislators who have been flogging naked women all their days with the *cart whip* laugh at Mr. Huskisson's horror of the *cat!*

many qualifications as greatly to impair its value. There is no necessary connection between the baptism of a witness and his credibility; nor is it apparent why a man's testimony is less entitled to belief, if his baptism has taken place among Dissenters. Slaves instructed wholly by Dissenters will continue incompetent to give evidence whatever may be their character or their knowledge. Neither will a slave be admissible as a witness if the prejudice or interest of the master should induce him to discredit the character of the slave. To require circumstantial evidence, in all cases, will frequently operate as a practical exclusion of the most unobjectionable evidence.—But, if these various restrictions be necessary, it is not easy to perceive the justice of entirely disregarding them all, when the party against whom the evidence is given is himself a slave. Neither can I discover why slave testimony, when in favour of a slave, is not to be received with the same latitude as when it is adduced against him. In one respect, it may be doubted whether the Act does not admit the testimony of slaves too readily. They may be witnesses *for* their owners, a rule of questionable policy when the extent of the owner's influence is considered."

"On the subject of the separation of families these Acts are professedly silent, on the ground that an earlier statute had already prevented that abuse." But this statement, Mr. Huskisson shews to be a misrepresentation on the part of the Assembly: as, on examination, "that statute does not prevent the Provost Marshal from seizing one member of a family apart from the rest, nor from seizing an entire family and selling them in separate lots."

Again, speaking of the clauses which aim at the improvement of the slaves, he observes, that the law as to clothing is "too indefinite to produce any practical results;" and those respecting religion "are plainly not framed in such a manner as to ensure obedience."

"On the subject of crimes committed by slaves, these Acts contain an enumeration of offences, so numerous, and, in some instances, so trivial as to impart to the law a tone of jealousy and harshness." "No distinction is made between the attempt to steal and the actual commission of the crime." "The compassing or imagining the death of any person, it is most inexpedient to introduce into a catalogue of capital crimes, or indeed to notice at all, except with reference to the King." "The application of the criminal law of England to all crimes committed by slaves should have been accompanied by a declaration that the same law is in force for the punishment of all crimes committed against them."

Mr. Huskisson, further expresses the entire disapprobation, by his Majesty's Government, of the rule by which the value of a slave, executed or transported, is paid to the owner, even though the crime may have been the effect of the owner's misconduct; and also of the law making Obeah a capital crime; a law, however, the cruelty and injustice of which, Mr. Huskisson does not seem to be aware, depend not merely on the punishment being capital, for it stands on grounds equally absurd as our own old law of witchcraft. He likewise disapproves of the unjust and cruel enactment "which prevents a slave paying hire for himself to his owner," or "trading as a huckster and petty chap-

man," being, he conceives, "an aggravation of the evils of slavery which is not compensated by any apparent advantage."

But, notwithstanding the revolting picture thus drawn by Mr. Huskisson, of the new Barbadian Acts, those Acts, we regret to say, have been *allowed* by his Majesty. The allowance is accompanied, however, by a strong recommendation to proceed forthwith to adopt into their code the suggested alterations of Mr. Huskisson; in other words, wholly to recast it.

Is it not extraordinary that the Government of this great country should persist in such a system of colonial legislation as this;—that instead of at once calling on Parliament to frame a rational code for the colonies, they should engage in this unceasing conflict of clauses and enactments, this strife of words, which tends to no useful result;—that instead of sweeping away the multiplied abominations of the colonial statute books which are at once an outrage on common sense, and a violation of the plainest principles both of policy and justice, they should still *allow* the petty oligarchies of the colonies to go on oppressing hundreds of thousands of the King's subjects, in the King's name, and by the King's authority; and should thus postpone to a period indefinitely protracted the fulfilment of the pledge they have given to the country on this subject? We say to a period indefinitely protracted; for who, that has read the new codes of Jamaica, the Bahamas, Barbadoes, &c., and marked the miserable subterfuges and evasions by which the legislatures strive to retain in its vigour their cruel despotism; and the barbarous enactments, which are the result of five years of deliberation, enlightened by the wisdom of our successive Secretaries of State for the colonies, can contemplate the present course of proceeding as better than mockery, or derive from it the slightest hope of an effective amelioration?

If we look only at the view given of the legislation of Jamaica and Barbadoes, even in the calm and unimpassioned statements of Mr. Huskisson, and deduce thence the facts of the case, we shall still have before us as hideous a picture of the colonial system and the state of society existing there, as has ever been exhibited in the pages of the Anti-Slavery Reporter itself.

The account given above of the new law of Barbadoes, which its Assembly, in the year 1827, hold up as the work of enlightened humanity, and as calculated to crown them with glory, is not *our* account of it;—it is that of Mr. Huskisson. But then, it fully bears out our account of it, and gives the stamp of official authority to the most unfavourable representations we have ever ventured to make of colonial manners, colonial feelings, and colonial legislation.

An ostentatious parade is made of an act passed, in January last, by the Barbadoes legislature, in favour of the free people of colour; and certainly its title is not a little imposing; "an Act to extend the benefits enjoyed by white persons to all free coloured, and free black persons." On looking into this act, however, we find the whole promise of its outset, to dwindle into a matter of utter insignificance, as compared with the number and magnitude of the civil disabilities under which the free coloured population of Barbadoes are placed.—It merely enacts that they

shall enjoy the same protection as whites from the insults and assaults of slaves; and that they shall be allowed to inspect the cotton and the aloes grown by their own slaves, or by slaves under their charge!

4. Antigua, p. 47—50.

This island has hitherto done nothing but make idle professions, and praise its own humanity, and interchange compliments with the Governor. Their future performances may be inferred from the exalted opinion they entertain of "the many salutary and humane laws which form their slave code;"—laws which it seems impossible that their Governor, Sir Patrick Ross, could have read, when he says, that "to a certain extent, the wishes of Government have been anticipated by the existing laws of the island." We have looked carefully into those laws, and we protest solemnly, that we cannot discover even a single clause to justify this statement of the Governor. The slave code of Antigua appears to us to be one of the very worst in the West Indies, with scarcely a single redeeming enactment.

5.—St. Christopher, p. 51—65.

In the Reporter, No. 38, p. 270—276 will be found a careful analysis of the new slave code of St. Christopher's, and which was then made to shew how little it merited the eulogies pronounced on the humanity of its provisions, by the Duke of Wellington in the House of Lords, and Mr. Huskisson in the House of Commons. We have there proved most incontestably, (and after an anxious reconsideration of the subject, we refer with the most entire confidence to that exposition,) that the actual slave code of St. Christopher, including not only the new law, but the unrepealed and still existing provisions of the old, is one of the harshest of the many harsh codes. It was therefore with the most unfeigned astonishment, and we may add grief, that we read in Mr. Huskisson's despatch of the 7th of March, 1828, the following passage:—"I am commanded by the King to convey through you, Sir, to the Council and Assembly of St. Christopher, the expression of his gracious and high approbation of the measures which they have adopted for improving the condition of the slave population of the island. This act is remarkable for the wisdom and humanity of the greater part of its provisions; and it is peculiarly gratifying to find that the legislature of this ancient colony has given the full sanction of their authority to measures, which have elsewhere excited so much alarm, and called forth such urgent remonstrances. The benefit of the law under consideration will not be confined to St. Christopher, but the Council and Assembly will, I doubt not, have the gratification of influencing the legislatures of the neighbouring colonies to adopt their enlightened views, and to imitate their example." It is perfectly inconceivable to us, how the acute mind of Mr. Huskisson could have been so far misled as to have thus eulogized an act, which gives due effect to no one recommendation of his Majesty; which wholly rejects or dexterously evades almost all of them; and which leaves in their unmitigated harshness some of the worst features of the ancient slave code. It would be difficult to estimate the evil which may thus be done. And it would seem incumbent on Mr. Huskisson, by a frank avowal of

his mistake, to repair, as far as is now possible, the past, and to prevent the future consequences of such unfortunate, and (we say it with the most entire conviction) unfounded commendation.

6.—Trinidad, p. 67—121.

The half-yearly Reports of the Protector of Slaves in this island, for 1827, are before us, and occupy fifty-five folio pages. The abstract of them will be brief.

One case of cruelty, that of a negro girl, Mary Noel, cart-whipped by her overseer, Mr. Lamphier, in defiance of the law, failed to meet its due punishment, in consequence of a technical defect discovered in a clause of the Order in Council. The defect has since been remedied by a proclamation of the Governor, but too late to meet this particular case.

Nine criminal prosecutions of slaves, involving the trial of fifteen individuals, had taken place. Two of these were acquitted. One man, for absconding during three years, was sentenced to three years of imprisonment and hard labour. Another man, for running away and "intending for ever to deprive his owner of his services and labour," was condemned to wear round his leg, while at work, an iron clog of six pounds weight for three months. Five men, for absconding from the service of their masters for a considerable space, were condemned to imprisonment and hard labour, for periods varying from one year to seven years, and to stripes, varying from 80 to 150. Two slaves, a man and a woman, for an attempt to poison their master, were condemned to imprisonment and hard labour for ten years. One man, for cutting and maiming another, was punished with 100 lashes; and another man, for a similar offence, was condemned to 200 lashes, and imprisonment and hard labour for five years. One man, for theft, was condemned to three years imprisonment and hard labour; and another, for the same crime, to eighty stripes in addition to imprisonment and hard labour for two years.

After the expiration of the term of punishment they are all to be returned to their owners.

Besides the case of Mary Noel, already mentioned, one man (free) was tried for assaulting and killing a slave, but was discharged in consequence of the absence of the witnesses. Another, for shooting at, and wounding a slave, was sentenced to six months imprisonment and payment of the costs. A lady, tried for wounding and assaulting a slave boy, was acquitted. A Mr. Wells, for inflicting severe blows on a female slave, and her infant child, was condemned to pay a fine of £6 sterling, or, failing to do so, to be imprisoned one month; and a Mr. Chirade, for causing a slave to be illegally cart-whipped, flogged, and scourged on his posteriors, legs, &c. was sentenced to pay £10, and then to be discharged.

The reader will be struck with the vast difference in the measure of punishment applied to the slaves and to the free.

The number of suits instituted by the Protector, during the year, to compel the manumission of slaves, was thirty-six, of which eight were still undecided. The other twenty-eight had been decided in favour of the slaves. The whole sum they had to pay was £1557. 6*s.* 8*d.* sterling, being at the rate of £55. 12*s.* 4*d.* for each. One man is made to

pay £162., and a woman for herself and child £140. 6*s.* 8*d.* In one case the mother, Rosetta Degan, continuing a slave, redeems her infant Eugenia for £19. 10*s.* Of the eight cases yet undecided, five had not produced any part of their purchase money; two others had not yet been appraised; and the eighth had produced the sum of £108. 6*s.* 8*d.* but it proved insufficient, the appraisers having valued him at double the amount of his hard earned accumulations, namely at £216. 13*s.* 4*d.*

The number of slaves manumitted by private agreement, during the same time, was one hundred and thirty-nine. Of these, thirty-five were manumitted gratuitously, either "for good and faithful services," or "for love and affection," or "for divers good causes and considerations," and, in two cases, "for their mother's faithful services." The remaining one hundred and four paid for their freedom a sum of £6468. 2*s.* 6*d.*, being at the average rate of about £62. 4*s.* sterling.

Of the total number of one hundred and sixty-seven slaves manumitted, either by suit or by agreement, 66 were males and 101 females.

Of the persons so manumitted, many, both men and women, are said to be employed in "cultivating a piece of ground;" and many others, according to their sex, as "domestics," "washerwomen," "hucksters," or "in needlework," or as "jobbing masons," "jobbing carpenters," "tailors," "coopers," &c.—The highest price exacted by private contract, for a man, is £151. A woman, thirty-nine years of age, is made to pay £119.; and four others, whose ages are respectively forty-six, thirty-eight, thirty-four, and twenty-one, pay £108. each. A child of nine months old is sold for £7.; one of sixteen months for £10. 16*s.*; another of the same age for £17. 5*s.* A boy of four years old is made to pay £32. 13*s.* 4*d.*; another of nine £43. 6*s.*; and a girl of eleven £86. 13*s.* 4*d.*! Several other children, from seven to twelve years, are priced at from £10, to £22. 10*s.*

The total number of manumissions from the 1st of January 1821, to the 31st of December 1827, (seven years) is 965, of whom 389 were manumitted gratuitously, or by will; and 576 for a sum of £37,406. sterling, being at the average rate of £64. 18*s.* 9*d.* The number of adults manumitted, in proportion to children under fourteen years, is about four to one. During the first half of these seven years, the number of manumissions was 377. During the second half, viz. from the day on which the Order in Council came into operation, the 24th of June 1824, to the end of 1827, the number was 588. The average price of the manumissions for which a valuable consideration was given, was, in the first half £70. 10*s.* 8*d.*, in the second half £62. 13*s.* 2*d.*; shewing that, on the whole, notwithstanding the unjust and oppressive principle attempted to be established in the case of Pamela Monro, the manumission clause has operated not unfavourably to the slave.

The sums paid into the Savings Bank by slaves in 1827, including the accruing interest, was 1473 dollars; the deposits at the commencement of that period having amounted to 1338 dollars. From the aggregate of these sums, 2269 dollars had been withdrawn by the depositors, manifestly, in most cases, to pay for their freedom. One man, a slave of the Colonial Government, of the name of Azor Bric, had deposited 500 dollars. The whole of this sum, (£108. 6*s.* 8*d.*) hardly earned no doubt, was wrested from him by that government for

leave henceforward to employ his bones and muscles for his own profit instead of theirs. Sophia Lucy withdrew 154 dollars for the purpose of paying her price of £32. 10*s*. Grace Carr withdrew 100 dollars, to assist her to pay the Rev. J. H. Clapham, her owner, a sum of £32. Another Sophia, withdrew 372 dollars, or £80. 3*s*. 4*d*., being the price exacted for her liberty, by her master, Henry St. Hill.

We regret to perceive a breach of the consolidated slave trade abolition law in one instance, by the express permission of the governor. In April 1827 he permitted a planter, of the name of Jean Louis Marc, to import sixteen slaves from the island of Monos to his estate in Trinidad, on the stale and inadmissible pretext that their removal would be for their advantage and comfort. This proceeding, we trust, will be thoroughly investigated, and the whole of the papers connected with it produced; and we feel the call for such an inquiry to be the more urgent, because the same governor who ventured thus to violate a solemn act of Parliament, in the last despatch he appears to have penned, on the 7th of March 1828, strenuously labours to persuade his Majesty's Government of the propriety of legalizing the transfer to Trinidad "of such slaves as their owners may be willing and able to bring from the exhausted soils on which they are now obliged to labour so severely, for their own support, as well as for that of their masters." "I have before had occasion," he says, "to shew that this climate is not unhealthy to men of this class, even when placed on forest lands, which they have cleared and brought into cultivation; and I also submit a return of the same gang in 1826."—"I have only now to point out, that in this island the slave will be placed in the full enjoyment of that protection which parliament has pronounced to be his due."

But did it never occur to Sir Ralph Woodford that his representations and reasonings on this subject were completely disproved by the single fact, that the slaves in Trinidad decrease more rapidly than in any other colony; and that this extraordinary destruction of human life, and consequently of human comfort, is to be traced directly to the very circumstance which he has made the main ground of his cruel recommendation, namely, the superior fertility of the soil of Trinidad? It is to this that we must attribute it, that notwithstanding its more favourable slave law, the population of Trinidad is wearing away at the enormous rate of 2¾ per cent. per annum. Even the case he cites makes against him. It is the case of a Mr. Burton Williams, which will be found detailed in the Reporter, No. 31, p. 156; and which is most unfairly adduced to support the governor's erroneous and mischievous views. By turning to the passage we have cited, the reader will see that about the year 1793, Mr. Williams became possessed, in the Bahamas, of 107 slaves, who, had since, in the space of 30 years, trebled their numbers by natural increase. They had grown from 107 to 331. And yet, during the whole of that time, the master of this healthy and flourishing gang was complaining of the soil of the Bahamas as inadequate to their support, and longing to transport them to a more fertile region, which would yield *him* a larger profit, whatever might become eventually of his slaves. Their increase in the Bahamas had been at the rate of 200 per cent. in 30 years, being a doubling of their number in 20 years, or an average rate of increase of 5 per cent. per annum. Sir Ralph Wood-

ford has contrived to exhibit the progress of population among them since 1823, when they were removed to Trinidad, in so very obscure and confused a manner, that it is impossible to draw from his details any accurate conclusion. On the most favourable view that can be taken of his data, the rate of increase had already diminished from 5 to 2 per cent. per annum, and even to make up this diminished rate of increase the last two years passed by most of the gang in the Bahamas are mixed up with the four years since passed in Trinidad.

Even this view of the case, however, is more favourable than all the *data* will warrant. In the first place, we find that forty-nine of the gang have already been sold, since their arrival in Trinidad, by Mr. Burton Williams. Into whose hands have *they* passed? Of *their* life or death, increase or decrease, we have no tidings. Many of them may have gone, for aught that appears to the contrary, to fatten the already too fertile soil of Trinidad. But this is not all. The number of births, from 1821, is given as 57. And yet, the number of those born in Trinidad is stated to have been only sixteen, of whom seven had died. We have therefore in four years, from a gang formerly increasing at the rate of five per cent. per annum, which of course implied a much larger proportion of births, only at the rate of four *births* in the year, being very little more than one birth per cent. per annum.—And yet, Sir Ralph Woodford exhibits this gang as a proof that it is for the advantage and comfort of slaves, to be removed from other colonies to Trinidad. The attempt is perfectly execrable, and we trust that further papers will be called for to place, in the full blaze of day, all the particulars of this case, as well as the *real* progress of population among the slaves of Mr. Burton Williams, subsequently to their transfer to Trinidad.

7.—St. Lucia, p. 123—140.

We have had many proofs of the degree in which General Mainwaring, Governor of this Colony, is wedded to the abuses of the slave system. His correspondence from first to last betrays this so palpably that we cannot but feel surprise that he should have so long continued to be employed as the instrument of reform in this island.* We find him now transmitting a memorial from a body of Planters to the Secretary of State, for whom he endeavours to engage the favour of Government by representing them, in the usual strain, as "men of long residence in the colony, of the very highest respectability, noted for their humane and kind treatment of their negroes, and who, have ever acted towards them more like parents than masters!" And this eulogy we have in the teeth of a rapid decrease of their slaves, and without a single attempt on the part of the General to reconcile the fact of that decrease with his unqualified eulogy.—But what is it that these respectable, humane, kind, paternal men require His Majesty's Secretary of State to do for them? Only that he would be pleased to appoint *no* Protector of slaves in that favoured island, in which, it seems, the slaves are supremely happy without one. Such an officer cannot fail, according to them, to produce the most frightful calamities:—the degradation of the master—the

* See Slave Colonies of Great Britain, p. 73; Reporter, No. 29, p. 113.

undue elation of the slave—mutual hostility—hatred—discords continually increasing—complaints multiplied—unceasing judicial contests—insubordination—refusal to work—insolence—excess of all kinds—the ruin of the estates—and the necessity of terrible inflictions to reestablish the order thus broken. Such an appointment, they tell us in their wisdom, will stifle, in the slave, every sentiment of subordination, duty, and attachment to his master, and replace those feelings by a ferocious hatred, which, on the first opportunity, will lead to the most frightful calamities.

Another earnest prayer which they implore the Secretary of State to lay, with all humility, at the feet of His Most Gracious Majesty, is, that he will still indulge them so far as to let them retain the whip in the field, and continue to flog the women. The prohibition to flog women, is felt, they say, in the most deplorable manner on every estate, and in every private house; and their insolence—for the negro women, they add, are always more wicked than the men—has reached to an alarming height.

They further entreat, that the Sunday market may not be put an end to; because, in that case, they must give another day to their slaves, which they cannot afford to do.

They finally beg, that they may not be compelled by law, when they work their slaves all night, to give them time to rest in the following day; it being an insult to the planters to suppose that they would not do this of themselves.

Such are the modest requests of the distinguished planters whose memorial General Mainwaring recommends to the favourable consideration of Government. That recommendation, however, has produced little effect on Mr. Huskisson. He has relaxed, indeed, we are sorry to say, the prohibition of Sunday markets, but he tells the memorialists that they must be content to submit to the dangers of a protector; and that His Majesty cannot indulge them any longer with the use of the whip in the field, or with the pleasure of flogging their women, or with the profit of working their slaves both night and day without intermission.

The report of slave punishments under the order in Council for this Island, appears to have been transmitted, but it is not inserted in these papers. We hope it will still be produced.

Three marriages of slaves had been solemnized in the year ending in June 1827,—and twelve children had been baptized as free.

8.—Demerara, p. 141—147.

Under this head, we have three half-yearly communications of the Protector of Slaves, Colonel Young, the latest dated the 1st November 1827. Various returns accompanied them which are not given: and yet, without them it is impossible to estimate duly the effect which has been produced in this colony by the Order in Council. The first report of Col. Young is dated 1st November 1826: and we are sorry to remark in it sentiments of a somewhat dubious tendency. The first care of a Protector ought to be, to afford perfect security and confidence to the slave in preferring his complaints. Col. Young however, appears to have too much fallen in with the colonial notion of considering the very act of complaining as a crime, when the complainant

fails in proving his case. This course is not only unjust and oppressive in itself, but it is directly opposed to the principle now laid down so clearly by the Secretary of State (see No. 42, p. 335.) The complainants, it would appear, are punishable, not after a regular arraignment, trial, and conviction, in which malice has been established, but simply because they have preferred complaints which they have failed to prove; and that under the many circumstances of disability in giving testimony which attach to them and their associates. "I found," says Col. Young, "that the slaves, in many instances, made the coming to me to complain, a cloak for idleness, and a pretext to go to town for other purposes; and when the property of their masters is situated at a distance, such conduct is not only most injurious, but attended with expense, first by loss of labour for several days, and by cost for lodging and food when so absent." And when such cases occur, he *recommends* them to his Honour the Fiscal, sending him the details of the circumstances "that the exercise of his own judgment may regulate the extent, and description of *correction* to be awarded, or otherwise." Sir Benjamin D' Urban could not have been aware, that this mode of proceeding has been repudiated by His Majesty's Government; for he pronounces an unqualified approbation of the manner in which the Protector has discharged his office. The particulars of the *corrections* of the Fiscal we trust will be fully given. The very name of Fiscal excites distrust, and after the ample experience we have had of the severe and summary inflictions which Fiscals, said to be humane in the main, are capable of awarding, even for the mere act of complaining, the public will not be satisfied without knowing more of these cases.

One of the rules laid down by the Protector directs, that slaves should not leave the estate in a body, and that if they do so, after being warned, they will not be listened to. This rule had in one case, the Protector tells us, been broken through, and a considerable gang came to the Government House to complain. The Governor referred them to the Protector. What *he* did on the occasion we have yet to learn; but his words are somewhat ominous:—"This mode of complaining," he says "has not since been followed,—and I have reason to think the EXAMPLE made has had a general good effect." We wait here also for the details, but we cannot help feeling, that if such be the spirit in which things are to proceed in Demerara, the office of Protector may prove a protection to the masters rather than to the slaves. And if these demonstrations, on the part of the Protector, are so ambiguous, the case is not likely to improve as we descend to the Assistant Protectors, the Burgher officers of Demerara, every one of whom is a slave-holder, and to whom must necessarily be intrusted by far the largest share of the administration of justice among the 70,000 slaves of this colony.

Col. Young draws very large inferences, in favour of the management of the planters, from the circumstance, that in their own returns of the punishments they had inflicted on their slaves, there does not appear an instance of more stripes being given than the law allows. And yet it would be most extraordinary if there were any such instance;—if the planter were to furnish with his own hand the confession of guilt which must necessarily be followed by punishment. Such an inference from

a circumstance so incapable of sustaining it, is a further ground of doubt as to the perfect impartiality of this gentleman's views. For in what way does such a fact prove that the slaves are not oppressed and overworked? Colonel Young dwells on an irrelevant circumstance as evidence of the judicious management of the master or manager. But he says not one word of the decrease of the slave population, a fact which he must have known, and which most infallibly establishes a directly contrary inference.

We again recognise the colonial slang, in such passages as these: "There is no question as to the difficulty of managing women; and they are irritating and insolent to a degree, (often instigated by the men); take advantage of the exemption from stripes; and in town, do little or nothing. One domestic servant in England would do more work than many of them. It is, however, to be expected they will improve, and become better subjects—but it unquestionably must be the effect of very long time, and the exercise of much patience!" Such are the sage dicta of Col. Young, obviously the language of mere prejudice, and which moreover cannot be true; for if true, who in his senses, would continue to employ slave instead of free domestics?

In Col. Young's second letter, dated the 1st of May 1827, he says, there are instances in which no punishments have been recorded, and in few has the master had occasion to resort to other authority than his own for punishment. Both men and women, he says, are becoming better conducted under the new system; and there is ample reason to be satisfied with the conduct of the slaves, and with their treatment by the masters. And yet the slaves are decreasing, and the masters are generally non-resident.—We should have confided more in this gentleman's statements, had we had less of mere profession: "on all occasions," he says, "I have not failed to bear in mind the principles contained in my instructions, and I venture to hope, that I have afforded a patient hearing and impartial justice to the slaves; and that a due consideration to the interests of the master has been equally the object of my solicitude." This is too much after the mode of a gentleman, whose proceedings in the isle of France we have lately reviewed. (No. 42.)

The Protector's third Report, dated the 1st of November, 1827, suggests several questions, which will probably form the ground hereafter of motions in Parliament for additional information. We need not now advert to them.

The manumissions effected in the first half year, to the first of November, 1826, were 247; from the 1st of November, 1826, to the 1st of May, 1827, 177. Of these, 154 were redeemed by purchase; 122 were manumitted for faithful services; 74 from natural affection; and 74 by will; in all 424. The reason they are so numerous is stated to be, that many had been in fact free for years past, but were deterred from recording their freedom by the heavy tax they would have had to pay, and which is now remitted.

The wages fixed by the protector, for the labour of slaves, in picking coffee during the Sunday, is eight pence half-penny sterling for each basket of ten pounds weight, and half that price for the same quantity

of cotton. To pick *six* baskets, that is 60lb. weight of coffee, says the protector, is an average day's labour. The proportionate quantity of cotton must therefore be 120lb. weight. Such a task, however, we undertake to show, is most excessive, and the arrangement therefore as sanctioned by the protector, oppressive towards the slaves.

In the year 1824, Mr. Alexander Macdonnell, the Secretary of the Committee of the inhabitants of Demerara, gave to the world an octavo volume, (published by Longman,) entitled, "Considerations on Negro Slavery, with authentic reports illustrative of the actual condition of the Negroes in Demerara." These authentic reports consist of statements made to the Committee, in writing, by experienced planters, and in which they enter at considerable length into the details of plantation management. Two of these gentlemen, Mr. Donald Macdonald, of Maria's Pleasure, who had been 25 years a Demerara planter, and Mr. John Maclean of Vreedenstoop, who had resided 14 years in that colony, give their testimony respecting the quantity of coffee which may be picked in a day. Mr. Maclean says, "When the trees bear well, and the berries are ripe," (that is to say in the most favourable circumstances,) "an *able* negro can, with ease, pick 30 to 36lb.," for which, however, it is added, (a proof that this is no inferior performance,) "he is invariably rewarded with tobacco, rum, or meat." (See Macdonnell's Considerations, &c. p. 157.)

Mr. Macdonald, the more experienced planter of the two, says, "Picking coffee depends upon the crop. *If plentiful* they *can* pick *three* baskets a day, sometimes more;" (in other words the 30 to 36lb. of Mr. Maclean) "and when not so plentiful, only two baskets, and sometimes only one." ib. p. 150.

Here then, by the admission of two experienced planters, the utmost quantity of coffee that ought to be expected from an able negro, and in the most favourable circumstances of abundance, ripeness, &c., is three baskets or 30lb. weight. But what says the Protector? The task of coffee picking, by which he regulates the rate of wages of the slaves, is double this maximum. To be entitled to one day's wages the slave must perform the work of two. A day's labour, he says, is to pick *six* baskets of coffee or 60lbs.; and according to this exorbitant standard he regulates the wages of the slave. And yet two experienced planters of the same colony assure us that *three* baskets, containing 30lb., is the utmost that ought to be exacted. The official Protector therefore, in this instance, instead of protecting the slave, actually oppresses him. As for the idea that a slave can pick 120lb. of cotton in a day, it is too absurd to require one word to be said upon it.

Is not this a proper subject of strict inquiry? The Protector has evidently suffered himself to be most grossly imposed upon in this instance—and it brings, therefore, the whole of his representations into doubt and suspicion. If he should have rashly and inconsiderately proceeded, in his other statements, on the same false and delusive information which has led him to fix the standard of daily labour at the picking of 60lb. of coffee in a day, then those statements become wholly valueless.

The number of marriages of slaves solemnized in Demerara, from

Jan. 1, 1825 to Nov. 1, 1827, is 246; and the number of slaves certified to understand the nature and obligations of an oath, THREE! So much for the religious instruction imparted to the slaves of Demerara.

9.—BERBICE, p. 149—174.

The returns from this colony are very voluminous, extending to 126 folio pages. We have first the Report of the Protector of slaves, Mr. Power, from the 1st November, the commencement of the operation of the Order in Council, to the 31st December, 1826. He had visited the estates in every part of the colony, and explained to the slaves the new provisions in their favour, for which they seemed grateful. They appeared, he says, better fed and clothed (and yet we shall see how scanty their clothing is) than any other slave population he had seen; but with respect to mental and religious culture he found them, with few exceptions, "in the lowest state of human debasement." In the town of New Amsterdam alone, owing to the labours of the Rev. Mr. Wray among the crown negroes and others, "there is a visible solicitude to learn and improve." He had then met with only one instance of insubordination among the slaves, which was easily rectified, and in which the females took no share. The applications for manumission were chiefly from persons who had been maintaining themselves and their families for years, but who were unable or unwilling to pay the enormous tax formerly levied on manumissions. No security was demanded of them, their previous industry and good conduct proving a sufficient guarantee for the future. The number was only 37. The deposits in the Savings Bank amounted to 587 guilders. Five marriages were solemnized.

The Protector had applied to the different ministers of religion in the colony to furnish a list of those slaves who were sufficiently instructed to understand the nature of an oath. The reply of the Rev. F. Whitfield, minister of the Church of England, was, that it was not in his power to furnish any! Mr. Vos, the pastor of the Lutheran church, said, that he had not hitherto instructed any slaves in religion, but he should be very glad to comply with the Protector's wish, and "do all in his power to better the slaves, both in civilization and religion."* Mr. Wray, the missionary of the London Mission Society, replied at more length, and transmitted a list of 113 slaves, men and women, whom he conceived perfectly to understand the nature and obligation of an oath. By the new code, he says, some of the obstacles to the improvement of the slaves are removed, especially by the provision for legalizing their marriages, and the greater respect paid to the sabbath. He has never seen so great a desire among the slaves to learn to read, as now. Religious instruction, however, has not extended far. His first efforts had been on the late Crown Estates where great good was doing, when, the estates being given up to the Dutch

* The Lutheran church is possessed of an estate with 150 slaves in this colony, but it had not, till within a few years, either place of worship or minister, and though it now has both, yet its own slaves are wholly destitute of instruction! In the English church the case is nearly the same.

Company, an end was put to instruction. His labours since had been confined to the Crown slaves and the negroes in and about New Amsterdam. Many of the Crown people, he adds, are intelligent, industrious, and well behaved; a considerable number read easy parts of the Bible; many have obtained some knowledge of Christianity, and thirty-five have been admitted to the Sacrament.

Only one act of manumission, against the will of the master, took place at Berbice, during the first two months. It was that of Jannetje, a young woman of seventeen years of age, and her infant child, who were appraised together at 2000 guilders, or about £150. sterling. The most violent opposition was made to this manumission, not only by the parties immediately concerned, but by the community at large. It was, nevertheless, carried into effect, through the firmness of the Governor and Protector. The just remarks of the latter, on reviewing the case, deserve to be cited, as affording a striking example of colonial morality as well as of colonial prejudice. "There existed not," he says, "a shadow of foundation for any charge of dishonesty against this woman, with the exception of her having had an illegitimate child by a white man," (the attorney of the estate to which she belonged.) "In a community, where the institution of marriage has never till lately been encouraged, and where *amongst all classes of all colours cohabitation is the rule, and marriage is the exception*, I was not prepared to accede to the opposing advocate's conclusion, that the earnings of this woman, (really obtained from industrious sources,) were to be considered, even on the admission of her having had a child, as 'the wages of prostitution.' Besides, I hold it to be almost a rule that the attorney of an estate possesses, over a female slave, a power of commanding submission to his will nearly equal to physical violence; and that the consent of the female is as little regarded in the one case as in the other. Under such an impression, I could not admit that a legal disqualification to purchase the blessing of freedom should attach to an immorality of such a character, as I had the fullest proof of the propriety of her demeanour in all the other duties of her station. If a doubt before existed in my mind, my own opinion was confirmed, when I had it sworn in evidence that one of the parties who opposed this manumission, was cohabiting with, and had children by, the sister of this very woman, the property of the same estate."

The next report of Mr. Power, is from the 1st January to the 31st March, 1827. Seventeen marriages of slaves had taken place in that time. Besides the thirty-seven manumissions applied for in the preceding months, fifty-nine more applications had been made, of which thirty-six were in legal process. A negress, herself a slave, claimed and obtained the right to purchase the freedom of her own daughter. A man slave, Charles, paid about £140. sterling for his freedom. The attorney to whom he paid it, (his master being in Europe) told him that from a knowledge of his honesty and sobriety, he would, at any time, advance him money as a capital for any industrious pursuit in which he might engage.

The sum deposited in the Savings' Bank was 600 guilders.

The Protector complains loudly of the inefficiency of the colonial

laws in enforcing payment of small debts due to slaves; and states that wherever there is a certainty of payment, there will be always an alacrity for employment. As a proof, a number of slaves had lately been employed in sawing timber for the Ordnance Department. They worked by task, and, when the task was done, they were allowed to work extra hours for their own benefit. In three months, these slaves, about 120 in number, had, besides their full day's labour, earned, on their own account, £111. 10*s.* sterling.

During the six months the Order in Council had been then in operation, it had not produced, says Mr. Power, a single inconvenience, or realized a single fear. "Never was the negro population more peaceable and subordinate. Scarcely at any former period had the prison so few negro inmates."

The next Report from the Protector is dated the 1st of July, 1827, and embraces the preceding three months. He states, that though his Majesty's Government had been assured, by the Planters of Berbice, that the usage of the colony was opposed to the separation of families of slaves by *private* sale, yet the practice prevailed, and three instances of the kind had recently occurred.

Twenty-seven marriages were solemnized in the preceding three months, and forty-seven licences for marriage had been issued.

The amount of deposits paid into the Savings' Bank in the same time, was 1246 guilders.

The Protector's last report is dated the 1st of September, 1827, and is made, in the absence of Mr. Power, by Mr. Bird, the deputy protector.

The number of manumissions effected in the two preceding months was 61, 27 being still in progress. "Of these," says Mr. Bird, "the boy Charles, purchased for freedom by his mother, Lena, requires to be particularly noticed, as having been effected under the compulsory clauses of the act."* The price fixed by the appraisers, 500 guilders, "as the value of a child but six months old, will, I suppose," he says, "be an award peculiarly acceptable to the people of this colony." "No more than seven months ago a child, a year and a half old, was appraised, under similar circumstances, and valued at 200 guilders, (£15.) Now we have one, aged only six months, not a whit more healthy, or born under more favourable auspices, declared to be worth 500," (£37. 10*s.*)—Such acts of injustice and oppression are the natural result of the groundless and subtle distinctions, with which the plain and simple question of a slave's value has been embarrassed, by persons whose official situation gave a factitious weight to their unprofitable speculations.

The memorial of the planters of Berbice, on the subject of the manumission clause, and which formed the ground of the Privy Council inquiry in 1827, is inserted in this volume; but we have already so largely discussed that subject, (see Reporters, No. 27, 31, 33, and 37 appendix,) that we shall now pass it by, especially as there still remains to be noticed the mass of complaints brought before the Protector of

* These compulsory clauses are at present suspended.

slaves in Berbice during the ten months elapsing from the 1st of November, 1826, to 1st of September, 1827. The complaints amount to nearly one hundred, and they are no less instructive than that famous return, made three years ago by the Fiscal of Berbice, which so justly excited one uniform feeling of horror wherever it became known.

We have often reprobated the principle of punishing a slave who complains and fails in establishing the truth of his complaint, and that not after a regular trial and conviction, but simply on the exculpatory statements of the very parties who have by him been put upon their defence, and who not only may obtain, in this summary way, the punishment of their accuser, but retain besides the power of future annoyance, as they have, in general, the complainant again placed under their entire control. Our readers will recollect that the instances of this kind in the returns formerly furnished by the Fiscal of Berbice, (see Reporters, No. 5, and 16,) were very numerous; it there appearing that about four-fifths of the complainants were severely and summarily punished by that officer, for having complained.

In the present returns the number of such cases is much less, not more than one in ten or fifteen, and in some of these, the complainants, we believe, had they been regularly tried, would have been convicted of preferring false and unfounded complaints from malicious motives. But what we object to, is not that such cases should be punished, but that they should be punished without regular trials, and fair opportunities of defence. If this occurred but in a single case, we should still object to it, as a violation of principle; and although in the hands of a humane and impartial judge like Mr. Power, it may be attended with no practical evil, yet the precedent it furnishes cannot fail to lead, with men of other feelings, to extensive oppression and injustice. We have no doubt that Mr. Power will rejoice with us that Mr. Huskisson has so decidedly recorded his condemnation of the practice, as will be seen in a subsequent part of this Reporter, and we conceive that no case can arise to which the principle he so ably asserts will not be found applicable.

We now proceed to select a few of the cases of complaint (for we might fill a volume were we to insert the whole) brought before the Protector; and our selection will be made, as on former occasions, not certainly with a view of harrowing the feelings of our readers, but of illustrating the genius of the colonial system—the brutalizing effects of slavery on master and slave, and the miserably low estimate which is formed by the Planters of Berbice and the other slave colonies of negro rights and negro comforts. We will confine ourselves to such cases as appear to have been established in evidence.

1. Aaron complains that Mr. Forsyth, of "*the Friends*" estate, to whom he was hired, had set him to make a fire under a sugar boiler, with fuel so damp that the fire would not kindle; (the fuel is produced still wet,) that he was therefore put into the stocks all night, and flogged in the morning; that besides this, though seized with belly-ache, Mr. Forsyth had ordered him into the field; and further, that he gave no time for breakfast, either to him or the other slaves. This case was redressed by the Protector. (p. 153.)

2. Friday, having been allowed to hire himself out, had accumulated some money, with which he had bought a piece of land, and built a house upon it, that cost him 2000 guilders, (£150.) This house and land, however, his master, Mr. Emery, had taken away from him, without giving him any value

for it; and, dying, he left it in the possession of a Mary Emery, probably his mistress. A Mr. Hill, who had been Friday's trustee in this purchase, confirmed Friday's statement, but said he had not wished to interfere between master and slave. The Protector, having in vain called on *Miss* Emery to produce her title, proceeded to institute the necessary legal suit to recover the property for Friday, p. 154.

3. FREDERICK had been head carpenter on plantation *Dentichem*, and when that estate was sold by his former master, Mr. Van der Brock, to Messrs. WINTER and INNES, of London, it came to them burdened with the payment of a joe (35*s.* 9*d.* sterling) a month, and a regular maintenance to Frederick. Frederick, however, having lost his eyesight, thought proper to employ 550 guilders he had saved from his pension, (about £40.) in buying a negro, named Jacob, to wait upon him and lead him about. But Mr. William Ross, the attorney of Messrs. Winter and Innes, would not allow Jacob to remain on the estate with Frederick, and directed him to be sold at public vendue, and the proceeds to be paid to Frederick. Frederick applied to the Protector, that Jacob might not be taken from him, "he being my eyesight." Mr. Ross stated, as the reason of his proceeding, that, "in behalf of his constituents, Winter and Innes, he would not allow Jacob, who is a diseased man, to remain on the estate, *lest he might become a burden to it.*" The Protector said he certainly could not force Mr. Ross to allow Jacob to remain on the estate. Frederick, however, was unwilling to part with Jacob, who had been with him for a considerable time, and Jacob was unwilling to part with Frederick. And it was at last settled (Mr. Ross not choosing, it appears, to yield) that Jacob should not be sold, but that Frederick should hire him out, and with the proceeds of his hire engage another person to wait upon him, p. 156.

4. On *Highbury* plantation, belonging to Messrs. DAVIDSON, BARCLAY, & Co. of London, the slaves complained loudly of the conduct of the manager, Mr. JOHN ROSS. He worked them, they alleged, without intermission from morning to night; gave them no time for breakfast, and no clothes. The driver testified to the same effect, intimating that the tasks were so heavy that they were obliged to work "through the eleven o'clock," and that only the best workmen could finish their task by six in the evening, others leaving part unfinished. Amsterdam said, "I am the best workman on the estate, and must say, that if I commence in the morning" (at six o'clock,) "I am obliged to work through eleven o'clock to finish my work by five in the afternoon." The manager and his two overseers contradicted these statements; but the negroes all stoutly maintained the truth of their complaint, affirming that their task work by far exceeded that of other estates, nay, that if they finished their task one day by four o'clock, it was increased next day so as to keep them constantly at work till six. The inquiry, does not appear to have led to any decisive result beyond a strong admonition to the manager to be more moderate in his exactions, and to the slaves to be obedient and submissive, p. 178.

5. PRESENT, a female slave belonging to DANIEL MUNRO, and hired to Mr. RICHARD COLLIER, complained of being shamefully beaten, both by Mr. Collier and his housekeeper, Miss Eliza Inglis. Mr. Collier not only beat her, but knocked her into a pond, and threw a table after her. The complaint of this person, who is described by the Protector as "a poor looking, diminutive negress," was substantiated by her owner, Mr. Munro, who stated, that though he had owned her for nine previous years, he never had had any occasion to punish her. The Protector referred the case, which appeared to him "a most wanton and unprovoked assault on a helpless female slave," to the Fiscal. Collier and his housekeeper were accordingly prosecuted to conviction, before the court of criminal justice, and, after sustaining nine days imprisonment, were released on presenting a petition to the Governor, pp. 183 and 212.

6. In the case of a complaint from the slaves of plantation *Providence*, belonging to W. HENERY, the evidence is so very contradictory, that we will not go into the details; especially as we find it difficult to understand the grounds of the sentence, by which a severe punishment was summarily inflicted on nine of the complainants. We advert to it, therefore, for the sake only of an incidental statement with respect to the quantity of clothing allowed the field negroes, and which appears to be regarded as a good allowance to each for the year, viz. "*one* hat, *one* shirt, *one* pair of trowsers, *one* bonnet, *two* caps, *one* blanket," p. 185.

We may imagine the state of a pair of osnaburg trowsers at the end of the year. And yet the Protector says the slaves of *Berbice* are the best clothed he has seen. What must be the clothing of the slaves in the other colonies?

7. Brandy, belonging to plantation *Woodlands*, complained of his master, J. H. Rawlins, and it appeared in evidence, that the driver had flogged him twice with a cat, which, contrary to the law, he carried in his pocket, and pulled out when there was occasion; that when he complained of this to his master, his master horsewhipped him and drove him away; that having then complained to the civil magistrate, he was sent back to his master for a pass to come and make his complaint; that his master gave him a pass, but not till he had called the driver, and had him again tied down and flogged, and then sent him to lodge his complaint. This case was referred by the Protector to the Fiscal, with a remark, that "if the facts turn out as stated, there are three palpable violations of the law;" 1st. the punishment of the complainant by the driver with a cat in the field; 2d. The horsewhip of the owner; 3d. the infliction of stripes on an alleged crime of absence, without a due interval previous to punishment. The result was, that Mr. Rawlins was found guilty, and subjected to three several fines under the provisions of the Order in Council, which fines were duly enforced, p. 186, and 212.

8. Mars, belonging to Mr. Mittelholzer, brought various complaints of severe treatment against his master, which he denied, and on the strength of this denial, and of "the respectability of Mr. Mittelholzer's character" the Protector dismissed the complaint, p. 189. This however, though the first, was by no means the only complaint against this gentleman. Five others were afterwards preferred against him, so that he is at least unfortunate in having his conduct so often brought into question.

9. Into the details of the case of Jenny, belonging to Mr. Cort, who was put in the stocks, and made to work when three months gone with child, so that she miscarried in consequence, we cannot enter. The complainant appears to have been guilty of exaggeration and violence. Still the above facts were unquestionable. It was no less unquestionable, on the admission of Mr. Cort himself, that his slaves had not had a blanket since July 1823, and that the whole year's supply of clothing for each of them, did not exceed one jacket and nine yards of osnaburg. p. 187.

10. Anna belonging to Plantation *Dankbaarheid* the property of Messrs. Krieger and Prass, complained of harsh treatment by the overseer. When ill and lame, she was shut up in the hospital, and even in the dark hole, and refused water to quench her thirst, being also kicked, and both hands and feet confined in the stocks. The Protector having received the report of the civil magistrate to whom the complaint had been referred, wrote to the overseer, that though the evidence was not sufficient to induce him to prosecute, there was nevertheless, strong presumption that Anna had been severely treated. Common humanity, independent of his duty to the proprietor, would have dictated a different conduct, and as he was a young man, he begged to impress upon him the necessity of guarding against a repetition of such a proceeding, p. 219.

11. Klaas belonging to Col. Nixon, Receiver General of the Colony, complained that the Colonel had sold him to Mr. Munro of Foulis, a sugar plantation; and that he should thus be separated from his aged mother who was also a slave, and lived in town. He was ready, he said, to work for his master as a cooper or a cook, in or near town, but he was most unwilling to go to such a distance (25 miles) from his aged mother, till he had buried her. The Protector regretted he could afford Klaas no redress; but he wrote to Col. Nixon, suggesting the propriety of selling him to some town resident. The Colonel, in his reply, said "I conceive I have an undoubted right to dispose of Klaas by *private* sale, which I have done; and Mr. Munro has become the purchaser. The real fact is, he wishes to reside in town, where he can have access to rum"—(as if rum were not to be had on a sugar estate!)—"As to his story about his affection for his mother, it is all humbug."—"I am sure Mr. Munro will have no objection to allow him to find an owner, provided he will pay him cash. I abominate slavery, and I wish to God I could afford to emancipate the fellow, though he is undeserving; but I cannot."—The aged mother and her only son were thus doomed, by this hater of slavery, to be separated from each other, p. 221.

12. La Rose having been told by the driver that he should not be wanted as a watchman on Saturday night, went to a neighbouring plantation to see his wife, and spend the Sunday with her. He had lived with her some years, and had a child by her. On the Monday, his master, Mr. Mittelholzer, charged him with having neglected his watch. He pleaded the driver's assurance that another had been appointed. But had you a pass? La Rose said no, on which he was confined in the dark-room Monday night, and was flogged on Tuesday morning. In such cases a pass is not customary, yet, as the letter of the law requires it, the Protector could give no redress. He wrote, however, to Mr. M. desiring that a pass might never be refused to negroes wishing to visit their wives on Sundays, a privilege to which they were entitled by the new law, p. 226.

13. Henry, belonging to Commissary Frazer, said that his master called for water, but he did not hear his name mentioned. His master then came down with a horsewhip to beat him, but he fended it off. His master then threw him down, put his foot on his belly, and struck him on the head, holding him down and squeezing his neck to the ground, calling for a rope to tie him and send him to prison. Henry, not submitting, Mr. Frazer struck him with the horse-whip on the jaw. Mr. Frazer pleaded that Henry had resisted, and had held fast hold of the whip for a time, and would not let it go. The Protector reprimanded Henry for the resistance, and warned the Commissary against punishing his slave without the interval prescribed by law; as had he used the whip summarily he must have been prosecuted for the offence, p. 226.

14. A long examination took place into the state of things on *Golden Grove* plantation, of which Mr. Ross was the manager, which ran into an endless variety of minute particulars, exhibiting much brutal violence and low profligacy on the part of a white overseer, Hiles, and general licentiousness on the part of the slaves, as well as great negligence on the part of the manager, both as to the moral state of the slaves and the regular supply of their food. The Protector, on closing the examination, admonished Mr. Hiles, not to act on the irritation of the moment. He could not conceal too from him and the manager, "that there was very reprehensible irregularity arising from the very licentious habits and propositions of the overseer, especially in an endeavour prematurely to debauch the mind of such a child *as Emmy*, through the instrumentality of her mother; and that Mr. Ross was culpable in not knowing of such proceedings. Such licentiousness as that of Mr. Hiles, did not fall indeed within the penalties of the law, but he should speak to the attorneys." These gentlemen anticipated the Protector, and dismissed both manager and overseer, p. 227.

15. Johnson, a boy eleven years of age, hired to Mr. Sherburne, the Barrack-master, presented himself with a chain locked round one foot, to which a weight was attached. He had had this chain on more than a week, and it was not taken off at night. "It hurts my leg;" he said, "I was flogged, too, this morning, by Mr. Sherburne, with a leather whip. The chain was on me while he flogged me." This case was ordered for criminal prosecution.

16. Dunn and Wall, belonging to *Smithson's Place* plantation, being ordered by the manager, Alexander Macdonald, to go to work at a distance, Dunn represented that there were reasons why he should not go and another should be appointed to the duty; and Wall complained of an ulcer which incapacitated him. For this demur they had both been put into the dark-room the preceding night, and flogged this morning. "They exhibited their persons, *which appear dreadfully lacerated.*" The Protector conceiving they had been flogged "without reason, and with great cruelty," referred the complaint to the Fiscal.

17. A second case of separation of family, by private sale, occurred with Colonel Nixon. The nature of it may be collected from the following examination of the mulatto woman Peggy, an old infirm person, going on crutches. "Colonel Nixon bought me and my family at Governor Bentinck's sale, and we have been living in his service ever since. He was going to free me. He called me up stairs three weeks ago, and asked me if I should like to go and see my daughters in Demerara, who were made free by my old master. I said yes. Massa said very well; I will get you a paper, and you will be free, and then you can go, and I will pay your passage. I said, 'God bless you, Sir.' But I did not think the Colonel was going to send me away, and to divide my family by selling Hendrick, and taking away Jacob. He ought to have told

me he intended selling Hendrick. I live in the yard, and yet never knew he was to be sold, till Hendrick told me his name was in the paper to sell. I said, no, child, the Colonel bought us a family, and he cannot sell you without the rest. It was my intention to go to my daughters in Demerara. One is lawfully married, and both in good circumstances. But I cannot abandon the poor slaves here, consequently I cannot go and eat and drink there, but must remember and look on those here also. One of my thighs is withered up. I must be maintained. I cannot do the least thing to earn my livelihood." " Hendrick was purchased by the manager of *Cotton Tree.* He objected to go there. Mr. Ross, of Golden Grove, sent for him, and said, ' if you will consent to belong to me, I will purchase you, and if the Colonel will sell Betsy, (a sister,) and your old mother, I will purchase them also.' Hendrick, not being able to help himself, and finding Mr. Ross inclined to befriend him, consented, and I cannot help myself, though I do not like to be separated from my child."

18. Klaas, belonging to *Karel* and *Wellemshoop,* complained of the manager Mr. De Quay. Klaas had been fetching shingles in a punt; the punt got upon a stump, and the shingles were lost. Being afraid of punishment, he ran away for two or three days, and going to complain, to Mr. Mittelholzer, who brought him back, he was put in the stocks and flogged. Whilst Klass was away, Mr. De Quay broke into his house and left it open, and when Klaas returned to it, he found all his things gone, provisions and goods, and four joes, and seven guilders in money, about £8. sterling, which he had amassed. He asked Mr. De Quay to return the property; he refused. He asked for a pass to complain to the Fiscal, which was also refused. He was then kept every night for three weeks in the stocks, but he contrived at length to escape, and came to town. These facts being corroborated by the head carpenter on the estate, the complaint was referred to the Fiscal for criminal proceedings against Mr. De Quay.

19. Two slaves, Nelson and Ross, belonging to James Blair, Esq., M. P. for Minehead, complained of being improperly flogged. The civil magistrate, H. Downie, investigated their complaint, declared it to be unfounded, and sentenced them to a month's imprisonment in addition to their former punishment. They appealed to the Protector, and he referred them to the Fiscal, but attended the examinations which followed. The result was that Nelson and Ross were deemed not justly blameable. From the admission of Mr. Chisholm, the manager, they had performed extra labour without the wages prescribed by law. The Deputy Protector remarks on this, that " it is well known that from men of the first abilities and education, gratuitous labour is rarely to be expected even in Europe; how then can a rational hope be indulged of its being given by an illiterate slave in Berbice, where a cessation from toil is considered as the highest luxury." In this case no plea was set up that " the time during which these slaves were employed was not their own;" and could it be expected they should work, if a fair equivalent were not made them? The matter was laid before the Governor, and the execution of the sentence of Mr. Downie was suspended, p. 256.

20. John, complained that he was ordered into the woods, by Mr. Farley, to cut staves, but a bad foot, he said, rendered it impossible. The Doctor inspected him, and reported that there was an ulcer on his foot, which ought to be healed before he went to work. The Protector wrote Mr. F. to that effect.

21. Five slaves, the property of James Blair, Esq. M. P. for Minehead, complained of the manager, R. Nicholson. They had been unused to gin cotton, and therefore not expert at it, and could not do so much as old ginners. They each received twenty-five lashes for not ginning the required quantity. In inflicting this punishment, the manager had ordered them to be stripped perfectly naked, that the lash of the whip might not be obstructed. The slaves remonstrated, but the manager persisted, though many women were present at the time.—Another slave, Esau, was punished at the same time on another account. A hair had got into his eye. After it was taken out, he was ordered to go to work. He objected, as his eye was still painful. " Massa," he said, " if your skin hurts you, how can you work!" The manager said, he had pulled the hair out. Esau replied, it still hurt him. The manager, on this, told him, " Very well, I shall give you a good flogging." When the drivers received orders to flog him, Esau remonstrated, but in vain. One of the pegs, however,

which fastened him prone to the earth coming out, the flogging was intermitted, the manager saying, "Never mind, take him to the hand-stocks, it is a worse punishment." Esau was then fixed in the stocks by both hands and feet, and the board for the hands, which can be raised or lowered at pleasure, was drawn up so high, that he was raised from the seat, and the whole weight of his body left suspended. Whilst in this intolerable situation, he begged the overseer to intercede for him. The overseer said no, the manager will be angry. Esau remained in this state sixteen minutes.—These facts were confirmed by witnesses. A white overseer testified to the entire nudity of the men punished in presence of the women; and to the inflamed state of Esau's eye, and his painful position in the stocks; but he could not tell how long such a position could be borne without fainting. Mr. Nicholson considered the punishment inflicted to have been merited and legal. The Protector thought otherwise, and referred the matter to the Fiscal for criminal prosecution, p. 259—261.

22. Catherine, belonging to Plantation *Hampshire*, the property of W. Cort, brought her child, about a year old, and said it had been very sick, and that she had staid with it; but Mr. Cort had sent for her, and said, as she staid in the house when other people worked, she must work during play time. She had, on this, shewed the child to Mr. Cort, when he ordered the nurse to take the child from her; said she had no business to leave work until the evening to nurse her child; and directed she should be confined in the dark-room for two hours at noon, after which she was sent to work in the field till night. The next morning, Sunday, she was put into the dark-room again, and kept there till the next day. She said she thought it a hardship not to be allowed to nurse her sick child. The Protector explained to Catherine, that this indulgence could not be granted. Nurses were appointed to take care of the children, and if *they* did their duty, he could not interfere. He signified, however, his opinion, that the punishment inflicted by Mr. Cort had exceeded the offence.

Various other details equally revolting might be extracted from this volume, but these may suffice as a specimen. The returns respecting Berbice conclude with a letter of Mr. Huskisson's, expressing his satisfaction with Mr. Power's conduct, and with the proof his report affords of the many advantages arising from the new slave code—He adverts to the case mentioned above, numbered 19, and observes, that it furnishes a sufficient illustration of the necessity of prohibiting magistrates from acting as such, in cases where their own slaves are concerned; and he suggests the passing of a law, to facilitate the recovery of debts due to slaves, about which Sir G. Murray also shews himself anxious. p. 273, 274.

Let it not be forgotten that all these horrid transactions occurred between the 1st of November 1826, and the 31st of August 1827. What would the case have been had there been no efficient Protector?

10.—Mauritius.

In our Reporter, No. 42, we gave a view of the slave code of the Mauritius to the present time, and we need not now recur to it.—On the 20th of October, 1827, Sir Lowry Cole transmitted to the Secretary of State an Ordinance in Council, similar in its provisions to the Trinidad Order but varying from it in many particulars; together with the remarks of the Council; and a copy of detailed observations by the principal slave owners on the Trinidad Order drawn up at a public meeting. Sir Lowry Cole did not flatter himself that these observations would have weight with government, at the same time he had the satisfaction of thinking, that with respect to the treatment of the slaves, since he had been in the island, considerable improvement had taken place in this interesting particular; and although he admitted there was still

much to amend, yet, as there was an evident disposition on the part of the inhabitants to enter into the views of government in this respect, he hoped their observations would meet with some attention.

By turning to the Reporter, No. 42, p. 335, the reader will see, on the authority of Sir L. Cole himself, how slight ground there was, at the commencement of 1827, even for this qualified eulogy.

The modifications of the Trinidad Order introduced into the draft of the Mauritius ordinance by the Council of that colony, may be judged of by Mr. Huskisson's comments upon them, in his despatch of the 19th of March, 1828. They are to the following effect.

1. The Council had united the office of Protector to that of Procureur General; and both they and the body of planters strenuously contended for the expediency of this union. Mr. Huskisson tells them in reply, that his Majesty is not disposed to sanction it. Both economy and convenience will be best consulted, by uniting the office of Protector, not to that of Procureur General, but to that of Registrar of slaves.

2. "The *draft*," says Mr. Huskisson, "does not declare the possession of a plantation, or of slaves employed in agriculture, incompatible in every case with the office of protector." No relaxation of this rule, he observes, can be permitted.

3. "The continuance of markets on Sunday, during the early part of the day, is permitted in the *draft*, not as a temporary regulation, but as a permanent rule. It *must*, however, be provided, that this departure from the general principle of observing the Sunday as a day of rest, is to terminate, as soon as adequate provisions can be made for the religious instruction of the slaves."*

4. "Notwithstanding the remarks of the Council, it is not thought fit to sanction the proposed enactment, that the driver, when superintending the labour of the slaves, may carry a cane in his hand." "The cane would succeed, in appearance at least, to the whip, and as the driver, who has been accustomed to use the whip as a stimulus to labour, might very probably employ the cane to the same purpose, it is best to render the prohibition absolute and universal."

5. "The substitution of six slaves as witnesses of punishments, instead of one free person, can be permitted *only* when the owner can prove that it was impossible to procure the attendance of a free witness."

6. "The power of using the whip as the instrument for the correction of females, *cannot* be intrusted to the civil Commissaries, or even to the chief Commissary of Police. However well founded may be the opinion of the Council as to the moral character of the slaves, nothing could be more adapted to promote and perpetuate those vicious habits, than punishment so subversive of all the feelings of self respect."

7. "The want of education among the smaller proprietors may be an insuperable objection to keeping records of punishments; but the remedy suggested by the Council would seem to meet the difficulty.

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* It clearly ought not to be continued on such grounds for a single hour. See Reporter, No. 11, p. 132—139, &c.

The very small remuneration for which, it is stated, that some would undertake the keeping the records of neighbouring estates might very properly be afforded for that purpose. In proportion as the gang is less numerous, the necessity of a registry of punishments is greater."

8. "The *draft* enables the owner to prevent the marriage of his slaves, by proving it injurious to his interests. The interest of both will be in general the same. But if a real contrariety of interest should arise, it is not fit that, on such a subject as that of marriage, the interest of the owner should be preferred. Nor could such a rule have any beneficial operation. The law may prevent a marriage which would be injurious to the owner; it would not prevent an illicit connection, which would be at least equally injurious to him."

9. "The separation of persons not legally married, but living in a state of permanent concubinage is not prohibited" by the *draft*;—"for the present at least it will be necessary to afford protection to connections of this nature."*

10. Mr. Huskisson objects to the restrictions proposed by the Council on the right of slaves to acquire and alienate property, and to all limitation of their right of defending as well as prosecuting actions.

11. He postpones the question of compulsory manumission.

12. "The projected law would prevent," he says, "any voluntary manumission, unless the Protector were satisfied that the slave had means of subsistence, sufficient to prevent his ever becoming a charge on the colony. This would prevent the emancipation of the most expert mechanic or domestic, unless the owner were both able and willing to make adequate provision for his future subsistence. His Majesty's Government *cannot* sanction any other restraints on manumission, than those which have been expressly permitted by the instructions you have already received."

13. "It will be *necessary* to provide, that no slave may be punished for preferring a complaint, unless he be distinctly convicted of the offence of having preferred a calumnious charge from improper motives, that conviction proceeding upon adequate and legal evidence." See above, p. 356, and p. 362.

14. "The proposed enactment would confirm every disposition of former laws, on the subject of slaves, which is not contrary to the proposed ordinance. It is difficult to estimate correctly the effect of this general confirmation of the earlier slave code of the colony. Many local ordinances appear to have been made on this subject, both before and since the conquest, which were never confirmed by his Majesty, or by the government of France; and some of which may probably be open to grave objections. This part of the intended act therefore *cannot* be sanctioned."

15. "You will communicate," he adds, "this despatch to the Council, for their guidance in the revision of the *draft*. When that *draft* shall have been corrected in the several particulars which I have noticed,

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* It is difficult to conceive hypocrisy more gross than that of these planters affecting to shrink from the immorality of legally protecting the concubinage which they have created and fostered, and indeed exclusively permitted.

you will cause it to be promulgated as law in the colony, in the usual manner, transmitting to me an authenticated copy of the law which you may promulgate."

We have perused this despatch with unfeigned satisfaction, without meaning, however, to imply that we at all alter our views of the deficiencies belonging to the Trinidad Order in Council, and to every Order formed upon its model. See Reporters, No. 11, 28, and 34.

Sir Lowry Cole in January, 1828, promulgated a law, imposing on a master, who abandons his slave on account of age, disease, or infirmity, a fine not exceeding £20., nor less than £4. sterling; besides which, the slave shall be maintained at the public hospital, the master being compelled to pay for his maintenance a shilling a day, secured on the real estates of the master, into whatever hands they may pass. The penalties may be enforced by personal arrest, and, after three months imprisonment on such arrest, the delinquent may be discharged, but only on giving legal proofs of total insolvency.

The manumissions in the Mauritius from the 1st of January 1815, to the 31st of December 1826, have been 1005, or, on an average, 84 annually. From the 1st of January, to the 20th of September 1827, they have been 127.

The number of persons receiving relief is 210; namely, 97 whites, and 113 persons of colour, at an average expense per month of about 5 or 6 dollars each.

The lengthened observations of the planters on the evils of the Trinidad code, and the superior humanity of the Mauritius system, are reserved for the present, until we shall have exhibited to our readers, as we hope ere long to do, the actual circumstances of the slave population in the Mauritius. The assertions of the planters will then form a curious contrast with the real facts of the case. In the mean time, suffice it to say, that their misrepresentations are to the full as gross as any thing which has ever issued from the planters of the Antilles.

Fresh Persecution of Missionaries in Jamaica.

Our readers will recollect the demolition of the Methodist Chapel which took place last year in St. Ann's Bay, after a violent attack on the Methodists from the pulpit, by the Rev. George Bridges, the Rector of that parish; and the perfect impunity which followed that crime. The period which has since elapsed has been filled up with outrages of the same character. The Rev. Mr. Grimsdall first fell a victim to the persecuting rage of the St. Ann's magistracy. For preaching the Gospel he was shut up in the fetid dungeon which forms the jail; an illness followed which soon closed both his earthly troubles and his labours of love. This savage proceeding has been followed by others of the same description, which have only missed their aim by the interference of the Chief Justice of the island, Mr. Scarlett.—On Sunday the 10th of August as the Rev. Isaac Whitehouse was on his way to St. Ann's Bay to preach, he was arrested by the Head Constable and carried before a Magistrate, who committed him to the common jail, notwithstanding his earnest entreaties to the contrary. On entering the cell, (the same

Mr. Grimsdall had occupied,) he found in it an insane negress, who was removed. "The cell was exceedingly filthy, and the stench unbearable." No bed was provided, not even straw; and with difficulty he at length obtained a few benches from the chapel on which to make up a bed. He caused a quantity of vinegar and camphorated rum to be thrown on the floor and walls, but it produced little effect on the effluvia which proceeded from the filth that filled and surrounded the place. The little air he could obtain was through a window just above the place where all the filth of the jail is deposited. The cells around and underneath consisted of the hospital, in which were three sick; of a place containing a dozen unhappy creatures waiting their trial; of another cell, in which were two men under sentence of death for murder; and other apartments containing slaves taken by the Marshal for debt and waiting to be sold, together with runaways, and slaves sent in for punishment.* One of the men under sentence of death was ill. His groans, the grating noise of the prisoners' irons, the intense heat of the place, and the stench of the jail and hospital, not to be overcome by any expedients, deprived him of sleep and greatly affected him.—While his committal was taking place an overflowing congregation had assembled at the chapel, whom the constable went and ordered to disperse, which they did, after Mr. Watkis, a free person of colour, educated in England, and who was a leader among them, had sung a hymn and prayed.—On the 12th of August the Rev. Joseph Orton, hearing of what had happened, came over from Montego Bay to console his brother, and officiate in his place; but, on attempting to preach, he also was arrested "for preaching, and teaching as an unlicensed person," (although he exhibited his credentials as an ordained minister, and a certificate of having subscribed the oaths,) and committed to the common jail along with Mr. Whitehouse. Mr. Orton at length became so ill that his life was pronounced to be in danger; Mr. Whitehouse was also unwell; and had not the Deputy Marshal taken upon himself the responsibility, contrary to the opinion of the Magistrates, of permitting them, on the 23rd of August, after a confinement of nearly a fortnight, to remove to the adjoining house of a friend, on their parole, they probably would have fallen victims of this persecution as Mr. Grimsdall had done. Mr. Watkis, attempting, on Sunday the 17th instant, to lead the worship of the congregation, was also taken up and committed to jail, where he was kept till the 20th; the bail for him, which was refused in the first instance, being then accepted.

While these atrocities were proceeding, the other Methodist Missionaries were busily occupied in laying the whole case before the Chief Justice, and preparing the necessary affidavits on which to obtain a *habeas corpus*.—The writ was issued, and the prisoners appeared before his Honour on the 29th, when their discharge was moved for on the ground of illegal imprisonment. The Chief Justice did not hesitate a moment, but ordered their full and unconditional discharge; leaving it to be inferred, that the proceedings of the St. Ann's magistrates were illegal, arbitrary, and cruel. They have since, we under-

* This is a picture, be it remembered, of a *single* parish!

stand, been put out of the magistracy, which they had so grossly abused to purposes of oppression and persecution.

We add to this succinct detail of these atrocious transactions a few brief extracts from the journals of the Missionaries.

14th.—" A few friends came to the Jail, and desired to see us, but were not allowed to do so. The jailer says he has received strict orders not to allow any one to come to us, except our wives and children. It would appear, that there is no offence so great, in the opinions of these Gentlemen, as to preach the Gospel."

"My imprisonment was followed by a mandate, which the jailer brought me a few minutes after I entered the prison, saying, " Sir, I am ordered not to allow any persons to come and see you, except your wife and servants; and that you are not to hold prayers." From the former part of this mandate we are now suffering some inconvenience; as to the latter, we rather obey a higher mandate, that " men ought always to pray." These things are not " joyous, but grievous;" nevertheless, under these afflictive circumstances—while deprived of liberty, detained from our charge, and exposed to a noisome atmosphere—we will endeavour to rejoice, and " in every thing to give thanks, for this is the will of God in Christ Jesus concerning us." Nor will we forget to " pray for our enemies, and those who despitefully use us."

15th.—" Arose this morning much indisposed, having had but little sleep the last two nights, which I attribute to my miserable lodgings, and more particularly to the almost incessant cracking of the whip, and the clamour of the numerous inmates: it appears the disgusting crack of the whip is here the signal for almost every operation. The last two days we have had much rain, which has increased the unpleasantness of our situation, by the noxious vapour arising from the drenched filth with which this place is surrounded; and which, under the rays of a scorching sun, exhale effluvia, which are almost suffocating."

" I have, however, abundant cause to praise God, that I feel a peculiar calmness of mind and resignation of will suited to my present circumstances; and whilst I feel indignant at the abuse of power, I look down upon my persecutors with feelings of Christian pity, and can say, " Father, forgive them."

17th (Sunday).—" This has been to me an eventful Sabbath; one continued scene of confusion; arising from a variety of unavoidable occurrences, connected with our confinement, and from the incessant clamour, and the slashing of whips in the yard of the workhouse. The whole of the Negroes belonging to the establishment have been on the premises all the day; the most industrious of them have been variously employed for themselves, the Sabbath being their only day for domestic engagements. Our very souls yearn over them, and though restrained from giving direct instruction, we trust that an occasional word, followed up by our prayers, may prove beneficial to them."

21st.—" Yesterday and to-day, Brother Orton and myself have had access to the condemned criminals underneath us; and I trust that our visits have not been in vain. They appear to be very grateful for the attention we have paid them, and are evidently under serious impressions respecting their eternal state. Several others also, who are in confinement for various offences, but who have not as yet taken their trials, are very willing to receive instructions; so that there is reason to hope that our coming to this place will be made a blessing. There are not a few of them who are as ignorant of the God who made them, as the beasts which perish; but several of those who are not in close confinement attend our morning and evening prayers; and perhaps some will have reason to bless the Lord for ever, that we were confined here."

These transactions need no comment.

The Missionaries speak in very favourable terms of the kindness shewn them by the Deputy Marshal and others, and of the conduct and demeanour of the Chief Justice towards them.

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The "Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter" will be ready for delivery on the first day of every month. Copies will be forwarded at the request of any Anti-Slavery Society, at the rate of four shillings per hundred, when not exceeding half a sheet, and in proportion, when it exceeds that quantity. All persons wishing to receive a regular supply are requested to make application to the Secretary, at the Society's office, No. 18, Aldermanbury, and mention the conveyance by which they may be most conveniently sent. Single Copies may be had of all booksellers and newsmen, at the rate of 1*d.* per half-sheet of eight pages, or 2*d.* per sheet of sixteen pages.

A PICTURE OF THE NEGRO SLAVERY EXISTING IN THE MAURITIUS.—ALEXANDER BARCLAY.—SOCIETY FOR CONVERSION OF SLAVES.

The Mauritius surrendered to His Majesty's arms in the month of December, 1810. Sir Robert Farquhar immediately became the governor of it, and continued to hold the appointment until June, 1823. He was absent from the colony, however, during the years 1818 and 1819, when the government of it was administered first by General Hall, and afterwards by General Darling; and he was succeeded, soon after his final departure, by Sir Lowry Cole, who held the office until a very late period.

The law of slavery which existed in this colony at the time of its capture consisted of two ordinances, one promulgated in 1723, and the other in 1767; which, while they armed the master with absolute power over the slave, afforded to the slave no effectual protection, scarcely even the shadow of protection, against its abuse. These ordinances, the substance of which will be found in the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 42, have formed the only slave code of the Mauritius from the period of their promulgation to the present time, with the exception of a slight modification, recently introduced by Sir Lowry Cole, to regulate the weight of the chains which the master, at his discretion, might impose on his slave.

Sir Robert Farquhar, indeed, gave many assurances to His Majesty's Government, as may be seen in the same Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 42, that he had "endeavoured in every practical instance to alleviate the burden of the slaves;" nay, that it had happily been in his power "by a *series of measures* to ameliorate their condition, and to bring into practice a system, for their treatment, which must lead to their benefit and comfort."—In short, he had done all in his power "to better the condition and alleviate the oppression of the slave."—These statements he reiterated, from his place in the House of Commons, with the most unhesitating confidence, on the ninth of May, 1826, when a committee to inquire into the slave trade and slavery of the Mauritius was obtained by Mr. Buxton. And yet, the fact is now unquestionable

that, during the whole of his long administration, Sir Robert Farquhar did not adopt any series of measures, nor even any one measure, for ameliorating the condition and alleviating the oppressions of the slave population; and that even the single measure of a slave registry, ordained, partly with that view, and also with a view to the effectual suppression of the slave trade, by His Majesty's Government at home, became under the management of this functionary, (the cause of which we by no means pretend to fix) not only perfectly useless to its purpose, but a fruitful source of the most flagrant crimes, and an effectual protection of their guilty perpetrators. In the entire variance therefore from the actual facts of this island's history, not of the professions merely, but of the deliberately framed and official statements of Sir Robert Farquhar, on this supremely important object of his administration, we have, as it appears to us, an infallible test of the confidence to which he is entitled.

When Sir Robert Farquhar first assumed the government of the Mauritius, he transmitted to the Secretary of State an official return of its slave population for 1809, amounting to 60,000. At the same time he stated, that there then existed such a deficiency of labourers, that "unless some means be speedily devised for supplying these colonies with hands, they cannot continue in cultivation, but must become deserts."*

In a subsequent letter written on the 28th of July, 1812, after he had had upwards of a year and a half to examine and ascertain the fact, he asserted that the annual reports of the last seven years shewed "a yearly diminution in the numbers of the blacks of five per cent." And on the ground of this progressive destruction of human life, he laboured to convince Lord Liverpool that the Slave Trade ought to be, and must be, continued in the colonies under his government, "where slavery," he said, "is the very soul of their existence, and where universal torpor and poverty must reign without it;" adding, that "without a fresh importation of slaves, these islands, as I am given to understand, and am led to believe, cannot continue in cultivation and produce, but must become desert." Nay, he again pressed the subject with increased earnestness on the attention of Lord Liverpool, actually affirming, that "without the Slave Trade, or some other substitute or remedy, these colonies promise to be *shortly* annihilated; and the inhabitants are likely to be rendered desperate, if the supply of slaves be refused them."

But notwithstanding this extraordinary rate of decrease, affirmed so distinctly by Sir Robert Farquhar in 1812, and said to be grounded on official reports, yet, when in 1815 (only six years subsequent to the former enumeration in 1809) a census of the slaves was taken, their number was found to amount to 87,352. That this should be the effect of natural increase in a colony which in 1809 contained 60,000 slaves, and where the population in 1812 was still decreasing, according to Sir Robert Farquhar, at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum; and where moreover in 1815 the males exceeded the females in the proportion of

* Letter of Sir R. Farquhar to Lord Liverpool, dated the 8th of January, 1811.

56,684 to 30,668, Sir Robert Farquhar must have seen was altogether impossible. The difference it was obvious could only have arisen from importation. For even if we reckon the annual decrease by mortality at no more than an average rate of 2500, which is below Sir Robert Farquhar's official statement of it, we shall be forced to assume, that in the first five years of his administration, an importation of upwards of 42,000 slaves must have taken place into that single island. And yet we cannot trace in the letters of Sir Robert Farquhar any notice of this circumstance; although the results of the registration of 1815 must have forced it upon the observation of any man not wilfully blind, and must have seemed to call on his part for at least some attempt at explanation.

But it is foreign to our present purpose to pursue the pregnant topic of the Mauritius *Slave Trade*, of which Sir Robert Farquhar was, in the first instance, so powerful and so zealous an advocate, and for which he seems long to have retained the tenderness of an early friendship. We therefore postpone that part of the case, however strongly its aggravated nature tempts us to enter upon it, in order to pursue the object of giving a faithful picture of the state of *slavery*, as it has existed in the Mauritius since that colony came under the rule of this country.

In the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 42, we have already shewn what the state of slavery in the Mauritius has been *in point of law;* and it may be summed up in two words,—the unmeasured power of the master,—and the utter destitution of all legal right or protection in the slave. We shall now direct the view of our readers to what has been, and we fear, still is the *practice* of slavery in that colony.*

Progress of Population in the Mauritius.

We shall begin with an attempt, though it must of necessity be an imperfect one, to ascertain the probable extent of the destruction of human life which has been regularly proceeding in this colony. We might here produce the testimony of numerous living witnesses, but this, though strong and decisive, would necessarily be too vague for our purpose. At present therefore we shall confine ourselves to the less disputable evidence of statistical returns.

By a report from Sir Robert Barclay, the collector of the internal taxes, dated November 29, 1823, it appears that the slave population of the district of Port Louis amounted, in 1822, to 7456 males and 3669 females, in all 11,125.† By a return of the interments of slaves occurring in this same district, during the years 1815 to 1820 inclusive, the number of deaths amounted to 6565, being nearly at the rate of one death yearly in every ten or eleven persons, or about ten per cent. of deaths per annum; the ordinary mortality of Europe being not more than an average, on all ages, of from two to three per cent. per annum.

Now it has never been asserted, that there is any thing unfavourable to negro life in the *climate* of the Mauritius generally, or of the Port Louis district in particular. The contrary indeed may be proved by the returns of the whole free black and coloured population of the island

* Reporter, No. 3, p. 20.

† Papers of May 30, 1825, No. 361.

during nearly the same period, viz. from 1816 to 1821 inclusive. The average of the population of this class for those years was 11,061.* The annual average mortality during the same six years was 295, being one in 37 or 38, or about $2\frac{2}{3}$ per cent.

On nearly the same number of slaves, however, in the district of Port Louis, the annual rate of mortality was 1094, being little less than four times that of the free population of the colony. And supposing the same rate of mortality to extend over the whole slave population of the island, we shall have, as the result, not less than about 7000 deaths annually, or about 126,000 deaths in the 18 years we have possessed the island; a mortality nearly equal to killing off the whole of the slaves existing at any one time twice told; a number equal to which must have been supplied by means of importations, and by the consequent accumulation of the well-known atrocities from which alone such importations could be obtained.

A farther proof of the dreadful extent of the mortality prevailing among the slaves in this colony, may be drawn from the case of the estate of Bel Ombre, belonging to Mr. Telfair, the private Secretary of Sir Robert Farquhar, and the humane treatment of the slaves on which estate Sir Robert, who was himself a constant visiter upon it, highly extolled in the House of Commons, representing it as a pattern for good management, and one of the best regulated in the island. Now, even on this well regulated estate, the *decrease* appears, from authentic documents, to have amounted annually to about 12 per cent. The return for 1819 gives 64 deaths and 12 births on a population of 378, being an actual decrease of 52, or $13\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; and the return of 1825 gives 55 deaths and 16 births on a population of 372, being an actual decrease of 39, or $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; or, on an average of the two periods, a decrease of 12 per cent.† The *mortality* in the first year was as high as 17 per cent., and in the second as high as 15 per cent., being an average of 16 per cent.

Now if this was the mortality on one of the best regulated estates, what must it have been throughout the whole island? And what must have been the continued extent of importations indispensably required to maintain, as has been done in the face of this decrease, a population numerically almost undiminished? But even if we were to deduct from this fair but frightful estimate a fourth, or a third, or even a half, enough will remain to prove the terrible effects of that system of coercion and privation, by which the slaves are in this colony worked and starved to death; and the unspeakable atrocity of those wholesale murders which this country continues to tolerate, but which no man, who has not the heart of a demon, can even think of without emotions of indignation and horror.

And it was in the face of many of these facts, then accumulated at the Colonial office; and in despite of the loudest protestations and remonstrances, on the part of those who believed but were not then in a capacity absolutely to prove the enormities since brought to light, that

* See Papers of March 4, 1823, No. 89, p. 127.
† Papers of May 1, 1827, No. 285, pp. 34 to 39.

Government proposed, and Parliament consented, to give, by fiscal encouragement and protection, an increased impulse to the cruel and sanguinary cupidity of the planters, or rather pirates of the Mauritius. Is not this a national crime of the very deepest dye?

The whole community have of late had their feelings violently and universally excited by a series of acts of cold, calculating, deliberate, bloody-minded ferocity, which have been judicially brought to light at Edinburgh; and no man, who has a single spark of humanity in his frame, can view them in all their dimensions of iniquity without a thrill of horror. But if, even to these appalling discoveries, we were to add the deeds of Corder and Thurtell, and of the murderers of Marr and Williamson, combining with them all the murders which, during the last twenty years, have called down the vengeance of British law on their perpetrators; we doubt whether this collective mass of crime would be found greater than the regular, business-like, daily march, for a like period, of that system, which on many estates as *well-ordered* as Bel Ombre, steadily proceeds, for ends equally sordid, in *so* torturing and murdering, inch by inch, the cultivators of their soil, as that one in ten shall be regularly slaughtered, every year, to glut the cupidity of their savage owners. Wherein do the unflinching and resolute administrators of such a system morally differ from the smooth-tongued and remorseless villain who, in Edinburgh, is now about to suffer the penalty of the law? They differ only as it appears to us in the deeper malignity, and more heartless barbarity of their conduct. And yet under all the circumstances of the case, are not their crimes *ours?* Are *we* not partakers in their guilt?

But it is time to come to particulars. We have dwelt hitherto in generals. Our first illustration shall be taken from the estate already mentioned—Bel Ombre. We have now before us some lengthened details respecting Mauritius slavery in general, and this plantation in particular, of which we shall merely give the outline. The period to which they refer is the years 1821 and 1822.

General Treatment of Slaves in the Mauritius.

Over night his food was usually delivered out to each slave for the following day.* It commonly consisted of three pieces of baked manioc (cassada) of the size and appearance of muffins, and which in the Mauritius go by the name of "Manioc Cakes." This food is described not only as unpalatable, and also unsatisfying in its nature, but as extremely insufficient in quantity, more especially when the continuity and intensity of the labour exacted from the slaves is considered; the day's allowance being often barely enough for a single good meal. It was prepared beforehand in order to save the time which it would require to prepare it if it were given to the slaves in its raw state, and because it became less necessary to allow them a cessation of labour in order to their eating it. It might be eaten while they continued at work. This wretched and scanty aliment was eked out by drinking large quantities of water, which distended their stomachs; and by eagerly devouring, at the risk of punishment, every species of disgusting offal and carrion which came in their way, and

* It was sometimes given out for several days; and sometimes a few watery potatoes of the Island were substituted, which were still less nourishing.

it was considered as the fruitful source, combined with their hard labour, of those dysenteries which were constantly sweeping so many of them into a premature grave.

The daily labour exacted from them extended to from sixteen to nineteen hours in the day, even out of crop. No time was allowed them for breakfast,* the eating of a manioc cake requiring no respite from work. For dinner the slaves had nominally two hours allowed them, but in this time they had to cut a bundle of grass or wood for the master, which, on leaving off work at night, they had to deliver at his house. This wood or grass was frequently difficult to be obtained, and a large proportion of the two hours was, therefore, often spent in obtaining it, so that the period of repose was liable to be abridged by half an hour, or even an hour or more.

On most estates the slaves were summoned to their work, in the morning, by the cracking of the drivers' whips, but on some of the larger estates they were previously roused by a great bell. On Bel Ombre estate the bell was generally rung at three in the morning, sometimes earlier, but seldom later, and they continued to work, without any interval for breakfast, and with only the interval already described for dinner, until so late in the evening as eight o'clock, and, on light nights, even an hour or two later.

While the slaves were at work, they were followed by drivers, and were continually receiving blows and lashes, and were even occasionally taken out from the line and punished with twenty or thirty lashes, and then sent back to work. But these occasional inflictions were scarcely regarded in the light of punishment, but merely of discipline. The regular punishments were reserved, on Bel Ombre, (a practice however, differing from that of many other estates,) for Sunday, a day which, there, never failed to be ushered in with severe floggings. The offenders of the week were reserved in chains (in which they were made to work) for that day; and they were often numerous, generally about thirty, and amounting, on one occasion, to about fifty.

There was no difference in the way of punishing male and female slaves; but there were two different modes resorted to, of punishing both. One was by erecting a frame-work of three poles in a triangular form with a bar across, and fastening the hands of the sufferer, by a rope, to the place where the three poles were united, his or her body resting against the cross bar. The other was by placing the sufferer prone on the face on the ground, or on a ladder, his or her hands, if on the ground, being held extended by four other slaves, or firmly fastened to the ladder, as the case might be. Being thus placed, and the body being bared, the sufferer was flogged on the posteriors, either by one driver, or, in cases deemed more heinous, by two, one stationed on each side. And if the driver failed in inflicting the punishment to the satisfaction of the master, he was liable himself to be made to change places with the offender. The instrument with which the punishment of flogging was inflicted consisted either of a whip, or of the split rattan; and opinions greatly differ, as to which of these was the most cruel. The whip varied in size. Its handle was of wood, from two to three feet

* On some estates the practice differed on this point.

in length, and from an inch and a half to two inches in diameter; and the thong was from six to eight feet in length, and, at the thickest part, from one and a half to two and a half inches in diameter, tapering towards the lash or cutting part. The rattan was a cane of about five feet long, split into two or three parts from one extremity to within a foot or eighteen inches of the other; the unsplit part serving as a handle, and the rest forming a tremendously powerful cat of two or three tails. Either instrument would make incisions into the flesh, and lacerate it at every blow; and the sharp edge of the split rattan would sometimes divide the flesh like a knife. Military floggings, numbers of soldiers testified, were *nothing* to these. The whip was sometimes a very ponderous instrument; one was seen on Bel Ombre weighing upwards of seven pounds.*

There appeared, in practice, to be no limit to the number of lashes inflicted on offenders but the discretion of the master or manager. Seldom less than fifty, and often a hundred or many more lashes, were given in the way of regular punishment; and by this extent of infliction, the parts, generally the posteriors, were always reduced to one bloody mass of lacerated flesh; and to this was often added the further excruciating torture of the application of lime juice, or salt and pepper, on the pretence of keeping the wounds from festering. The punishment of a collar and chain was often superadded, and also of confinement in the stocks, for an indefinite period, during the intervals of labour, as well as during the night. The collar was rivetted on, and with the chain often worn for months. The use of the collar and chain was so common that it ceased to excite observation, except when the collar was adorned, as it often was, with three or four projecting prongs, the object of which was to render it difficult for the bearer to make his way, in case of absconding, either through the cane pieces, or through the bushes or woods which cover the uncultivated parts of the island. A further effect of these prongs was to render it impossible for the wearer to extend himself at full length, on the ground, for the purpose of repose. The slaves so chained were for the most part confined in the stocks at night. Sometimes a heavy weight was attached to the chain, and sometimes they were chained two and three together.

All these various punishments might be inflicted, at the sole will of the master or manager, on men, women, and children alike, for any offence he might choose to deem deserving of it. But the most usual occasions of the heavier punishments were either the thefts, to which the slaves were driven by hunger, or the flight into the woods, to which they were driven by the excess of labour, or the dread of anticipated punishment.

As to clothing, the field slaves in general had very little,† the men none beyond a band round the waist, and the women very little more, except what they sometimes obtained by prostitution; the drivers and headmen alone formed an exception.—They had no bedding, not even a mat given them, much less a rug or a blanket, to repose upon at night. They commonly lay down to sleep on the bare and often wet ground. Their huts were usually of the meanest and most miserable

* The model of a *moderate* Mauritius whip may be seen at the office.

† The most we hear of was two yards of very coarse calico in the year.

description, pervious to the weather, and so small as scarcely to afford space for the seven or eight human beings, who were frequently crowded into each, to extend themselves at full length on the floor.

In the time of crop the slaves retired from the field somewhat earlier than at other times, in order to take their turn of labour during the night in the manufacture of sugar. If they fell asleep during their spell of night labour, they were liable to be severely flogged; but sometimes, so irresistible was their drowsiness, that their hands were apt to be drawn into the mill along with the canes, and completely crushed and mangled.*

Marriage was unknown among the slaves; but the most open prostitution prevailed universally among the females. Ladies, so called, often hired out their negresses to the soldiers, by the month, for this purpose.

The slaves were generally excluded from all moral or religious instruction; and to teach plantation slaves to read was almost unexampled. Indeed, this might be said of the whole slave population.†

Cases of Cruelty.

The above account would apply, with slight occasional variations, to the estates in general throughout the island, as well as to Bel Ombre. On some the slaves might be better off in one or more particulars, and on some they might be worse off. But the sketch now given may be considered as a fair representation of what was the ordinary, every-day, treatment of the slaves, on those estates which Sir R. Farquhar might designate as well regulated. This treatment, however, was wholly independent of those more exemplary inflictions of punishment which occurred from time to time, and which, though not productive of so great an aggregate of misery as flowed from the calm, steady, regular, course of plantation discipline, yet concentrated into a brief and narrow space a greater portion of the more revolting horrors of the system.

We will here again take Bel Ombre as our first and one of our most striking illustrations. An eye witness, who resided on that estate for six months, saw, in the month of July, 1821, a Mosambique negro brought out and placed flat on his face for punishment. The person continued to look on the process until 150 lashes had been inflicted, and then, unable any longer to endure the horrors of the scene, quitted the place without having ascertained how much farther the punishment was carried.

The same person was also an eye witness of the punishment on this

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* It is a curious confirmation of this statement, that in the list of the slaves at Bel Ombre, for the year 1819, printed by the House of Commons, on the 1st of May, 1827, No. 285, we find three of the slaves described as "estropiés des deux mains," "mutilated in both hands."

† And yet, will it be credited, that Sir Robert Farquhar, in a letter to Earl Bathurst, dated the 12th October, 1813, thus wrote: "Some paragraphs published in 'The Government Gazette,' without the sanction of Government, harmless as they may appear in Europe, were the cause of infinite apprehension and alarm in this island. They were considered *by the slaves (the better informed part of whom can read*, and eagerly devour every thing touching their own state and condition) as a declaration of Government of their approaching liberation from all duty to their masters." The paragraphs were indeed of the most innoxious kind; and Sir Robert might therefore, without any risk to the Colony, have spared the discredit of this further misstatement. No. 296 of 1826. p. 25.

estate of two young women, for the crime of running away. They were both advanced in their pregnancy, and were both ordered to receive the same punishment, although one of them had been a fugitive only for one month, and the other had been two years in the woods. The former intreated that her punishment might be delayed, at least till she was delivered, that her child might not suffer as well as herself. The overseer said, that as she was so knowing as to make such a request, she should be made to suffer the more on that account. The punishment of this unhappy girl then began, and our informant was resolved to see the end of it; but after 160 lashes had been inflicted, the shrieks of the sufferer became so piercing, that it was impossible any longer to endure the spectacle. On returning, however, some time after to the spot, our informant learnt that both this and the other girl had gone through the whole of the punishment assigned them. They had afterwards collars with projecting spikes fastened round their necks, these collars being attached to each other by an iron chain.

Another individual who resided at Bel Ombre for some time, during the years 1820 and 1821, confirms most of the general statements made above, and particularly the fact that the regular punishments were usually administered at Bel Ombre on Sundays. This informant often counted the lashes, and never knew any of the offenders to receive less than one hundred, excepting two youths, who received about seventy each. It was common to rub salt and pepper into the wounds, which it was alleged would prevent them from festering, and enable the sufferers the sooner both to return to labour, and to bear a repetition of punishment, if it should be thought right to inflict it. The pain of this application is described as excruciating.

The same person states that, in the month of July, 1820, being on a plantation, he saw two slaves brought out to be punished. They were placed flat on their bellies, extended on a wooden beam, to which they were fastened, while two men held their hands and two their legs, and a driver, who struck alternately, was placed on each side of the sufferer. The whips employed were unusually heavy, and 120 lashes were inflicted on each. On the following Wednesday, having occasion to go to the room used as an hospital, he saw laid out the dead bodies of the same two slaves. The wounds were putrid, and sent forth a rank smell; and he afterwards saw them both carried out, tied up in mats, to the burial ground.

Our informants in the above cases of cruelty have expressed their readiness to appear as witnesses of their truth, either in a court of justice, or before a magistrate, or before a Committee of the House of Commons, whenever they shall be called upon to do so.

But it will perhaps be said, that such atrocities as these could never have been permitted, but must have met with condign punishment, had they been made known to the local authorities at the time. The statements we are now about to submit to our readers will probably convince them that such a course would have led to no beneficial results as respected the slaves, seeing how often it issued in impunity to the guilty, in inconvenience to those who attempted to bring them to punishment, and in aggravated misery to the sufferer. The instances are drawn from the official records of the Colony.

1.—*The Case of the Negro Girl Virginie.*

The *procés verbal* in this case, signed by V. Delafaye, officer of police, states that this girl, the property of one Ollier, otherwise called Lailette, a Creole, of the age of fourteen years, was found creeping on all-fours in the streets of the town of Port Louis, by the police patrole, and brought to the police office, on Thursday, the 11th of October, 1821. She had fetters on both her feet, and was dragging after her a chain and a weight of about fifty pounds; the whole of the irons she bore weighing about seventy pounds French, or seventy-six pounds English. These chains had been put upon her on the preceding Saturday, by her master, because she had deserted his house on account of ill treatment; and she exhibited her body to the police, which was found martyred ("martyrisé") with the blows of a rattan. When taken up in the streets, she was again attempting to escape from the house of her master, to implore assistance from any who might afford it.

M. Lavergne, a surgeon, the officer of health, having been called on by the police, certified that he had examined this girl's body, and on either side of the posteriors he observed two wounds in particular, which seemed to have been inflicted with some blunt instrument, and in a great degree to have been the cause of the fever which was then upon her. Besides this, he testified that she had massive iron rings on both her ancles, and moreover dragged after her a heavy chain, which of itself was fifty pounds, (fifty-four pounds English,) and was attached to the rings. The irons were removed, and the girl sent to the hospital.

The next step in the process was a reference of the case, on the following day, to the attorney-general, M. Virieux, who forthwith submitted it to the Court of First Instance, which on the very same day pronounced judgment upon it. The judgment of one of the judges, M. Portalis, is in the following words:

"Having seen the *procés verbal* in police, and the report of Lavergne, and having considered that the said Ollier, or Lailette, in inflicting the punishment of flogging on his slave girl Virginie, *has only done that allowed by law;* and having considered likewise *that the weight of chain is not excessive,** since it has not hindered the slave girl escaping again from her master's house, we order that the said girl Virginie shall be returned to her master with the chains she bore."

This is followed by the further judgment of the president of the Court, J. L. Lefebvre, dated the same day, the 12th of October, 1821, as follows:

"Having examined the case, and considered that although Ollier, or Lailette, the proprietor of the girl Virginie, has only inflicted the punishments which belong to the authority of masters, in flogging and chaining the said Virginie, who had been guilty of running away, yet, according to the police report, it is implied there had been excess;—We order that the said Virginie, placed in the hospital at her master's

* About five times the weight of the heaviest chains with which felons are double-ironed in England.

expense, shall be given back to him, along with the chains to which she had been attached; and that he be charged to treat her as a father," ("en père de famille.")

This sentence, justifying the conduct of the master, and impugning that of the police, was forthwith reported, with all the previous proceedings, to Sir R. Farquhar, then the governor.

2.—*The Case of the Negro Man Azor.*

The *procés verbal* in this case, signed D. Virieux, first assistant of police, states, that Azor, belonging to Madame Michel, had, on a Sunday, without leave from his mistress, gone to see a fête called Yamee (annually observed by such slaves as were natives of India); that on Monday morning he had returned to his mistress, who put him in chains; but that at four o'clock he had escaped, and came to the police office, to complain of having been chained unjustly, and to request that he might be relieved from them. The chains (which it appeared weighed thirty and a quarter pounds English) were taken off by order of the chief commissary of police.

Azor's case having been submitted to the Court of First Instance, by the attorney-general, Virieux, on the 9th of October, 1821, the judgment of that Court was given, and first that of M. Portalis. "Having considered," he says, "the *procés verbal*, &c., and the weight of chains, including the collar and fetter, put upon Azor, twenty-eight pounds,* (French,) and having also considered that Azor has not been *corrected* by his mistress, and that he has no complaint to make of her, but that in punishing him for having absented himself from his work, she had limited that punishment to putting upon him chains, of which the weight was not excessive, that punishment being authorised by the law;—And since no one has a right to use the liberty of taking off from a negro the chains which his master may put upon him, without the order of the proper authority, I require that Azor be forthwith sent back to his mistress, with the chains which have been taken off him; and that the police be forbidden to allow itself to relieve a black from his chains, until the same be ordered by the competent authority."

The president of the Court, Lefebvre, concurred in the sentence of his associate, adding, that "the punishment of the domestic chain belongs to masters, agreeably to the colonial laws and regulations; and no one has a right to interfere in this domestic discipline, so long as there is no excess, which there is not in this case; and that it concerns the public order that masters should not be hindered in the exercise of this right of discipline. We order," he adds, "that Azor be replaced in the chains to which he had been subjected by his mistress, and sent back to her domicile and discipline, she being enjoined to treat him with parental care,"† ("en bon père de famille.")

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* The largest weight allowed by Sir Lowry Cole's new law, (No. 42. p. 335.) was six pounds; and ten pounds is the *usual* weight of double irons in England for felons, the very highest being fourteen pounds.

† We know not whether this lady be the same Madame Michel living at the Grand River of Port Louis, of whom one of our informants testifies that he once

3.—*The Case of the Negro Man Pedro.*

This man, a slave, belonging to a Mr. Christin, a planter of the district of Moka, presented himself on the 7th of January, 1818, to General Hall, at his residence of Reduit. He had been suspected by his master of having given information of some new slaves that had been smuggled into his plantation, and he now related various particulars of cruel treatment which he had been made to undergo.—Happening accidentally to tread on a young duckling and crush it to death, he had been tied up and punished with 100 lashes. His master had also suspended him for a time with a rope by the neck, letting him down before he was quite dead, though nearly strangled. His food was insufficient and of bad quality, being a pound and a half of sweet potatoes a day, an allowance totally inadequate to the sustentation of one who had to work hard like him, and who had no respite from labour on Sundays or other days.—Pedro's statement was corroborated by his personal appearance. He seemed hardly to have strength to tell his tale; round his neck the mark of a cord was visible; and his body, from his shoulders to his legs, was all over wounds and sores.

A surgeon, M. Bertin, who was made to examine Pedro on the same day on which he presented himself, bore the following testimony to his state at that time. He found Pedro lying at length on the floor, complaining of a great pain in the lower extremities of his belly, without however having in that part any external marks of violence; but M. Bertin found two remarkable sores, which he describes, on the buttocks, and many contusions and erosions, and slighter rents of the skin on other parts of the body, from the nape of the neck downwards. —And M. Lavergne, the surgeon of the police, who saw him on the 8th, stated in a legal *procés verbal*, that he recognised the marks of strong pressure round the neck, as though by a strong cord; and that there were two serious wounds of considerable depth, and of about four inches broad, on the buttocks, and two others in the middle of the thigh; adding, that it was urgent to send him to the hospital to avoid a locked jaw.

Both these statements, of which only the substance is here given, were extracted from the minutes of the Court, before which the case afterwards was brought, countersigned by Mr. Husson the registrar.

Nothing was produced to rebut this evidence, excepting the exculpatory statements of Mr. Christin himself, and his son, the purport of which was, that the pressure round the neck arose from an iron collar, and that only 25 lashes had been inflicted on Pedro. On being further questioned, the elder Christin was forced to admit that he had given *two* twenty-fives nearly together, but he gave no farther explanation respecting the pressure round the neck, which could only be adequately accounted for in the way Pedro had explained it.

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saw, at her residence, seven negroes with their necks fastened in a kind of wooden pillory, while their feet and toes just touched the ground; and that in this perpendicular position, nearly suspended by the neck, they were kept for several nights, being at the same time made to work during the day as usual.

The sentence pronounced in this case by Mr. Lefebvre, the president of the Court, on the 26th of January, 1818, was, that Mr. Christin, on paying the medical expenses of Pedro's treatment in the hospital, should be discharged, and enjoined, in future, to use greater moderation and humanity towards him.

The sentence does not expressly order Pedro to be returned into his power, but as the contrary was not ordered, such must have been the inevitable effect of it.

4.—*The Case of Antoine, a Male Slave.*

This slave was the property of a widow lady, a Madame Ozughree. Her son, named Desiré Ozughree, a young man of about 20 years of age, was accused of having loaded a gun with shot, and placing Antoine a few yards from him, fired at him, but from his being a bad marksman did him no material harm. The case, having been referred to the attorney-general for prosecution, was tried before the Court of First Instance on the 8th of June, 1818. The attorney-general, M. Pepin, in a report which he officially made of the trial, in a letter of the 25th of June following, coolly remarked, "that young Ozughree was not right in firing off a gun at this slave, for although it did not occasion any wounds, yet the consequence might have been fatal." He goes on to state, that he, the attorney-general, though the gun had been loaded with shot, yet taking into his consideration the absence of all criminal intention on the part of Ozughree, and the state of indiscipline of the black, (a fact which appears to have stood on the bare assertion of the accused, and was not in proof,) had only required of the Court, "that Desiré Ozughree should be strictly charged not to carry himself again to such lengths, under pain of a greater punishment, and that Antoine should be given back to Madame Ozughree."

The sentence of the Court, signed by its president, Lefebvre, followed the lenient suggestions of the attorney-general, and was in the following extraordinary terms: "Considering that Ozughree had no criminal intention, and that he has even reproached himself that the act had *no* unfortunate result for Antoine, who was in a state of indiscipline;* and rendering justice to the conclusions of the attorney-general;—We forbid to M. Desiré Ozughree to be guilty of a repetition of such conduct, and require him to employ means of repression to his blacks in conformity with the laws; and we therefore order that Antoine shall be given back to his mistress, charging her to treat him properly in the manner of a father of a family."

Thus was disposed of this wilful and wanton outrage, which, in England, under Lord Ellenborough's act, might have cost Ozughree his life.

5.—*Case of Le Cotte, a Man Slave.*

This man was the slave of a person named Noel Bastel, in the district of Moka. Having absconded on account, as he alleged, of hard

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* Did not this very circumstance undeniably prove that he had a criminal intention? He regretted he had not killed or wounded Antoine.

treatment, he was seized, and Bastel, with his own hand, inflicted upon him between 200 and 300 lashes, and then cut off his right ear, which it was further affirmed he forced him to eat and swallow. The only point in this case which was disputed, was the eating of the ear. The fact was strenuously affirmed by the slave. But Bastel, who admitted the lashes, and the *cutting off* of the ear, affirmed nevertheless, that what he had given the man to eat, telling him it was his ear, was not in reality his ear, but a bit of leather from the sole of his own shoe, which he had substituted. He did not, however, deny that he had led the man to believe that it was his own ear, (who by the way could hardly have mistaken it) and such was also the belief of the other slaves who were spectators of the transaction. In point of turpitude it was not very material which version of the story was the true one. It was farther in proof, that after all this had been inflicted on Le Cotte, he was put in chains by his master.

The case was tried before the Court of First Instance. All that the substitute of the attorney-general demanded in his conclusion, was that, Bastel should be deprived of the means of committing similar acts, by rendering him incapable of holding any slave property for the future, and in the propriety of this sentence, one of the judges concurred. But he was overruled by the other judges,* and the judgment was, merely, that the sufferer, Le Cotte, should be confiscated to the Government.

6.—*The Case of Edward, a Man Slave.*

This man who had been very recently imported, was, on the 11th of October 1818, severely punished by his mistress named Marianne. Being found in the streets by the police, he was, on the 16th, sent to the hospital, and on the 22nd he died of a locked jaw. A surgeon describing his state on the day he died says, " he cannot remain in a recumbent posture, but stands in a half-bent position, leaning forward; he appears much reduced in strength, with large drops of sweat on the forehead;" and the chief medical officer of the island, certified his death in the following terms: " The slave Edward died in the civil hospital on the 22nd instant of tetanus following from a punishment as reported." " He also appeared," it was stated in the report of one of the surgeons, " to be a *new* slave."

No criminal proceedings appear to have been taken in this case.

7.—*The Case of Felix, a Slave Boy.*

Felix, a boy of twelve or thirteen years of age, belonged to M. Dureau, chef de departement in the district of Plaines Wilhelms. On the morning of Sunday, October the 4th, 1818, he had suffered a dog, of which he had charge, to escape. For this offence he was tied up, and received twenty lashes. On the succeeding day, while the flesh was yet tender, (from a refined species of cruelty prevailing in this island,) he was drawn out again, and received twenty more lashes; and on the third day, while the flesh was of course, still more raw, he was again tied up,

* The courts are composed of several judges, who exercise the double functions of judge and jury.

and again received a like number of lashes. On Thursday he contrived to abscond, and on Saturday, the 10th, appeared before General Hall. He was forthwith submitted to the examination of Dr. Burke, chief medical officer of the island. The following was Dr. Burke's report: "I find that Felix has large sloughing ulcers on his posteriors, and other marks of barbarous recent punishment." "The punishment has been most severe, and excessive. He is exhausted and debilitated, and has symptoms of fever, pulse 126, hot skin, &c. I have, therefore, thought it absolutely necessary to send him to the hospital for treatment, having previously given and applied such remedies as the case required."

The report of M. Lavergne (surgeon of the police) dated the following day, the 11th of October, was this: "I found the posteriors severely wounded, and in a state of suppuration, occasioned, as it would appear to me, by a whip. I found it a matter of urgency to send him without delay to the hospital, there to have his wounds dressed and taken care of, with the view of preventing tetanus."

On the 15th, the same surgeon reported, that the wounds of Felix were now in a good healing state, but that he was "not yet out of danger;" and at a still later date, Dr. Burke wrote as follows: "I may state, in elucidation of this case," (that of Edward, detailed in the last page, who died on the 22d,) "that the punishment did not appear to me to have been so very severe; at least the existing sores were neither so extensive, nor seemed to have followed so severe an infliction of punishment as another case in the hospital; Felix, *who is now nearly recovered.*" And he afterwards added, still comparing the case of Felix with that of Edward, who had just died, "for whom," that is for Felix, "I was apprehensive of a similar fate."

The above facts and certificates having been sent to the attorney-general, he referred them to the Court of First Instance, when Mr. Christie, one of the judges, being appointed to investigate it, he took the extraordinary course of calling in three fresh medical men, Guellemeau, Sauvée, and Trebuchet, who had not seen Felix before, to make their report of his state, strangely putting out of his view, what alone was material, the report and the evidence of the medical men who had seen the boy while his wounds were still fresh, and before the healing process had been, as it was when this second inspection took place, nearly completed. They gave a favourable report of the actual state of Felix, and even went so far as to hazard an opinion that, from present appearances, there was no reason to believe that he had ever been in danger.

This novel and unjustifiable proceeding, on the part of the judge Christie, led to some delay in the decision, farther proof being called for to reconcile the contradictions: and, in the meantime, this ingenious judge discovered that the Court had no jurisdiction in the case. The old French ordinance, the only slave law of the colony, did not forbid masters from giving as many as thirty stripes to a slave, who they thought deserved it. Whereas, this man, Dureau, had not violated the law, being only charged with having given twenty at a time. The matter having been on this ground thus thrown out as not within the competence of the Court, there could, of course, be no appeal from its sentence to

that of a higher tribunal, and this wretched youth came again into the power of his merciless master.

8.—*The Case of Auguste, a Creole Slave.*

Auguste belonged to M. Jean Louis Diott, of the district of River Rempart. On the 26th March, 1817, he was sent to a distance to fetch some water, and staying longer than was thought right, Diott ordered the driver, Louis, to seize and flog him. Auguste was accordingly flogged from the shoulders down to the breech, both back and buttocks, and then with a pair of pincers, seven of his teeth were, by the driver, either torn out or broken in his head, three from the lower and four from the upper jaw. After this, Auguste was sent to work; but not being able to bend his back, from the severity of his recent punishment, he contrived next day to quit the plantation, but was soon picked up by some one, and taken to Mr. Stokes, the civil commandant of the district, who called in M. Vigoureux, the civil commissary to his assistance. They sent for M. I. Renau, a surgeon, to examine Auguste, and a *procés verbal* was drawn up and signed by him and the two magistrates, purporting that they found, "throughout the whole extent of the back and buttocks, longitudinal sores in a healing state, which the Black stated to have been occasioned by the strokes of a whip, and which, from the nature of the marks, appeared probable. The Black besides, however, had shewn the places where seven of his teeth had, as he asserted, either been wrenched out or broken in his head."

The case was brought before the Court by the attorney-general. Diott admitted that he had caused Auguste to be flogged by the driver, and he also admitted that the driver had torn the teeth out of the boy's head, but then he said, that Louis had done so, not by his orders, but by those of his father. On inquiry, however, it was found that the father had been dead a year. In short, this was obviously a mere pretence for evading the charge, he having been the person who, in reality, had ordered the whole punishment, standing by to see every part of it executed.

On the 22d May, 1817, the judge, Mr. Christie, pronounced the judgment of the Court on Diott, in the following remarkable terms:

"Considering that humanity carries the father of every family to interest himself in the happiness of his children, his apprentices, or his slaves, in short, of all depending upon him, the law has confided to him the power of punishing them for their faults or disobedience, without, however, exceeding the bounds of a just moderation; whence it follows, that all chastisement of an excessive nature inflicted on those whom it is his duty, no less than his interest, to protect and cherish, degenerates into cruelty that requires to be repressed by the magistrate;

"Considering that it results from the information taken in this case, that Auguste, slave of Jean Louis Diott has had seven of his teeth torn out by pincers, or broken in his head, by Louis the commandeur (driver) of the said Diott, acting under the orders, as Auguste still insists on asserting, of his said master; and that this latter only excuses himself

from so barbarous an action by throwing the atrocity of the action on his late father;

"Considering that it is proved that the said Auguste has had his flesh torn from the shoulders to the breech, by a punishment which the said Diott admits, by means of his driver Louis, to have inflicted within the last few days on Auguste;

"Influenced by these motives," "We request that the civil commissary of the district may carry a particular watchfulness on the conduct of the said Diott towards his slaves in general; and that, as to Auguste in particular, he is required to sell him within a fortnight from the signification of the present order at the bar of this tribunal."

So that by this iniquitous sentence was Diott allowed to receive the full price of his maltreated slave, while the poor slave was to be sold to some one who might be the instrument of Diott's vengeance upon him. Diott sustained no other punishment than this, either in purse or in person, heinous and indefensible as had been his conduct.

9.—*Case of Two Negro Boys.*

Colonel Barclay had been sent to seize some new negroes on the estate of a Mr. Carsenac. In a report of his proceedings dated the 11th of June, 1818, is this passage, "I feel it a duty which I owe to humanity to report that, during my examination of the outhouses, I passed two boys, apparently of from ten to twelve years of age, who had been most severely flogged. These wretched children were most heavily chained by their necks, and were placed, with their faces near the ground, so as to expose their naked lacerated posteriors to the sun. On expressing my horror at witnessing such cruelty, and inquiring what crime they could possibly have committed, I was informed by Mr. Carsenac's nephew that they had marooned," (run away) "and set fire to some sugar cane. The children acknowledged their having marooned. In consequence of my interference they were removed into one of the buildings." There is no sequel to this tragedy.

10.—*Case of Seraphine, a Negress.*

This negress belonged to a French woman named Rosette Barbier, residing at the entrance of Port Louis. As General Hall was coming into that town, on the 22nd of October, 1818, he heard the most piercing shrieks. He immediately leaped over the paling from which the sounds proceeded, and there he saw the negress Seraphine tied down flat on her face with cords, her posteriors completely exposed, and a strong athletic negro lashing her with a cart-whip, which inflicted terrible furrows, while Rosette Barbier stood by, and witnessed the punishment. She claimed Seraphine as her slave, and told the General that the punishment was inflicted at her desire; it was suspended on his interference. He immediately wrote to the chief of the police, Colonel Warren, and orders were given to Dr. Burke to visit the slave, who was sent to the police. Rosette Barbier rested her defence on that clause in the ordinance which allowed masters, when in their opinion slaves deserved it, to chain them, or to flog them to the extent of 30 lashes, and she had not exceeded, she said, that extent. The result in this

case is unknown. General Hall was recalled soon after it happened.

We might add to the above horrific details many others equalling, if not exceeding, even these in atrocity; but those we have given are probably sufficient to satisfy our readers that, when we affirmed the impunity which in the Mauritius almost always followed crimes on the part of masters towards their slaves, even when such crimes were proved, we proceeded on solid grounds. We could, however, go much farther if we were to relate facts which we have heard from individuals on whose veracity we rely, and who have confidently assured us of their truth, but of which we have been unable to obtain the judicial records. Several of these, which our informants state to have occurred in 1822 and 1823, exceed in horror any thing to which we have yet called the attention of the public; and as they have given authority, should it become necessary, to use their names, we will advert to a few of them.

1. The first we shall mention occurred in 1822. A man of the name of Peter Cotry, living near Grand Port, having suspended a negro belonging to him under the arms, while his feet scarcely touched the ground, beat him most cruelly with a stick, and then anointing the calves of his legs with fat, set dogs on to bite them. The poor creature calling for water to assuage his thirst, urine was given to him. At last the monster Cotry cut off his private parts, when he expired under the operation. Cotry was taken up, but was allowed to escape from prison, and it was reported that he had destroyed himself. He reappeared, however, two years after, but no notice was taken of his crime.

2. The daughter of one Bauvet, a cooper, put to death a boy of the age of 14, who, she thought, had too tardily executed a commission she had given him. He was suspended somewhat after the manner of Cotry, and a large weight was placed on his head. He was then beaten with a split rattan till he expired.

3. A blacksmith, named Rocan, living near Grand Port, not far from Cotry's residence, had sent a slave on an errand to a distance, which caused him a hot journey of 20 miles. On his return, being put to blow the bellows, he besought his master for something to eat, as he had been fasting for nearly 24 hours. Instead of supplying him with food, his master beat him with great violence, and with the blow of an iron bar laid open his skull and killed him. It was attempted to excuse or palliate this enormity, by saying that the slave died, or would have died. of hunger.

It is of this same blacksmith, Rocan, living near Grand Port, that another informant testifies, that he saw one of Rocan's slaves chained to the bellows, whom Rocan frequently struck with the hot iron drawn from the forge. The body of the poor slave was covered with scars and wounds inflicted in this manner. This was in 1817.

4. A still more horrid tale remains to be told. A woman of some note, of the name of Nayle, living at Flacq, harboured a runaway negress on her plantation. The owner of the negress hearing of it went to the residence of Madame Nayle, and demanded the runaway. Madame Nayle, learning afterwards that the person who had in this

case given information to the owner, was a female slave of her own, proceeded to punish her. This she did, first by tearing all the teeth out of her head; next by cutting off her nose; and then her ears; and last of all, her breasts; under which last operation she expired. The slave was then buried.

A rumour of this horrid transaction having reached the magistrate of police, he took measures for having the grave examined. Madame Nayle being apprised of his intention, she and her two sons employed the night in digging up the body of the murdered negress, which they burnt to cinders, and placing a dead pig in the grave filled it up again. When the commissary of police therefore arrived, and proceeded to the place where he was told the negress had been interred, he found indeed a grave of dimensions adequate to receive a human body, but, on the earth being removed, the carcase of a pig was found there instead. Madame Nayle, being questioned on this extraordinary appearance, alleged that she was always in the habit of thus burying such pigs as died from disease. (This, if true, was contrary to the usual custom, which was to burn them, to prevent their being eaten by the negroes, who, in case dead pigs were buried, would infallibly dig them up and devour them.) She was then asked to point out any other grave of a pig, but this she could not do. Though this affair was thus rendered so notorious, and the main facts of the case were doubted by no one, Madame Nayle was not taken up until news arrived (this was in 1823) that his Majesty's commissioners of inquiry were likely soon to arrive in the island; though from unexpected delays they did not arrive for some years after. All was now bustle and activity, and the arrest of this woman was then ordered. Not a shadow of doubt existed as to her guilt; but the judges refused to avail themselves of a humane provision of the ordinance of 1723, which authorised them to resort to slave evidence, when white evidence could not be obtained, and when that of slaves was indispensable to the ends of justice. Madame Nayle, therefore, after being detained in a kind of anomalous state for some time, in the house of the keeper of the prison, where her apartments were fitted up with a piano forte and other ornamental appendages, and where she freely received visiters as heretofore, was at length permitted to go at large, and the transaction sunk into oblivion.

5. We have heard of only one case, occurring nearly about the same time with the last, wherein the perpetrator of the cruelty met with the fate he merited. Just before the alarm caused by the approach of the royal commissioners had reached its height, a white man named Maurice Prevost, a tanner, cruelly murdered a female slave of his, by cutting off her breasts and lacerating her private parts. This occasion of gaining credit with the commissioners and in England was eagerly seized. The man was tried and executed. This single exception from the common course of proceeding, it was doubtless hoped, being recent, would shed a kind of lustre over the judicial administration of the colony, would throw into the shade all former delinquencies, and fully establish its character for humanity and justice.

Long before reaching this point of our progress, our readers must have been tired and disgusted with the details which we have been com-

pelled to give. We can, however, assure them that we have not yet exhausted even a tithe of our materials. We have at this moment before us, wholly untouched, the statements of upwards of 300 individuals, who, without any preconcert or communication with each other, and without any wrong motive that can fairly be attributed to them, have, singly, and separately, yet with a unity of judgment and feeling which is most remarkable, borne a concurrent testimony to the main features of that state of society which we have now endeavoured faintly to pourtray. The agreement of these parties would indeed be marvellous, on any other hypothesis than that of the unquestionable prominency of the facts of the case, and the truth and accuracy of our representations of them. Such a flood of light was never before poured, we believe, on any similar inquiry, and while it banishes all doubt from our own minds, it leaves us no choice as to the duty of fully exposing the case to the view of the parliament and people of this country. We are under the necessity, however, of setting narrow bounds to this preliminary statement, and we shall now merely observe that the parties, from whom we obtained our information, are ready to be produced, whenever we are authoritatively called upon to produce them. At present we shall abstain from harrowing up the feelings of our readers, by farther instances of individual or judicial atrocity, but content ourselves with exhibiting a few specimens of the language which the numerous witnesses, to whom we have alluded, employ, in conveying the impression made on their minds by their experience of the slavery existing in the Mauritius; and we vouch for their being fair samples of the entire mass.*

No. 5. "I conceive that the slaves are treated more like brutes than any thing else. They are not in any instance whatever treated as human beings. You could not make a brute happy in the way they are treated."

No. 6. "Badly off as many are in this place, (Salford,) the slaves are far worse. I never saw any thing so wretched."

No. 22. "The slaves are used most barbarously as ever I saw any human beings in my life."

No. 26. "There cannot be a lower state of degradation than that to which the slaves are reduced in the Mauritius."

No. 27. "If I were used as some of the slaves are used, I would sooner die than live. Sometimes they kill themselves. I have *known* instances of it.

——"The slaves are more like dogs than human beings. I never saw any people so wretched. Never."

No. 28. "There is no comparison to be made between the state of the slaves and the most destitute in this country. No man in England would use a mad dog as bad as the slaves were treated."

No. 43. "The slaves have certainly no knowledge of comfort or happiness. They are the most miserable beings on earth, worse than the

* Almost all the witnesses we are about to cite are persons belonging to the lower classes, and therefore, themselves accustomed to labour and privation. Not only were their opportunities of observation greater on this account, but their estimate of the parallel condition to their own which they were contemplating, likely to be more just.

most barbarous animals. A wild animal can get out of the reach of barbarity, they cannot."

No. 52. "The slaves are treated more like brutes than human beings."

No. 60. "I think the slaves are most miserable. They are quite starved."

No. 70. "The slaves at the Mauritius are reduced to the lowest state of degradation and misery."

No. 74. "As a married woman, I do not think it possible that the female slaves, treated as they are, could multiply fast.

No. 82. "The slaves are no better off than cattle, nor so well used as many."

No. 86. "The slaves are reduced to the lowest state of degradation."

No. 92. "An Englishman could not bear a quarter of the punishment or work of the slave."

No. 102. "They are the most miserable people upon earth."

No. 108. "I never saw human beings in this or any country so wretched. I have heard of their killing themselves in consequence of the cruel treatment of their masters."

No. 113. "They are mostly starved, and are actually harassed out of their lives."

No. 114. "I have heard of slaves killing themselves to escape from their cruel treatment. As a married woman, I think it impossible females so treated can often go their full time."

No. 122. "No one could tempt me to be a slave. I would rather be the most miserable of free beings."

——"The slaves are treated more as brutes than men."

No. 126. "The slaves cannot be in a worse state than they are. They are treated no better than cattle. The women are destitute of moral feeling, and prostitute themselves in the most open manner, without any feeling of shame."

No. 130. "The slaves are in the lowest state of degradation and misery."

No. 138. "I consider the slaves are in a most degraded state, and the conduct of the masters, in a moral point of view, worse than that of the slaves."

No. 147. "Their lives must be a burden. I should prefer death to living as they do."

No. 169. "The state of a plantation slave is as bad as misery can be."

No. 171. "I never met with any people so badly off as the blacks in the Isle of France."

No. 205. "They are treated with the greatest barbarity."

No. 214. "I am sure I could not use my dog as the slaves are used."

No. 224. "The slaves are most barbarously used. The masters seem to care no more about them than they do about a dog."

No. 256. "They are a thousand times worse off than any persons here. They are worse off than any people I ever saw."

No. 262. "I would rather suffer death than be a slave."

No. 318. " My opinion is, that the slave is one of the *most wretchedest* creatures in existence."

No. 337. " A slave is one of the most miserable creatures that can be. He is used worse than any beast in England, or any beast there. They treat their beasts much better than they do their slaves."

Many also of the persons whose words we have cited, besides thus expressing the general impression produced in their minds by the sight of Mauritius slavery, were the eye witnesses of acts of atrocity, which they describe, equal in horror to almost any thing we have detailed above.—What an aggregate of misery must therefore have been condensed within the narrow limits of this single British possession, even if we keep out of our view all the horrors of that slave trade which has been incited in Madagascar, and on the African continent, to supply the perpetual waste of life caused by this murderous system!

Here then we exhibit our picture of the slavery of the Mauritius, which Great Britain has not only endured for twenty years, but has protected by its civil and military power, and fed and encouraged by its fiscal regulations; and we now solemnly call upon the Government and the Parliament and the people of this country to regard it with the attention which it deserves.

But how has it come to pass, it may be fairly asked, that this case should not have obtained publicity at an earlier period, and that no adequate means should have been hitherto adopted for drawing the attention of Parliament to a state of things so flagrant and outrageous? We shall abstain, for the present, from entering at length on a reply to this reasonable inquiry, but it may probably form, in no long time, the subject of grave discussion. Our readers will remember, that in 1826, an attempt was made by Mr. Buxton, to lay bare this evil in all its bearings and dimensions, which led to the appointment of a Committee of the House of Commons for investigating the matter. The Committee, however, had scarcely entered on its labours when Parliament was prorogued; and it has not since been renewed, partly through the frequent changes in his Majesty's Government, and their unwillingness to enter upon it, but chiefly, perhaps, through the severe illness which prevented Mr. Buxton from carrying his purposes on the subject into effect.

It seems, however, impossible to permit the Parliament and the public to continue longer in ignorance of this frightful case. We have therefore given an outline, and nothing more than an outline, of its general nature; and feeble as is our representation of its enormities, and inadequate as we feel ourselves to be to do full justice to the subject, and especially to the claims of the unhappy victims of our supineness and neglect, we yet trust that such a case will not be suffered to drop into oblivion, or after having excited a few passing expressions of regret or indignation, to remain, like too many similar expositions, without investigation or remedy.

It seems especially to belong to those who have administered the *government* of the Mauritius at *home*, as well as *abroad*, to shew that they are guiltless in this matter. Much of the information we have now brought

forward has been long in the possession of the Colonial Department, and attention has been frequently called to it. It will doubtless be made to appear, what steps have been taken to remedy the evils complained of.—If we were only to look to the tone of our diplomatic communications with France and other powers, on the subject of their slave trade, we ought to feel it incumbent upon us to prove that we have neglected no means in our own power, in consistency with our urgent admonitions and remonstrances to them, and our own high professions of attachment to the interests of humanity and justice, of setting before them a practical example of efficient and well directed zeal.

In *Parliament* we cannot doubt that many will be found, especially among our rising statesmen, who will feel themselves imperatively called upon not to suffer such a stigma to rest on the character of this country as must follow the neglect and impunity of such crimes; involving, as they do, the misconduct of so many public functionaries, and the misery and the murder of so many of our fellow-subjects.

To the *British public* at large, we would likewise renew our appeal, and we would put it to their consciences, whether they can any longer submit, not merely to tolerate, but to support and encourage such atrocities; and whether they do not in fact support and encourage them when they consume the sugar which is the direct produce of so much blood and wretchedness, and still more when they even give it protection against sugar produced by free labour.

And we would, in conclusion, call on the *clergy* of the land, and more especially on those of them who profess a more than common zeal for the glory of God, and the happiness, temporal and spiritual, of their fellow-creatures, to look at the case we have now exhibited, and to say whether they can any longer refrain from lifting up their voices against this crying national iniquity. And let no one lay the flattering unction to his soul, that he may innocently continue to look with indifference, and in silence, on the aggravated evils of Colonial Slavery, and leave the temporal and spiritual well-being of 825,000 of our fellow-beings and fellow-subjects, to the tender mercies of those who profit by their stripes and their chains. Nor let it be imagined, for one moment, that, revolting to the last degree as is the picture we have now drawn of slavery in the Mauritius, it differs in its principles and in its tendencies from that which pervades the whole either of our or of any other European slave colonies. The system of Negro Slavery is radically and essentially the same wherever it prevails, and is only varied in some of its effects by peculiar and local circumstances.—In Bahamas and Bermuda, for instance, the driving whip cannot be used as in the sugar islands.—The West Indies generally are much more remote from the slave markets than the Mauritius, and are also more within the reach and observation of the mother country.—But allowing for such accidental variations, and for differences of soil, &c, Slavery is the same incurable evil in all of them.—It is despotism and cruelty on the part of the master, or the master's delegates—misery and mortality on the part of the slaves—excess of labour and scantiness of food—and a consequent waste of human life; a waste which, though in the West Indies it may fall below the Mauritius, is unparalleled in any other part of the world.

Mr. Barclay's alleged Refutation of Mr. Stephen.

The Assembly of Jamaica voted £1000 sterling, to enable their agent in this country to circulate, among members of parliament and others, the work of Mr. Barclay, under an impression that it contained a complete refutation of Mr. Stephen's "Delineation of Negro Slavery as it exists in Law." A careful perusal of Mr. Barclay's work having satisfied us that from beginning to end it was a mere tissue of misstatement and misrepresentation, we took occasion, in our Reporter, No. 18, (p. 250, &c.) to expose some of its dishonesties to the public; and we challenged those who represented it as deserving of confidence, to select any single instance in which they thought that Mr. Barclay had succeeded in refuting the positions of Mr. Stephen, and we should engage to show that his pretended refutation was an utter and palpable failure. The challenge was declined.

A fresh attempt having been recently made to accredit this mass of detected imposture, we now take the opportunity of renewing our challenge. And we call upon any or all of the members of the West Indian Committee, by whom this work has been so industriously circulated, to point out any *one* of the propositions advanced in Mr. Stephen's view of the law of West India slavery, which, we will not say, has been refuted by Mr. Barclay, but in which Mr. Stephen has not truly represented the law of West India slavery, as it existed in 1823, when he penned his invaluable, and, we confidently add, unrefutable production. If this challenge is still declined, what must the public think, not only of Mr. Barclay, but of the gentlemen of the West Indian Committee, who hold him up as their champion?

Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction and Education of the Negro Slaves.

We have heard that some persons have taken violent offence at the account we have given of the Report of this Society, in our 41st Number, and that they have threatened to prove that that account is false and calumnious. We rejoice to have attracted the attention of these gentlemen, and we sincerely hope that they may be induced to attempt to execute their threat. We know the high and honourable character of the majority of the directors, and feel quite satisfied that nothing but a calm and candid inquiry is necessary to convince them of the general justice of our remarks.

What we desire is, not a triumph over the Society, but to convince its directors of the truth—not to impair its usefulness, but, by enlightening *their* minds, to increase it. And we shall be still more ready to retract what we have said, in misapprehension, to their disadvantage, than we have been in bringing forward errors for their consideration and correction.*

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* Jan. 10. This last page had already been sent to the printer when the threatened exposure reached us. We are too well pleased with the author's concessions, to be hurt by his vituperation. We shall, ere long, and we hope in a less excited spirit than his own, advert to the only essential points that he has not conceded.

Erratum.—No. 41. p. 324. line 2 from bottom, for *mean*, read *main*.

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SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER,

FOR JANUARY, 1829, No. 44.

VINDICATION OF THE REVIEW OF THE REPORT OF THE INCORPORATED SOCIETY FOR THE CONVERSION, &c. OF NEGRO SLAVES, CONTAINED IN THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER, No. 41, FROM THE ATTACK OF THE BRITISH CRITIC FOR JANUARY, 1829.

" *He that is first in his own cause seemeth just, but his neighbour cometh and searcheth him.*—Prov. xviii. 17.

In a work, called the British Critic, the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 41, has been vehemently accused of having misrepresented and falsified the statements contained in the latest Report of the Incorporated Society for the " Conversion, Religious Instruction, and Education of the Negro Slaves in the West Indies."

The Critic, on this occasion, seems to feel so acutely, that we presume he must have had some share in framing the Report which he is so eager to defend. But, be that as it may, our business is not with him personally, or with the personalities of his production, but simply with the facts of the case. On a calm review of these we are prepared fully to vindicate the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 41, from the vituperative remarks of the Critic, and even to shew that the charge of misrepresentation rests mainly, if not wholly, on himself. We shall proceed to examine those remarks, in the first place, as they are an exposure of the alleged dishonesties of the Anti-Slavery Reporter;—and then as they are directed to justify the conduct of the Society in question.

1. The Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 41, is charged with " fictions," " thrown in as a makeweight," (B. C. p. 203,) because it considers the Society (p. 313) as having " pledges" and " solemn engagements" to fulfil, the non-fulfilment of which is a violation of its duty, Now, what we meant to say was certainly no fiction. We had conceived that every Bishop, and every Clergyman, and every Missionary, enters, at his ordination, into certain solemn engagements, in the presence of God and of the Church, which he can only neglect to fulfil at the very greatest peril; and also that by accepting a specific appointment involving the cure of souls, each and every such person contracts further peculiar and solemn obligations to the flock over which he may be placed. And we, moreover, had imagined, with respect to Conversion Societies, (for we included them all,) that their obligations, their clear pledges, their solemn engagements, were inscribed in their very *title*;—and that,

above all, in the case of this particular Society, it had in its very name and announcement given pledges, and entered into serious and solemn engagements with the public, and had incurred high and weighty responsibilities in respect to the whole slave population of the West Indies, for whose conversion, religious instruction, and education, it has been expressly incorporated, and for which express purpose it was also intrusted both with the funds bequeathed by Mr. Boyle, and with those collected from the public. Our Critic sneers at this as " a fiction of our brain." We deem it an important reality; and the Society will find it to be so, if it look to the public for support.—He and we may differ, indeed, as to whether the privation of a Sunday for the slaves in the West Indies comes within the scope of the Society's responsibilities, and to that question we will advert more fully hereafter. In the meantime, we would merely remark that, according to the admission of our Critic himself, the evil arising from this cause is very great. He, indeed, very inadequately describes the matter as being merely the want of a " due observance of the Sabbath," whereas the real evil is *the compulsory privation of the Sabbath* under which the *slaves* labour. *They* are *compelled* to work on that day or starve. Our Critic admits this—and yet he seems to regard the question as a question merely of " due observance,"—(as whether a newspaper shall be printed, or a mail shall travel, or a horn shall blow.)—But, if he knows any thing of the matter, he must know that, with the plantation slaves, it is not a question of this kind, but a question of the existence or extinction of the Sabbath;—whether they shall be *permitted* to possess a Sabbath at all in which they shall be exempt from the necessity of labour.

2. Our Critic insinuates a charge of unfairness and disingenuousness against the framers of the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 41, for not having consulted the last Report of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge before they published it. (B. C. p. 207.) It was, however, no very obvious duty to consult the records of another Society, in order to obtain light on the transactions of this. But, even had such a thing been thought of, it would have been impossible. No. 41, was in circulation by the 10th of October. The last Report of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge was not issued, we are informed, until towards the close of that month.

3. Our Critic exhibits (p. 209) as of a most " astounding character," (we presume he means as glaringly false,) a remark of the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 41, p. 320, where a passage at the " very outset of the Society's present Report" is referred to as an example of the " *vagueness*" of its statements. This passage, which our Critic omits, is as follows. " In addition to the Associations mentioned in the last Report, others have been formed in Tobago, Tortola, and Anguilla, which, though not strictly speaking in union with the Society, have been established *for the same object*, and cooperate with it under the superintendance of the Bishop. In consequence of these establishments, and *many others* OF A SIMILAR NATURE,* there is not, at the present moment, an island in the West India Colonies without its regular school in full operation; and there is every reason to trust that, under God, the seed of moral and religious education has been already very widely and, in many in-

stances, effectually sown." p. 9. To this passage a note is appended. The asterisk, which directs the eye to the note, is placed as above, immediately after the words "*many others of a similar nature.*" And the note itself, which, of course, was intended to explain and illustrate these words, is to the following effect.

"* The Society for the Education of *the Coloured Poor* in the Principles of the Established Church, and for other charitable Relief, Barbadoes.

"The Ladies' Branch Association for the Education of Female Children of *the Coloured Poor* in the Principles of the Established Church of England, Barbadoes.

"Society for the Education of *the Coloured Poor* in the Principles of the Established Church, St. Vincent.

"Society for the Education of *the Poor*, Grenada.

"Ladies' Association for the Relief of the Indigent Sick and Infirm of Bridgetown and its environs, Barbadoes."

Here then we are told that Associations had been established "*for the same object*" as the Society's, (that object being the *Conversion, Religious Instruction*, and *Education* of *Negro Slaves;*) and that these establishments, and others of *a similar nature*, had so multiplied, that there actually was not "an island in the West Indies without its regular school in full operation," &c. When, however, we look at the note to which we are pointed, in order to ascertain what are those establishments *of a similar nature* that are thus flourishing, we find there the five Associations mentioned above, every one of which is an Association which excludes *Slaves*, and is confined to *the free*, three of them expressly to the *coloured free*, by whom also we know they are chiefly supported. Were we wrong then in complaining of the *vagueness* of this passage? And this was the limit of our inculpation.—When directed by the text to Associations, having the *same object* with the Society, that object being the conversion of *Slaves*, we find in the illustrative note only Associations for the exclusive instruction or relief of *the free.**

This example furnishes a fair specimen of our Critic's manner of dealing with us.—We had limited our complaint to *vagueness* merely, and that complaint is fully substantiated. But having had our attention so pointedly recalled to the passage, we are led to doubt whether that be its only fault, and whether there be not *exaggeration* also in the sweeping assertions with which it concludes. At least no proof has yet been given, (and can never be satisfactorily given until regular tabular statements with the proper specifications are furnished,) that the representation is correct.

4. We are next accused of having most unjustly charged the Society with having overlooked marriage, (B. C., p. 211.) We brought no such charge. What we asserted was, not that they had overlooked marriage, but had overlooked the "absence of all legal sanction to marriage, and of all legal protection to connubial rights, as respects the

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* The terms *poor* and *indigent* are applied, in the West Indies to *free* persons alone, never to slaves. See parliamentary papers of 1826, No. 353, and Reporter, No. 19, p. 275.

slaves in Jamaica and the other Colonies." p. 320. Our Critic's reply is, that many marriages of slaves have taken place, and that the Society is anxious to promote marriage. We know that the marriage ceremony has been very often performed, and we have no doubt that the Society wishes to promote marriage among the slaves. But this is nothing to the purpose. Our specific complaint was, that it had overlooked the desecration of that holy institution as it had overlooked the desecration of the Sabbath. It has never alluded, for an instant, to the fact, that the marriages it has celebrated are without legal sanction, and are unaccompanied by any legal protection of connubial rights. Is that fact questioned? To remove the question, it will be sufficient to refer to the official despatch of the Duke of Manchester, dated the 4th of March, 1826, and inserted in the Parliamentary Papers of 1826, No. 353, p. 392. His words are these. "*I am not aware of any law by which the marriage of slaves is authorised and sanctioned, and their connubial rights recognised and secured,* and by which the separation of husband and wife, or of parents and children, by sale or otherwise, is rendered unlawful." Our Critic, therefore, who triumphs over our presumed ignorance on this subject, seems himself to have yet much to learn before he can see the wide distinction between the mere ceremony of marriage, and the adjuncts which give it its true value, namely, legal validity and the protection of connubial rights. And is the Society blameless in having overlooked this point, lying as it does at the root of all social and civil improvement, and inseparably linked as it is with all the charities of domestic life? The subject does not seem to be even comprehended by the Society's advocate. Is it comprehended by the Society itself? He blames us for not having read more carefully what his own Society and a sister Society have written. We recommend it to him, before he renews his attack, to read what we have already written on this subject of the marriage of slaves. Let him look, for example, at the Reporters, No. 19, p. 263—274; No. 28, p. 89; No. 29, p. 101, 103, 116, 118, &c.; No. 33, p. 179; No. 38, p. 265 and 275; and No. 43, p. 347; and when he shall have read and digested these passages, he will be better qualified to lecture us upon it. Having corrected this vital mistake of our Critic, we may leave to their fate all his other reasonings and quotations on the subject of marriage. They are altogether wide of the mark.

5. Our Critic, (p. 215,) after having lauded the system of catechetical instruction, in terms to which we do not object, adds, that "It is of such a system, confessedly imperfect and temporary, but still not incapable of doing great good, that the Anti-Slavery Reporter exclaims, 'when he adds that improvement is making greater and more rapid strides every day among the slaves, and that their superstitions decline; this must be mere romance.'" Now let us beg the reader to turn to the passage which our Critic quotes: it is at p. 322, of the Reporter, No. 41, and is as follows.

"In *St. Dorothy's* there are NO schools. After the weekly service is performed in the church, the rector is ready to catechise such slaves as offer themselves; but it is not said that any do offer themselves. The rector thinks that '*one school at least is necessary*' in this parish,

containing 4000 slaves. This is only ridiculous. But when he adds, that improvement is making greater and more rapid strides every day among the slaves, and that their superstitions decline daily, this must be mere romance. It is reaping without culture—the result without the means. How can the Society give currency to such crude statements ?"

Now these remarks, which obviously and exclusively apply to the parish of St. Dorothy alone, and to the report of its rector respecting the state of religion within its bounds, our Critic strangely chooses to charge us with applying to *the catechetical system;* for having taken a view of the great benefits of that system, he then says that it is against those great benefits that the Anti-Slavery Reporter exclaims as "mere romance." This is certainly not very like the fair and ingenuous dealing of an honest critic. We had confined our view expressly to the report of the rector of St. Dorothy's respecting the state of religion in his particular parish. And what was his report ? It was in substance:—1st, that there is NO school in the whole parish; 2nd, that he thinks ONE at least necessary for 4000 slaves; 3rd, that he is ready to catechise any slaves that may come to him on a Sunday to be catechised, but not saying that any do come; and 4th, that improvement is nevertheless making greater and more rapid strides every day among the slaves, and that their superstitions decline daily.—Now we must say, with all due deference to the Society and its advocate, that such a result is, on the very face of it, not only grossly absurd, but necessarily untrue. Our complaint against it, however, is not, as our Critic supposes, a complaint against *the catechetical system* and its effects, but our complaint is, that all the good effects of that system should be claimed for St. Dorothy, in the total absence of its operation. The Society's own report tells us, that in this parish there is *no curate*, and *no catechist*, and *no school;* and it does not tell us that any one individual is catechised by the rector; and yet our Critic charges us with hostility to *the catechetical system*, because we regard it as a "romance," that all the benefits of that system should be copiously produced in its absence. What can be said of such distorted statements on the part of our Critic ? The church, too, of St. Dorothy, where the rector reports such wonders to be performed, is situated at one extremity of a large parish, to which it is physically impossible that the greater part of the slaves should have any access, it being from six to twelve miles from most of them; especially too as Sunday, the only day for church, is also the day for their provision grounds and for marketing.

6. It is very difficult to view this last misrepresentation of our Critic in the light of a mere blunder, especially as he repeats it in the case of our remarks on another parish of Jamaica, St. Thomas in the Vale. The rector of this parish had reported that a decided moral and religious change had taken place in it since he had been there. When we came to examine the means that were in action for operating this decided change, in a parish of 12,000 slaves and 800 free persons, they appeared, and still appear to us, so inadequate to the effect, as to render the case quite miraculous. Our Critic supposes us to represent it as miraculous that the system of catechisation should produce such effects.

Our marvel was, that such effects should have been produced in the absence of its due application—for he can hardly call the catechising of a *few children* once a week a *system* of catechisation.

7. Before we quit St. Thomas in the Vale, we would advert to our Critic's dexterous effort (p. 219) to rescue the Society from the discredit of the absurd story transmitted by the rector, and noticed in the Anti-Slavery Reporter, p. 323. We do not accuse the rector of stating what he believed to be false. Our charge against him is his *credulity*. How could *he* gravely pen, and the Society gravely report, a statement bearing as this does, on its very surface, the character of untruth. Our Critic can know little of the slaves, or the planters, or the police of Jamaica, if he can believe such occurrences to have really taken place.

8. Our Critic is very angry with us, (p. 219, 220,) for having said so little of St. Thomas in the East and the Rev. Mr. Trew. But he does us great injustice. We have bestowed much attention on both, as he would have known, had he done us the honour to read what has been published on the subject. An entire tract of sixteen pages, entitled, "Negro Slavery, No. XVI. on the State of Religious Instruction among the Slaves in the West Indies," was published by the Anti-Slavery Society, in 1827, a large part of which was devoted to Mr. Trew. In a pamphlet, entitled, "The Slave Colonies of Great Britain," published by the same Society, he will also find, at p. 64, a reference to Mr. Trew. In the Reporter, No. 13, he will find St. Thomas in the East occupying a conspicuous place; and again in the Reporter, No. 30, p. 134. In short, we were disposed to give all due honour to Mr. Trew, and were in fact only restrained from saying more of his early and zealous labours by a fear of exciting against him both envy and detraction. And yet we do not regard the proceedings of Mr. Trew as without fault, any more than those of the Society. Undue concealment is their common delinquency. In St. Thomas in the East, however, the Methodists have been the great and efficient as well as the first agents of good.

9. Our Critic supposes, that we shall exclaim against a statement he quotes from a recent Report of the St. Thomas in the East Association, in which the increase in the last year of "legitimate negro children" is urged as a proof of the Society's success. Certainly, we think it a very idle statement, because, we are sorry to say, notwithstanding our Critic's vaunt, there are in Jamaica neither legitimate marriages nor legitimate births among the slaves. But we have already said enough on this topic. The exhibition of such a proof of success is only a fresh indication of our Critic's ignorance of the subject.—Our Critic likewise censures our account of the parish of Manchester, (p. 218,) but we can discover nothing in it deserving of his censure.

10. "The particular account of the *diocese* of Barbadoes," says our Critic, "is *more scandalously faithless* than that of Jamaica." These are strong words. Now, in addition to that previously given in the Reporters, Nos. 13 and 30, which our Critic appears never to have seen, what *is* our account? It is this, and we do not hesitate to say that it is a *faithful*, and not a *faithless* account. "The main features of the report from the *diocese* of Barbadoes, including the Windward and Leeward Islands, and Guiana, do not differ materially from those of the Jamaica re-

port. The white and free population appears to amount to about 80,000, the slaves to 356,000. The church room for this mass of 436,000 human beings falls short of 17,000. The instruction given is, *with rare exceptions*, exclusively of the oral and catechetical kind. The recitation of the Lord's prayer, the creed, the ten commandments, and the catechism, seem to comprehend the whole." p. 324. The proceedings in the Barbadoes diocese being said not to differ materially from those in the diocese of Jamaica, which had been described only two pages before, (p. 322,) it seemed very unnecessary to repeat the description. And nothing more need have been said, either of the one diocese or the other, except where any thing peculiar was observable. And such was the real reason why nothing was said of Nevis, St. Lucia, Montserrat, and Tobago. There was little or nothing which took them out of the general description applicable to the whole diocese. In Nevis, indeed, a somewhat larger proportion of its 9000 slaves than usual, came under the rare exception of being taught to read; but with respect to the other three islands, we do not know that we could have added a word, with advantage, to the general description.

11. The conduct of the Codrington estate is a separate subject, and we are perfectly prepared to enter upon it when occasion serves.

12. In the Society's Report for 1827, it is not said that the 454 slaves in St. Michael's (Bridgetown) are taught to read. We therefore thought we were safe in saying that nothing had been told us on that subject. Our Critic, however, says No—you ought to have looked back to the Report of 1826. Now we can see no reason why the Society should drive us to this necessity, when it can be so easily obviated by doing its own duty, and furnishing regular yearly tabular statements. But on referring to the Report of 1826, we find no information there—no, not one word—from the Society itself, on the subject. But in a note appended to some intelligence from Demerara, p. 25, we discover a sentence, borrowed from a Report of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, in which it is stated, that in the Bridgetown school the children are taught to read. But this is really no satisfaction to us. Children, in a school containing both the free and the slave, may be taught to read, and yet strange distinctions may exist. Let us have clear tabular statements; then neither will the Conversion Society need to resort to another Society for information about its own schools; nor shall we be forced to hunt back from one report to another for information, not as to the *present* actual state, but the *past* state of any school. We must confess, however, that notwithstanding what the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge has reported on this subject, and notwithstanding the vehemence of our Critic's remarks respecting it, we are still a little incredulous: for not only have we no *direct* statement on the subject from the Society itself, but we have a report of the Bishop of Barbadoes on the state of education among the slaves in the parish of St. Michael, dated 31st October, 1825, and laid before Parliament, in which he does not affirm that one slave is taught to read in that parish. All he tells us is, that on eleven plantations children are under instruction, and on some of them are taught the Lord's prayer, the creed, and the commandments.—What, we ask, is the meaning of

all this confusion, and uncertainty, and contradiction—this wandering hither and thither? Again we say, let us have *clear*, WELL-AUTHENTICATED, *tabular* statements, and these disputes will vanish.

13. Our Critic asserts, (p. 221,) that we are in error when we say that the Bishop's rules have led, in Antigua, to the removal of pious teachers from the charge of schools. And yet, in the same paragraph, he admits that several of the masters previously employed, being Dissenters, were removed on that account; in other words, they were removed because they could not subscribe the Bishop's rules. Does our Critic mean to deny that these Dissenting teachers so removed were pious persons? Or will he venture to affirm that all of those put in their place were "fit to be religious instructors," and that none of them, for example, were known to be living immorally? We have no objection to go fully into the facts of the case, if he should compel us to do so. In the mean time, we will only say, that the Bishop would have acted more wisely had he permitted the *pious* Dissenting, or rather Methodist teachers, to continue their labours among the children, until, at least, he had been able to replace them by *pious* teachers of the established church. To have done so would have involved, in the eyes of our Critic, "a gross irregularity." Be it so. But, for our parts, we know no rule of mere expediency, no arbitrary regulation of any Bishop, which should overbear the paramount moral obligation which, as it appears to us, forbad the rigid enforcement of that arbitrary rule in this instance. We shall, however, go no farther into the subject at present, and only recur to it if necessary.

14. Our Critic assumes, (p. 222,) that we ought to have known that whenever a school is designated as *National*, it necessarily follows that *reading* is taught there, and taught there not to some but to all the scholars. Now we really knew no such thing. The Society has no where said that the word *National* is to be so understood, and we therefore demur to our Critic's assertion without fuller proof. The *peculiarity* of the *National* as well as of the *Lancasterian* system is not the *teaching to read*, but *mutual teaching*, whatever be the thing taught. We can see no good reason why a merely oral and catechetical school may not be a *National* School, that is, a school conducted on the principle of *mutual teaching*, even if reading is not taught in it. We, therefore, do not plead guilty to any want of accuracy, merely because we did not assume that the term *national* implied that reading was taught to all who were enrolled on the list of a school so designated. The Society can easily obviate all the vagueness and ambiguity which alone have caused the error, if any have been committed; of which, however, we are not yet convinced.

15. We come now to the Critic's grave philological rebuke of our comment on that *rule* of the Bishop, which binds Catechists not to "interpret," but only to "teach and read." p. 223. This he calls a most "gross misrepresentation;" and to this sufficiently strong language, he adds, the epithet, "disgusting." And yet what is our offence? It is that *we* have translated the word "interpret," by the word "explain;" whereas, our Critic thinks that, on pain of his anathema, we ought to have translated it by the word "expound." And he refers, very

learnedly, in support of his opinion, to Burn's Ecclesiastical Law. We certainly never dreamt of consulting this law book on the subject. We had thought only of consulting Johnson's Dictionary. On looking there, we find as follows: "To interpret,"—"to *explain*, to translate, to decipher, to give a solution to." Again, we look for "expound," and find it to mean "*explain*, clear, interpret." And the meaning of "explain" is again given, "expound, clear, interpret." And yet, according to our Critic, it is "a most gross," a "disgusting misrepresentation" on our parts to have translated the word "interpret" by the word "explain!" Reporter, No. 41, p. 326.

16. There remains for us only one more charge to notice, and that is, an inaccuracy respecting the School of Industry in Kingston. We stated, (p. 324.) that a school recently established there was said to be "attended by 100 slaves out of 15,500, but that nothing was said of the nature or extent of the instruction given them;" whereas, the Society's Report had stated that, in this School, "*the children* learn to read; 150 of the boys are taught handicraft trades, and the girls are instructed in needle-work." Now, here, we admit, that we have been guilty of a blunder, for which we cannot account very satisfactorily. We need not say to our friends that it was not intentional, and our Critic would probably not believe us if we were to assert it ever so strongly. We submit, therefore, to every degree of reprehension which his copious vocabulary of vituperatives can supply. Still, we think it due to ourselves to say, that we had intended to have enlarged on this very School at Kingston, but were led to defer it by a hope of farther information. We hope, however, soon to resume the subject. —In the meantime we will merely remark, that we can conceive nothing less agreeing with common sense than that scheme of *a School of Industry* for *slaves*, of which the Bishop of Jamaica seems so enamoured. We can perceive the benefit of an institution, in such a place as Jamaica, for stimulating the *industry* of the *free;* but we are utterly at a loss to imagine what lever the Bishop has to apply to the industry of a *slave* of greater potency than the cartwhip, or the cowskin, which is in the hand of every master. The very idea seems absurd, and so the people of Barbadoes virtually maintain. (See Reporter, No. 13, and the parliamentary papers there referred to.) If the Bishop of Jamaica has discovered some secret substitute for the cartwhip, and can contrive to combine, by means of his school, the instruction of the slave with the profit of the master, it is well. But, say the Barbadians, we cannot consent to our slaves, even our children, going to school during the week, because we cannot consent to any subtraction of labour and consequent diminution of income. Will Dr. Lipscomb's school of industry meet this formidable objection, and secure both the labour of the slave and the income of the master by other means than the coercion of the whip? Our Critic must forgive us if we continue to call for farther and clearer information on these subjects.

Having now fairly met all our Critic's charges against us, we turn to his vindication of the managing Directors of the Society from the charges we have ventured, perhaps too hastily, to prefer against them.

On this point, however, we will put it in the power of our readers to judge for themselves.

1. Our Critic is extremely indignant, (p. 217) that we should have dared to suppose that the Report of the Society might have been so framed in any respect as to subserve the purposes of the West Indian party. But even he admits that the passages in the Society's Report which excited our remarks were indiscreet, at least that "it would have been more discreet to have omitted them." In extenuation however he pleads, that what was said was said "in a foot note," and "briefly;" and that what was stated in such foot note was "strictly true." Now we have already shown in the Reporter, No. 41, p. 320, and again in No. 43, p. 345, 346, that what was said was not only not "strictly true"—but substantially untrue—And then as to the form in which it appeared, it was the very form which was most exceptionable, as being calculated to give point and prominence to the mischievous untruth. But then it is argued by our Critic, that the view given by the Society of the destitute condition, as to spiritual advantages, of the different parishes in the West Indies, is a proof that it had no view to subserve any party interests. We readily admit that its statistical statements are very useful, and we have no doubt generally correct; but our Critic is probably not aware that we possessed in the Parliamentary Papers of 1815 and 1818 all the material facts of the case, and therefore abundant means of checking any propensity, which might any where exist, to either exaggeration or extenuation. We already possess in another form the information which the Society has so properly, and we doubt not correctly, given us, and though we have not collated the two statements, yet we feel satisfied from general recollection that there is no material discrepancy between them. Still, however, we do not think that the influence, to a certain degree, of West India feelings and prejudices may not have operated in the structure of the Society's Reports. If our anonymous Critic chooses to assert that there exists no such influence, we may be bound in courtesy not to contradict his assertion; but certainly it requires that degree of faith which amounts to *believing without evidence what is improbable*, to receive his assertion unhesitatingly. For what are the facts of the case? A Board of Directors is formed, among whom stand the nine following names, viz. Lord Seaford, Sir H. W. Martin, Mr. Goulburn, Mr. Manning, Mr. Pallmer, Mr. Hibbert, Mr. Mathison, Mr. Colquhoun, and Major Moody,—all highly respectable and very influential persons, carrying considerable weight with them in every other relation in life, but, we are called upon to believe, wholly divested of influence at the table of this board-room. They are certainly, one and all of them, as little likely to be neutral and inefficient there as any where else. Do they or do they not take a part in the Society's proceedings? If they do not, why are they there occupying the space that might be filled with efficient parties? If they do take a part, is it possible that that part should acquire no colour, no tinge whatever, from the particular opinions, feelings, and prepossessions of nine such individuals? It is very well known how most of them think and feel on West Indian subjects. And with respect to the noble Lord first named, as well

as the gallant Major who brings up the rear, their sentiments have been too strongly pronounced to be mistaken. Our own pages (see among others the Reporters, No. 18 and No. 40) bear ample testimony to that fact. We have shown that both these respectable persons are capable of misconceiving and misapprehending matters involved in still less of complication than those we are now considering; and admitting them therefore to be subject only to the average rate of human infirmity, we may, without any violence to candour or charity, suppose that there may be room for an undue, though, to themselves, an insensible bias, both in the deliberations of the Committee and in the structure and phraseology of the Reports. Whether such has been the case or not, we of course can only conjecture; but it will not be denied that we were led to the conjecture in this instance by a very natural process; and our Critic's assertions and arguments are hardly sufficient to obviate the fair probabilities of the case.

"We are not advocating," says our Critic, (p. 224) "the cause of the West Indian planters; on the contrary, we believe them to be deserving of grave reproof; and we fear that they will never do justice to their bondsmen except under a salutary dread of British interference." We are here most happy entirely to concur with our Critic, and we feel indebted to him for his frank and *British* avowal. It is precisely the sentiment which for years we have been endeavouring to impress on the Parliament and the public of this country. But may we ask, without offence, whether he would have dared to introduce so just and incontrovertible a position into the Society's Report, supposing he were its secretary, or a member of its board? Would not every one of the names we have mentioned be strenuously opposed to the admission of such a statement? What in fact was the burden of the speeches of Lord Seaford, for example, in the very last Session of Parliament, but that "British interference" in order "to do justice to their bondsmen" was not only wholly uncalled for, but altogether unjustifiable. (See Reporter, No. 40.) We leave therefore our Critic and his noble coadjutor to settle their wide variance, on so important a question, as they may.

2. We have already said so much on the *vagueness* and *indistinctness* of the Society's statements, that we need not recur to it at any length. Its justice, in fact, is manifest throughout the reports. Our Critic attempts indeed, to repel the charge by producing (p. 210, &c.) various instances of specification. But we never have asserted that no such instances were to be found. On the contrary the words we employ are, that *for the most part*, the accounts are confused and indistinct. (p. 320.) Our charge therefore, instead of being obviated, is confirmed by the exceptions from the general rule which our Critic so triumphantly adduces. We admit these partial but still inadequate specifications, without admitting that they at all invalidate our complaint.

But here again we have to notice the supercilious neglect with which both the Society and their worthy advocate have treated our past admonitions. Had they given due heed to what we have formerly written on this subject, the present controversy might have been spared. We beg our Critic to look into the Appendix to the debate of the 15th of May, 1823, marked N. p. 181, 182, for some salutary warnings to religious

societies on this subject; and his eye may glance, as it passes, at the resolutions of the Jamaica Auxiliary Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, in which that society solemnly, but most strangely declares "that the religious instruction of the slave population enters not into the view of this association."—Let him also turn to No. 30, p. 134, and he will then have seen, that from the first moment of our exertions . the present hour we have been urgent in calling on such societies for clear, distinct, unambiguous tabular statements, as alone capable of quieting doubts and generating confidence.

3. A third point of charge respects the inadequate kind of education the Society has hitherto consented to be the instrument of bestowing on the slaves; and of which, *except in comparatively few cases*, (we repeat the charge with entire confidence in its truth,) reading has hitherto formed no part. Our Critic does not attempt to deny this fact, but merely to palliate it. And what is the palliation? "It appeared," (he says, p. 205) "that there was great unwillingness on the part of the planters, to permit the instruction of their slaves in reading. Without the permission of the planter, no instruction whatever could be given; and it was therefore resolved *by the Bishops and the Society* to teach reading wherever it could be done; and in other places to convey oral instruction, as the best and only substitute, and as preparatory to a more complete education. The greatest difficulty was experienced in Jamaica, where, with one important exception, *little or nothing was done in the way of teaching slaves to read*, until the latter part of the year 1826." He admits also the existence of similar opposition in Barbadoes and elsewhere.—Now when our Critic vehemently attacks us for intimating that the Society acquiesced in this state of things, he seems to suppose that we imputed to it an acquiescence of choice and preference. Certainly not. On the contrary, we believe that it would have been more agreeable to the Society to have taught the slaves to read. Still it is strictly true that the Society, however reluctant may have been its acquiescence, of which we could know nothing, did, in point of fact, acquiesce, from deference to West Indian prejudices, in the exclusion of reading from a very vast majority of cases, and this not only without any audible remonstrance or a single audible murmur, but also with an air of complacency and satisfaction. All the expressions of the Bishops in their reports to Government, and of the Society in its publications, are expressions of general satisfaction; and there is not in the whole compass of them a single attempt to exhibit clearly and distinctly the nature and extent of the obstacles opposed to education;—no, not one manly exposure of the evil to be combated, even in those official statements, in which we have a right to expect, from public functionaries, a full and unambiguous developement of the truth.

4. We come now to the only remaining charge against the Society—its silence and supineness with regard to the Sabbath. We have reserved this point to the last, because we deem it the most important, as well as that in regard to which not only the West Indian Religious Societies, but the West Indian Bishops and Clergy, and Missionaries, are the most reprehensible, and also have incurred the deepest responsibility. On this point we recede not one hair's breadth from our former statements in the Reporter, No. 41. We care not how many,

or how elevated the persons may be whom this statement may affect. We will fearlessly and unshrinkingly maintain the justice of it in the face of the Christian public, pledging ourselves to make it good to the very letter. Our readers, therefore, must consider us as repeating, without the slightest modification or retrenchment, the whole of what we have said in that Reporter, to the end of p. 314, on the subject of the Sabbath.

Before, however, we proceed to consider what our Critic has said against our view of the subject, it is proper we should acknowledge his large and momentous concessions. "It is unnecessary," he says, "to specify the facts or arguments by which the Anti-Slavery Reporter *proves*, that the Sabbath ought to be observed, and *is not observed** in the West Indies. *For we apprehend there can be no doubt or question on either point.*" (p. 203.)

But is our Critic right in saying there is no doubt or question on this point? Is he not aware that the West India Committee, of which some of his own Directors are members, industriously circulate and recommend a work written by a Mr. Alexander Barclay, entitled "a Practical View of the present State of Slavery in the West Indies;" in the first pages of which, (p. xxiii.) he assures us, that though formerly, in Jamaica, "the negroes cultivated their ground on Sunday, white persons being even sent to superintend them," yet "now they have, by law, twenty-six working days in the year for this purpose;"—"and NOW NO slaves work at their ground on Sunday, but such as are more inclined to make money than to attend church." In other words, the slaves in Jamaica need not work on Sunday unless they like; and they are in no danger of starving if they do not work on that day!

And yet this admitted untruth, this statement, falsified even by our Critic, is circulated and accredited by the West India Committee, over which two of the Directors of the Conversion Society preside as Chairman and Deputy-Chairman. And not only so, but the same Committee permit their mercenary journalists to go on reiterating the same detected imposture, admitted to be so even by our Critic, without a single word of contradiction.

The Chairman and Deputy-Chairman of the West India Committee are thus, in that capacity, doing all they can to prevent the slaves from obtaining a Sabbath, by circulating a work which mendaciously affirms that they have it already; and yet these gentlemen are to be confided in, when seated at the Society's board, as the zealous vindicators of the right of the slave to the enjoyment of the Christian Sabbath! This would seem almost too much even for our Critic's credulity to digest.

The Society knows, says our Critic, that the Government are "fully cognizant of the facts of the case, and fully determined to do what is right." And this is his apology for the Society's having done nothing. Government may be fully cognizant of the facts of the case; at least Lord Bathurst has fully recognized, upwards of five years ago, the principles which ought to govern it. But have they done what was

* This is a very inadequate view of the matter. It is not that the colonial institutions neglect to enforce the observance of the Sabbath, but that they are so framed as impiously to prevent its being hallowed at all,—as to render its observance impossible.

right? They have done the very reverse of what was right. They have done what was wrong. They have acted in violation of their own principles and their own pledges. They promised to give the slaves the Sabbath, and they have not kept their promise. Even in Trinidad, where the Government are the sole legislators, the slaves have no Sabbath. The desecration of it by marketing is there legalized by the Government itself, and the employment of it in labour is made, by the omission of the same Government to give time in lieu of it, a matter of necessity. Against this state of things we have been raising our voice for these five years in vain. And during that time have we had the slightest aid from this Society? None whatever, but, on the contrary, hindrance. Its very silence on so vital a subject is a hindrance, and still more the indiscreet haste with which it has laboured, in its last Report, to hold out as improvements, what are, in fact, deteriorations in this respect; the measures, we mean, adopted in Barbadoes and St. Kitt's, respecting Sunday.

And can this Society hope that it will acquire the confidence of the public, while some of its Directors are shewing, by their tone and proceedings in other departments of public life, both in and out of Parliament, how little qualified they are to be the conductors of such an institution?

But "the Society is not a political institution," says our Critic. This, in his estimation, is a sufficient apology for the silence and supineness, in respect to the vital point of a Christian Sabbath for the slaves, of religious Societies, Bishops, and Clergy,

How would the same Bishops and Clergy feel if any attempt were made to refuse them those rights and dues which are conferred on them by *political institutions?* Would they silently acquiesce? Would there be no murmur, no remonstrance, no memorializing, no appeals to the Government, and to the Parliament, and to the Public? Yet here, when Sunday is refused to 825,000 of their fellow subjects, to whom they are linked as pastors by the closest ties, over whose spiritual interests they are especially bound to watch, and for the neglect of whose souls they must give account; O then, to obtain Sunday for them is a political affair! This is perfectly monstrous! What! A Society embracing so many of the dignitaries of our Church, the Bishops, and Clergy too of the West Indies, to have gone on silently and supinely for more than five years, knowing that the wretched slaves, whom they have undertaken to convert, to educate, and to instruct, are absolutely and impiously denied the blessed rest of the Sabbath by the iniquity of their masters; and now at length to come forward with this as its sole defence: "the Society is not a political institution!" And are not the Bishops of England political characters? Are they not members of the British Parliament?

But we ought not to say its *sole* defence. Our Critic has advanced another. He engages to shew by "the following extracts that the principal patrons, promoters, and agents in the West Indies, have strongly and repeatedly urged the importance of the point in question, upon the inhabitants of that country, from the year 1823 (mark!) to the present day." (p. 204.) Now what proof has our Critic exhibited in support of this imposing statement? Two *feeble* sentences delivered by two clergymen in the year 1827, one in Barbadoes, and the other in Grenada. These *we* knew nothing of, and had we known them, they would not have

diminished our strong sense of the general remissness of the Society, as well as of the West Indian Bishops and Clergy on this point. The same remark applies equally to the two sentences which appeared in two more sermons in 1828, of which we *could* know nothing. In what respect then does all this invalidate our former appeal which we would now, on the contrary, reiterate with increased emphasis?

"It cannot," we repeat, "but one day become a subject of awful consideration that they" (that is, Conversion Societies, and bishops, and clergymen, and missionaries,) "should have gone on witnessing the universal and outrageous violation of the sabbath, and never have opened their lips in the pulpit to vindicate the honour of God and the sanctity of his day; never have borne their clear and unequivocal testimony against its public and recognised desecration; and should have permitted generations of masters to pass into their graves without addressing to them one solemn warning as to their guilt, though these masters were not only living in the daring violation of the sabbath themselves, but pertinaciously and systematically withholding its blessings from whole generations of their dependents." p. 314.

And what is the answer of the Critic to this? Why, in 1827, for the first time, two clergymen, in a single sentence, adverted to the desecration of the sabbath; and, in 1828, two more did the same. So far well. We are glad of even so feeble a recognition (and most feeble and defective it certainly is) on the part of *any* clergyman, of the high and vital importance of this question. But where are the rest of the clergy, the bishops, the conversion societies? One of the bishops, indeed, seems to have remarked upon it *in private* to his clergy. But where are those public and heart-stirring appeals to the conscience, which the occasion so loudly demands, and which are imperatively obligatory on such societies, on the bishops, and on the clergy? From this responsibility they cannot escape, employ what apologies they may; and unless they will fulfil it, they must expect to sink still lower in public confidence than they have yet done.*

But our Critic maintains that things have improved, as respects the Sunday; and he refers the Society to Barbadoes and St. Kitt's in proof of it. The abolition of the Sunday market in Barbadoes he attributes to a single sentence in a sermon of Archdeacon Elliott. If this were credible, what a reproach to the clergy and the Society, to have been so silent and so supine, when so slight an effort can produce such results!

But as to the abolition of Sunday markets in Barbadoes, it really is no sacrifice on the part of the masters at all. The sacrifice, strange as it may sound, is here wholly on the part of the slave. He has no other time given him, and no other market in lieu of that which is taken from him. And the Act on the subject looks more as if it proceeded from the pettishness of the Barbadians towards the clamourers for reform, than from any sense of moral obligation. They throw away the Sunday markets, with which *they* can part without inconvenience to themselves, perfectly indifferent what privations it may cause to the slave, and making not the slightest provision to obviate them.

* Even in Hart's Lectures, the universal text book for West Indian instruction, only four feeble pages of most inadequate exposition are given to this subject, one of the greatest and most crying evils of the West Indies.

As to the St. Kitt's law on the subject, we repeat, it *legalizes* Sunday markets, for the first time; and as for its *limiting* the duration of them, even that is a mere nullity. They are now open, by law, from day-break to eleven o'clock.

We think we have now said quite enough to vindicate from our Critic's animadversions the Reporter, No. 41. But we are unwilling to close the article without thanking him for the opportunity he has given us of explaining our views more fully on this momentous topic. We freely forgive him, on this ground, all his somewhat uncandid and unchristian observations; and we hope, when he next adventures into the same field of controversy, he will have acquired a lesson of moderation from what has passed. As for the Society, we lament that it should have trusted its cause to such an advocate; and we would most earnestly implore the high and respectable individuals who stand at the head of it, to weigh maturely what we have submitted to their consideration. Let them look well to their agents and their advocates, and, before they again appear before the public, let them investigate carefully and candidly the statements we have felt it our duty to bring before them. In the present state of public information, it is perfectly vain for them to hope for public confidence and support, but from a zealous and uncompromising pursuit of their high and holy objects, by means that are founded in an undeviating regard to the happiness of their fellow creatures for whom they profess to labour, and to the will of Him whose glory they are associated to promote.

One word more before we conclude; and it shall be addressed not to this Society alone but to every Society, whether of the Church of England, or of the bodies dissenting from it, that is engaged in attempts to christianize our colonial bondsmen.—We have looked, with no small solicitude, during the last five or six years, to the proceedings of such Societies, and to their reports of those proceedings; and it is with a feeling, not of regret and sorrow merely, but of dismay and alarm, that we have marked so little of any thing like an expression of Christian sympathy with the *temporal* sufferings of the slaves. Can there be any considerations of worldly policy or of worldly interest which so affect the hearts of Christian men as to make them insensible to such claims on their commiseration as these wretched outcasts of humanity present? They profess to feel for their *spiritual* wants, for their ignorance, wickedness, and vice. Have they then no concurrent feeling for those *temporal* miseries, which are the fruitful source and the grand support of their spiritual depression? It is their slavery which sinks them to the level of brutality, and bars against them the light of heaven. And yet we may look in vain through whole tomes of reports for one note of tender pity for the aggravated *temporal* sufferings of these professed objects of our christian solicitude. We look with amazement at this incongruous union of frigid indifference to the unparalleled wrongs and oppressions of our fellow beings and fellow subjects, the negro slaves, with the exhibition of an ardent zeal for their spiritual interests. Can such a union issue in aught else than disappointment? It cannot be regarded with favour by Him whose compassions were ever alive as well to the temporal ills as the spiritual maladies of those whom he came to save,

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ANTI-SLAVERY
MONTHLY REPORTER.

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1.—Proceedings of the Propagation Society.

It is well known to our readers, that the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts is possessed of a considerable number of slaves, in the Island of Barbadoes, bequeathed to it upwards of a century ago, from whose labour it has drawn large sums of money, but for whose spiritual interests little until recently has been seriously attempted by it.

A sermon, on account of this Society, has been annually preached, since the beginning of the eighteenth century, generally by a Bishop or Dignitary of the Church. To some of these sermons we have had access; and, considering the discussions which have lately taken place, in reference to this and other Societies professedly engaged in the work of evangelizing the Slave population in our Colonies, a few extracts from them may not be ill-timed.*

The annual sermon, in 1711, was preached by Bishop Fleetwood. In the course of it he takes occasion to advert to the case of those planters who will not permit their slaves to be instructed in the Christian faith, "a thing so common abroad, that I doubt whether there be any exception of any people of ours." He then proceeds to ask,—

"What can these people think of Christ? That He who came from heaven, to purchase to himself a church with his own precious blood, should sit contented and behold with unconcern those who profess themselves his servants, excluding from its gates those who would gladly enter if they might, and exercising no less cruelty to their souls than to their bodies! One may ask, indeed, with indignation, what such people think of Christ?" It would be as hard for them to tell this, as "to give an account of what they think of those unhappy creatures whom they use thus cruelly. They see them equally the workmanship of God with themselves; endued with the same faculties, and intellectual powers; bodies of the same flesh and blood; and souls as certainly immortal. These people" "were bought with the same price; purchased with the same blood of Christ, their common Saviour and Redeemer;—and, in order to all this, they were to have the means of salvation put into their hands; they were to be in-

* Various other extracts of similar import may be seen in the Christian Observer for February 1828, p. 128.

structed in the faith of Christ." "Let any of these cruel masters tell us, what part of all these blessings were *not intended* for their unhappy Slaves by God, purchased for them by the blood of Christ; and which they are not equally capable of enjoying with themselves?—What account, then, will these masters give of *themselves*, who" "will not permit their slaves to be instructed, and become the servants of their heavenly Master; who bring them, as it were, into sight of the waters of Life, and then withhold them from receiving any benefit from them? They hope, it is likely, God will be merciful to these unhappy creatures, though *they* will not be so: but they have reason to fear God may deny that mercy to themselves, which they deny to others: and no man living can assign a better and more justifiable cause, for God's withholding mercy from a Christian, than *that* Christian's withholding the mercy of Christianity from an unbeliever." "For this inhuman practice, there are but two or three poor pretences." "To the first of these, namely, that should they suffer their slaves to be baptized, they would immediately become free, we may answer, that were this true, the mischief of it would be no greater in our Plantations abroad than it is at home, where there is no such thing as slavery, but all our work is done by hired servants;—for good wages and good usage will always invite servants, even to the hardest labours. And if this would not turn to a good account, it were better the world should pay much dearer for the pleasures and conveniences those places afford, than purchase them so cheaply at the expence of so much misery, such cruelty and hard treatment of men as good as ourselves, and at the hazard of their souls. But allowing that this would be some inconvenience to the Government, with respect to trade, is there any question whether the blessing of God upon their piety and good designs, in furtherance of his glory in the salvation of men's souls, would make an ample compensation for all the inconveniences and loss it might sustain, by making their slaves, or letting them be made, Christians? But after all, what considering man would run the hazard of being under God's displeasure, by hindering others from becoming Christians for all the profit, honour, and advantage in the world?" "One may wonder how a Christian Government can look upon itself as unconcerned in this affair, and only consider these unhappy wretches as creatures which save the kingdom the charge of transporting horses and beasts of carriage for the islands' service, without reflecting on their shape and form and intellectual powers, and without looking up to Christ their common Master, the Saviour and Redeemer of us all.

"This unconcernedness of the public it is, most probably, that encourages a great many private people, at home among ourselves, to keep these Africans in their native ignorance and blindness, and to continue them infidels in the midst of a Christian kingdom. These people ought to think what answer they will make to Christ, when He shall ask them, why they would not help to increase His kingdom, and to make their fellow creatures as happy as they hoped themselves to be by being *called by his name?* Such questions will be asked them, with severity enough, and will require a better answer than, I fear, the subtillest Christian in the world can make: and, therefore, sure, it were better to prevent them by removing the occasion."

Let those who have conducted the Society's affairs during a century of neglect answer these questions.

Again, in 1714, the celebrated Dean Stanhope thus addressed the assembled Society: he is speaking of the negroes:

"Slaves, it is true they are, wild and untaught, exposed to common sale, and wrought like beasts of burden." "Is it nothing to you that they are created by the same God, formed of the same flesh and blood, descended from the same common ancestor, endued with the same souls, the same capacities of immortal happiness; nay, which should touch us more tenderly than all the rest, that they also are redeemed by the same precious ransom? Birth and fortune, climate and complexion, barbarism and servitude, are only circumstantial differences, such as ought not to be made too great reckoning of, when the essential parts continue the same. A good man will find but too much ground for grief and pity, but none at all for neglect, contempt, or inhuman treatment, even in the meanest and most abject of his own species." "He will lament the uncontrolled usurpa-

tion and tyranny of the Prince of darkness; and be zealous in making reprisals for that God, whose kinder providence hath not left *him* in the same forlorn condition. And this is the true light to view these creatures in; that they, *by whom you subsist*, may not be suffered to perish; nor your salvation be hazarded, by obstructing, or not promoting theirs, for whom the Son of God did not disdain to shed his blood."

"With respect to the Slaves," said Dean, afterwards Bishop, Berkeley, preaching before the Society in 1731, "our reformed Planters might learn from those of the Church of Rome, how it is their duty and interest to behave. Both French and Spaniards have intermarried with Indians, to the great strength, security, and increase of their colonies. They take care to instruct both them and their negroes, in the Popish religion, to the reproach of those who profess a better. They have also Bishops, and seminaries for clergy; and it is not found that their colonies are worse subjects, or depend less on their mother country on that account."

In a sermon preached, by Bishop Claggett, before the Society in 1736, occurs the following passage:

"Nor has God put the poor negroes into our power for no other end but that we might use them ill, as Pharaoh did the children of Israel, when under a pretence that he might be better served by them himself, he would not suffer them to serve at all the Lord of heaven and earth who made both him and them. But the cause of the negroes hath been so well pleaded by others, who have spoken before me on this occasion,* that I do not think myself capable of adding any thing on that head."

Our next quotation shall be from a sermon of Bishop, afterwards Archbishop, Secker, preached before this Society in 1740.

"The next objects of the Society's concern were the poor negroes. Their servitude is most laborious, their punishments most severe. And thus many thousands of them spend their whole days, one generation after another, undergoing with reluctant minds continual toil in this world, and comforted with no hopes of reward in a better. For it is not to be expected that masters, too commonly negligent of Christianity themselves, will take much pains to teach it to their slaves, whom even the better part of them are in a great measure habituated to consider, as they do their cattle, merely with a view to the profit arising from them. Not a few, therefore, have openly opposed their instruction, from an imagination that baptism would entitle them to freedom. Others, by obliging them to work on Sundays to provide themselves necessaries, leave them neither time to learn religion in, nor any prospect of being able to subsist if once the duty of resting on that day becomes part of their belief. And some, it may be feared, have been averse to their becoming Christians, because, after that, no pretence will remain for not treating them like men."

"If," said Bishop Drummond, in his sermon before the Society, in 1754, "If there are those, who studiously hinder their slaves from becoming Christians, or who refuse them the means, or opportunity, or encouragement to be instructed; we cannot attribute this hard usage to any other principle than avarice, inhumanity, or irreligion."

The following important passage we extract from a sermon, by Bishop Green, preached before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in 1768.

"A great consumption of human stock is acknowledged to be made by our colonies. How far this may be owing to the hardness of their fare, or the severity of their task-masters, or the rigour of their service, it may be difficult to know; but the Sabbath, which to other mortals is a respite from labour, is to them, it seems, no day either of rest or of improvement. And will not he who is Lord of the Sabbath look with displeasure on such of his disciples as pay no

* How is it that of late years we have had so few such pleadings?

regard to his wise and holy institution? But Providence has given us a favourable opportunity of correcting many of the casualties and abuses which we often hear complained of, and correcting them by one of the most natural and efficacious means,—by our own example, by our proper management of a plantation left to carry on the liberal and benevolent views of this society, in the advancement of religion and learning. As men, it will become us to soften the miseries and hardships of that servitude in which these poor Africans are placed; to treat them with all the lenity which such a state will admit; and though we profit by their labour, not to impose on them such hard and rigorous tasks as are injurious to health and incompatible with any degree of self-enjoyment. As Christians, it will behove us to allow such means of religious instruction as are suited to the unimproved state of their understandings, and to recommend that instruction by the incitement of a good example; to explain to them, on every proper occasion, the saving truths of the Gospel; to encourage their patient continuance in well doing, by the gracious assistances it promises, and the assurances it affords; to animate their hopes, under the hardships they suffer, with the prospect—not indeed of returning, as they imagine, to their own, but of being removed to that better country, where it is said, "They who came out of great tribulation shall serve God day and night in his temple, shall neither hunger nor thirst any more; neither shall the sun light on them; but the Lamb shall feed them and lead them to fountains of living water.'"

In a sermon preached before the Society by Bishop, afterwards Archbishop Moore, in 1782, we find the following passage:

"*We* make it our endeavour" (How greatly deceived as to the fact was the good Archbishop!) "to mitigate the severities and hardships of a slavery, shocking to every humane and considerate mind, and really degrading to our common nature. By imparting to the African slaves the comfortable truths of the Gospel, we teach them patience to endure their hard lot, and raise their expectations to the future glorious liberty of the sons of God. At the same time we restrain, as far as in us lies, all inhumanity in their masters, by reminding them, that they also have a Master in heaven. We inculcate on them, from the most awful motives, the indispensable duty and obligation of allowing their wretched fellow-creatures leisure and opportunities for religious instruction, and particularly of respiting them from labour on the Christian day of rest."

In a subsequent sermon, however, preached by the late Bishop Porteus, in 1783, it appears that nothing effectual had even then been done, after about eighty years of possession, to civilize and christianize the wretched bondsmen of the Society. His proposals to that effect are all future and prospective, and from the evidence given on the subject, by the Society's agents in 1789, before the Privy Council,* and record-

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* The following are the main points in the evidence of Mr. Brathwaite, the Society's agent, and Member of Council in Barbadoes, given before the Privy Council:

Being asked, what time is set apart for the slaves *to labour for themselves;* he answers, "Sundays are always allowed them for that purpose."—He is again asked, whether, on the estates of the Society, there is any difference in its circumstances or regulations, or in the management and treatment of its slaves, as compared with other estates? To this he gives no very direct answer, but he says nothing that indicates any material difference in these respects. He is further asked, what is the practice respecting the marriage of slaves, and the regulations respecting it? His reply is, "*I do not know*" (Remember he was the Society's agent, and yet he says, *I do not know*) "that there is any religious ceremony on the marriage of negro slaves in Barbadoes. There is no law respecting it. They (the slaves) have often more than one wife." "They suffer much from promiscuous concubinage."

Mr. Brathwaite then produces a letter, addressed to himself, respecting the Society's estate, by some person who appears to have been a clergyman, in which are the following expressions; "It is notorious that polygamy is universally

ed in the Report then drawn up and laid in the following year on the table of Parliament, we learn, on the very best authority, that the Society's slaves were still in a state of absolute heathenism, without

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practised among them;" and what the writer proposes to be done on this point is, to tell the slaves that polygamy, though tolerated, was not approved; but that "in fact, the women they *called* their wives were only their concubines, and that a Christian could have but *one wife at a time*, to whom he was bound to be faithful; and that I hoped, in time, to see them act accordingly, from their own conviction of the propriety and advantage of it; and that till then I could not consecrate the union, formed between any negro man and woman, by the marriage rites in practice among the white people, but must leave them to the inconveniences and infidelities of such a marriage state as theirs, depending on the temporary caprice, partiality, and prejudices of the parties. Yet I would remark to them, that I should insist on their not increasing the number of their nominal wives, by taking others, after baptism and religious instruction, for then their sin of ignorance would become a sin of wilful perverseness; and, in like manner, that the rising generation, baptized in their infancy, must be content with *one* wife, joined to them upon Christian principles." It does not appear that even this miserable, inadequate, and futile project was ever acted upon.

In addition to this feeble proposition of a remedy for polygamy, the same person enters into an apologetical vindication of the practice by which the slaves were employed, on Sunday, in labouring for themselves, and in this way, he says, "increasing their own and their families' domestic comforts in an honest way." He adds, that Mr. Brathwaite, to whom he is writing, knows as well as he, "that the nature of our properties here" (meaning, of course, slave cultured estates) "will not admit of so large a portion of their time being taken up in teaching them (the slaves) to read, and advancing them from the rudiments of language to an adequate knowledge of it." And then, after some equally absurd and abortive suggestions respecting religious worship and instruction, he says "could you do this, I suppose you will have promoted the cause of Christianity in the most extensive manner possible."—And as for the "multitude of unlettered souls, unavoidably destined to hard labour and servitude" (meaning, of course, the slaves) "that you will have made them easier under their yoke, and, in fact, have rendered it *more tolerable*."

Mr. Brathwaite, having given the above letter in evidence, is afterwards asked his opinion of the causes which impede the natural increase of the negroes. The causes he assigns are, "promiscuous concubinage," and "occasional working the negroes too hard."—He is further asked, whether the slaves or their children are baptized? He answers, that he believes they are not in general baptized, but that baptism is never refused. He adds, "I do not know that any missionaries have been sent *hence*" (from England) "to the island of Barbadoes, except *a* catechist employed on the Society's estate, for the instruction of the negroes on it, in addition to the parochial clergyman. *The* catechist has, as far as I am informed, had but little success in improving the moral principles of the negroes, though they have, I believe, been baptized."—"As far as I am informed!" "I believe!" And yet this witness was the Society's agent!

Mr. Parry, many years Governor of Barbadoes, states, in his evidence, that in King William's reign, General Codrington had bequeathed his large property in this island to the Society, one of his motives being "the instruction of his negroes in the Christian faith." "The Society negroes, as long as the college was kept up, were baptized; and there is still a clergyman who is employed as catechist," (probably the writer of the letter to Mr. Brathwaite,) "but the negroes on this plantation *are neither better nor worse, in any one respect*, than their fellows on the neighbouring estates."

Mr. Steele gives similar evidence. He observes, that "it had been *a vulgar opinion*, that the fine estate annexed to Codrington College had been committed to that venerable body (the Society) for some religious or good purpose," but there do not now appear, he says, to be any religious institutions for the benefit of the slaves in Barbadoes, nor any missionaries from England, unless the only catechist on the estate was so to be considered. He adds, in very remarkable phrase, "Before any kind of religious or moral education can, to any effectual

marriage, practising polygamy, and differing in no material respect from the state of awful depression and brutal ignorance, and cruel coercion of the other slaves around them.—Bishop Porteus, in 1783, employed his eloquence in urging the Society then to form, and digest, and arrange measures, with a view to the great object of christianizing the slaves; and, though the time for doing all which he proposed, might, he feared, "be at some distance," yet "*the first steps* towards it," he conceived, "might certainly be taken without delay." "We may, at least, *inquire* more exactly into the effects produced by the labours of our catechist on our own negroes;" (the return to which inquiry, six years after, on the part of Mr. Brathwaite, the Society's agent, was NIL;) "we may send *him* fresh instructions;" "from these *beginnings*, we may advance," "till our plantation become a model for all the West Indian islands to imitate."—The pious Bishop then drew a striking picture of what might be effected among the slaves by means of the Society's "care to make their yoke easy and their burden light, to civilize their manners, to enlarge their understandings, to reform their hearts, and to open to them a prospect in a better and a happier country."

"And let us not be debarred," he proceeded, "from this noble undertaking, by the apprehensions of that additional expense in which it may involve us." "Should it even require more than our resources can supply, we need be under no apprehension of wanting proper support when once it is known that the civilization and conversion of the negro slaves is to be hereafter one of the grand leading objects of your pious labours." "Every hand will be open on the occasion; and there cannot be a doubt, but that the increase of our benefactions and subscriptions will soon gratify our most sanguine wishes. It is impossible that the generosity, the humanity, I will add, the justice of the English nation can suffer *near half a million* of their fellow-creatures to continue in the most deplorable state of heathenism, irreligion, and vice, without giving the Society every assistance that may be necessary to extricate them out of it. It would be glorious to Great Britain to take the lead in this benevolent and truly Christian enterprise. And allow me to add, that it is peculiarly incumbent on the people of this kingdom to exert their utmost liberality in alleviating the miseries, both temporal and spiritual, of the wretched Africans, since they have been, for many years, more largely concerned in that inhuman merchandize of men, and have imported more slaves into the colonies, than any other nation in Europe. By their means principally have many thousands, many millions, of human creatures been torn from their native land, from every blessing that was valuable, every connexion that was dear to them; and, after passing in their voyage through incredible hardships and difficulties, (under which great numbers of them actually perish,) have been landed in a country and among a people unknown to them; and without offence or fault of theirs, have been doomed to a perpetual servitude, a servitude too which they leave (the only inheritance they have to leave) entailed on their latest posterity. Surely it deserves consideration again and again, whether this cruel havock of human life among the slaves might not be prevented, without any injury to the islands."

"Let then our countrymen make haste to relieve, as far as they are able, the calamities they have brought on so large a part of the human race; let them endeavour to wipe away the reproach of having delivered over so many of their innocent fellow-creatures to a most heavy temporal bondage, both by contributing to sooth and alleviate that as much as possible, and by endeavouring to rescue them from the still more cruel bondage of ignorance and sin."

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good end, be offered to the negroes, those immoral and impolitic laws of this colony, which give a legal cover and encouragement to the most atrocious crimes that white people may commit, must be abrogated."

These striking admonitions of this excellent Prelate were unheeded by the nation and its government. Nay, they were unheeded by the Society itself, though again earnestly pressed on its attention by Bishop Warner in 1787, by Bishop Bagot in 1792, by Bishop Prettyman in 1795, and by Bishop, afterwards Archbishop Manners, in 1797; as well as by many other preachers during the intermediate years; until, at length, in the year 1818, and not till then, those *first steps* were taken, those *beginnings* were made, and most feebly and inadequately made, which, thirty-two years earlier, Bishop Porteus had urged with so much eloquence and force, and which Bishop Fleetwood urged, no less forcibly, upwards of a century before that period.

Our last extract is from the sermon of Archbishop Manners, wherein he says,

"Christianity hath left all temporal governments as it found them, without impeachment of any form or description whatever, instilling only into the minds of the governors and governed the love of order, of justice, of mercy, of forgiveness, of mutual goodwill, of universal charity. If all or any of these be incompatible with slavery, doubtless slavery is incompatible with the Christian religion. But surely it will not be argued by those who have an interest in the continuance of the system, that the slave should be excluded from the light of the Gospel, and the hope of immortality, through the merits and mediation of our blessed Saviour, lest a knowledge of these high matters should tend, in its immediate consequences, to ease his yoke and to lighten his burden. If, however, there be any one hardy enough to advance the argument, I trust there will never be wanting virtue in this country to draw it to a short conclusion: it cannot be a question with Christians, whether the propagation of the Gospel or the system of slavery shall be preferred."

We have said that the first semblance of any thing like *efficient* Christian instruction or discipline, introduced among the Society's slaves, was in the year 1818, after at least four or five generations of those slaves must have passed into eternity. It now remains to be seen what the Directors have done, since that time, to repair the incalculable evils of former neglect, and to raise their slaves from ignorance and vice, from oppression, degradation, and bondage, to civil freedom, and the still higher blessings of Christian liberty. Their last report seems to aim at repelling the attack made on their proceedings by the Rev. John Riland, in the Christian Observer for 1828, p. 50; but in fact it only confirms the truth of his complaint.—It is admitted, by the agent of the Society, that "no registry of punishments has ever been kept on the Society's estate." No check, therefore, can have existed on that agent's arbitrary inflictions on the men, women, and children, intrusted to his superintendance. An advocate of the Society, (probably its Secretary,) had affirmed, in the most express terms, (thereby showing the ignorance at least which then prevailed as to the facts of the case) that labour was not "enforced" by "the whip," that "corporal punishment was abolished on the estate," that "no corporal punishment was allowed on the estate;" (*ergo* the whip was abolished) "nor had been for some years practised." Nay, this gentleman actually stated (as may be seen in the Christian Remembrancer for January 1828,) "I do not for my own part believe, that except to drive cattle, a whip is ever employed upon the estate, either as excitement or punishment; for it is," he adds, "expressly contrary to the rules laid down, to employ any corporal punishment!" But what is the statement of the resident

agent of the Society, in reply to an inquiry addressed to him on this subject, and recently published in the Society's Report? It is this, "I cannot say its use," (viz. that of the whip) "has been entirely abolished." —"The driver was compelled to take it up again for a short time."— "I trust the time is not very distant," (it is of course yet future) "when we shall find that the use of the *whip in the field*,"—(not of the whip, merely as an instrument of punishment for crimes, but of THE WHIP IN THE FIELD) "may be dispensed with altogether." Just so might the most thorough-going planter, (even a Mr. Huggins or a Mr. Hodge) as Mr. Riland well remarks, have expressed himself.*

In the year 1829, therefore, it appears that the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel has not yet afforded to its labourers the inducement of wages for tilling and reaping its fields, as recommended by Bishop Fleetwood, nearly one hundred and twenty years ago; but still avows, after such a length of possession, that "the use of *the whip in the field*" has not yet "been dispensed with!"

We had reached this point of our progress, when the kindness of a friend placed in our hands a condensed statement of the proceedings of the Society since 1818, issuing from the Society itself, and printed expressly for the satisfaction of all "who take an interest in the spiritual and temporal welfare of the negroes on the Codrington Plantations;" in other words, for its own vindication. This statement, while it calls for no alteration in what we have already written, but, on the contrary, serves to confirm it, will lead us considerably to enlarge our observations.

On perusing this important and interesting document, the first point which has fixed our attention is the medium through which alone the Society seems to obtain its information respecting the state and condition of its slaves. It is chiefly through the Rev. I. H. Pinder, the chaplain, and Mr. Forster Clarke, the attorney, or agricultural agent of the estates. We do not intend to say one word to derogate from the respectability of these gentlemen; but, unless we are greatly misinformed, Mr. Pinder is a native of Barbadoes, who has been familiarized to the sight and immediate contact of slavery from infancy, and who is himself a holder of slaves, either in possession or reversion; and Mr. Clarke has risen through all the different grades of plantership, from that of an overseeer following with a cowskin the negro gang in the field; and then of a manager directing and coercing the labours of all the slaves on the estate, and arbitrarily administering its whole economical and punitive discipline; to that of an attorney or agricultural agent, with the power of appointing the manager and controling his operations. Now we greatly question whether it is by the hands of men thus educated that the Society ought to act, or through the eyes of such men that it ought to see, or by the ideas of such men that its judgment ought to be regulated. On the contrary we are apprehensive, that while the Society relies on information derived from such sources, it cannot fail to be both the victim and unwitting instrument of

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* See Christian Observer for January 1829, p. 34.

much delusion. And we say this (without meaning in the very slightest degree to impeach the upright intentions of either gentleman,) from a knowledge of the unavoidable effects on their feelings and judgment of the circumstances in which its informants have been placed. To this fruitful source of error we shall have occasion hereafter to advert.*

It is now frankly stated by the Society itself, that "the slaves on these estates were never provided with any regular system of religious teaching until the year 1818." p. 7. Let us look at the nature of this teaching, and at what the Society is actually doing for its slaves in the way of school instruction.—In the first place, such instruction is made, by an express regulation, to exclude "writing and arithmetic," p. 5. And why does it exclude them? Is it for any reason but the participation of the Society's agents in Barbadian prejudices, and the unwarrantable deference of the Society to those prejudices? Besides this the attendance of children at school is restricted to those who are under ten years of age. Till ten, but no longer, may they be taught reading for four hours in each day. In consequence of this unaccountable restriction we presume it is that the very highest form can read only in the New Testament or the Psalter; (p. 18 and 24,) and as children quit the reading school with only this degree of proficiency, we may conjecture of how little use such instruction must be to them in future life. But on what ground does the Society restrict instruction in letters to children under ten years, excluding all above that age, and even the adult population on its estates, from acquiring the capacity to read the word of God? The murdered missionary, Smith, contrived to teach many of the adult Slaves in his congregation at Demerara to read their Bibles, (Reporter, No. 41, p. 326.) The Missionary Wray, of Berbice, has been equally successful with the Crown slaves in that colony; and even in Barbadoes itself some of the adult slaves in Mr. Harte's congregation have contrived

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* Nothing can more strikingly shew the state of their minds than some of the instances they exhibit of the *liberality* of the Society's treatment. (See p. 9.)

1. Draughts of water are supplied to the slaves at work in the field! Can we imagine them at work, under a tropical sun, without access to this boasted boon of a draught of water! And yet the Creole agents well knew what an indulgence even a cup of cold water was. They had doubtless seen gangs toiling for many a burning hour without even one drop of water to cool their tongues.

2. *Severe* punishments are *rarely* inflicted! What West Indian ever admitted that *severity* was *often* exercised by him?

3. Mothers having three living children, have every Saturday afternoon allotted to them!—In the Society's Report of 1711—1713, we are told that an order had been sent out, "that the negroes should have liberty on *Saturdays* in the afternoon to work for themselves, that they may have time to attend instruction on the Lord's day." This order was probably never executed; but still what a retrogradation of purpose and intention does it indicate! In 1829, we have the Society lauding itself for permitting mothers having three living children, (ten or twelve individuals at most,) to enjoy the same indulgence which in ancient times was ordered to be given to *the negroes*, that is, the negroes generally.

4. *Every* mother having EIGHT CHILDREN ALIVE, has the undisputed enjoyment of Thursday!—that is, of one day in the week, to look after and care for *eight* children! Why, many West Indian codes exempt entirely from labour mothers having six! Besides, is there not a fallacy in the word *Every?* How many mothers, having *eight* children alive, are to be found on these estates? Is there *one*, or are there *two?*

to obtain, *from their own resources*, a knowledge of letters, (ib. p. 325). And yet, by a regulation which the Society for propagating the Gospel sanctions, nearly 300 Creole slaves born in Barbadoes, therefore native born subjects of the king, nurtured in the very domicile of the Society itself, are doomed to exclusion from all instruction in reading, because they have passed the age of *Ten*. Can the Society possibly continue to uphold so indefensible a regulation? We are told (p. 8,) that "the desire of the slaves for instruction is manifest." Why is that desire thus repressed by those who ought, nay, who are bound to satisfy it?

We are further told that it is one of the rules of the Society, adopted, it should seem, for the first time in 1818, "that marriage be encouraged among the slaves;" (p. 6,) and yet it is stated, (p. 8,) that "there is but ONE instance of marriage among them legally performed." Here, however, what we most of all admire is the elaborate apology of the Chaplain of the Society for the absence of the marriage tie among its slaves, and the Society's most unaccountable adoption of that apology. The Chaplain, indeed, tells us that he ardently looks forward to the influence of religion in "putting an end to polygamy, and in promoting a desire and suitable reverence for this hallowed band." Yet he argues that their present connexions are not to be regarded in the light of promiscuous concubinage; instances of fidelity ("connubial fidelity" he calls it by a strange misnomer) being to be met with, though in other cases it is too frequently violated. Again, at p. 19, the Society edifies the public with reprinting its Chaplain's farther apology for the prevailing polygamy and concubinage. Though there is no marriage, he says, the husband considers *those* he lives with as his wives. "National habits," he adds, "are not changed in a day."—(The day to the Society has been a long one—upwards of 120 years.) But "when Christian instruction has had longer time" (how much longer?) "to operate," then we may look forward with hope to the slaves marrying, and polygamy vanishing.—Can it be by a society comprehending all the Archbishops and Bishops of England that currency is given to such views as these? The defence seems quite as good in principle for concubinage in one part of the empire as in another, in England as in Barbadoes. Besides, the Chaplain mistakes the very nature of marriage. He forgets that it is a civil, as well as a religious institution, and that not only Christians, but heathens and infidels marry, and are bound by the laws affecting marriage. It is the *law* which prescribes what shall be its form, and its rights, and its obligations. But the Chaplain of the Society (and the Society seems to accredit his views by circulating them in this defence of its own conduct) seems to think, that the slaves should, at least, continue to live in concubinage and polygamy until his labours shall have made them Christians; making little or no account of the difference between an union sanctioned by *law*, and so legitimatizing its offspring, and such a casual union as no more binds the subjects of it to each other, than it binds the beasts of the stall. We are lost in amazement on reading such things.—When the Maroons of Jamaica were removed to Sierra Leone in the year 1800, they had lived in polygamy and concubinage like the slaves of this Society. They were given to understand that such modes of life were *unlawful*, and could no longer be tolerated; and

and they at once agreed in future to abandon them. Now what has the Society done to put an end to this flagrant evil in its own family, among its own servants, persons actually born in its own house? Would the Governors of this Society, our Archbishops and Bishops, permit their male and female domestics to cohabit together without the sanction of marriage, merely because they had been previously uninstructed, in the hope that in time their Lordships' chaplains might succeed in convincing them of the impropriety of the practice? We suspect too that this state of illicit cohabitation is made no bar to the admission of persons to the sacrament of the Lord's supper, there being on the estate only *one* marriage of slaves, and the number of communicants, "slave and free," being *seventeen* (p. 19); a number of communicants it must be allowed sufficiently small, at the end of more than 120 years, even if all of them were slaves.

At p. 7 it is implied that the want of funds prevented any regular means of religious instruction being provided for their slaves until 1818. Yet the Society had always been in the receipt and expenditure of considerable funds, a part derived from the labours of these very slaves. What stronger claim could exist on those funds, whether derived from that source or from public or private contributions, than was preferred by the spiritual destitution of the slaves themselves?

The most important portion of the Society's statement consists of a letter from Mr. Clarke, the agricultural agent, dated in May last, and evidently intended as a reply to the inquiries addressed, a few months before, to the Society, by Mr. Riland. The most material part, however, of Mr. Clarke's information is wholly omitted; we mean his "list of the slaves, and the employment of each, with their respective ages and colours." (p. 26, &c.)

Mr. Clarke's account of the general treatment of the slaves, as well as that of Mr. Pinder, (p. 9,) does not differ materially, from that which West Indian planters are in the habit of giving as to the general style of their treatment. We believe it, however, to be much more correct than *theirs* usually is; and its greater correctness is proved by the comparative increase of the slaves on these estates. The descriptions which come to us, from Demerara and Jamaica, are quite as favourable to the humanity of the proprietors as those of Mr. Clarke and Mr. Pinder; but the results would indicate that there was much more of truth in the latter. Mr. Clarke has not enabled us to ascertain the rate of *increase;* but it appears, as far as we can form an opinion, to be about $1\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. per annum, while the amount of *decrease*, even on Lord Seaford's estates in Jamaica, is $1\frac{1}{4}$ per cent.; in Demerara, upwards of 2 per cent.; and in Trinidad nearly 3 per cent. But still the rate of increase which appears to take place among the Society's bondsmen, falls much below that both of the slaves in the Bahamas and the United States, and of the free population in Jamaica and the other colonies. And some of the causes of this inferiority, notwithstanding any comparative mildness of treatment, are perfectly apparent.—To say nothing of the licentious habits of polygamists and concubinists, for one third of the year, it is admitted, (p, 26,) that the labour of the slaves is protracted from five in the morning till eight or nine o'clock at night;—and we may assume that Mr. Clarke gives us the least unfa-

vourable view of his own exactions. But what must the effect be of such continuity of labour in such a climate, exacted too, be it remembered, under the compulsion of the whip or of confinement in the stocks?—Again, no registry of punishments is kept on the estate, though these punishments are generally inflicted, not by order even of Mr. Clarke, but at the will of the resident manager, Mr. Hinkson. Now that these punishments have been *few* and *light*, we must take on the bare assertion of men habituated, through life, to the whip and the stocks, and from whom we might probably form a very different estimate on the subject, if we had the record book before us. But surely the want of such a record is quite inexcusable, after the distinct enunciation of the wishes of Government on that subject in 1823. Mr. Clarke and the Society could not be ignorant that such a record was required, or that importance was attached to it by the Government, and by all who know any thing of West Indian discipline. And yet, after a lapse of five years, even this simple measure of reform, this slight check on the despotic power of the manager, has not been adopted either by the Society or its agent. We cannot, therefore, admit, on such authority as is now before us, that on the Society's estates punishments have been either *rare* or *light*. Rare or light they may be, as compared with many other sugar plantations; but that they are rare or light as compared with what occurs in any English village of 400 inhabitants, or in any village of free labourers within the British dominions, we must have some better evidence than the loose assurances of men who have breathed from infancy the very atmosphere of slavery, and who have been familiarized to the very manipulation of all its loathsome and disgusting, and heart-hardening accompaniments.

But the whip in the field! The driver and manager, who it seemed had been ordered to lay it aside, represented to Mr. Clarke, (and Mr. Clarke, good easy man, admitted their plea,) that the want of it was attended with great inconvenience, and with loss of labour. The human cattle had begun to move slowly and sluggishly, on the whip being removed from sight and hearing, and it was therefore resumed to quicken their movements. The *crimes* which required it, and we are told they are "the *common* offences of the field," were "idleness, insolence, and insubordination."—For these CRIMES the men and women living on the Society's estates, and toiling for the Society's benefit from day to day, and all day long, without wages, were punishable, and were punished, in the year 1828, by the whip, or by confinement "for one, two, or more days or weeks, according to the nature of the offence;" and all this at the sole pleasure of a Mr. Hinkson, who renders no account to the Society, because he keeps none, either of the lashes he inflicts, or of the hours and days of imprisonment he awards. And these punishments, be it remembered, are inflicted by his arbitrary mandate, not in general for any thing that *we* should call *crime*, or punish as such *here*, but for *idleness*, for *loitering*, for *saucy language*, and for what is called "*neglect of business*."*

* The system of coercion extends beyond the mere work of the field. It is employed to enforce attendance at church on Sunday, (p. 7, and 13.) Those who do not attend church on Sunday are condemned to labour (*hard labour*

And is this to continue? Is the Society to go on exacting their uncompensated toil from these poor creatures by means of stocks and stripes? Are they not entitled at least to *wages*, if not to *liberty*, at the hands of this Christian corporation? They are fed, we shall be told, and clothed, and lodged. So are the horses of every Governor of the Society; but like those horses they are *driven* to their labour. They can remit it in no case at their own choice, even for an hour, without the hazard of bodily suffering. The base passion of fear, therefore, is the only spring of action which is called into exercise.

The power of self-enfranchisement, however, is a boon which the Society seems never to have thought of extending to its slaves.—About six years ago three of them redeemed themselves by purchase, and a father is now about to be allowed to buy the freedom of two of his daughters;—and the price of the redemption of these five poor creatures,—the long savings, doubtless, of many a painful fragment of time, rescued from the Society's constrained servitude—is unscrupulously extorted from them, to swell the general funds of the corporation. We should like to know its amount.—The remarks of Mr. Clarke, on this subject, (p. 28,) are in the true style of Creolian prejudice, but we need not enter upon them. As for the Society, it has evidently bestowed no serious consideration on the subject. It continues to grasp these human chattels, "the stock of the estate," as the Society scruples not to call them, (p. 17,) as firmly as any planter in Barbadoes; and even the Christian children, born from year to year under its roof, continue doomed, as far as any thing has yet been done by it, to bear, in perpetuity, the brutalizing yoke of slavery, for the sole purpose of replenishing the Society's coffers.

Our view of the effects of the abolition of Sunday markets in Barbadoes, boasted of so highly by the Society for the Conversion of Slaves, (See Reporter, No. 41, p. 321, &c.) is incidentally, but most fully confirmed in this statement. The Chaplain says, (p. 24,) that he is confident, "the Society will be gratified to learn that its slaves will feel *no inconvenience* from the abolition of the Sunday market, as it affects the sale of their provisions, &c. as Mr. Clarke has determined to allow all the labouring slaves on the plantation every alternate Saturday, as a day for going to market, which will be an increase of comfort to them, and render the abolition of the Sunday market a benefit even in a worldly point of view." To those then who are not thus favoured, it is not "a benefit," but "an inconvenience;" and in general they are not so favoured.*

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being in this country our punishment for great crimes) on the following Saturday afternoon, while those who do attend are exempt from it. This, it must be admitted, is rather a compulsory kind of worship.—How very extraordinary it is that the agents of these estates should feel themselves at liberty thus to *compel* the slaves to attend divine worship, and yet should have been able to discover no means of enforcing the decency of connubial unions among them!

* But, in truth, it is a farce to call the Barbadoes law an abolition of Sunday markets. These now exist, by *law*, from five to nine on Sunday morning. In the newspaper of that island, called the Barbadian, of the 16th December last, is the following editorial paragraph. "We look anxiously for the day when *our* market-house will be closed *the whole* of the Lord's day. When shall we get rid of the trafficking and slaughtering, the noise and uproar, the cursing and swearing, which, from the dawn of day till nine o'clock on Sundays, are so disgusting, and are too disgraceful to be much longer tolerated, we trust, in this Christian land."—Christian land indeed!

It further appears, that no means have been taken by the Society or its agents, to establish any thing like a Savings' Bank for the slaves, though that also was recommended by the Government. Mr. Clarke, indeed, discovers that such is the feeling of distrust entertained by the slaves, that though a single family has OFTEN been known to receive £20 or £30 for its crop, whatever money it may lay up is "*carefully concealed from the knowledge of owners and overseers,*" (p. 28.) How then has Mr. Clarke acquired his knowledge of their large earnings? And what encouragement has he given to these poor thralls to place those earnings in safe deposit until they shall accumulate to the value of their redemption, which, in Barbadoes, on the average, does not now exceed £28 sterling? (see Reporter, No. 19, p. 282, &c.) So that, if the statement be true, that families are OFTEN receiving £20 or £30 for a crop, that is from £14 to £21 sterling, redemptions might be continually occurring.

But, before we close our remarks, we are anxious it should not be supposed that, in making them, we are actuated by any unfriendly feelings towards the venerable Society for propagating the Gospel. If our obligations to the great cause we have undertaken would have permitted us to be silent with respect to its proceedings, we should have felt ourselves relieved from a very painful responsibility. But it would have been actual treason to that cause to have passed so influential an example wholly overlooked. Indeed, having found it to be our duty fearlessly to arraign as *criminal* the principle and whole system of colonial bondage, as well as the conduct of many of those who administer it, it would have laid us justly open to the imputation of moral cowardice, and of the most reprehensible partiality, had we shrunk from a frank and full statement of our views, not only of this Society's proceedings, but of its present attempt to vindicate them. In proportion as its Directors stand high in public estimation and in public confidence, is it important that we should not allow them unwittingly to lend their sanction to principles and practices which we have uniformly denounced, and must continue to denounce, as opposed to the plainest maxims of humanity and justice, and as altogether incompatible with the spirit and the precepts of the Gospel. In the case of private individuals there is at least one palliative plea, however weak it may be in itself, which they may advance. Considerations of self-interest naturally make them averse to reforms, however salutary, which they may think threaten to affect their property. But in the case of the Society there is not even this excuse for maintaining, for a single day, any principle or any practice which Christianity, or even humanity reproves. We very willingly and gladly admit, that on the Society's estates the oppressions of the system are not so deathful as on most other sugar plantations; though, even here, the progress of population is much slower than among the free blacks and coloured classes in our islands, or among the slaves either in the Bahamas or in the United States. But if the positive physical oppressions, the over-working and the underfeeding, to which the Society's slaves, in common wtth all around them, were long subjected, have, (as we are happy to believe they have,) diminished in their intensity, so as to admit now of an increase, still we maintain that the Society's slaves continue to indicate the pressure of their bond-

age in the comparative slowness of that increase. But even if this were otherwise; if the Society's slaves increased as fast as the Maroons in Jamaica, or the free blacks in Trinidad, or the slaves in the Bahamas and the United States, still such a result would not deliver this *Christian* Society from the just rebuke of having maintained, for upwards of 120 years, and of still maintaining, a most *unchristian* position. Surely there is something very incongruous and revolting, to say the least, in the contemplation of a Society formed for evangelizing the heathen, which draws a part of its resources from the coerced services of slaves, driven to their labour by the whip and the stocks, and held by it as chattels of sale and of inheritance. Can we imagine the holy evangelist Paul, or the college of Apostles at Jerusalem, defraying the cost of their Asiatic missions, for example, by means of funds drawn from a plantation in Crete, growing corn for the Roman market, and worked by slaves subject to the lash, and who, instead of being treated as the children of the same great Creator, and the fellow-heirs of the same blessings of redemption, were degraded in their civil and social capacities nearly to a level with the beasts that perish? And wherein does the parallel fail, excepting to the disadvantage of a Society existing in our own free and happy land, in this free and more enlightened age? Is it possible for us to raise our voice against the national sin of colonial slavery, and yet forbear from calling on the members of such a Society to wash their hands from its guilt? We should probably, however, have called upon them much less effectually had we failed to expose the true nature of the case, that they may see and feel its whole iniquity. And we would say, in conclusion, that if they have had cause to regret the want of public support, is not this to be in some measure attributed to the existence of this plague spot, which causes many good and conscientious persons to shrink from their counsel and contact? And may not the public approbation, and what is far more important, the Divine favour be more confidently implored, and more certainly anticipated, when they shall have resolved no longer to pursue their present dubious course, but wholly to purge themselves from this foul stain. Thus may they make some reparation for the past, and hold out a signal example of beneficial influence on the future temporal and spiritual destinies of hundreds of thousands of their fellow-creatures.

2.—The West India Committee, and its Mercenaries of the Press, particularly Mr. Franklin, Mr. Macqueen, &c.

It appears by the Postscript to the Royal Gazette of Jamaica of the 29th November last, that on the 25th of that month a petition had been presented to the House of Assembly on behalf of one James Franklin, formerly of Kingston, in that island, but now of Great Britain, setting forth "That the Petitioner, having had considerable intercourse with St. Domingo or Hayti, was solicited by the West India body in London to publish a faithful description of that country;—That the petitioner, under the assurance of receiving from that body the most liberal encouragement and support, did execute such a work; yet the petitioner

has not received the promised support, and is wholly neglected;—That under similar inducements the petitioner was led to prepare and publish a pamphlet entitled 'A Short View of the West India Question,' &c., for which the petitioner received the sum of one hundred guineas, which barely covers the expense to which the petitioner was subjected in printing;—That the house will perceive the petitioner has exerted all his powers in aid of the Colonial cause, and of this Island particularly, and hopes that the house, with its usual liberality, will take the petitioner's case into their consideration, and honour his wife, now in this island, with such remuneration as the house may consider the petitioner entitled to."

This petition lets us a little into the secret of West Indian publications and proceedings. Mr. Franklin, disappointed in the views which had carried him first to Jamaica and then to St. Domingo, returned to England, and in 1825 and 1826, laboured to form what was called the Haytian Company. And such was the effect of *his* representations, and those of a Mr. Hendrick, concerning the agricultural, commercial, and mining faculties of Hayti, that many highly respectable persons were induced, to their no small eventual loss, to subscribe to this company. Mr. Franklin about the same time made similar representations to Mr. Canning, which (report says) it was expected might have issued in his appointment as Haytian Consul. Both these hopeful projects miscarrying, he was induced, by the solicitations of the West India Committee, and their promises of encouragement and support, to yield them his pen. In a short time he produced an octavo volume, professing to be "a faithful description" of Hayti,* and also a pamphlet. What these works are few people, we apprehend, can tell, excepting the author himself and his employers, who, indeed, seem not to have valued his labours at any very high rate; and yet, if his publications are to be estimated by the benefit derived from them to "the Colonial cause," they have been probably overpaid by the hundred guineas awarded to him.

Our readers have probably forgotten that the West India Committee are in the habit of annually levying a tax, (a pro-slavery *rent*,) on all produce imported from slave colonies. Its amount we do not exactly know, but considering the rates of exaction,† we should estimate it at about £20,000 a year. The produce of this *tax*, or *rent*, be it more or less, is placed, as a kind of secret service money, at the sole, uncontrouled and unexplained disposal of the West India Committee. We should like very much to see an account of its appropriation; how much, for example, has gone to electioneering purposes; how much to indemnify libellers; how much to pay for Quarterly and other Reviews;

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* We feel some curiosity to compare the letters of Mr. Franklin written to Mr. Canning in 1825 or 1826, with "the faithful description" of Hayti, published under the auspices of the West Indian Committee, in 1827. The purposes of the two, it is true, differed, and this might account for some slight variations. But if Mr. Hume's motion of last session shall bring the correspondence of Mr. Franklin with the Foreign Office before the public, we shall not be surprised to discover new and strange proofs of descriptive fidelity.

† See for these, "The Slave Colonies of Great Britain," &c. p. 99, note.

and how much for weekly and daily journals. A great part of this knowledge we shall probably never attain. We have heard, however, of some of their mercenaries having been paid on so much more liberal a scale than Mr. Franklin, that we cannot be surprised at the discontent which that gentleman has manifested. Their present more active partizans (for the Quarterly Review has, of late, confined itself to an occasional growl at Sierra Leone,) appear to be Blackwood, John Bull, the Morning Journal of London, and the Couriers of London and Glasgow. But how many more Journals are kept silent by the influence of the pro-slavery rent, it may be less easy to ascertain.* Thus shamefully neglected by the West India Committee, Mr. Franklin has now placed his hope in the *known* liberality of the Members of the Assembly of Jamaica; and without doubt, considering the sums they have lavished on the Rev. Mr. Bridges, Mr. Alexander Barclay, Mr. James Macqueen, &c., he may very fairly make his appeal to their consistency for a large vote of money. He has certainly not done a tenth part of the harm to their cause which has been effected by Mr. Macqueen, to whom the Assembly, in the fervour of its gratitude, voted a sum of 3000 guineas.† We hope they will continue to bestow their bounty on equally deserving objects. In the meantime it is a satisfaction to see that that part of the public press which is most vehemently embarked in the defence of slavery, and most profuse in its abuse of the abolitionists, is also the most vehemently opposed to every measure of liberality, whether commercial or political, as well as the most outrageously abusive of the Duke of Wellington since he has spoken (whether wisely or not, we leave to wiser heads to decide) of giving peace to Ireland.

We cannot help thinking that the West India Committee have behaved rather shabbily to the Noble Duke. After palming upon him the dull romance of Mr. Franklin, as "a faithful description" of Hayti—and the detected impostures of Mr. Barclay, as a just picture of West Indian humanity; they now permit their mercenary journalists to take up the cudgels for Don Miguel, and to revile the Duke himself as a traitor to his king and country.

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* It is a curious fact, that while all the journals of London, and throughout the Kingdom have been filled with details of the Edinburgh horrors, we do not believe that with the exception of a single London morning paper, and two or three other London papers, the slightest notice has been taken of the multiplied horrors which, on Parliamentary authority, the Anti-Slavery Reporters have shown to have taken place, and to be even now proceeding at an enormous rate, in our colonial possessions, and especially in the Mauritius.

† Mr. Macqueen is supposed to have received about £15,000 in all from the West Indies, partly in votes of money by assemblies, and partly in public subscriptions. He has since become the joint proprietor of a large body of slaves, and is now therefore, himself, a great West Indian planter. This circumstance may give a sharper and a louder tone to his vituperations; and it may also render it less necessary for the West Indian body to fee advocates so highly as it has hitherto done. However, if the West Indian Committee should on this account think of economizing their funds, as Mr. Franklin's fate would seem to intimate, a substitute may be found by some at least of that committee's mercenaries in the liberality of the eulogists of Don Miguel, and of the furious revilers of the Duke of Wellington. The Duke will learn ere long, to appreciate both them and their employers.

3.—Colonial Statistics.

In the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 19, will be found an abstract of various statistical returns received from fourteen of our slave colonies. In the last session of Parliament returns were produced from four more, viz. Antigua, Mauritius, Montserrat, and St. Lucia, (Papers of 1st of April, 1828, No. 204.) These we shall now abstract. The colonies which have as yet made no return to the Order of the House of Commons of 6th June, 1825, are Bermuda and the Cape of Good Hope.

1. Antigua.

The custom-house of this island furnishes no means of ascertaining the export and import of slaves; unquestionably a great neglect.

The manumissions effected either by purchase or bequest, from the 1st of January, 1821, to the end of 1826, six years, were 956.

The marriages of slaves in the same period were twenty-one, almost all of them by Mr. Curtin, missionary of the Conversion Society. This return, however, is accompanied by a letter from Thomas Lane, the Colonial Secretary, stating, "that there is no existing law in this colony which makes marriages between slaves a civil or religious contract, nor any law to prevent the separation of husband and wife."

There were ten slaves escheated to the Crown, waiting its pleasure.

The number of slaves sold in execution in Antigua, in these six years, was 128. The price for which they were sold was £5774. 16*s*. currency, being about £45 currency each, or £20. 1*s*. sterling. In the same period 28 slaves were seized for taxes, and sold for a gross sum of £1031. 12*s*., being £37 currency, or £16. 15*s*. sterling each.

In 1821 the free black and coloured population was 1549 males, and 2346 females, in all, 3895. There has been no census since, but the number manumitted as above, without reckoning the increase by births, would raise the number to 4851.

The slave population in 1821 was 14,531 males, 16,533 females, in all, 31,064: in 1824, 14,225 males, 16,089 females, in all, 30,314.

The sums raised for the relief of the poor, in the above six years, amounted to £28,247. 10*s*. currency, or about £13,450 sterling. But the poor are all white, and it is distinctly stated by Archdeacon Parry, that "there are no free-coloured or black paupers provided for by the parish; nor are the free-coloured or free blacks taxed for the support of the poor. Slaves are supported by their owners." The number of paupers receiving relief is 211 whites.

2. Mauritius.

The number of slaves imported into the Mauritius from January 1821, to the end of 1826, is stated to have been 1351 males, and 516 females, in all, 1867. This, however, is of course an account of those only who passed regularly through the custom-house, and does not include the vast numbers illicitly imported. The slaves exported in the same period were 299 males, and 248 females, in all, 547.

The number of manumissions, by marriage, from the 1st of January 1821, to the 30th of June 1826, was 245; by bequest or otherwise, 199; in all 444. A tax, amounting to about £25 sterling, appears to have been exacted on most of these manumissions.

By law, the marriage of whites with blacks is severely punishable. If

a free black marries a slave she becomes free. Curés are forbidden to unite slaves in marriage without the master's consent. The marriages of slaves, from the 1st of January 1821, to September 1826, are stated as six in number, which does not correspond with the return that makes the manumissions by marriage amount to 245.

The number of slaves sold under execution is 1473; but as they were almost all sold with the plantations to which they were attached, it is impossible to ascertain the price of slaves, exclusive of land, buildings, &c. The price, therefore, is of a very varying and uncertain rate.

The sums raised for the relief of the poor, from the 1st of January 1821, to the 31st of March 1826, amounted to £8875. 18*s*. 8*d*. The paupers relieved were eighty-seven whites, and ninety coloured persons.

The free black and coloured population is stated as follows: 1st of January 1821, 6121 males, 6939 females, in all, 13,060; 1st of January 1826, 7155 males, 7970 females, in all, 15,125; showing an increase of 2065, from which, if 444, the number of manumissions in that time, be deducted, it leaves an increase of 1621 by natural means, being at the rate of upwards of two per cent. per annum. The births, however, in those years are given as 3450, the deaths as only 1460, leaving an excess of births over deaths of 1990, which, if correct, would exhibit a still higher rate of increase, amounting to 2⅔ per cent. per annum.

There is also an enumeration of the slave population, for the six years in question, which betrays some very strange facts. The total amounts of the successive years, beginning with 1821, are as follows: 66,162; 63,099; 63,076; 65,037; 63,432; 62,588. If any dependence could be placed on these returns, and if we could assume that there had been no importations, the irregularities would still be very extraordinary. On this point light may be thrown hereafter. In the details of the above enumeration, however, we have, as it appears to us, clear and irrefragable presumptions of a frightful waste of human life, and of the continuance of large importations. In 1821 the males amounted to 58,634, the females only to 7528; in 1822 the males were 55,878, the females 7221; in 1823 the males were 57,134, the females 7903; in 1825 the males were 50,788, the females 12,644; in 1826 the males were 53,682, the females 8906.

Now in 1815, by actual registry, the numbers were 56,684 males, and 30,668 females, being a little less than *two* males to one female; but in 1821 the proportion was *eight* males to one female, varying little in the following years from this proportion, except in 1825, when, all at once, we have an increase of 5249 females, which number is as suddenly decreased in 1826 by 3738. In no possible way, we apprehend can these singular and anomalous appearances be accounted for, but on the hypothesis of an immense mortality and an immense importation. If the 30,668 females of 1815, were really reduced to 7528 in 1821, the mortality, independent of births, and even supposing no women to have been imported, must have amounted to 23,140 females in those six years; and supposing a proportionate number of deaths to have taken place among the 56,684 males, it would have amounted to about 42,000, making a total mortality of upwards of 65,000 human beings in six years. We admit there may be some fallacy in these returns, which we had not seen when the last Reporter was published. Still it

is for those who have furnished such appalling data to give us the key to them, and to tell us how the sudden increase of women in 1825, and the other phenomena are to be explained. We look with much anxiety to the steps which Government shall take respecting the Mauritius. We may regard it as certain that, under the anomalies we have pointed out, a mass of horrors, of which this country has, as yet, no conception, will be found hidden. And yet it was to this colony, this Mauritius, this human slaughter house, that in that very year of 1825, the Government and Parliament of England persisted, in spite of every remonstrance, by relieving the sugar of the Mauritius from the protecting duty which they continued to levy on the free grown sugar of India, to give a new stimulus to the growth of sugar in that colony, and to that multiplication of murders in which it could not fail to issue. The case must be searched into. It is a case of Blood.

3. Montserrat.

In the six years, 1821 to 1826, four slaves were imported and 57 exported; the number of manumissions was 59; and the number of slave marriages 9.

The slaves sold in execution were 41, and were sold for £2142. 6*s*. 10*d*. currency, or at an average of £52. 5*s*. each, being about £23 sterling.

The slave population is given in 1821 as 6464, in 1826 as 5956, being a decrease of 508: the real decrease, exports and manumissions deducted, is 396, being upwards of one per cent. per annum.

The free black and coloured population is made to amount in 1822 to 274 men and 411 women, in all 683.

The sum raised for the poor in the six years was £2500 currency. The number of paupers, all white, was 14.

4. St. Lucia.

The number of Slaves imported is stated to be 83, exported 26. The manumissions from the 1st of January, 1821, to the 31st of May, 1827 were 686. Of these 132 paid for their freedom. The rest were manumitted by their masters.—No marriages of slaves have taken place.—The number of slaves sold in execution was 34; and the amount for which they were sold was 76,585 livres, or about £48 sterling each.

The slave population in 1819 is stated to have been 14,280; in 1822, 13,788; in 1825, 13,717; and in 1826, 12,922. The free coloured population is stated in 1826 at 3983. There are no poor in St. Lucia.

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4. Conduct of the Assembly of Jamaica.

This Body met in November last, and proceeded to consider the two questions of the slave law, and the claims of the free people of colour to an extension of their privileges. These claims were refused by a majority of twenty-five to fourteen.—With respect to the slave law, they have re-enacted that of 1826, without any alteration whatever even in the persecuting clauses. Considering the language of Government on that subject, and the express ground in which the former act was disallowed, they do, in fact, by this proceeding, bid a bold defiance to the King and Parliament of Great Britain.

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1. Dr. Burgess, the present Bishop of Salisbury, on Colonial Slavery.

In our last Number we adduced the testimony of many distinguished prelates of the Church of England against the evils of Slavery. There remains one living Prelate whom it would be unpardonable for us to omit; we mean the present Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Burgess. In the year 1789, this learned and excellent person published a pamphlet, which we fear has been long out of print, and is only now to be found in such libraries as that of the British Museum, entitled, "Considera tions on the abolition of *Slavery*, and the Slave Trade, upon grounds o natural, religious, and political duty." A Liverpool Clergyman of the name of Harris, had published a pamphlet in defence of slavery, which he represented as a dispensation of Providence,—a state of society recognised by the Gospel;—in which the reciprocal duties of masters and slaves are founded on the principle of both being servants of Christ, and are enforced by the Divine rules of Christian charity. The following are some of the indignant observations of the good Bishop, on witnessing such a prostitution of the sacred truths and obligations of religion:—

"Reciprocal duties!" he exclaims, "Reciprocal duties!—To have an adequate sense of the propriety of these terms, we must forget the humane provisions of the Hebrew law, as well as the liberal indulgence of Roman slavery, and think only of West India slavery! of *unlimited, uncompensated, brutal* slavery, and then judge what *reciprocity* there can be between absolute authority and absolute subjection; and how the Divine rule of Christian charity can be said to enforce the *reciprocal duties* of the West India slave and his master. Reciprocity is inconsistent with every degree of real slavery." "Slavery cannot be called one of the species of civil subordination. A slave is a non-entity in civil society." "Law and slavery are contradictory terms."

The Bishop's treatise is one among many proofs that the Abolitionists *from the first* contemplated the ultimate extinction of slavery as the end of their labours.

"Such oppression," says the Bishop, (meaning the state of slavery), "and such traffic" (meaning the slave trade), "must be swept away at one blow. Such horrid offences against God and nature can admit of no medium. Yet some of the more moderate apologists of slavery think that a medium may be adopted.

They think that slavery ought not to be abolished, but modified and meliorated by good laws and regulations. It is well observed by Cicero, that 'incidunt multæ sæpe causæ quæ conturbent animos utilitatis specie, non cum hoc deliberetur, Relinquendane sit honestas propter utilitatis magnitudinem (nam hoc quidem improbum est,) sed illud, Possitne id quod utile videatur fieri non turpiter.' But it is impossible for slavery 'fieri non turpiter.'" pp. 82, 83.

The Bishop proceeds to observe, that "All the laws hitherto made, have produced little or no benefit to the slaves. But there are many reasons why it is very improbable that such provisions *should* produce any effectual benefit. The power which is exercised over the slaves, and the severe coercion necessary to keep an immense superiority of numbers in absolute obedience to a few, and restrain them from insurrection, are incompatible with justice or humanity, and are obnoxious to abuses which no legal regulations can counteract. The power which a West Indian master has over his slave, it is impossible for the generality of masters or managers not to abuse. It is too great to be intrusted in the hands of men subject to human passions and infirmities. The best principles and most generous natures are perverted by the influence of passion and habit."*

If these arguments of the Bishop be well founded, it follows, first, that the great mark at which every friend of humanity ought to aim, by all lawful expedients, is complete and irrevocable emancipation; secondly, that in the interim, as laws, when committed to the guardianship of the slave-holder, are merely waste paper, the Government and Legislature of this country should take the matter into their own hands, and shape their course to an ultimate extinction of an evil from which they cannot extract all the venom but by slaying the hydra itself; and thirdly, that too much weight should not be given to the representations of persons even of the "best principles and most generous natures," when "perverted by the influence of passion and habit," to apologize for, or wish to perpetuate, the enormities of this accursed system.

The Bishop in reply to those who defend or connive at West India slavery as a "dispensation of Providence," and as, indirectly at least, sanctioned by the word of God, observes,

"Many attacks," says his lordship, "have been made on the authority of Scripture; but nothing would more effectually subvert its authority than to prove that its injunctions are inconsistent with the common principles of benevolence,

* The poet Cowper seems to have entertained much the same opinion as the Bishop of Salisbury; for in one of his Letters, dated April, 1788, we find him saying: "Laws will, I suppose, be enacted for the more humane treatment of the Negroes; but who shall see to the execution of them? The planters will not, and the Negroes cannot. In fact, we know that laws of this tendency have not been wanting, enacted even amongst themselves; but there has been always a want of prosecutors, or righteous judges, deficiencies which will not be very easily supplied. The newspapers have lately told us, that these merciful masters, have on this occasion, been occupied in passing ordinances, by which the lives and limbs of their slaves are to be secured from wanton cruelty hereafter. But who does not immediately detect the artifice, or can give them a moment's credit for any thing more than a design, by this show of lenity to avert the storm which they think hangs over them? On the whole, I fear there is reason to wish, for the honour of England, that the nuisance had never been troubled; lest we eventually make ourselves justly chargeable with the whole offence by not removing it. The enormity cannot be palliated: we can no longer plead that we were not aware of it, or that our attention was otherwise engaged; and shall be inexcusable, therefore, ourselves, if we leave the least part of it unredressed. Such arguments as Pharaoh might have used, to justify his destruction of the Israelites, substituting sugar for bricks, ('ye are idle; ye are idle,') may lie ready for our use also; but I think we can find no better."

and inimical to the general rights of mankind. It would degrade the sanctity of Scripture; it would reverse all our ideas of God's paternal attributes, and all arguments for the Divine origin of the Christian religion drawn from its precepts of universal charity and benevolence." "That any custom so repugnant to the natural rights of mankind as the slave trade, *or slavery the source and support of the slave trade*, should be thought to be consonant to the principles of natural and revealed religion, is a paradox which it is difficult to reconcile with the reverence due to the records of our holy religion."

His Lordship then proceeds to shew, 1st, That slavery and the slave trade are inconsistent with the principles of nature (in allusion to his opponent's argument), deducible from Scripture. 2d. That no conclusion can be drawn in favour of West India slavery or the African slave trade (which the Bishop always classes and brands together) from particular transactions recorded in Scripture; both because the trade in slaves bears no resemblance to the slavery and slave trade in question, and because transactions merely recorded in Scripture history are not sanctioned by the record. 3d, That no conclusion can be formed from Hebrew laws respecting West Indian Slavery, because the conditions are by no means analogous; and because, even if they were, laws neither introduce nor justify every custom which they regulate. 4th, That the clearest and fullest permission of slavery to the Jews under the Law of Moses does not make it allowable to Christians, because the new law has succeeded to the ritual and judicial ordinances of the old; and we cannot reason from one state of things to another when any great revolution has intervened in the progress of religion. 5th, That, however such permission might appear to make slavery in any degree allowable to the first Hebrew Christians under the Roman government, it does not by any means make it allowable under the free government of this country, because we cannot reason from one form of government to another. 6th, That whatever may be the commercial and national advantages of slavery, (which however the Bishop does not estimate very highly: on the contrary, he strongly insists on its improvidence, and the vast superiority of free labour,) it ought not to be tolerated, because of the inadequacy of those advantages to their many bad effects and consequences. 7th, That slavery and the slave trade ought to be abolished on account of the good which would follow to religion, to mankind, and to ourselves.

We have not space to condense the whole of the Bishop's arguments, but we shall present our readers with a few succinct notices. As for the atrocities of the African slave trade, or the cruelties of West India slavery, he says there is nothing in Scripture that is parallel to either; but he argues that "slavery itself (in every form) is inconsistent with the law of nature deducible from Scripture, and therefore with the will of God;" and that, therefore, "*much more so* are the cruelties of West India slavery, and the African slave trade." Slavery, he further remarks, "even in its mildest sense, considered as unlimited, involuntary, uncompensated subjection to the service of another, is a total annihilation of all natural rights." This forcible abduction of liberty, he contends, is inconsistent with the natural rights of society, as deducible from Scripture. In God's first commission to man he gave him dominion over the brute creation; but there is no expression by which Adam or any of his posterity could collect that they had a right of dominion over their own species. The extent of this primary charter, remarks the Bishop, cannot be more forcibly expressed than in the language of our great poet:

> O execrable son, so to aspire
> Above his brother! to himself assuming
> Authority usurped, from God not given.
> He gave us only over beasts, flesh, fowl,
> Dominion absolute. That right we hold

By his donation: but man over man
He made not lord; such title to himself
Reserving, human left from human free.

To those advocates of slavery who would use in its favour the golden rule of doing as we would be done by, the Bishop in reply exclaims,

"Detestable perversion . . . of the most benevolent of all precepts!" Yet there is one very obvious view, he adds, in which the precept applies to the case of slavery; "for as no person would wish to be reduced to slavery, *or to continue so*, no person whatever should reduce a fellow-creature to slavery *or keep him in that condition*." "The precept may enjoin the submission of the slave to his master, but it does not enjoin slavery: it neither makes the occasion nor justifies it. Submission is a virtue in a slave; but the exercise of this virtue neither justifies the making of slaves nor the keeping of them. Offences must come, and injustice will prevail; but woe be to them by whom the offences come! It should not be forgotten that, if the precept enjoins submission in the slave, it applies *doubly* to the master; for it enjoins humanity in the treatment of his slaves, AND CONDEMNS HIM FOR KEEPING THEM AT ALL."

That the slaves are in a happier condition, and "far better off than the British peasantry," is another old argument, which has of late been newly furbished; and the Bishop of Salisbury well replies to it, as well as to the absurd opinion, that where there is no positive physical cruelty, (and would there were nothing even of this!) there is nothing to complain of.

"If no *other* circumstance could be proved," says the Bishop, "yet the mere privation of liberty, and compulsion to labour without compensation, is great cruelty and oppression. If no other fault could be alleged, the involuntary submission of so many thousands to a few individuals implies, beyond a doubt, the employment of means the most tyrannical and oppressive to secure such subjection." "The condition of West India slaves," he continues, "some of the apologists for slavery have endeavoured to recommend, by asserting that the slaves are happier than the poor of our own country. However inadvertently this opinion may have been admitted by many, it could have originated only from the possession of inordinate authority and insensibility to the blessings of a free country. Where the poor slaves are considered mere brutes of burden, it is no wonder that their happiness should be measured by the regular supply of mere animal subsistence. But the miseries of cold and want are light when compared with the miseries of a mind weighed down by irresistible oppression. The hardships of poverty are every day endured by thousands in this country for the sake of that liberty which the advocates of slavery think of so little value in their estimation of others' happiness, rather than relinquish their right to their *own* time, their *own* hovel, and their *own* scanty property, to become the pensioners of a parish. And yet an English poor-house has advantages of indulgence and protection which are incompatible with the most humane system of West India slavery. *To place the two situations of the English poor and West India slaves in any degree of comparison, is a defamation of our laws, and an insult to the genius of our country.*"

The Bishop goes on to point out that "the inconsistency between slavery and the slave trade, and *the general principles of our law and constitution;* between the *permission* of such usages and *our high pretensions to civil liberty;* appears to furnish arguments for the abolition of slavery, not less powerful on the one hand, than the injunctions of Scripture and the rights of nature on the other." "If slavery, *however modified*, is suffered to exist, British law cannot be in force. Why then attempt to modify what is in its very principle inhuman, unchristian, and inconsistent with British law, and the spirit of our constitution; *and which, however its concomitant circumstances might be diminished, could never be rendered not inhuman, not unchristian, not unconstitutional?* If justice to our nature, to our religion, and our country demand the sacrifice, why should an act of such accumulated duty be done by halves? Why not rather, by one generous effort of public virtue, cut off all occasion of inhumanity and oppression, with all

the pernicious effects of slavery on the slave, the master, and the state?" "Even if the experience of two centuries did not forbid us to suppose that the *abuses*, as they are called, of slavery and the slave trade, could be effectually checked and prevented by legal authority, yet the very nature of the offence complained of resists the supposition. Oppression, cruelty, the degradation of the human species, *and repugnance of the British constitution*, are evils inseparable from slavery and the slave trade."

The Bishop even apprehends injury to the mother country, by the baneful reaction of her colonial slave system. He dreads the influence of West Indian residents on their return to England. "The air even of this land of liberty," he remarks, "may not be able to dissipate their West Indian habits of absolute dominion."

With these views of the subject, our readers cannot wonder that the Bishop maintains, that "no British subject can be exempt from the duty of doing every thing in his power towards procuring the abolition both of West Indian slavery and the slave trade; customs in every way repugnant to religion, humanity, and freedom." He particularly urges the subject upon his brethren of the sacred order.—The clergy, it seems, had been reproached by the West Indian party for their zealous efforts for the abolition of the slave trade and slavery.

The Bishop vindicates them; remarking, that if *no* British subject is "exempt from the duty of doing every thing in his power towards preventing the continuance of so great a political as well as moral evil, more especially are not those subjects whose business it is to teach what it is every man's concern to know; the interpreters of God's word, which is so flagrantly violated by West Indian slavery and its consequences." "Instead of wishing to restrain the exertions of any order of men or individuals, in this cause of human nature, let us rather of all ranks, professions and persuasions unite—in the name of the *common Father* of mankind—in the name of Him who died to save us all—in the name of Faith, of Charity, and of Liberty, to implore those who have the power, to extirpate a system of cruelty and oppression which has been so long suffered to exist, to the dishonour of human nature, the discredit of a Christian nation, of a generous and enlightened people, and the disgrace of a free constitution!"

"Whether," observes the good Bishop, "all the cruelties imputed to the slave trade, and to Slavery, can or cannot be substantiated; whether the cruelties complained of can be mitigated or not; *the very existence of slavery*, as long as it is permitted, must be a heavy reproach to this country, and a discredit to the age which can tolerate it." "Whatever a Machiavellian in politics or commerce" may urge to the contrary, "slavery ought to be abolished, because inconsistent with the will of God." It is not a question, he contends, to be argued merely by statesmen and publicists, but the "natural and scriptural illegality" of slavery may be juged of "on grounds infinitely superior to all commercial considerations (as much superior as the soul is to the body, as the interests of eternity are to the concerns of a day,) by every one that can feel for his fellow creatures, and can be determined by every one that can read the Scriptures." And, adds his lordship, whatever opposition may be made by interested persons for a time, "we cannot doubt that the great principles of political justice which form the basis of our constitution, and which ought to come home to the breast of every British subject, will have their full weight in the deliberations of those august assemblies which are to decide on a cause that involves the purity of our holy religion, and the credit and consistency of our national character."

Forty years of most opprobrious supineness and indifference have passed over our heads since the pious Bishop made this manly and forcible appeal to the national conscience. We trust, that now, in the evening of his days, he may have an opportunity of sealing, by an effective vote, the final extinction of the evil which, in earlier life, he so powerfully exposed.

2. Appeal to the Bench of Bishops on Colonial Slavery, by Granville Sharpe.

The character of Granville Sharpe is too well known to require any prefatory observations. A reference to his authority may form no unappropriate supplement to the extracts we have given from the pamphlet of the Bishop of Salisbury, who was the friend and the fellow labourer of that great philanthropist. In the year 1788, Granville Sharpe published a work entitled, "The Law of Retribution, or a Serious Warning to Great Britain and her Colonies, founded on unquestionable examples of God's temporal vengeance against tyrants, slaveholders, and oppressors." He commences his warning with the following passage of Scripture:—

"The people of the land have used *oppression*, and exercised *robbery*, and have *vexed the poor and needy;* yea, they have *oppressed the stranger wrongfully*, and I sought for a man among them, that should make up the hedge, and stand in the gap before me for the land, that I should not destroy it: but I found none. Therefore have I poured out mine indignation upon them; I have consumed them with the fire of my wrath: their own way have I recompensed upon their heads, saith the Lord God." Ezekiel xxii. 29—31.

Towards the conclusion of the work, after applying and repeating this text, he thus addresses the Right Reverend the Bench of Bishops:

"And have not the inhabitants of *Great Britain* and her Colonies, just reason to expect a *similar* vengeance for *the like oppressions*? Do they flatter themselves that the *same God* will permit them to go on without *recompensing* their 'own way' upon their heads? *Slavery* for *Slavery*? Or have they forgot, that the God of Israel, who thus reproved his peculiar people for holding their *brethren* in bondage, is the same 'Lord God' *with whom we have to do?* And that he is unchangeable? How would our rulers and chief men bear a repetition of this unchangeable *word* in the presence of God, when the Books are opened for judgment:—'*I sought for a man among them that should make up the hedge, and stand* in the gap *before me for the land, that I should not destroy it, but I* found none!' May I not say, that even '*backsliding Israel*' shall '*rise up in judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it?*' As '*the backsliding Israel hath justified herself more than treacherous Judah,*' (Jer. iii. 11.) so she hath surely 'justified herself more than' Britain! for when the measure of her iniquity seemed to be filled by that notorious act of *oppression* in the reign of Pekah before mentioned, there were yet found in her four *worthy advocates* '*to* stand in the gap *before* God *for the Land;*' even four '*chiefs*' (or Nobles) '*of the children of Ephraim,*' who boldly *protested* against the horrid crime of domestic *slavery.* But *Great Britain*, though staggering under a much heavier load of the same kind of guilt has not produced, out of her numerous *Peerage*, one single chief to stand up '*for the land,*' and remove her burden! Mark this ye Right Reverend Fathers of our Church, who sit with the Princes *of the Realm* to consult the welfare of the state! Think not that I am inclined through any misguided prejudice to charge *your order*, in particular, with the omission. The *crying sin* has hitherto been far distant from your *sight*, and perhaps was never fully represented to you, or like *faithful watchmen of Israel*, you would long ago have warned our nation of the danger: but I now call upon you, in the name of God, for assistance! *Ye know the Scriptures*, and therefore to you, my Lords, in particular I appeal! If I have misrepresented *the word of God*, on which my *opposition to* slavery is founded, point out my errors, and I submit: but if, on the other hand, you should perceive that the texts here quoted are really applicable to the question before us, that my conclusions from thence are fairly drawn, and that the examples of God's vengeance against tyrants and slave holders ought strictly to warn us against *similar oppressions* and *similar vengeance*, you will not then, I trust, be backward *in this cause of* God *and* Man. *Stand up* (let me entreat you) '*for the land;* make up the hedge,' to save your country; perhaps it

is not yet too late! Enter a solemn protest, my Lords, against those who '*have oppressed the stranger wrongfully.*' Ye know that the testimonies I have quoted are of God! Warn, therefore, the nobles and Senators of these Kingdoms, that they incur not a double load of guilt; as the burden, not only of the *much injured African strangers*, but also of our country's ruin, must rest on the heads of those who withhold their testimony against the crying sin of tolerated slavery! For 'I know that the Lord will maintain the cause *of the* afflicted, and the right of the poor.'" Ps. cxl. 12.

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3. Fresh Atrocities in Berbice.

Berbice has been one of the colonies which has boasted the most of its humanity, but which, to say the least, has been not *less* distinguished for its cruelties than the other colonies. Its Memorial to the Privy Council, in 1827, was loud in professions of tenderness for the feelings of the slaves, notwithstanding the recency of those reports of its Fiscal which filled this country with horror. (See Reporters, Nos. 5 and 16.) Later reports from this colony continue, as may be seen in the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 43, to be marked by the same disgusting characters of brutal ferocity and of callous indifference to negro comfort as the former. And an occurrence, which has taken place there so recently as November last, will plainly shew how little amendment in the state of the slaves in that colony has been derived from the Order in Council.

A colonist, of the name of Gallez, who is himself of mixed blood, was the proprietor of a large body of slaves. He had prevailed on these slaves to agree, though most reluctantly, to accompany him to a wood-cutting establishment, called Catherinasburgh, which he formed in the interior about sixty or seventy miles up the Canye river, and far removed, therefore, from other plantations. The situation, however, was healthy, provision-grounds were abundant, and the water was of the finest kind. Mr. Gallez had also shewn a wish to procure religious instruction for his slaves, and to introduce marriage among them. His extraction created a sympathy with them; and he is said to have lived among them as a father. This is the account of one who does not altogether judge by the colonial standard of paternity. He erected good houses for them; allotted them fertile grounds; and as he conducted his wood-cutting in the way of moderate task, they had time to labour for themselves, and were living in abundance. They seem almost to have realized the picture drawn by Dr. Pinkard, of the Profit plantation in *his* time, though, unhappily, they now share the fate of the Profit negroes.—Mr. Gallez had embarked in some speculations which involved him in pecuniary difficulties, and by an order of the Court of Justice, his slaves were placed under sequestration, and a certain portion of them, (not the whole together, and along with the plantation, but a part of them,) was marked out for sale in November last. No previous inquiry seems to have been made into their circumstances, in order to avoid dissevering the ties of kindred and affection. But a peremptory mandate required that they should quit their houses, their fields, their connexions, and appear at New Amsterdam on the specified day to be exposed to sale, in lots, to the best bidder. When this mandate, which was wholly unexpected by them, was communicated to the slaves, by the officers of the Court, who went to seize

and bring to sale their destined victims, the whole gang, amounting to upwards of two hundred, retired into the almost impenetrable woods which surround the plantation; so that the seizure became impossible. When the officers returned to town, and reported the circumstance, the affair was magnified into a serious insurrection, which, if unsubdued, would spread fire and sword through the colony; and the cry arose for prompt military execution on the daring rebels, and for the arrest and punishment of Mr. Gallez himself, who, it was then remembered to his disadvantage, had been favourable to religious instruction, to marriage, and other reforms; and who, it was therefore assumed as a matter of course, must, like the murdered missionary Smith, have been the fomenter of the insurrection. Urgent application was made for a military detachment to be immediately sent to avert the danger, and this course would, probably, have been pursued, had not the Governor been led to see the propriety of first trying the effect of civil interference. Accordingly, the Fiscal, the Protector of slaves, and some others, were sent to the spot in order to induce their quiet submission. These gentlemen accordingly proceeded to Catherinasburgh; and on their arrival, the whole of the slaves readily appeared before them. It was explained to them that the debts of their master had led to the order of Court for taking a portion of them from the rest, and from their houses and grounds, and selling them; and that the law, they must be aware, could not be resisted without bringing ruin on themselves and their families. The slaves ably and feelingly stated their case. They pointed to the superior comforts they possessed over those living on the sugar and coffee estates below. They pleaded also their services to the colony in rooting out a maroon town some time back, for which medals had been bestowed on them by the Government. All this was admitted, but it was urged in reply, that their master was the real author of the evil, by having made them over to his creditors, and no remedy could now be applied. After some farther discussion, the poor creatures agreed to submit to their fate; and, in three or four days, they were embarked on board boats, and carried to the place of sale. The parting scene would beggar description. Those who were doomed to the hammer and to be scattered over the colony, as well as those who remained, were equally loud and vociferous in their wailing, so that even the whites, who were present, felt the infection of their grief.

What a picture of slavery in its best state! We trust we shall have the official details of this transaction, laid on the table of Parliament. In the mean time, is it irrelevant to remark, that the atrocity, in this case, is the result, not of individual oppression, but of the iniquity of the colonial law, and that, in a colony where his Majesty, by his ministers, is the sole legislator; and into which these ministers have recently introduced what is called an improved slave code? The present slave law of Berbice has emanated from the Crown, and yet, under that law, with all its professed designs of amelioration and protection, we here see the wretched, helpless, and degraded state in which it has still left the subjects of the King;—beasts of the field, chattels, bereft of every civil and social, and even domestic, right; and though endowed with the faculties and capacities, and heirs to the common destinies

of men, yet depressed, by the very law which ought to protect them, to the level of the brutes that perish. Is not such legislation a mockery of the very name of law? Or can such legislation be considered as a redemption of the solemn pledge given by his Majesty's Government and Parliament in 1823? And what hope can we indulge, that in colonies having legislatures of their own, we shall witness any other than a delusive shew of improvement, while such examples as these are furnished in colonies directly governed by the Crown itself? We would entreat our readers to look at Berbice as it stands painted, not in our statements, but in the simple and unsophisticated details of its own Fiscal, (see Reporter, No. 5, and No. 16) and again of its Protector, even in the last year, (see No. 43,) and, combining these details with the transaction of which we have now given a brief account, to say whether such a state of things can be endured? We call especially on the ministers of the Crown to look calmly at these facts, and to say, whether they are not responsible, if not for the existence, at least for the continuance for a single day longer, of such tremendous evils?

The occurrences in Berbice are only inferior in atrocity to the horrors of the Mauritius. And wherein does the state of slavery of Berbice differ from that of our other West India colonies, but in our having happily obtained thence those details which are carefully withheld from us in almost every other case? Let us obtain similar details from the other colonies, and we shall find them to exhibit the same state of legal oppression, the same affecting accumulation of individual misery as exists in Berbice. Mr. Dwarris, indeed, vaunts loudly of improvement in the colonies. Improvement! The pretence to it, in the face of such facts, is an insult to common sense; and the improvement, we fear, is to be found mainly, if not solely, in the increased obtuseness and callousness of feeling, which those must acquire who are the hourly spectators and actors in this grand theatre of crime.

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4. Recent Intelligence from Jamaica.

1. *Colonial Policy.*

In the Jamaica Gazette of the 20th of December, 1828, is inserted a letter from London, dated no longer ago than November last, in which the writer seems to be thinking aloud, unconscious of the presence of any anti-slavery auditor.

"This critical state of affairs," (he says, alluding to Ireland,) "together with the threatening aspect which Europe is assuming, will no doubt tend to divert public attention from the Colonial Question, at least during the next session; and let us hope, that, by the time these matters are settled, others will arise to engage the good people of England in the laudable task of minding and *mending* their own affairs, instead of *quacking* with the colonies! Of course, we must expect the annual repetition of some of the rigmarole philippics of Buxton, Brougham, or Lushington, but these carry with them little terror now. The party are evidently losing ground—the mania has gone by—it is no longer a successful theme for popular declamation, and, although I cannot say any decided *reaction* has taken place in the public mind, yet the fervid zeal has settled down into calm indifference.

"The bulk of the people are *passive* on the subject, and I am persuaded will remain so. They are quite satiated with colonial horrors. The rancour of our enemies continues, and *will continue*, unabated, but their influence is consider-

ably modified. No doubt, they will still trump up annual petitions against slavery, but these are no longer considered the criterion of public opinion, and have consequently no influence with Government. It is quite amusing to witness the despicable arts the anti-colonists resort to, in order to obtain signatures to these insidious memorials. In some places they have a table in the open street, on which the paper is laid, and the labouring classes, in returning from work, are solicited to affix their names, with so much suavity of manner—such bland persuasiveness, that there is no resisting, and many of the creatures, who are thus entrapped, do not even know the object of the paper they are signing. I heard of one fellow, who, in haranguing a mob collected round one of their tables, actually expatiated on the enormity of continuing the slave *trade*," (and is not a slave trade carried on in Jamaica?) "and urged his colleagues to sign the petition, which was to put an end to this inhuman *traffic!* and really the ignorance of even the well-informed classes, on this subject, is quite astonishing.

"Our object ought to be" (and doubtless is in all their measures) "to *gain time*, for, the longer the main question is delayed, the better it will be understood by the British public, and the more likely they will be to be influenced by *principle* rather than by *passion and prejudice* in their decision. This object would be more effectually secured, and our adversaries more completely disarmed, if the Colonial Assemblies would, from time to time, engage themselves in correcting the old abuses in the system, and in making such improvements as would be commensurate with the advancement of the slaves in the scale of civilization." (This we have always said has been their policy.)

"Of course it has not transpired here what instructions have been sent out to Sir John Keane as to the rejected Slave Bill; but I trust the odious mandate, which gave such offence last year has been rescinded, and that our House of Assembly have repassed the bill in its original form." (Precisely what they have done.) "The West Indians here are in high spirits about the appointment of the new Governor—they expect great things from him, judging by his general character. It was intended that he should go out in time to open the Assembly, but, as this could not be accomplished in time, he will not, I understand, sail till the end of November."

2. *Persecution of Missionaries.*

The Assembly of Jamaica appear to have acted in strict conformity with the above suggestions. The disallowed slave law of 1826, has been re-enacted without the change of a single clause. The object in doing so is evidently to gain time, trusting to the chapter of accidents for future occasions of delay. It being expedient, however, to supply some reasons for so directly flying in the face of His Majesty's Government, as to re-enact verbatim et literatim the persecuting clauses of 1826, which were directed to the suppression of the missions of methodists and dissenters, and to the consequent exclusion of the slaves from effective religious instruction, the assembly, in its wisdom, has had recourse as usual to the getting up of such ex-parte statements as the case seemed to call for, and which there never is any difficulty of procuring in Jamaica. And here we do them the justice to believe, that they had too much good sense to expect, that the statements thus prepared would be received in this country as evidence in *proof* of their charges against the missionaries. It was quite enough that they served to give a colour to the contumacious re-enactment of the rejected clauses. Accordingly a Committee of the House of Assembly was appointed "to inquire into the establishment and proceedings of the Sectaries in the Island, and to report thereon to the House." The report of this Committee, with the evidence annexed, was presented on the 23d of December, 1828. It was to the following effect;

"Mr. Speaker,—Your Committee, appointed to inquire into the establishment and proceedings of the Sectarians in this island,

"Report—That they have taken the examinations of sundry persons, which examinations are hereto annexed, and find that the principal object of the Sectarians in this island is to extort money from their congregations by every possible pretext, to obtain which, recourse has been had to the most indecent expedients.

"That in order to further this object, and to gain an ascendancy over the negro mind, they inculcate the doctrines of equality and the rights of man—they preach and teach sedition, even from the pulpit, and by misrepresentation and falsehood endeavour to cast odium upon all the public authorities of this island, not even excepting the representative of majesty itself.

"That the consequences have been abject poverty, loss of comfort, and discontent among the slaves frequenting their chapels, and deterioration of property to their masters.

"Your committee therefore feel themselves bound to report—That the interference of the missionaries between the master and slave is dangerous, and incompatible with the political state of society in this island, and recommend to the house to adopt the most positive and exemplary enactments to restrain them.

"The above report was referred to the Committee on the state of the Island, and the house went in such Committee; and being resumed, Resolutions from that Committee were reported and agreed to, as follows:

"1. That it be recommended to the House to agree to the Report from the Committee appointed to inquire into the establishment of the Sectarians in this island, presented to the House, with the addition of laying before the house the examination of Mr. Samuel Bromley, a Baptist Minister, residing at St. Ann's Bay, respecting an instance stated by him to have occurred, of a master oppressing his slave for attending the Baptist chapel, as it will exhibit the manner in which he is disposed to treat the legitimate authority of the house, delegated to its Committee, and they recommend it to the serious consideration of the house.

"2. That it be recommended to the house to come to the following Resolution:

"Resolved, that the conduct of Samuel Bromley, a Baptist Missionary, in refusing to answer certain questions put to him, while under examination before a Committee of this house, and in refusing to sign his deposition before such Committee, is a breach of the privileges of this house.

"3. That it be recommended to the house to agree to the Report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the establishment and proceedings of the Sectarians, presented to the house this day.

"4. That it be recommended to the house to come to the following Resolution:

"Resolved, That a copy of the Report of the Committee, appointed to inquire into the establishment and proceedings of the Sectarians, and the examinations taken before them, be forwarded to the Agent, with instructions to lay the same before his Majesty's Ministers, together with a copy of the 83d, 84th, and 85th clauses of the Slave Law," (viz. the persecuting clauses,) "disallowed in 1827, and that the said Report and examinations and clauses be printed and distributed by the Agent."

These were followed by a farther resolution, "That Samuel Bromley, Baptist Missionary, having been guilty of a breach of the privileges of this house, be taken into the custody of the Serjeant at arms, and that Mr. Speaker do issue his warrant accordingly."

We shall of course have an opportunity of soon seeing the evidence which is to establish the immoral and destructive tendency of the labours of the missionaries. In the mean time, it is plain from what has transpired of it, in the columns of the Jamaica Newspapers, that it bears the character of fabrication on its very front; and some of the journalists have the boldness to affirm that it originates in the most unprincipled hostility to religious instruction, and is supported by the most unblushing perjury. And are the religious bodies quietly to submit to such proceedings? Are they to have their chapels demolished, their mission-

aries imprisoned in loathsome dungeons till disease has killed them, and their characters falsely and iniquitously and inhumanly traduced, and yet be silent? It may be questioned, whether, had they acted with becoming firmness on former occasions, and made the appeal which became them to the authorities of the state, the evils which now threaten the suppression of their missions might not have been averted. In any case, they seem now bound, if they would not be accessaries to crime, to assert the rights, and protect the persons, nay the very lives of their missionaries; and above all to vindicate, to the wretched slaves, the privilege of freely hearing the word of God, and of worshipping and serving Him in peace. Is there any consideration which can induce them to protect themselves and their congregations against insult and injury, and intolerance, and persecution, in this country, which does not render it still more imperiously their duty to put forth their whole energies in shielding their helpless and unprotected brethren, in the Colonies, from the arm of the persecutor? If they shrink from this duty theirs will be the responsibility!

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5. Cape of Good Hope—Society for redeeming Slaves.

A Society has been formed under the patronage of the Governor, "*for aiding deserving slaves and slave children to purchase their freedom.*"

The circumstance of a family of slaves in Cape Town having been assisted in obtaining their freedom by the pecuniary aid of a few benevolent individuals, suggested the benefits which might result from the formation of a society for such and similar purposes.

To carry this into effect, a meeting of some friends to the object took place on the 27th of June, 1828, when a few resolutions were passed, a list opened, and a provisional committee appointed to receive subscriptions, and prepare for a general meeting of subscribers, which was held on the 24th of July.

Besides the necessary organization of the Society, the resolutions then adopted prescribe that young female slaves shall be emancipated in preference to others; and that a preference shall also be given to slaves who are members of a Christian community.

Subscriptions are solicited from England and India. We have no room for any extracts from the Address: what we have said will shew the general character and purposes of the institution. The Address itself certainly partakes more of the peculiarity of colonial logic, and sympathizes more with the feelings and prejudices of slave-holders than suits our taste or judgment. At the same time, we must leave men to do good in their own way, only taking care that, in aiding or countenancing their benevolence, we do not compromise our own principles, or give a sanction to theirs, whereinsoever they fall short of the standard of right.

It appears that the Society had succeeded in redeeming six individuals.

Erratum in No. 45, p. 419, l. 5 and 12, for Archbishop *Manners*, read *Manners Sutton.*

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ANTI-SLAVERY
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No. 47.] For APRIL, 1829. [No. 23. Vol. ii.

I.—DEFENCE OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE CONVERSION OF SLAVES, AND OF THAT FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL, CONSIDERED.

II.—CRUELTIES OF MR. AND MRS. MOSS, OF THE BAHAMAS, TOWARDS A FEMALE SLAVE.

I. Defence of the Religious Societies, considered.

We had prepared for the present Reporter very different materials from those it contains. Finding, however, that on the first day of the month there had issued from the periodical press no less than three answers to the statements made by us in our late Numbers, No. 41; the Supplement to No. 44; and No. 45; on the state of religion in the West Indies, we have deemed it right in the first place to advert to these answers as briefly as we can.

That which claims the priority of notice comes to us from the Rev. Dr. Barrett, the Secretary of the Incorporated Society for the Conversion of Negro Slaves, and may be considered as the official vindication of that Society. It is a tract of sixteen pages, and is entitled "Extracts of Sermons of the West India Clergy on the Observance of the Lord's day, *in answer to the Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter*," viz. No. 41, and the Supplement to No. 44. The first six pages are occupied with a transcript of our remarks, from the two Reporters last mentioned, on the "silence and supineness" of that Society, and of the West India Bishops and Clergy, with regard to the Sunday of the Slaves. And the remaining ten contain the attempted refutation of our animadversions;—the answer, in short, of the Society itself, to our complaints on this momentous topic.

The first extract is from a sermon preached at Barbadoes, in July, 1825, by a very excellent clergyman, of the name of Davis, residing in St. Kitts, whom we had actually quoted in the Reporter, No. 41, p. 310, as one of the authorities for our complaint; and the only reason for which he is now produced, appears to be his affirming, in a single line of this particular sermon, that many of the inhabitants of the Colonies, of all ranks, "have no regard to the sacred day of rest and prayer."—This is positively all this extract says on the subject.

The second extract is from a sermon of Archdeacon Elliott, preached at Barbadoes, in February, 1827, in which all we find that has the slightest, even verbal connection with the subject, is as follows; having, as it appears to us, as little to do with the matter in hand as can well be imagined; the obsolete law which he quotes, referring not at all to the slaves, but to the whites.

"On a former occasion, I alluded in this place to a very old, but unrepealed law of this Island, which enforces, by a specified penalty, the duty of repairing

every sabbath day to the parish church or chapel. The same law calls on 'all masters and overseers of families to have prayers openly said every morning and evening with their families;' and this (I use the pious expression of the framers of the law) in order that Almighty God, may be served and glorified, and that he give a blessing to our labours.

"I must not be understood as expressing any approbation of laws which enforce by pecuniary mulcts the service due in private from man to his Creator.

"I refer to the law above quoted simply to shew, that the feeling which on this subject, actuated the early settlers of the island ought still to exist amongst us."

The third extract is somewhat more to the point, and forms, undoubtedly, an exception to the universality of our complaint of silence on this subject, at p. 314. It is from a sermon preached in Grenada, by Mr. Barker, in June, 1827. It very properly notices "the general neglect of the sabbath day, and its perversion amongst us to secular employments," as being the grand sources "of ignorance, vice, and mental degradation;" and the preacher adds that "until we amend this evil, *all attempts to promote Christian knowledge will be vain and fruitless.*" And he then proceeds to denounce the judgments of God on this shameless profanation of the sabbath.

These are all the passages quoted in this defence of the Society, from all the sermons preached in the West Indies from 1823 to the present time, which could, by any means, have been known to us before the publication of the obnoxious Reporter, No. 41. But even had they been known to us, as they certainly were not, they still would no farther have modified our observations than to have called for some slight qualifying expression, and to have enabled us to give Mr. Barker's statement as an additional confirmation of our main position, that, While the slaves continue deprived of the sabbath, to talk of successful efforts to christianize them is little short of mere delusion.

The remaining extracts, three in number, were not even preached in Antigua till the close of August, 1828, and could not have been printed, published, and received in England, until the obnoxious Reporter had been some time in circulation. These extracts are certainly very creditable to the parties delivering them; Archdeacon Parry, and the Rev. Mr. Holberton. But then they shew most distinctly that down to that period, namely, the end of 1828, the evil of which the Reporter complained had remained unredressed and unmitigated even in Antigua, by far the most advanced of any of the colonies in religious knowledge and religious observance.*

We had no means of knowing, while we were penning that Reporter, that its facts and reasonings had been contemporaneously substantiated and enforced by two clergymen in Antigua; for if we had, we should have availed ourselves of their valuable testimony. The Archdeacon justly remarks, that "to the religion of the labouring classes Sunday is every thing:" a sentiment in which, especially as it relates to West India slaves, we do most entirely concur. His exhortations too are excellent, and we should now have pleasure in transcribing them, were

* Antigua is an island, where the slaves, being fed by allowances, instead of from grounds of their own, have more of the Sunday in their power than in most other colonies. Hence probably the greater progress of religion there. But even there the case is bad in consequence of Sunday markets, &c.

it not that the tract itself has been so widely circulated as to render this superfluous.

Mr. Holberton too with great modesty deems it necessary to apologize (p. 15.) for having kept silence so long on the subject of the sabbath; that is to say, he candidly confesses in his own case the silence we had affirmed to be general; though he says, and we believe with truth, that it was pain and grief to him to have had to witness the public profanation of the Sabbath. This is so far well, and we hail with satisfaction the employment, however late in the day, of such language by West India clergymen.

But let it not be supposed that even these scanty gleanings (which constitute the Society's *authorised* defence) are liable to no objection on the score of their defectiveness, as protests against the evil in question. They entirely overlook that main and essential ingredient in the case, that the non-observance of the sabbath by the slave is, in most cases, not voluntary, but compulsory. When a clergyman speaks of the *non-observance* of the sabbath in this country; of its *neglect;* of its *profanation;* he is understood to point to a *voluntary* neglect and profanation on the part of his flock, including of course the labouring class. He knows that it is at their own option to *observe* the Sunday or to *neglect* it. Not so in the West Indies. In Jamaica, for example, containing nearly half of the West India slave population, and in many other colonies, the slaves have no option at all. *They must work on that day or starve.* We have already amply proved this point, as may be seen in the Reporters, p. 315 and 409; our adversaries themselves, and now the Society, uniting to confirm our statement respecting it.

But this state of things, it must be admitted, is very different from that which is represented by the Society, or by its advocates, or even by the reverend gentlemen whose sermons have now been cited in its defence, under the qualifying terms "non-observance" and "neglect" of the Lord's day. As it respects the slaves generally, the question is not one of *non-observance* and *neglect*, but of arbitrary and cruel and forcible *privation* by the dominant white. And yet, where has the Society or the bishops clearly pointed out this to be, as it is, the real evil? Nor let it be said that this is a light omission. It is one of the most vital moment to the whole matter at issue. The language employed, even in the scanty extracts now gleaned, not at all from the past annals of the Society itself, but from the whole range of clerical effort throughout the West Indies since 1823, and which form the sum of the Society's official vindication on this supremely important point, is altogether inappropriate to the exigency and the urgency of the case. Such observations might suit the voluntary delinquency of those sabbath breakers of England who profane the day.—But it does not even glance at, much less does it touch, the calamitous circumstances of those who, by the laws of colonies calling themselves Christian, are iniquitously debarred from the means of Christian instruction, and forced, absolutely forced, to employ the Lord's day in labouring for their subsistence and that of their families, or in travelling to and from the distant market.

The great truth which we have endeavoured to convey to the public

in this discussion, but which some at least of our adversaries seem to employ much controversial dexterity in evading, is, that the slaves, in most cases, have no sabbath to keep; a most essential fact, the full admission of which has been at length extorted by our statements.

What we have maintained has been in substance this; and it will be found to coincide remarkably with the testimony of the Society's witness Mr. Barker, that "until we amend this evil all attempts to promote Christianity among the slaves will be *vain and fruitless*," and (according to Archdeacon Parry) that "to the religion of the slaves *Sunday is every thing*." And if we have blamed the Society, it has been for not applying itself directly to the denunciation, and to the removal, of this most *formidable obstacle* to its success.—And what has been the reply made to us? On the part of the Society's advocates, (sanctioned advocates we presume) unsparing abuse; charges of falsehood, and calumny, and sectarianism without end:—and, on the part of the Society itself, the production of the testimony of the six extracts on which it has now rested its defence.

Now the two witnesses of the Society, who alone say any thing that is material, we mean Mr. Barker and Archdeacon Parry, maintain the identical proposition which we had put forward in the Reporter, No. 41, as the basis of all our animadversions, only that by them it is still more sweepingly and unreservedly expressed. We should be ready to adopt their very words, with a slight modification, as an epitome of the views we there wished to convey respecting the inefficiency (we do not say with them the *utter* but the *comparative* inefficiency) of all that has been done, or can be done, by the Society, to promote Christianity among the slaves. Let any man weigh, for example, the force of Mr. Barker's testimony, given in February, 1827. "*Until we amend this evil* ALL *attempts to promote Christianity among the slaves will be vain and fruitless*;" not merely *have been*, but *will be*, *vain and fruitless*. WE have not gone quite so far as Mr. Barker in the assertion of the vanity and fruitlessness of all the loudly-vaunted attempts made or making by the Society, as stated in its Reports, and in those of the West India bishops. But we maintain, and repeat, with added emphasis, citing as our authority the very documents the Society has now produced, that if the religious societies and clergy of the West Indies "will not at length claim for these wretched outcasts of humanity" (the slaves in our colonies) "the sabbath to which they are entitled by the laws both of God and man, but of which they are forcibly and iniquitously deprived by men pretending to be Christians, their labours, if not wholly fruitless, can at least extend to no more than a petty fraction of the slave population." Reporter, No. 41, p. 314. We trust, however, that better days await us, and that the "silence and supineness" of which we have complained, having been perhaps somewhat rudely broken, we shall henceforward see this and other societies, as well as the West India bishops and clergy, applying themselves, with cordiality and effect, to remove what is a fundamental obstacle to their success; and instead of limiting themselves to exhortations to the slave to observe a sabbath which he does not possess, and therefore cannot keep, but is forced to employ in toil and trafficking, they will now unite in vindicat-

ing his right to that sacred day which has been so long and so impiously withheld from him, and then follow up that great boon, that essential preliminary to effective instruction, with all the zeal they can possibly call into action.

But to return to the extracts; we have pointed out one radical defect which pervades the whole of them, namely, that they do not grapple with the grand prevailing evil of the West Indies, we mean that privation of the Lord's day by which (to say nothing of its advantages and blessings merely as a day of rest) the slave is absolutely and forcibly shut out from adequate means of Christian instruction. But this is not their only defect; they actually misrepresent the origin of the evil itself which is in question. They speak of it as a "heathenish custom," a custom not of Christian but of pagan origin. "No longer let it be said," observes Archdeacon Parry, "that a practice originating, *as it must have done*, in the ignorance of Africans and Pagans, meets, not simply with the connivance, but with the actual countenance and participation of British christians." Now is it possible that such sensible and enlightened men as Archdeacon Parry and Mr. Holberton can have been so far deluded by colonial information as to believe, that Sunday markets and Sunday labour in the British colonies had their origin in any thing else than the irreligion and cupidity of British, and, (so called) Christian, planters? It is perfectly ludicrous to suppose that the African and Pagan slave, after toiling six days of the week, should be so wedded to some heathenish custom, (the very existence of which has no foundation in fact) as, of his own accord, to employ the seventh also in compulsory toil and laborious trafficking. Such a representation of the matter, (though doubtless not so intended by these reverend gentlemen, for both of whom we entertain a very sincere respect,) can have no other effect than to close the eyes of their white hearers to their own aggravated and exclusive guilt in the origination, progress, and maintenance of the present wicked and compulsory desecration of the Lord's day to trafficking and labour.

And these six extracts, (three of which were not known till long after our remonstrance appeared, the other three if they had been known but little affecting our statement);—these six extracts form, it would seem, the defence, the official, authorised defence, of the Conversion Society; and we presume also of the West India bishops and clergy, for the "silence and supineness" respecting the want (not the *neglect* but the *want*) of a sabbath for the slaves, of which we complained. The three latest extracts are all too from one Island, Antigua, where a religious atmosphere had long been created by the labours, not only of Mr. Curtin the Society's missionary, but of numerous Moravian and Methodist missionaries, who had formed large societies of Christian slaves, comprising a great proportion of the adult negro population of that Island. But if the extracts were ten times as numerous as they are; and if they had come from Jamaica and the other islands, as well as from Barbadoes and Antigua, they would not invalidate what was our main complaint, that no adequate efforts, nay, that even no adequate representations had been made, either by West India religious societies, or by the West India bishops and clergy, with regard to that cruel *privation* (not *non-observance* merely, but privation) of the sabbath under which

the slaves have always laboured, and which we agree with the Society's witness, Mr. Barker, in regarding as a blight on all attempts to promote christianity among the slaves, rendering them, (if not wholly as he affirms,) in a great measure, "vain and fruitless." And yet, for any adequate exposure of this wide-spread, and wide-wasting evil, or for any denunciation of it as the grand obstacle to Christian instruction, we have looked in vain through every report of this and other Societies, and every report of the two West India bishops, to which we have had access. It was surely *there*, that we ought to have found a distinct exposition of this vital obstacle to religious improvement; but *there*, we repeat, we have looked for it in vain.

And here let it be remembered that in 1823, Mr. Canning as the minister of the crown gave a pledge to parliament and the public, that the slaves should have the sabbath; and that, in order thereto, equivalent time should be allowed them on other days for raising their food and for going to market. That pledge is still unfulfilled. The Society itself, and the Society's advocates admit this. And yet what has been done either by the Society, or by the bishops of Jamaica and Barbadoes, in the course of the six intervening years, to expose the fatal effects of this failure, and to bring the matter before His Majesty's ministers? The two bishops have made reports to the Secretary of State on the subject of religious improvement. In what page of these reports has either of them come forward plainly and boldly to state the truth respecting this matter? And now that they are called to vindicate their silence, what do they do? They exhibit the solemn declaration of one of their clergy, Mr. Barker, that until this evil, the want of a sabbath, is amended "all attempts to promote Christian knowledge will be vain and fruitless."

But why is it that Mr. Barker's diocesan has not himself stated this momentous truth in any of his own official reports which have reached the public? If the statement were untrue, Dr. Barrett would not now have produced it, in the Society's vindication, and for the confutation of the Anti-Slavery Reporter. And if it be true, how happens it to have been wholly omitted in the reports officially addressed by the bishop to the government, and laid by them on the table of parliament? The bishop went out to the West Indies, saw things with his own eyes, was convinced (as it would now appear) that without the reform of this particular evil, success in the object of his mission was hopeless or nearly so; and yet, in making his reports, he has entirely omitted the distinct exposure of this essential point, until it is at length, in 1829, brought forward to serve a merely controversial purpose. There may be some answer of a satisfactory kind to be given to this *prima facie* case of neglect, but until it is given, we, who are not in the secret, can only judge by the testimony before us; testimony furnished by the Society, and, therefore, in fact testimony furnished by the bishop himself.

And it is for having ventured, after five or six years of patient waiting, to question the propriety of this "silence and supineness" that we have been assailed, by the pretended friends of the Society and of the bishops, with such terms of outrage and indignity as might much

better have been spared. The Society, however, will feel that it is not by such means that its proceedings can be effectually vindicated. The great question which has been raised cannot be disposed of by hard names and bold assertions. We allude here, however, not to the temperate though feeble and ineffective defence transmitted to us by Dr. Barrett, but to the flood of abuse poured out upon us from less official (at least unavowed) organs, and particularly, to what has again appeared in the British Critic. To that work we shall come in due time, and while we shall deem it unnecessary either to retort its abuse or to reply to it (being such as no gentleman could have written, and no Minister of the Gospel would be justified in inditing or even sanctioning), we shall nevertheless not fail, both to expose its misrepresentations and mis-statements, and to avail ourselves of its large and momentous concessions. This, however, is only by the way, and to prevent our readers from supposing that if we should be unable in the present Reporter to execute our purpose of answering the British Critic, it is because we admit either the truth or the fairness of its coarse invectives.

There is, however, one passage in that work (British Critic for April, p. 411) which, being connected with the subject of the sabbath, we will now advert to. The reviewer, in a former article (p. 214,) had met our complaint of "silence and supineness," on the part of the West India bishops and clergy, with respect to the prevailing want of a sabbath in the West Indies, among other things, by referring to an extract from an unpublished sermon of the Bishop of Barbadoes, preached in 1827, which extract the bishop had not published, but had printed and circulated among his clergy. Now this was all perfectly proper, but it was what we could have no knowledge of; and which, if we had known it, would have only shewn, not that the bishop had exposed the evil of the slaves' forcible privation of a Sunday in the way in which redress for that evil was to be obtained, but that he had properly rebuked the prevalent *non-observance* of Sunday in Barbadoes, and the non-attendance in its various churches of more than "a twenty-fifth part of its population," that is, of 4000 in all out of 100,000. It was doubtless very proper for the bishop thus to address that portion of the 4000 who might have attended him on this particular occasion, though we may regret, considering the magnitude of the evil, that this has not been more frequently and more appropriately done. But the case we chiefly contemplated is not thereby met, and it required of him another mode of proceeding in order to afford any fair hope of getting a Sunday for the slaves. If, however, the extract had even gone that length, which it did not, it was still only *privately* circulated, and *we* could know nothing of it. But the reviewer is not content with blaming us for not having given weight to this private and unknown communication, but for not having announced, after he (the reviewer) had told us the fact, that this extract had formed part of a sermon previously preached by the bishop, and which, he adds, had attracted great notice, and gave great offence in Barbadoes. All this may be very true, but, in point of fact, we knew no more and could know no more of this particular sermon, preached in some church on the other side of the Atlantic, than we know of that which was preached

last Sunday in the cathedral church of St. Paul, or in any one parish church in Yorkshire or Devonshire, which is just nothing at all. And if, by some chance, we had heard of this particular sermon, the idea that the evanescent words of one paragraph in it, delivered in the hearing of a few hundred persons, in one of the churches of Barbadoes, and never published, could have had any material bearing on the subject at issue, or that such a passing circumstance could have been adduced, or even thought of by any one, as at all fulfilling the high obligations of the bishop on this point, never entered our minds. The mere incidental delivery by his lordship of a single short paragraph, on the neglect of the Lord's day and of its ordinances in Barbadoes, though it proves that he "opened his lips" on the subject on one occasion, did seem to us, and still seems to us, a matter totally immaterial to the main question at issue. And yet such is the difficulty which the Critic feels in repelling our *main* charge, which he must be conscious remains wholly unanswered, that he attaches to this insignificant omission the foul imputation of a wilful violation of truth. Such imputations however cannot have the effect of drawing the attention of the public from what alone is material in the case;—namely, what had been done by the Conversion Society and by the bishops, previous to the appearance of the obnoxious Reporter, to expose the real and grand obstacle to the progress of religion among the slaves in the West Indies, that is to say, their cruel and compulsory privation of the blessings of the sabbath.

But what could the Society, or what could the bishops have done? They could at least have clearly stated the fact, that, by the very institutions of the West Indies, the slaves in general are absolutely without a sabbath. They could at least have told the government, and the parliament, and the public what is now tardily admitted, and which their own witnesses (the Rev. Mr. Barker, &c.) most fully confirm, that "until we shall amend this evil all attempts to promote Christian knowledge" among the slaves will be, if not wholly and absolutely, yet in a very great degree "vain and fruitless." Instead of this plain statement, the reports of both are filled with accounts of the success attending their efforts to promote Christianity, and do not advert, in any direct and intelligible way, to the existence of the formidable obstacle in question, but which the proof they *now* adduce makes even an insuperable bar to that success. We advert to these facts merely to shew the substantial correctness of that language of our Reporter, No. 41, which has excited so much of heat and dissatisfaction in certain quarters.

But what, it will be asked again, could the bishops or the Society have done respecting this matter? We answer, they could have done what they have actually done in respect to other matters of far less moment. They could have distinctly exposed the evil, and they could have implored the aid of the government and of parliament in applying a remedy to it. The want of churches for example has been dwelt upon at great length by both the Society and the bishops; and the government has been urged, and not in vain, to aid in supplying that want. But was the want of a Sunday for the slaves less important? Why was not that want also pressed on the attention of the government? Would not the West Indian bishops have been listened to had they told the Secretary of State, with

all due solemnity, "Until you amend this evil;—until you supply this want;—our labours will *be vain and fruitless;*—our costly appointments will be of little or no value. Besides, this is a want which the government actually pledged itself, as early as May 1823, to supply. Then we were distinctly assured, and in that hope we went forth, that the Sunday would be given to the slaves for rest and instruction, and that equivalent time would be granted them on other days for marketing and for raising their food. But this has not been done. To this hour the Sunday shines no sabbath day for the slaves. They must still work on the Sunday or starve. Under these circumstances we and our clergy are reduced to a state of most lamentable inefficiency. We implore you therefore to apply a speedy remedy to this evil." Can it be doubted that such a representation, openly, and fearlessly, and earnestly made by the bishops, and backed by the different Societies, and especially by the nine West Indian managers of the Conversion Society, would have long since produced the desired result? We wish not to look back for any other purpose than that of awakening regret for past supineness, and inciting to future and well directed exertions. We shall be perfectly content to relinquish to those who are so impatient of our warning voice the glory of having at length achieved this great work; nor shall we permit the satisfaction we shall feel in witnessing its consummation to be disturbed by one angry recollection as to the harsh and hostile language their advocates may have chosen to employ with respect to ourselves. We know that no great good can be accomplished in the world without incurring obloquy, and we may always count upon this as a part of the price which those must pay, who shall dare at any time to intermeddle either with the rapacious and heartless pursuits of avarice, or the cruel abuses of power, or the tardy and inefficient schemes or ostentatious claims of self-satisfied religionists of whatever class. The authors, however, of the unworthy imputations which have led to this digression, may rest assured that they will have no effect either in relaxing our efforts, or in diverting the attention of the public from the great questions we have brought before them;—the actual extinction in the West Indies, as respects the great mass of our slaves, of the Christian sabbath; the silence and supineness with which that evil has too long been viewed by those whose business it was to expose it; and the imperative obligation lying upon us to vindicate the right of the slaves to have the Sunday forthwith conferred upon them, in full, unreserved and undisturbed possession and enjoyment.

One word more before we quit the consideration of Dr. Barrett's, or rather the Society's, very temperate though feeble attempt at vindication.

We are anxious it should be clearly understood that, from the first moment of our entering on the review of the Society's last report, we had no intention to include, in any inculpatory remarks we might make, many of the venerable and venerated names who are enrolled in the list of its governors, and who, having no adequate means of knowing the truth themselves, were liable to be misled by the misinformation of others. Our purpose, as we declared in the outset (Reporter, No. 41, p. 314,) was rather "to direct their attention to the subject, and to open their eyes to the real state of the case," and in this purpose we cannot doubt that

we have in some degree succeeded. We felt indeed such confidence in the character and intentions, as well as the uprightness and zeal, of the English prelates and others who fill the offices of vice-presidents and governors of this Society, and especially of the right reverend the lord bishop of London, the president; and were so well assured of their candour, that we could not doubt they would justly appreciate the motives which had induced our interference, and would give to our suggestions whatever weight they deserved. Neither can we doubt that they will now fairly and impartially examine the conflicting statements and reasonings which have been placed before them; and that the decisions of their judgment on the past, as well as their determinations as to the future, will be guided by a consideration not of what may seem due to the mere dignity of the Society, but of what is due to the spiritual and eternal interests of nearly a million of human beings, their fellow subjects, whom not we alone, but their own agents and witnesses represent as sunk, by the privation of a sabbath, in "ignorance, vice, and degradation," and as likely to continue in this state, notwithstanding all attempts to effect their conversion, until that sabbath shall have been secured to them. It was in the hope of producing such a conviction that we entered upon the present discussion; feeling that if that conviction were once wrought in the minds of those eminent individuals, our great end of having an effectual remedy applied to the evil could not fail to be answered. We felt assured indeed, that if they had been aware of the full extent of that evil, they would not have remained quiescent under its continuance for so many years.

But how, it may be asked, could they have been so long ignorant of facts which, since this controversy has commenced, are now fully admitted on all hands without question? The silence of the bishops of Jamaica and Barbadoes in their official reports may perhaps account for this. That unbounded confidence should have been placed in the accuracy and adequateness of their representations, by the members of this Society, and especially by the right reverend prelates who patronize it, was perfectly natural. If, however, the communications of the West India bishops with the Society corresponded with the tenor of their official reports to his Majesty's government, such communications could not possibly convey any adequate impressions of the nature of the case. Whether from the misinformation of creole or creolized advisers in whom the West India bishops were at first led to place their confidence;* or from the flatteries that were at first addressed to them, and the festal and other gratulations which everywhere hailed their approach; or from timidity; or from mistaken views of expediency proceeding from an imperfect estimate of the state of religious feeling among the whites in the colonies, and of the blighting influence of the slavery which exists there; or from the delusions practised upon them with respect to the whole nature and tendency of the colonial system;—

* The first official adviser of the Bishop of Jamaica for instance, recommended to him by the governor and secretary of the island, was the Rev. Mr. Bridges. What could possibly result from such an adviser but prejudice, and misconception on the part of those who relied upon him?

whatever may have been the cause, (we pretend not to decide: the bishops alone are competent to explain it), their public and official representations were certainly not calculated to guide aright the opinions of others. And yet these were the authorities to which their less informed brethren, who had never visited the West Indies themselves, would very naturally defer, and which they would even deem oracular; while every softening but delusive colouring which their statements may have derived from any or all of the above causes, would not fail to be eagerly welcomed and confirmed by those governors of the Society who were themselves imbued with West Indian prejudices, and who, as members of the West India committee, had done much to mislead the public on the subject of West Indian reform, and particularly on this very point of a sabbath for the slaves. (See Reporter, p. 409.)

But besides this, it cannot be denied that there is a wonderful aptitude in the human mind to accommodate itself to new scenes and associations, and to lose, by familiarity with those scenes, and sympathy with those associations, the acuteness of its perception with respect to evils, which, under other circumstances, might have produced disgust and reprobation. This effect is daily seen exemplified in a thousand ways, not in the West Indies only but in Europe, and it serves to account for the extraordinary fact that the acquisition of mere local knowledge, by persons not prepared, by just general views as well as by sound principles, for appreciating its value, often tends rather to obscure than to enlighten the mind. Who, for example, but one who was familiar with colonial scenes, and had associated with colonial proprietors, could have cited as a proof of the lenient treatment of their bondsmen, that water was given them to drink while toiling under a tropical sun? (Reporter, No. 45, p. 421.) The fact that a draught of water, in such circumstances, is spoken of as a boon, an indulgence, shews that the human animal is there sunk in social estimation to the level of the brute, though men of local knowledge may be insensible to so obvious an inference. We recur to this topic, not, as the Christian Remembrancer would insinuate, for the purpose of inflammation, or of wounding the feelings of any individual, but in order to exemplify the influence of habit, and also of sympathy with the associates of our familiar hours, with whom we live in the daily interchange of offices of kindness and courtesy; and to warn the governors of Societies that, in estimating the value of information, it is incumbent on them not to lose sight of so pregnant a source of error. Information is to be tried not by the character alone of the informant, but also where it can be done, by the less fallacious tests of well ascertained general principles, and of such unquestionable facts as do not depend on the varying and deceptive shades of human opinion. If, for example, the most respectable man or even bishop in the world were to assert, on the ground of his local knowledge, that the slaves in Trinidad were better off than the free, should we not at once suspect the correctness of a statement so diametrically opposed as this would be to the general principle which assures us that slavery is and must be an evil; and still more to those statistical returns which exhibit among the slaves an annual mortality of two to three per cent., while among the free around them there is an annual increase to nearly the same amount. In the face of such overwhelming evidence, the opi-

nion of any informant, however respectable in himself, would be entitled to little regard. It is unnecessary to multiply instances of the same kind; our object being only to shew the governors of Societies that there *may be* circumstances which may insensibly bias the judgment of the most upright and respectable of their informants, and against which therefore it is most important to guard.

We here think it right to say, that before we ventured to publish that part of the Reporter, No. 41, which refers to the silence of the West India bishops and clergy, respecting the slaves' want of a Sunday, we took means to communicate with no less than four clergymen who had long resided in the West Indies, and were fully cognizant of the real facts of the case. To two of these, who are themselves members and zealous friends of the Conversion Society, and who, we cannot doubt, are known to the bishop of Barbadoes, the substance of our remarks on the subject was previously submitted in a written form. From all these individuals we obtained the unequivocal admission of the truth of the main facts on which we have insisted; namely that, generally speaking, the slaves have no sabbath; and that, this evil had not been duly denounced either by the clergy in general, or by themselves in particular. In vindication of *themselves* they stated that had they, in their peculiar circumstances, dared to lift up their voices against this evil, in a way likely to produce any material effect, they must have bid adieu to quiet and to usefulness, or they must have quitted the West Indies. But why, it was asked, did they not, now that they were in England, denounce this evil as one which cut up by the root all clerical usefulness? It was replied by one of them, that it would be a very ungracious proceeding, after a silence of many years in the West Indies, now to come forward to arraign in public the community among whom he had lived; but that he was further prevented from adopting such a course, by the confidence he felt that such an exposure from him would infallibly subject such of his clerical friends, still residing in the West Indies, as were known to be likeminded with himself, to the most bitter persecution. The others, with one exception, were equally averse to come forward in public; and yet they all seemed most heartily to desire the removal of this evil, the existence and the fatal effects of which they also most unequivocally admitted.

The difficulties thus experienced by the inferior and dependent clergy seem only to render it the more incumbent on the bishops, and on the Societies, to speak out, and to employ the influence of their official stations, and of their collective authority, in inducing the government and the parliament of this country to put an end to so enormous an evil.

And if any thing could be added in the way of incitement to the performance of this duty, it might be drawn from the fact that in the year 1793, Mr. Bryan Edwards, himself a Jamaica planter, and a strenuous supporter of the West Indian system, denounced this evil, and urged its immediate removal, in terms scarcely less strong than we ourselves have employed. In the 5th chapter of the 4th book of his History of the West Indies, we find him thus expressing his sentiments upon it. "A third measure has been recommended of less doubtful efficacy. It is to render the sabbath what it ought to be, a day of rest and religious

improvement; to which end the markets on Sunday ought to be suppressed. They are a disgrace to a Christian country." Thirty-six years have elapsed since this sentence was first published, and the slaves of Jamaica are still without a sabbath. Sunday is for them to this hour a day of labour and of traffic. And even the pretended reform which has taken place in Barbadoes, and which the Society's report for 1827 speaks of with so much complacency, is thus described in the Barbadian of the 16th December, 1828, by the editor of that paper. "We look anxiously for the day when *our* market house will be closed the *whole* of the Lord's day. When shall we get rid of the trafficking and slaughtering, the noise and uproar, the cursing and swearing, which from the dawn of day" (five o'clock) "till nine o'clock on Sundays are so disgusting, and are too disgraceful to be much longer tolerated, we trust, in this Christian land!"*

We have now done with the Society's official vindication, and shall proceed to notice, we trust much more briefly, the other two attacks which have been made upon us by the periodical press of the present month, namely, an article signed Philalethes, in a work called the Christian Remembrancer, p. 243—246, and another by the British Critic, pp. 407—454.

We will first dispose of Philalethes, who confines himself wholly to the defence of the Propagation Society's conduct, in respect to its slaves, against the Reporter, No. 45. His defence is tolerably candid, though not very effective; for it consists almost entirely of admission and concession.

1. Philalethes admits that the Society was "tardy" in its efforts to Christianize its slaves, and that it was not till 1818 that "an *efficient* system was adopted." There is therefore no question between us as to its earlier operations, for though a catechist was occasionally placed on the estates, it nowhere appears, nor has it been affirmed that any progress was made by him in Christianizing the slaves, though four or five generations of them had passed into their graves previous to 1818.

2. He admits that Mr. Pinder, the Society's chaplain, of whom he speaks, we believe justly, in high terms, and Mr. Clarke, its agent, are, as we stated, natives of Barbadoes, and owners of slaves. He denies, indeed, that Mr. Clarke, though educated a planter, carried the whip during his noviciate; but such a circumstance, however it might discredit a man in England, would be no discredit at all in Barbadoes. But though he might not with his own hand apply to the slaves, men and women, the whip as a stimulus in the field, he must have been a daily and hourly witness of its use under his superintendance. If Philalethes wishes to know something of the degrading employments to which commencing planters are subjected throughout the West Indies, let him read a very graphic account of that state by one who had evidently himself passed

* It was with some surprise that in contrast with this statement, we read in the Report of the Wesleyan Missions to December 1828, (p. 98,) the extract of a letter from a Missionary in Barbadoes, affirming "that Bridgetown is now as peaceable and orderly on the Lord's day as most towns in England." He must mean, we suppose, after the hubbub of the morning is over. If so, his account is scarcely fair. If not, which account are we to believe?

through it, entitled Marly, or the Life of a Planter. Philalethes, however, is much mistaken if he supposes we meant to say any thing that would affect the respectability or moral character of either Mr. Pinder or Mr. Clarke. All we meant to do was to caution the Society not to trust to the opinions and the judgment of men who had been placed in circumstances so unfavourable for forming sound opinions and a just judgment. And we do not think the matter much mended by the British Critic, when he says that the Society had information also from the bishop. The bishop's information must have come to him from the same source. The occasional visits he may have paid to the estates would afford him no great insight into the details of plantation economy.—We must still think that no one, not nursed, as it were, in the lap of slavery, or whose feelings were not perverted by familiarity with its abominations, could have stated, as instances of the Society's lenient treatment of its slaves, that water was allowed them to drink while at work in the field under a tropical sun; that mothers, having *three living* children, were allowed one afternoon in the week, and mothers, having *eight living* children, one day in the week.* (Statement relative to Codrington College, p. 9.)

3. He admits that a writer who very vituperatively pleaded the cause of the Society, in the Christian Remembrancer of last year, was mistaken in his confident assertions of the abolition of the whip on its estates; but he tells us that *now* the whip *is* forbidden. At least, he says, the Society has given injunctions to that effect. The Society will probably learn, ere long, the wide difference between an order issued in England, and an order executed in Barbadoes. Why are not the various regulations, adopted for plantation discipline, produced with the date of each? And with respect to this order about the whip, we should like to see its terms, and also what stimulus to labour the Society has substituted for that powerful and efficacious instrument.

4. Philalethes admits that writing and arithmetic are excluded from the Society's schools, "in *just* deference to public opinion." Is this the language of Philalethes, or of the creole agents and chaplain of the Society? What *we* lament is the unjust and unchristian deference which has been shewn, in this and other instances, to the public opinion of a community constituted as is that of the whites in Barbadoes. The same public opinion has operated against Sunday, against marriage, nay, against religion itself; and yet we are told it is *just* to defer to that opinion. This is something like the conduct of the Jesuits in China. Philalethes adds, that in his opinion *no immediate benefit* could result to

* Philalethes says, "Such remarks do no good. They injure the soul of him who suffers himself to write them. They exasperate the West Indian mind; and they shut out the co-operation of many who are heartily desirous of meliorating and elevating the condition of the slave." We are greatly indebted to Philalethes for his tender concern on our behalf; but we cannot see that we violate any rule, either of prudence or charity, in shewing to the public the dreadful effects of colonial slavery, in so hardening the hearts of even good men, that they can produce such facts as those referred to above as proofs of lenity and indulgence. —We think Philalethes must be greatly in want of a good reason for withholding from us his co-operation in elevating the slaves, if he finds it in our exhibition of the evidence of their extreme depression.

the slave from being taught these things, and the time would be better employed in learning to read. This is strange language to use in the present day. But why may not time be given for both objects? Ought he or ought the Society to weigh the value of the labour of these poor creatures, against their moral and intellectual improvement? We hope the Society does not agree with Philalethes and the Barbadians in these exploded views of the benefits of any education beyond that of reading.

5. We do not deny that it is a great object to be able to read the New Testament, but we know it is a much easier book, *as a mere test of skill in reading*, than either the Old Testament, or a common newspaper. Those who can read the Old will be sure to read the New with facility.

6. We deny that the Sunday school, as its constitution and effects are described in the Society's statement, is an effectual supplement to that miserably contracted education to which the Society's slaves are limited. The utmost number it contains is 25, and their attendance, which is only for two hours, (Statement, p. 18.) is irregular. Besides, it is clear that the instruction there given is *chiefly* oral and catechetical. (Statement, p. 8, see also p. 21.) It forms, therefore, a very poor substitute indeed, if it be any substitute, for the various exclusions of which we have complained.

7. Philalethes admits, after 120 years of possession, the continued existence of polygamy and the absence of marriage on the Society's estates; but he seems unwilling to condemn this state of things, and, we are sorry to say, attempts a sort of apology for it. Without doubt, the West Indians with whom Philalethes has conferred, have told him of happy effects arising from unions "not ratified by the sacred solemnities of the altar." Such are very likely to be the sentiments of men who have lived all their days in the sight at least, if not in the practice of open and lawless concubinage; but, that Philalethes should believe in the good effects they allege to follow from such an unhallowed system, and which, he says, are such as to make many married folks in this country to blush for themselves, is only a proof of the extraordinary facility with which the most absurd and extravagant statements will be received, even by sensible men, when propounded by West Indians in vindication of their unchristian system.

In this country Philalethes must know that polygamy is prevented not by religion alone, but by positive law; and that the man guilty of it is not excused because he is not a Christian, or a member of the church of England, or though he should be deist or infidel. The Society, Philalethes tells us, has considered marriage only in reference to the rites of the church of England. But is not this to take a very contracted and most indefensible view of the matter? In what part of the world, and under what form of belief has not marriage been thought an absolutely essential institution of civil society, excepting only among the slaves of Christian masters in Christian colonies? Can then the Society vindicate its never having adopted *any* regulation respecting the marriage of its slaves, over whom it has always possessed an unlimited power of control; and four or five generations of whom it has reared from infancy to puberty and even old age. It has been able to coerce the labour of these slaves, and to subject them to every rule of discipline it has

chosen to impose; and yet it has never established a rule that the union of the sexes on its estates shall be sanctioned by any solemnity, or rendered binding and indissoluble by any tie. Is this right? When the Jamaica Maroons, amounting to about 600, were removed to Sierra Leone in 1800, they were without marriage and were polygamists. The government of Sierra Leone required of them that their unions should be sanctioned by law, and that polygamy should cease. They at once consented, and now there is no trace of polygamy among them, and the institution of marriage prevails as elsewhere. Would it be more difficult to deal with the Society's 380 slaves over whom it has absolute dominion, than it was with the 600 Maroons who were perfectly free, and had arms in their hands? In fact nothing appears to have been attempted on the subject; and though several generations have been born, and passed into the grave, nothing effectual has yet been done to induce the rising races to abandon the licentious habits of their progenitors; nor does Philalethes afford us any hope of an *early* change in this respect.

8. Philalethes, to our utter surprise, is inclined to justify the practice of admitting to the Lord's Supper slaves living in concubinage or polygamy. Are they qualified to partake of the Lord's Supper, and are they unfit for the marriage rite? To what lengths will men go to defend existing abuses? Besides, has he considered that a *religious* ceremony is by no means indispensable to the validity and legitimacy of marriage either in Scotland, or in France, or in the United States, or among Quakers, or among our Hindoo or Mohammedan subjects? And yet, on the Society's estates, no step has been taken to give validity to the marriages of its slaves, or legitimacy to their offspring.

9. Philalethes cordially assents to the propriety of a record of punishments being kept. Is such a record then at length established?

10. It is conceded that the Society's negroes labour at times from five in the morning till nine at night; but then, it is added, that Mr. Clarke says that the slaves only labour nine or ten hours daily on an average. We suspect that this statement gives an inadequate view of the continuity of their labour; nor do we admit Mr. Clarke's evidence as decisive. He is in fact the party accused. He has entered, it is true, a plea of not guilty, but he cannot be both party and witness.—But Philalethes accuses us of unfairness for not having recognized the time allowed the slaves for breakfast and dinner.—And did he or any else ever imagine that slaves or any other human, or even brute beings, could labour for sixteen hours without respite or refreshment, and that it was necessary for us to state that some time was allowed for that purpose, between five in the morning and nine at night? But as to this respite, the Society's statement contradicts itself. At p. 9, it tells us the suspension is only "half an hour for their breakfast, and an hour and a half for their dinner." At p. 26, it is said, an hour is given for breakfast, and two hours for dinner. Which of these statements is true? But we will take either, and then say that the continuity of field labour is still excessive, and especially as it regards the women. Besides the field labour, they have to attend to the preparation of their food; the collection of fuel for dressing it, and the cooking of it; the care of their children; the care of their stock, and of their little gardens; the travelling to and from the field; the washing

of their clothes; and a variety of other domestic offices; even if grass picking for the cattle is not added to their toil. In this country, if a man labours ten hours a day, he finds his meal ready for him when he comes home. In the West Indies, the wife is generally in the field as long as the husband, and has to perform the same tale of work, and she can therefore make no domestic preparation till dismissed from it.

We take in good part the concluding admonition of Philalethes, and we are ready to admit that controversy, especially between the advocates of Christian Societies, ought ever to partake of a Christian spirit, and to be conducted with temper, and in the attitude of conciliation, and with the voice of meekness. In whatever degree we may have offended in this respect, we are most heartily sorry for it, and we shall, at least, be rendered by his caution, more vigilant in guarding in future against every feeling, as well as every expression of an intemperate kind.—We would repeat in the case of the Propagation Society, what we have already stated in that of the Conversion Society, that our main object, in what we have said, has been to obviate the effect of misrepresentation on the minds of the distinguished and venerated individuals who stand at the head of its list, and to open their eyes to the true state of the case. Of one thing indeed it is impossible for us wholly to acquit them, and that is of the guilt, for guilt we must deem it, of having so long held, and still continuing to hold nearly 400 of their fellow creatures, children of the same heavenly Father, objects of the same redeeming mercy, heirs of the same immortality, in an abject and degrading bondage. To this neither we, nor the British public can be reconciled by any argument. Let them only look at the picture which their own advocate, of the British Critic, has drawn of slavery, as it exists in its most favourable state in the British West Indies; of that slavery which they themselves are parties in countenancing and upholding.*

"If," says he, the prevailing "apathy" on this subject "could be overcome;"—"if by a strong effort of the imagination we could place ourselves in the midst of a West Indian colony, and compare what will there be seen with our own happy lot; what a difference should we find between them! Withdrawing our attention from every thing which the colonial laws and customs condemn; looking not at the excesses, but at the *regular necessary practices* of the people, what shall we behold? The whole order of nature (as we understand it in this country,) reversed; the labourer excited to labour not by hope but by fear; punishments which here are inflicted by the magistrate for crimes, inflicted there by the master for idleness and impertinence; the supply of daily food and the maintenance of wife and children not dependent upon the exertion, self-denial, skill, or good character of the individual; Christian marriage almost unknown; the human form divine treated as if it were no better

* This language is strong, but see the Reporter, No. 40, p. 301, where we have stated our creed on the subject; and it will be admitted that we cannot honestly make distinctions, in the estimate we form of the criminality of any particular line of conduct, on account of the rank of the parties offending. See also an admirable sermon on slavery, contained in a volume recently published for Longman, by the Rev. Dr. Thomson, of Edinburgh, with the able appendix which he has added, and in which he alludes to the Propagation Society.

than a brute or a machine; degraded to a chattel, seized by the creditor, sold in the market place, and exposed to every indignity which tyranny or caprice may dictate."—British Critic for April 1829, p. 413.

This is indeed an affecting view of the sad circumstances in which the Society is placed by possessing this species of property. But the evil is not irremediable. It is well known to the Society that there are, in Barbadoes alone, about 5000 emancipated slaves or their descendants, and throughout the West Indies about 100,000 such. What then would the Society have to fear in adding its 381 to this number?—But we must for the present postpone the consideration of these and other momentous points connected with this controversy, and leave, for a time, the accusatory revilings of the British Critic to their undisturbed operation on the public mind. A still more urgent matter has suddenly preferred its claims to the remaining pages of our present number. While we were transcribing the last extract, a parliamentary paper reached us fresh from the press, containing the account of a transaction which, though not altogether foreign to the subject of our discussion with the British Critic, must nevertheless take precedence of it. The paper is numbered 121, and contains the details which follow.

Cruelties perpetrated by Henry and Helen Moss, on a Female Negro Slave in the Bahamas.

The nature of this transaction will best appear from the following despatch of Mr. Secretary Huskisson to the Governor, General Grant, dated Downing Street, 28th September, 1827.

"I have received your despatch of the 3d July last, transmitting the minutes of evidence on the trial of Henry and Helen Moss, suggesting certain considerations in their favour, and recommending the remittal of the fine which formed a part of their sentence.

"These persons have been found guilty of a misdemeanour for their cruelty to their slave Kate; and those facts of the case which are proved beyond dispute, appear to be as follows:

"Kate was a domestic slave, and is stated to have been guilty of theft; she is also accused of disobedience, in refusing to mend her clothes and do her work, and this was the more immediate cause of her punishment. On the 22d of July 1826, she was confined in the stocks, and she was not released till the 8th of August following, being a period of seventeen days. The stocks were so constructed, that she could not sit up and lie down at pleasure, and she remained in them night and day. During this period she was flogged repeatedly, one of the overseers thinks about six times, and red pepper was rubbed upon her eyes to prevent her sleeping. Tasks were given her which, in the opinion of the same overseer, she was incapable of performing; sometimes because they were beyond her powers, at other times because she could not see to do them on account of the pepper having been rubbed on her eyes: and she was flogged for failing to accomplish these tasks. A violent distemper had been prevalent on the plantation during the summer. It is in evidence, that on one of the days of Kate's confinement she complained of fever, and that one of the floggings which she received was the day after she had made this complaint. When she was taken out of the stocks she appeared to be cramped, and was then again flogged. The very day of her release she was sent to field-labour, (though heretofore a house servant), and on the evening of the third day ensuing, was brought before her owners as being ill and refusing to work, and she then again complained of having had fever. They were of opinion that she had none then, but gave directions to the driver if she should be ill to bring her to them for medicines in the morning. The driver took her to the negro-house, and again flogged her; though,

this time, apparently, without orders from her owners to do so. In the morning, at seven o'clock, she was taken to work in the field, where she died at noon.

"The facts of the case are, thus far, incontrovertibly established; and I deeply lament, that, heinous as the offences are which this narrative exhibits, I can discover no material palliation of them amongst the other circumstances detailed in the evidence.

"*Margaret Murray*, the first witness, states that she passed the day of the 23d of July with Mr. and Mrs. Moss; she understood from Mrs. Moss, that Kate had been put in the stocks and flogged on the preceding day, and in the course of this day (the 23d), she heard Mr. and Mrs. Moss three several times give orders for having her punished, and she 'heard her cry out three several times, as if she had had three distinct floggings.' She states that the directions to flog were given to Mr. Spencer, (Mr. Moss's nephew and overseer), and that she heard Spencer say, on the *third* order being given to flog, 'Good God! uncle, what! flog again?' and that 'Mr. Moss insisted on his order being obeyed.' She adds, that two other slaves (whom she names) were confined in the same building, and flogged at the same time.

"Now, from the evidence given by the other witnesses, there can be little doubt that this witness was mistaken in assigning the date of the 23d of July to the circumstances which she relates, and that these circumstances belong to the date of the 28th of May, when, also, she was present, and when much of what she states is also stated by the overseer, Spencer, to have taken place. These circumstances do not appear, therefore, to form any part of the offence upon which the indictment was founded. But they are, nevertheless, such circumstances as I cannot but bear in mind, when I come to consider the weight due to the evidence in favour of the character of the parties for humanity.

"*Delancy*, the second witness, is one of the overseers on the plantation, and one of those who were employed in the infliction of the punishments. He states, in his cross-examination, that Kate was 'not *very* severely flogged.' He had stated, however, in a former part of the same examination, that when he saw her flogged, 'she appeared to feel it very much.' He states further, that 'he cannot say whether any of the pepper got *into* her eyes; 'whereas he had previously deposed that 'he thought she could not see to do either of her tasks after her eyes were peppered.'

"It is to be remarked, with respect to the severity of the flogging, that this witness has stated, that the under driver, who flogged Kate when taken out of the stocks, 'desisted at the entreaty of a man, named John Wylly;' he 'does not know whether John Wylly interfered in consequence of the girl's debilitated state, or not;'—but it does not appear that there was any motive, except a sense of the cruelty with which she was treated, which could have induced him to interfere.

"*Spencer*, the third witness, is a nephew of Mr. Moss, and also an overseer on the plantation. Mr. Forbes, the magistrate before whom the examinations were taken which led to the committal of the Mosses, has deposed, that he had some difficulty in getting Spencer to give his evidence, having told him, that if he would not answer the questions he put, he should be obliged to send him to the attorney-general. This circumstance, and the relationship between Spencer and Moss, detract, in some degree, from the value of Spencer's evidence on some points, although I perceive no reason to impute to him any intentional want of veracity. Spencer corroborates Delancy's statement in all the more material circumstances, but there are some variations, and something is added by Spencer. He says, that Kate *would not* perform the tasks given her; whilst, from Delancy's evidence, it is to be inferred, that she was incapable of performing some of the tasks, from being unaccustomed to the species of work, and that, by the treatment which she received, she was incapacitated, more or less, and for some part of the time, from performing any work that required the use of her eyes.

"Spencer further deposes as follows: 'he told her that if she would mend her clothes she would be forgiven; she replied she would not, and did not care whether she was let out of the stocks or not; he advised Kate to mend her clothes; she was insolent to him for doing so; it would not have occupied her more than two hours.' . . . . . 'Kate did not seem to mind the flogging.' On this last statement I have to remark, that it is at variance with that of Delancy, who says, that when he saw her flogged, she appeared to feel it

very much; at variance with the circumstance of Delancy, on an occasion when he was not present, distinguishing the number of lashes by her cries; with the circumstance of Wylly's interference; with the fact, that except in one or two instances, she was taken out of the stocks and *tied up* to be flogged; and finally, with every natural probability, which no testimony can be required to substantiate. With respect to the expressions used to Spencer regarding her indifference to her confinement, and her determination not to do what was required of her, they must be considered as evidence of an exasperated state of temper, not of insensibility to suffering; but I see no reason to discredit them, and they sufficiently prove that she persisted in insubordinate conduct.

"It is not the least deplorable feature in this case, that, besides the floggings which the girl received by order of her owners, and at the hands of the overseers, other individuals appear to have been free to maltreat her at their pleasure. She was flogged without orders, by the under driver, the evening before her death, and twenty-four lashes were inflicted by her own father whilst she was in the stocks. On this occasion, Mr. Moss is said to have stopped the infliction, but merely with the observation, that it was no use flogging her, and it was better to send her to work in the field.

'Before I come to consider what has been said in favour of the character of the Mosses, I must observe, that the facts against them are established upon the evidence of two witnesses, both of whom were overseers upon the plantation, both instrumental, under the orders of Mr. and Mrs. Moss, to the cruelties in question, one (Delancy) by no means disposed to aggravate the case against them, since he gives them a character for great humanity; the other (Spencer) a nephew of Mr. Moss, and proved to have appeared against him with great reluctance.

"These being the principal witnesses for the prosecution, those for the defence are eleven in number. Only one of them, *Mrs. Frere*, the mother of Mrs. Moss, has anything to depose upon the particular case. Her evidence is not material, and in no respect impugns the evidence for the prosecution. Another, *J. Hepburn*, deposes that he never saw so mild an instrument of correction as the whip which was produced in court, being that which had been used in flogging Kate. The others appear to have been called to depose to the conduct and character of the Mosses; though one of them, *A. Farquharson*, says, that he knows nothing respecting it. *G. Hasty* says, that their Negroes were well clothed and fed, and appeared to be cheerful. *J. Scavella* testifies to their care and good treatment of their Negroes in sickness, and says he never saw any one treat their Negroes so well as Mr. Moss; but, on his cross-examination, he acknowledges himself to be under great obligations to Mr. Moss. *L. Selig*, *Eliza Campbell*, *Captain Pinder*, *A. Demayne* and *J. Harris*, all speak strongly of the character of Mr. and Mrs. Moss for humanity, and there does not appear to be any thing which would render these exceptionable witnesses.

"*Murray G. Farquharson*, after having deposed that Mr. and Mrs. Moss 'are considered far from being severe to their slaves;' and, 'that he never knew any severity of Mr. Moss,' is cross-examined, and states as follows: 'Witness has always entertained the same favourable opinion of Mr. Moss, has always expressed himself so. (Upon the Attorney General here asking the witness if he himself had not, on a former occasion, come to his (the Attorney General's office) to complain of Mr. Moss's barbarity, and called him 'a Tartar,' the witness first pretended not to understand the question, and then refused to answer it; the Attorney General not thinking it necessary to insist on the answer, the witness was allowed to depart from the box).'

"In addition to the testimony to character, given at the trial, I have the petition which was presented to you by several inhabitants of the colony, of whose respectability you assure me; and your own despatches of the 18th of May, and 3d July. The object of the former despatch was to prevent the impression, that the unfortunate Henry and Helen Moss are to be looked upon as wilful accessaries to the death of the girl,' and you add, that they are rather to be pitied for the untoward melancholy occurrence which has taken place. In the latter you write as follows; 'I had the honour to inform you, that I had every reason to think that the case of cruelty towards Kate, from Mr. and Mrs. Moss, was not in accordance with their general treatment of their Negroes, but

an especial exception, which would appear to have resulted from a persevering obstinate disposition on the part of the slave, Kate, and an equal determination on the part of her owners to carry their authority into effect. The provocation begot the cruelty; and while I trust I am not disposed to uphold the failing of giving way to passion, I yet think that I may venture to say, that we need not resort to slavery, or go far out of the tract of common life, to discover many instances where the obstinate perseverance in wrong-doing, will draw from passion, or perhaps the necessity to overcome such disposition, severer methods of punishment than ever would have been thought of for the original offence.'

"On these representations I have in the first place, to assure you, that I am equally ready with yourself to acquit the convicts of having been, wilfully, accessary to the death of their slave. The respect which I owe to the judgment of the grand jury, who ignored the indictment for murder, would have made me extremely unwilling to come to any other conclusion, neither do I find any thing in the evidence which could lead me to differ from the grand jury.

"With respect to considerations of character, I must observe, that, if the present offence be fully proved, and the sentence no more than duly proportioned to it, the circumstances of the former life of the delinquents having been free from offence, even if that were unquestionable, would not justify the remittal of any part of a punishment which is due to this offence singly. Had the evidence to their guilt admitted of doubt, I should have been most solicitous to give every weight to the evidence for character, as rendering it extremely improbable that persons of such character should have been guilty of such offences; but the offences being proven facts, and evidence to character being always open to some doubt, I cannot but perceive that the improbability which is raised, is, that persons guilty of such offences should have really deserved so very high a character for respectability and humanity, as that to which some of the witnesses have testified.

"With respect to the provocation which led to the offence, I must remark, that a series of cruelties which continued for seventeen days, can admit of no extenuation on the pretext of sudden anger. I am willing to believe that there was a determined resistance to authority on the part of the slave; but I can never admit that such resistance constitutes 'a necessity' for resorting to any extreme of severity, short of which, severity would be unavailing to subdue it. Where obstinate disobedience arises from an exasperated state of temper, the remedy is not to be found in severity of treatment; for, in some cases, no degree of severity would be adequate to the purpose, and, in others, the degree of severity which would be adequate would be unjustifiable.

"One of the witnesses (Hepburn), states, that 'he has frequently known Negroes to conceal their illness from sulkiness;' and it appears by no means improbable, that in the present case, the slave sacrificed her life in this manner to her feelings of resentment. It is proper, in similar cases of insubordination, to resort to such treatment as will render the course taken by the disobedient slave ineligible to any who possess a temperate state of mind; and, whilst the example is thus rendered harmless to others, the irritated feelings of the slave must be allowed to wear out with time, until he shall become capable of choosing the course of conduct which is best for himself. But when punishment is inflicted with a vindictive or intemperate feeling, it is justified by no offence whatever; and the infliction must be attributed to such a feeling, when the punishment is not such as will reclaim the offender, and more than adequate to guard against the evil of the example.

"The cruelties committed by Henry and Helen Moss are, as I have said, incontrovertibly proved; that there was a provocation to them might have been believed without the evidence, for it could scarcely be in human nature to commit them from mere wantonness; but they are totally unjustified by any such provocation; they constitute an offence of an aggravated character, and for which I cannot consider the sentence of five months' imprisonment, and fines amounting to 300*l.* to be by any means unduly severe. I am therefore, unable to advise His Majesty to remit any part of this sentence. And, with reference to that part of your despatch of the 3d of July, in which you "request my approbation to relinquish the mulct in order in some degree to remove the impression of their being deemed habitually and notorious cruel," I can only say, that it is not in *my* power to remove the impression which may have been produced upon the public mind; but I sincerely hope that Henry and Helen Moss

will, by their future conduct to their slaves, as far as in them lies, retrieve the character which they are said to have bor ne heretofore.

Governor Grant, "I have, &c.
&c. &c. &c. (signed) "*Wm. Huskisson.*"

What a complication of atrocities! Mr. Huskisson is disposed to think that the grand jury were justified in refusing to put Mr. and Mrs. Moss on their trial for the *murder* of this poor slave; and legally speaking, he may be right; at least, it would doubtless require very clear and decisive testimony to sanction him in impeaching the verdict of a grand jury. But speaking morally, Mr. and Mrs. Moss we conceive, stand convicted of the guilt of more than ten ordinary murders, if the deliberate malignity of the transaction be duly estimated. The *details* of the evidence, which are summed up with singular clearness and ability, by Mr. Huskisson, will be found to add to the impression of their guilt; and when we consider that the culprits were among the aristocracy of the Bahamas, to whose "highly respectable character" not only many of that aristocracy, (including nine members of the legislative assembly) but the King's representative, General Grant himself, bear the very strongest testimony, we have exhibited to us a state of society of which, happily, it is difficult for those who have never visited a slave colony, to form an adequate idea.

It appears that the Governor, General Grant, was absent from the colony when these crimes were perpetrated, and the authors of them were brought to trial. Mr. President Munnings was then acting as his substitute. This gentleman, whom we greatly honour for his conduct on this occasion, transmitted to Earl Bathurst on the 5th of April 1827, the following account of the matter.

"*Henry Moss*, esq. of Crooked Island, having been accused of excessive cruelty to a negro girl slave, by confining her for the period of seventeen days and nights in the stocks, without intermission, by giving her, while in that situation, tasks which she was unable to perform, and by causing her to be repeatedly flogged for the non-performance of such tasks; and after releasing her from the stocks, by having sent her to labour in the fields, before she had recovered from the effects of her confinement, and by having caused her to be flogged in the fields, (and the girl having died in the field on the morning after she had received one of those floggings), and Mr. Henry Moss jointly with his wife *Helen*, having been accused of rubbing red pepper (capsicum) upon the eyes of this girl, the attorney-general preferred a bill of indictment against Mr. Moss and his wife for murder. The grand jury having returned 'Not found' upon this bill, the attorney-general preferred two other bills for misdemeanours, one against Mr. Moss, the other against Mr. Moss and his wife. Both these bills were found by the grand jury, and after a very full and patient investigation of the circumstances of the case before the petit jury, during a trial of upwards of sixteen hours' duration, a verdict of guilty was returned upon both indictments.

"The court sentenced Mr. and Mrs. Moss to imprisonment in the common gaol at Nassau, for five calendar months, and Mr. Moss to the payment of a fine of £300. over and besides the costs of the prosecution.

"I have been solicited to remit or to shorten the term of Mrs. Moss's imprisonment, but I shall in no degree whatever alter the sentence of the general court, by the extension of mercy to those by whom it appears none was exercised."

In a few weeks General Grant returned to the Bahamas and resumed his command. He was immediately applied to "by the most respectable inhabitants of the town and colony," to remit the sentence of Mr. and Mrs. Moss; and he lost no time in applying to Lord Bathurst in

a letter dated 18th May 1827, to authorise such remission. "The unfortunate Henry and Helen Moss," he tells his Lordship, "are rather to be pitied for the untoward melancholy occurrence which has taken place;" he therefore hastens to prevent the impression the bare mention of the case might make on his Lordship's mind. In a letter of a later date (3d July 1827,) he recurs with much solicitude to the subject. Some extracts from that letter have already appeared in the admirable despatch of Mr. Huskisson, who held the colonial seals when it arrived. It expresses a strong sense of the respectability of Mr. and Mrs. Moss, and of their general kindness to their slaves, and refers to the high estimation in which they are held by "all who have visited Mr. Moss and partaken of his hospitality."* Nay; "Mr. Moss, and especially Mrs. Moss, *have never been otherwise than favourably spoken of in every respect*, including that of his slave management." The Governor, in short, is most anxious that "persons of their respectability might be spared from imprisonment;" and at least, that Lord Bathurst will allow him to "relinquish the mulct" lest they should be "held cruel and oppressive *beyond others*," and also in order, in some degree, "to remove the impression of their being deemed habitually and notoriously cruel." But he adds, and the addition is most significative of colonial feeling on such subjects; "Notwithstanding their being in gaol, they are visited by the most respectable persons in the place, and by ALL who knew them before. This would not be the case even here, if it was the public opinion that the treatment of Mr. Moss's slaves in general was unduly severe!"

From this inference of the governor we entirely dissent. Indeed his own tone was much altered after receiving the despatch of Mr. Secretary Huskisson. "I confess myself," he says, "much instructed by the despatch of Mr. Huskisson, as to the manner of viewing both faults and offences!" And he then claims to himself some merit for the sincere interest he takes in the subject.—All we ourselves have previously known of this gentleman's conduct, in the great question now agitating with respect to colonial slavery, is from the papers laid before parliament by his Majesty's command, in the year 1825, a brief abstract of which is given in a pamphlet published by the Anti-Slavery Society in 1826, entitled "The Slave Colonies of Great Britain," &c. pp. 1—11. He had transmitted to Lord Bathurst an act of the Colonial Assembly, of which his Lordship censures the injustice in no measured terms, and which Mr. Huskisson, even after it had been greatly modified, also condemns with pointed severity. Of this act, he says, that "it improves the condition of the slaves very considerably." And yet, if we look at the act, we shall find it, what we have elsewhere described it to be, (No. 28, p. 87,) "mere unmeaning verbiage; apparent concessions which are drawn back by the multiplicity and largeness of the exceptions, and

* Here we have the true source of many a high eulogium on colonial planters and their humanity, from naval and military officers, and from casual visitants, the lovers of good cheer, who, like Mr. Coleridge, (the Six Months tourist in the West Indies), find a compensation, in the turtle and madeira of the hospitable slaveholder's table, for all the oppressions and atrocities which may, at the very time, be passing in the slave yard or the field.

pretended reforms which leave every evil of slavery untouched,"—"an idle and useless parade of legislation, calculated for no purpose but to blind the eyes of the people of this country."

Since this transaction took place General Grant, we regret to learn, has been promoted from the petty government of the Bahamas, to the far more important situation of governor of Trinidad, where he will have to carry into execution his Majesty's plans of West Indian reform;—the grand experiment of amelioration which Mr. Canning held out as the *model* after which the whole frame of our colonial policy was to be moulded. This is an appointment which, judging from our only means of knowledge, seems highly inauspicious both for the slaves, the subjects of the experiment, and for those also who have undertaken their cause, and who will be made answerable, at least by their opponents and detractors, for its failure.

To conclude, if we would duly estimate the state of feeling, in a community corrupted by slavery, and the evil that must follow from leaving it to such communities to legislate for their unhappy dependents, we should contrast the burst of execration which, a few days ago, in this capital, added bitterer agonies to the stroke of justice which fell upon the wretched Esther Hibner; with the general sympathy excited, among the colonists of the Bahamas, with the more lenient fate of Henry and Helen Moss, two not less guilty criminals.

If, also, we would duly estimate the unexampled wretchedness which the Anti-Slavery Society has united to extirpate, we must view, in connection with this transaction, at one extremity of the Antilles, the no less revolting scenes passing at Berbice, their other extremity (See Reporter, Nos. 5, 16, 43 and 46); and while we may imagine what may have occurred, contemporaneously, in the intervening colonies from which no similar returns have been supplied, we must combine with them the picture of slavery in the Mauritius which has so recently harrowed the hearts of our readers (No. 44). We shall then have before us a mass of suffering which may well make us to shudder, when we reflect that it has been inflicted, and is still proceeding, under British authority; and that therefore we,—this nation,—stand answerable for it all, before Him who claims the prerogative of being the avenger of the oppressed. Before Him and before the public do we again solemnly pledge ourselves, without fear or favour for any individuals, whether high or low, who participate in this CRIME, to exert ourselves to the utmost, in vindicating the indefeasible claims of these unfriended and outcast children of humanity to the rights of British subjects; to equal laws; to justice; to freedom; and to all the blessings of the gospel.

A notice of one or two remaining points in the letter of Philalethes; and our reply to the British Critic, will appear either in a supplement, or in the next number.

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The "Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter" will be ready for delivery on the first day of every month. Copies will be forwarded at the request of any Anti-Slavery Society, at the rate of four shillings per hundred, when not exceeding half a sheet, and in proportion, when it exceeds that quantity. All persons wishing to receive a regular supply are requested to make application to the Secretary, at the Society's office, No. 18, Aldermanbury, and mention the conveyance by which they may be most conveniently sent. Single Copies may be had of all booksellers and newsmen, at the rate of 1*d.* per half-sheet of eight pages, or 2*d.* per sheet of sixteen pages.

THE BRITISH CRITIC'S SECOND ATTACK ON THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER, IN VINDICATION OF THE CONVERSION AND PROPAGATION SOCIETIES, CONSIDERED AND REPELLED.

Our antagonist in the British Critic (pp. 407, 408), supposes that we are anxious to know who it is that has assailed us so very vigorously. We really feel no anxiety on the subject. Whether he be a vice-president of the Conversion Society, or its secretary; whether he be layman or clergyman, and if the latter, whether bishop, priest, or deacon;—we can have no wish to be acquainted with one who, but for the sake of the cause involved in his attack, would not have been entitled to much notice on the ground either of his fair dealing, or of his observance of the ordinary courtesies or even decencies of literary combat. We leave to their fate his loud vapourings, his unsupported assertions, and his virulent abuse. The last of these, indeed, cannot but produce an impression in our favour, according to the well known position, that it is when men find themselves at a loss for argument that they begin to call names. We shall therefore confine ourselves to such allegations of our opponent as are tangible and specific.

Amid his numerous vague and general charges of mendacity, in the last number of his work, he has specified only two examples. The futility of one of them has been already demonstrated (No. 47, p. 451.) The other is a still more remarkable instance of the strange inaccuracies into which a writer may be betrayed, who permits his controversial eagerness to get the better of his prudence, not to say his principle.*

In the Reporter, No. 41, p. 32, we had characterised some of the

* At p. 407, the British Critic says, "In one instance, and in one only, the Reporter has the candour to admit that we have detected him in a falsehood"—and he quotes in proof of this assertion, p. 405 of the Reporter, where we have certainly made no such admission as he has untruly attributed to us. It is due, however, to our Critic to state, that whether from some intellectual or moral infirmity, he understands the word falsehood to signify the utterance of an incorrect statement, without reference to the intention of the utterer. He otherwise would never have said that we have had the candour to admit he had detected us in a falsehood, when our admission was that we had unintentionally fallen into a blunder. We may state, in words which have often been quoted, as our reason for regarding "without the least mixture of anger or resentment,"

statements of the Conversion Society as *vague*, (an imputation which our Critic repels with as much indignation as if it were the *crimen falsi)*—and as an instance of this *vagueness*, we referred to its Report for 1827, (p. 9), where, while speaking, in the text, of certain local institutions having in view objects similar to its own, namely, the instruction of the slaves, it gave in a note five examples of the kind of institution spoken of in the text, all of which, we asserted, were exclusively intended for the *free*. We grounded this assertion on the descriptive *titles* of these five Associations (Reporter, p. 399, and British Critic, p. 408); and if there be any precise meaning in words, we were right in doing so; we were right, that is to say, in assuming that the words "coloured poor" meant "coloured poor," and not any other class to whom that designation had never been applied before. The terms, we need not say, are applied universally, in the West Indies, to *free* persons alone, to the exclusion of *slaves;* and the Society's Report has nowhere informed us that it had begun to use them in any new sense. We therefore took it for granted that the words continued to mean what they had always meant. No, says the British Critic, the Anti-Slavery Reporter is guilty of falsehood and calumny for having so understood them; and his reasons are (see British Critic, pp. 409 and 410,) first, because, as he says, one of these five local Associations had, in 1828, (in what month he does not say) published at Barbadoes its second annual report, by which it appears that a certain number of slave boys and girls attended its school;—and second, because he, the British Critic, chooses to affirm, on his own unsupported authority, that slaves are also taught by three more of these five Associations. Now, admitting all this to be true, (which is a large admission, as we have only this anonymous writer's authority for it) it seems to us not only not to refute, but to establish our charge of *vagueness*, the Critic himself being the witness, and thus in fact, stultifying by his very statement all his own harsh imputations. Such a close of his wordy warfare is not a little ludicrous. It seems an utter waste of time to bestow it on such trivialities.* We now therefore proceed to other matters.

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though with an involuntary feeling of contempt, "the use of a style which decency and politeness have banished from the more liberal part of mankind," that "every animal employs the note, or cry, or howl which is peculiar to his species; every man expresses himself in the dialect the most congenial to his temper and inclination, the most familiar to the company in which he has lived, and to the authors with whom he is conversant."

Although our acknowledgement of a mistake into which we had fallen, (see Reporter, p. 403), has been so ungraciously received by our Critic, (British Critic, p. 407), we shall not be deterred by that circumstance from correcting another error which he has not detected, but which we have discovered in looking over what has been written. We stated (No. 41, p. 322), that in the church of St. Dorothy's, there was a single weekly service, after which the Rector was ready to catechise such slaves as offered themselves; whereas the words of the Report (p. 16), are, that "morning and evening service are read every Sunday," and that "the intervening time is occupied in catechising such as offer themselves." We added, however, which is the case, that it is not said that any do offer themselves for that purpose, although we admit that the words might be supposed to imply that *some* do come.

* We are ashamed to prolong for one moment this petty controversy, but we must advert to one other instance of our Critic's rash accusations. He charged

In order to confound the Anti-Slavery Reporter, and to shew that a "decided progress is making in Christian knowledge throughout the West Indies," the British Critic brings forward various extracts from the reports of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, and from the report also of a local Society in St. Thomas in the East. These reports, however, only give us under another title the testimony of the same, or nearly the same parties who furnished the Conversion Society with its information; the members of these different Societies being nearly identical. The testimony, though thus repeated, evidently gains little or no accession of strength by such repetition. These fresh extracts give us substantially the same flattering accounts of the progress of Christianity, and from the same sources, with the Conversion Society, and they also observe the same absolute silence as to the want of a sabbath for the bulk of the slaves, on which we have had occasion so frequently to animadvert.* These accounts too, however flattering, are in direct contradiction to the testimony of the Conversion Society's own chosen witnesses, the Rev. Mr. Baker, and the very Rev. Archdeacon Parry. The former of these gentlemen states, that "until we amend this evil," namely, the general perversion of Sunday to secular employments, "*all attempts to promote Christian knowledge will be vain and fruitless;*" and even if we somewhat qualify the universality of his assertion, surely enough will remain to justify a strong doubt respecting the strict accuracy of the favourable accounts which are here cited. The Archdeacon also tells us, that to the slave, as far as religious instruction is concerned, "Sunday is every thing."—And yet we are to believe that, without it, Christianity is making great progress in some islands where the bulk of the slaves have no Sunday at all. The statement is incredible. And what is gained by these extracts? The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge praises the Conversion Society, and this in its turn praises the other, while each uses the authority of the other to vindicate its own statements, these statements being derived also, in general, by both, from nearly the same identical sources of information, namely, the bishops and clergy of the West Indies.

In its Report for 1828, the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge asserts (p. 41, 42) that the plan of his Majesty's government for diffusing Christianity in the West Indies, by establishing a hierarchy there, must be admitted, even by those who were hostile to the measure, to have "fully succeeded," (taking an opportunity at the same time of de-

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us (see British Critic, p. 222, and Reporter, p. 404), with a wilful misrepresentation, because we did not assume that *reading* was taught in all schools said to proceed on the *National* plan. "The reader," he observes in his usual style, "will hardly believe it." "*National*, therefore *of course*, *reading* schools." On turning however to p. 13 of this very report of the Society for 1827, we find it stated that in the St. Catherine's schools, Jamaica, "the instruction is altogether oral;" and yet of these schools we are told in the same breath, that "the system pursued in the central school, Baldwin's Gardens, is as closely adhered to as circumstances will permit." Still this candid writer deems it false and malignant in us not to understand that schools on the National plan are *of course*, (necessarily) reading schools!

* In this culpable, though in them less inexcusable silence, the Methodist, Moravian and Dissenting Societies are equally involved with those of the Church of England.

preciating the good done by Methodists and Dissenters, who had long been labouring among the slaves while the Church was asleep); and yet, in a subsequent part of the report (p. *55, 56*) as is well observed in a recent tract by the Rev. John Riland, the Society gives us, instead of evidence of this *full* success, only "assumption, theory, and misty prospects of future good, if certain obstacles are removed. It is now confessed" by the Society, "that Sunday markets are *not* abolished; that the condition of the slaves is *not* raised to an available point; that the slaves have *not* leisure for improvement; that instructors are *not* sufficiently provided; that all estates are *not* open; that catechists are *not* permitted to teach reading; in short, that the whole system is all but nugatory, and that we must not expect the end without the means!"—(*Riland's Letter*, p. 11). How strange it is that in enumerating the obstacles to improvement, this Society should have overlooked the fact, that the Sunday is a day of forced labour in the greatest part of the West Indies, as the slaves must labour in their provision grounds on that day or starve. It alludes to Sunday markets indeed; but this, though a sad evil, is not by any means, nay, not a tenth part so bad, so ruinous, both to body and soul, as the compulsory labour of the agricultural slaves in their grounds on the Sunday, of which the framers of the report say nothing: and yet they seem to have had it in their eye, when they tell us that "on the plantations" "the task of conveying religious instruction" "is rendered doubly difficult in the case of the negro, *who is kept to hard labour at all seasons of the year, and works during the harvest with the* LEAST POSSIBLE INTERMISSION."—What a picture! Yet, the report adds (and this seems to stand as the grand result of all the preceding statements of brilliant progress and full success) "*something is evidently doing*"—though, in the West Indies, "*every thing connected with the Christian church is still in a state of infancy.*" It is indeed—not even a Sabbath yet given to the slaves!

So much for the auxiliary, whom the British Critic has called to his aid.

It may be well, before we proceed farther, to exhibit a specimen of the reliance which may be placed on the statements of the British Critic himself, in respect to religious improvement in the West Indies. He tells us, (p. 434) "the parochial returns from the island of Barbadoes, for the year 1828, have just reached this country, and *they contain much encouraging information.* The congregations at church, in almost every instance, have increased. Sunday schools for plantation slaves, in some of which reading is taught, while others are merely catechetical, have been opened in every parish except one, and in that one the deficiency is lamented, and will shortly be supplied. These schools are attended both by adults and children, and are conducted by clergymen, who thought, five years ago, that the slaves formed no part of their spiritual charge."—We have now before us a copy of these parochial returns, to which our Critic refers; and we venture to say that they are most unfairly represented in the above extract.

"The congregations at church, in almost every instance," says the British Critic, "have increased."

The very words of the returns in answer to the question "Have your congregations increased?" are as follows: 1. St. Andrew, "my congre-

gations have increased." 2, Christ church, "The coloured congregation has considerably increased. The whites as usual." 3, St. George, "They have." 4, St. James, "They have not diminished. I cannot venture to assert they have increased." 5, St. John, "The congregation in the morning continues the same. In the evening it has diminished." 6, St. Joseph, "They have." 7, St. Lucy, "The congregation of whites has somewhat increased during the last three months of the year. That of the slaves has not increased in the morning, and has decreased in the afternoon." 8, St. Michael's, "No increase has taken place except at the additional service on Sunday evenings," (instituted a few months before) "when the church is very much crowded." 9, St. Peter, "It has by the addition of a few." 10, St. Philip, "Our congregations have increased." 11, St. Thomas, "They have in the number both of whites and coloured."

Again, says the British Critic, "Sunday schools, *for plantation slaves*, in some of which reading is taught, while others are merely catechetical, have been opened in every parish except one," &c. "These schools are attended both by adults and children."

Now for the actual returns. 1, St. Andrew, "I have a Sunday school in my parish, held at the church, *open* to slaves and free coloured. Some of the slaves attending are taught to read." Average attendance 35, from 10 to 15 being adults. 2, Christ church, "There is one Sunday school for free coloured and slaves." "The average attending number is from 28 to 30, mostly females," eight being adults. 3, St. George, "We have a Sunday school *open* to slaves and free. The instruction is catechetical." Average number of attendants 12, "chiefly adults." 4, St. James, "We have a Sunday school *open* to all." "All attending are taught to read," but "not more than from 8 to 10 attend," "some few" being adults. 5, St. John, "There is a Sunday school for white and free coloured children," which last "receive oral instruction alone. The number of whites attending, 40 to 45; of coloured, 90 to 100: no adults." 6, St. Joseph, "There is a Sunday school *open* to all who will attend." "None are taught to read. Average number attending is 60, besides 8 adults." 7, St. Lucy, "There is a Sunday school *open* to all slaves and free coloured, but generally attended by *six* slave children, who are all taught to read. No adults attend." 8, St. Michael (the population 25,652; more than a fourth of the whole island,) "We have two Sunday schools *open* to all, and all attending them are taught to read. The average number of attendants is from 80 to 90," "60 adults attending." 9, St. Peter, "There is a Sunday school *open* to all who choose to attend, the only instruction hitherto given having been by catechizing. Number generally attending, 20; of whom 8 or 10 are adults." 10, St. Philip, School not yet opened. 11, St. Thomas, "There is a Sunday school for adults preparatory to baptism, *open* to slaves and free. No one is taught to read; the average number about 40." The number of adults is afterwards said to be from 20 to 30.

Let the reader mark the unfairness and exaggeration of this stickler for accuracy. He says, "The congregations, in almost every instance, have increased." Yet in some they have been either stationary or dimi-

nished. And how does he know that, on the whole, the diminution may not exceed the increase? We do not take it upon us to pronounce; but he does, and that without any adequate data. Whether the increase be two or twenty in this parish, and the diminution ten or 200 in that, he cannot tell; and yet, he says, almost all have increased. Again, "Sunday schools, in some of which reading is taught, have been opened in every parish but one;" and he adds, of himself, for the returns do not say so, "*for the plantation slaves.*" If all had been plantation slaves, the number would still not have exceeded 450 in the whole island. But the possibility is, that not a tenth of these may be slaves at all, and none of them plantation slaves; and yet the effect of his interpolation of the words *plantation slaves*, is to produce an impression that they are *all* of that description. In some schools, too, he tells us, *reading* is taught; which seems to imply that reading is taught to the *plantation slaves*, the only class he specifies. But what says the return? It is, that in four only of the eleven parishes is reading taught at all. With the exception however of St. Lucy, (Mr. Harte's parish) where the Sunday school contains only 6 slaves, (probably his friend Mr. Leacock's) it is only in St. Andrew that some *slaves* are *said* to be taught to read; but whether 2, or 10, or 20, is not told us. The 8 or 10 who attend in St. James, are taught to read; but it is not said that one of them is a slave: they *may be* all free. So in St. Michael, the 80 or 90 who attend, *may be* all free. Assuming then the returns to be correct, it may still be true, notwithstanding the vaunting statement of the British Critic, that, besides the persecuted Mr. Harte's six slave children, there may not be more than three slaves taught to read in all the Sunday schools in the island; for this number would salve the expression of the rector of St. Andrew, that "some of the slaves are taught to read." The words "*for the plantation slaves,*" be it remembered, is an interpolation of the British Critic, for which the returns afford no warrant.

But when we pass from our Critic's unfair representation of these returns, to the returns themselves, what do we witness? Our readers will remember the indignation with which our first intimation of the vague and unsatisfactory nature of the details, given by the Conversion Society in its report of 1827, on the statements of the bishops and clergy, was received:—it was false and calumnious. Let us look now at the returns for 1828, the joint work of the bishop and clergy of Barbadoes! Vagueness! They embody in every line the very spirit of vagueness. If the object had been to mistify the whole subject of slave conversion and improvement, it could not have been more fully accomplished. We defy any man to discover, except from the return from St. Lucy, that a single slave attends in any one of the churches. Nothing is told us of the numbers attending, nor of the proportions of slave and free. On these points, we are left wholly in the dark. The returns would not be falsified, if it were to appear that not 10 slaves attended in all the churches. Then with respect to schools, the statements are equally vague and unintelligible; and it would be perfectly consistent with them if the fact were, that not 20 slaves attended in all the Sunday schools throughout the island. In distinguishing the attendants in church, there may be some uncertainty; still there may be an approximation to

the relative numbers of white, free coloured, and slaves. But no attempt has been made at any such approximation.—In the Sunday schools however, all this might have been given with the most minute accuracy: the omission, therefore, is the more inexcusable. Indeed, it would be difficult to discover any reason for it, but the unwillingness felt by the bishop and his clergy, to reveal the small numbers of slaves who do attend Sunday schools, and the still smaller number of them who are taught to read. What the facts may be we pretend not to say: what we complain of is, that the facts are pertinaciously and systematically withheld from us; and we cite, as our authority for saying so, the returns so vaunted by the British Critic, and now before us, of 1828.

But this is not the only unfairness of which this writer has been guilty, in pretending to give an abstract of these returns. He has not told us, though the returns tell us, that no additional places of church of England worship have been erected in Barbadoes, nor any additional accommodation provided, except a few benches in about half of the churches. He has not told us, nor do we learn from the returns, that there is a single slave communicant in the whole island. He has not told us, though the returns tell us, that in 1828 only four marriages of slaves had taken place in Barbadoes; and four marriages more between slaves and free persons. He has not told us, though the returns tell us, that in seven of the parishes, the minister has never been sent for to attend sick or dying slaves; and in the other four parishes, very rarely indeed. Neither has he told us, though the returns tell us, that except in three individual instances, one in one parish, and two in another, slave mothers have never been "churched" in any of the parishes in the island.

This specimen may well satisfy the most incredulous of our readers respecting both the good faith of the British Critic, and the clearness, as well as the freedom from vagueness and ambiguity, of the returns hitherto furnished by the West India bishops and clergy.

The British Critic seems to think that because Mr. Riland and the Anti-Slavery Reporter were not accurately acquainted with the exact terms of the bequest by which the Propagation Society became possessed of the Codrington plantations, therefore their representations of the conduct pursued in administering those estates must be erroneous. But in considering that question what does it signify whether these estates are held in trust or not, and in what particular manner the proceeds of them are to be applied, whether for one purpose or another? Are not all the funds held by the Society, held in trust for certain definite objects? The funds in this case may be kept separate, in account, from the general funds of the Society, but they are just as much brought into the Society's treasury, as much a part of its means of doing good, as the monies which are collected in the churches of the realm in consequence of a King's letter. Whatever be the final application of the proceeds of these estates, the question still recurs, (and it is a question independent of that application,) Has the Propagation Society faithfully and beneficially administered its trust? Now what we maintain

is this, (and thus much is now admitted at least by Philalethes, the candid writer in the Christian Remembrancer), that for a long time the Society did not faithfully and beneficially administer it; that for upwards of a hundred years it did not perform the duty of a Christian master, in providing for the spiritual necessities of a number of human beings committed to its care, and as entirely dependent upon it, and as much the objects of its responsibility before God, as a man's own children and servants. We fortified our charge of neglect by accurately quoting the statement of the Society itself, that "the slaves on these estates were never provided with any regular system of religious teaching until the year 1818." The British Critic calls this a garbled extract; but we cannot discover wherein it is garbled, nor does he condescend to tell us. He insinuates, also, that we have given an unfair exposition of it, when in reference to it we afterwards say, "no regular means of religious instruction were provided till 1818." The propositions seem to us to be identical, and to express precisely the same idea, notwithstanding the contrary and unexplained assertion of the British Critic, who says, we ought to have known better than to have said so. And yet what fairer course could we by any possibility have pursued, than that of adopting as true the testimony of the Society's own chaplain in 1824, revised and republished, in 1829, by the Society itself? The Society itself has, in this very year, put forth a statement, intended as a complete refutation of all that had been advanced against its conduct. We received its vindication, as given by itself, without question; and having done so, we are now charged with being unfair and disingenuous, because we have overlooked something that was said in some report fifteen or sixteen years ago, and which, had it been material, it was for the Society itself to have produced. Our Critic therefore is surely somewhat unreasonable in his censures and exactions.

The British Critic has altogether shut his eyes to one of the plain and obvious purposes we had in view, in bringing forward the extracts from the sermons preached before the Society for a century past; and in which sermons the duty of providing for the temporal and spiritual interests of the slaves was forcibly insisted upon. We did it, among other reasons, in order to shew that as the good men who preached those sermons, as well as the good men who listened to them, were, in their day, deluded, by their agents abroad, into a belief that the Society was doing its duty, and that the slaves were duly cared for, while they were in fact neglected and left to perish (awful reflection!) generation after generation, in ignorance of every thing belonging to their eternal peace; so the good men of the present day ought to take warning by that affecting example, and not suffer themselves to be any longer deluded by agents unavoidably prejudiced, or by vehement party writers, into a similar belief that all is well now, because good sermons are preached, and plausible reports are written.

It is vain to lull the consciences of the Directors of the Society with such opiates as the British Critic would apply to them. Neither could the horrors of the slave trade while it lasted, nor can the still existing abominations of West Indian economy, excuse them for having continued for 120 years, and for continuing even to this day, to partici-

pate in the guilt of that wicked and unchristian system which makes man the slave, the chattel, of his fellow man. Thousands upon thousands of slaves have been introduced, during that time, to the enjoyment of liberty, (of such qualified liberty at least as negroes can enjoy in the West Indies), while the Society's slaves have, with a few exceptions, continued the thralls of that degrading bondage, by which, as our Critic well remarks, (p. 413,) "the whole order of nature is reversed—the labourer being excited to labour not by hope but by fear—punishments inflicted in England by the magistrates for crimes, being inflicted there by a master," (or hireling manager) "for idleness or inpertinence—the supply of daily food, and the maintenance of wife and children not being dependent on the exertion, self-denial, skill, or good character of the individual—Christian marriage," (nay all marriage) "being almost unknown,—the human form divine being treated as if it were no better than a brute or a machine—degraded to a chattel, seized by the creditor, sold in the market place, and exposed to every indignity which tyranny or caprice may dictate."—This, be it remembered, is not our picture; it is the picture drawn, by the Society's too zealous advocate, of the condition of social life on the Society's own estates; on estates which have been administered by it during 120 years;—for our Critic professes to describe, in the above passage, not "the excesses," but "the *regular necessary* practices" of the system.

Philalethes tells us, in the Christian Remembrancer for April 1829, p. 244, that the Rev. Mr. Pinder is the owner of four slaves. But he adds, "judging from the fact of his having manumitted one at considerable expense to himself, (who became his property at his own earnest request) and of his having promised manumission to the others, *when Christian character qualifies them for the boon*, I cannot think that he need be uneasy at the imputation of being a slave-holder." Now when we consider the prejudices in which Mr. Pinder has been educated, and that the manumission of his slaves may cause him a pecuniary sacrifice which may be inconvenient, we think him entitled to respect for what he has done, as well as for what he purposes to do. We do not however admit for one moment that he can find the slightest justification for delaying to execute his good intentions on the ground which he has alleged. For what does it imply? The monstrous proposition that all but Christians ought to continue slaves;* slavery being the penalty of refusing to embrace the gospel. We fear that many Barbadian whites as well as Barbadian blacks would have to be condemned to slavery on such a principle. It is admitted by Mr. Coleridge, the tourist, that many of the freed population of the West Indies are highly respectable, and no one can shew that they have in general abused their liberty to disloyal purposes. But it is very doubtful whether one of them would to this hour have been manumitted had such a *qualification*, for *the boon* of liberty, been previously required, as Mr. Pinder insists upon. In truth, this is one of those subtle artifices of the West Indian party, for riveting the chains of their bondsmen, by

* And might it not be inferred as a corollary from such a proposition, that all who are not Christians may be made slaves?

which good men like Mr. Pinder are sometimes imposed upon, and to which certain West Indian governors of the Conversion Society have not a little contributed to give currency.* But the proposition is both false and mischievous, as we hope to shew, when we come to consider the conduct pursuing by that Society, in opposition to right and justice, with respect to the Lady Mico's charity. We can only glance at this subject at present and must return to the point in hand.

If Mr. Pinder then has felt, as we are told, the obligation incumbent on him as a Christian to manumit his slaves, even at much personal expense, what shall we say of the Propagation Society, whose members are free both from the prejudices and the pecuniary restraints which an individual like Mr. Pinder may feel, for having, during 120 years, taken no effective steps to this end? It makes no profit, we are told, (at least so says Philalethes, Christian Remembrancer, p. 246), of their slaves. Be it so; then one formidable hindrance to manumission is removed; though, if it were otherwise, we should not concede, for one moment, that any Christian (much less a Christian Society comprising the hierarchy of England, and incorporated for the express purpose of evangelizing the world) may attempt to reconcile God and Mammon by receiving the gains of unrighteousness, even if those gains should be applied to holy uses. The Society will do well therefore to imitate the honest conscientious conduct of its chaplain, while it takes a less erroneous view of the obstacle he supposes to stand in his way, and abstains from making manumission a bribe for embracing Christianity. And here let us not be met by tales of trust deeds, or legal difficulties. These are all to be surmounted, if men are really in earnest. The associated hierarchy of England cannot fail in obtaining even parliamentary intervention, if that should be necessary for their relief from their present painful and embarrassing position; and as for funds, these can never be wanting to enable them to comply with the plain requisitions of humanity and justice, and to fulfil their manifest and imperious duty both to God and man. Indeed the British Critic removes all apprehension on that score by the view he gives of the prosperous state of its finances (p. 447).

In 1776, an honest Quaker of the name of Nottingham, became, by marriage, the owner of 26 slaves in Tortola. He immediately determined on manumitting them. And though the deed of manumission was executed by him in June of that same year, it was not, from the neglect of agents or other causes, carried into full effect, and the slaves actually emancipated, until 1790, when the 26 were found to be reduced in number to 20 souls, eight males and twelve females, being a decrease, during the 14 years they remained in slavery, of 23 per cent. In 1823, after a lapse of 33 years more, this number of 20 had grown to 44, being an increase of 120 per cent. in that time, during which time too they lived entirely by their own industry, conducting themselves, without exception, both loyally and peaceably; and most of them indeed being now

* To make the slaves Christians is asserted to be a necessary preliminary to freedom; and yet the sabbath, without which there is little hope of their becoming Christians, is systematically withheld from them. Does not the pretence seem a little hypocritical?

Christians, and members of the Methodist Society. We would recommend the whole of this case to the Propagation Society's attention. It may be found detailed in the Appendix to the Debate on Slavery, of the 15th May, 1823, p. 234, and in a pamphlet published for Hatchard, in 1824, entitled a Review of the Quarterly Review, (see pp. 39 and 91.)

Speaking of his slaves in the deed of manumission, Mr. Nottingham says, "*Considering that liberty is their right and property, which, in equity, justice, and good conscience, ought to be restored to them; and having a testimony in my heart against the iniquitous practice of enslaving our fellow men,*" &c. *therefore,* he proceeds to grant them freedom, and to bestow upon them some landed property, in order to supply them with the means of subsistence.*

What then, we ask, is to hinder the Society from acting as this worthy Quaker acted, under much greater disadvantages of time, and place, and agency, and other circumstances, than the Society now labours under. Its path is plain. May it have courage to enter upon it and to pursue it with fidelity.

We have already in our last number sufficiently explained our views respecting the management of the Codrington estates; and we do not find that our Critic has said any thing of them requiring our further notice, except on the single point of MARRIAGE. "Every one," he says, "will agree with Mr. Pinder and Mr. Clarke in thinking that slaves should not be encouraged to marry until they are duly sensible of the obligations of matrimony, and resolved to observe them." Prior to experience, we could not have believed that any Christian man, with the page of history from the creation to this hour open before him, should be found deliberately to maintain so licentious, so monstrous an opinion. Is it not notorious that marriage has always existed in the world as the very basis of social life? It existed prior to Christianity, nay, was ordained by God himself, on the creation of man, as the source of domestic virtue and happiness and the maintainer of all the domestic affections. It has existed and now exists independently of Christianity. It existed in ancient Egypt, and Greece, and Rome. It existed in every part of ancient Germany and Scandinavia. It existed in Britain itself, while its inhabitants were far more barbarous than is now the Barbadian slave. It exists among the heathen natives of Africa at this moment, and has always existed among them.† It exists among every people without the pale of Christendom, from the Icy Cape to the South Pole, and from California to Japan and Kamschatka, except only among the wretched thralls of Christian masters in Christian colonies.—Let us only contemplate what would have been the state of ancient Rome without marriage, with *no* restraint placed on impurity and licentiousness, with *no* sanc-

* Other cases of a similar kind might be cited. David Barclay, a Quaker, of Walthamstow, became, about the year 1784, a proprietor of about twenty slaves in Jamaica. He soon after took measures for manumitting them, and carried his purpose into full effect.—We would also refer to an account of the conduct of Governor Cole, of the Illinois, as given in the Christian Observer for 1823, p. 617; as well as to the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 27, p. 37; and in conclusion would only add, "GO AND DO THOU LIKEWISE," Luke x. 37.

† See Mungo Park's decisive testimony to this point, vol. I, p. 268, 4to. edition.

tion given to the connubial tie, with none of the safeguards and charities of domestic life. Our Critic, it seems, with Mr. Pinder and Mr. Clarke, the chaplain and agent of the Propagation Society, as his authorities, thinks it wrong to encourage marriage among our West Indian blacks, till they shall have become sensible of its obligations. And yet what has been done to produce this feeling? Was it not in the power of the Society, by its agents, exercising not only the rights of masters but of magistrates, and of parents too within the boundaries of its own domain, to have laid down rules to restrain licentiousness, or even to punish it, if necessary, among its dependents, its *quasi* subjects, servants, and children? In what state of society, however rude, we confidently ask, except in communities under the despotic rule of Christian masters, has not something of this kind been instituted? Had the Society but placed a restraint upon the open and unblushing license of its plantations, even this would necessarily have led the way to such lasting unions of the sexes, as might have been made binding by the authority of the master. Can we then reflect with patience on a condition of society, such as has continued for 120 years on these estates, where no means have been employed to restrain licentiousness, and no pains taken to encourage marriage, and all on the futile pretence that the slaves are not religious enough to justify the requiring of them to restrain their licentious habits, and to form lasting unions of the sexes.

Until the Advocates, the Chaplain, and the Agent of the Propagation Society had propounded these novel doctrines on the subject of marriage, we should have thought that regulations proscribing lewdness, and enjoining and protecting marriage, were only the more needed by any people in proportion to the weakness of the religious principle among them. Christianity, if it be truly received, would of itself restrain its professors from vicious indulgences, and induce them to form suitable and permanent unions. It is in the absence of the commanding influence of Christian principle that the restraints of law are especially called for, to prevent the ruinous effects on society of that open and unbounded licentiousness which pervades our slave colonies, and to serve as some substitute for higher motives of action; and that the provisions of law are especially needed to legalize and protect marriage with all the unnumbered blessings which result from that institution. But instead of taking this rational view of the matter, the advocates and agents of the Propagation Society have the hardihood to come forward and say, in fact, that fornication ought not to be restrained, and that marriage ought not to be encouraged among the slaves, until some undefinable progress has been made in communicating to them right notions of marriage. So that the servants, the domestics, the children, in fact, of this Society, have been permitted, and are still permitted to cohabit on the footing of dogs and cattle, until the ideas of decorum as well as morality are almost as much forgotten with respect to the human as to the brute animal.—Let us again look to ancient heathen Rome, or at modern Africa, and contrast with them the state of the Codrington plantations, after having enjoyed for 120 years the superintendance, magisterial and parental, of this Christian Society, and we may well blush both for our country and our church. We solemnly call on all its members to con-

template this state of things, and no longer to suffer themselves to be deluded by such vain, or rather wicked pleas as we have been exposing. We had hoped that what we had already said would have been sufficient to lead to remedial measures; but these indiscreet advocates have forced us to throw aside the reserve we had imposed on ourselves, and to sift this momentous question to the bottom. And who will dare to deny that the desecration of the Sabbath and the want of marriage, which we have been occupied in denouncing, have lain as cankers at the root of every religious effort, on the part of this and other religious bodies; and must continue to do so, until every refuge of lies shall be swept away, by which such abominations have been palliated and apologised for, if not even vindicated, by men who ought to have adopted a very different tone.

The British Critic professes to be extremely puzzled to answer the inquiry, "Why cannot you induce the slaves to marry?" The answer is very simple. No one appears to have seriously thought of inducing them to do so; nor has any serious attempt been made to encourage marriage among them, by surrounding it with the necessary legal sanctions. On the contrary, the whole system of colonial legislation, as well as the whole course of colonial conduct, has operated to the direct discouragement of that sacred institution.

The separation of these human chattels, at the will, or for the debts, or for the convenience of the master, placed them somewhat on the footing of the dogs of a pack. Like them they might move in couples, but there existed for their union no security beyond the day; and their offspring, when born into the world, were no longer their father's or their mother's, but their masters. As for the marriage of a negro, these lawgivers would, of themselves, as soon have thought of legislating for the marriage of a horse or a cow. It would have been deemed, by most Barbadians, a most daring act of presumption in a slave to have aspired to a participation with the white in such an institution. Scarcely any clergyman there had ever dreamed of such a thing, and it would have excited infinite surprise in most of them had a negro suggested a doubt as to the perfect lawfulness of the state of concubinage in which he lived, or desired, on Christian, or on any grounds, to have his union with the female of his choice sanctified. The only slave marriage which took place in Barbadoes, prior to 1825, excited as much dissatisfaction in the island, both with the presumptuous parties who had the audacity to aspire to such a distinction, hitherto reserved for their superiors, and with the clergyman who had lent himself to the unprecedentedly wicked deed; as did afterwards the insurrectionary atrocity (as it was deemed) of the same clergyman, in having dared to administer the sacramental bread to a person of colour, at one extremity of the sacramental table, while his curate was administering the cup to a white person at the other.*

* The bishop of Barbadoes deserves high commendation for the firm stand he made to protect this persecuted individual from the rage of his enemies. We honour him for it. We take this opportunity also of expressing our approbation of his Lordship's printed address to candidates for holy orders, as far as it goes; although it would suit England as well as the West Indies, having in it little that is appropriate; and we sincerely rejoice also to perceive that in the

But in this case we have to deplore not merely the absence of all laws for repressing the open licentiousness of sexual intercourse, or for inducing and protecting purer and more lasting alliances among the slaves, but that the dominant white should be himself the seducer, the direct encourager, by his practice and example, of that lawless licence among his slaves, which was wholly inconsistent with the effort or the hope of introducing the marriage union among them. The owners, the managers, and the overseers on plantations were generally disposed to regard the females, committed to them, no less as the ready instruments of their lust than as the submissive subjects of their power; and did in fact so consider them. And in such a state of things how could it possibly be otherwise than that the negro women, especially, should acquire, as the British Critic states, a dislike to the idea of marriage. To reform habits of licentiousness is always a difficult task, and the desire to do so is not likely to arise spontaneously, or to be very strong, in the minds of persons sunk in ignorance and vice. Besides, in what a dilemma must the poor negress feel that she would be placed, if, liable to be tempted or terrified into a compliance with a manager's wishes, she had a husband with a legal right to call her to account and to resent and punish her infidelity. What motives also have either men or women hitherto had to desire the restraints of marriage, when no security, no apparent advantage arises to them from it; when they witness their superiors in general deriding it in their language, and outraging it in their practice, and even the clergy hesitating to recommend and encourage it; and above all, when no degree of discredit in society attaches to the habitual indulgence, on the part either of men or women, of their impure desires?

It is further to be considered that the practice of concubinage has prevailed generally among the free, whether white or black, as well as among the slaves; the concubines of the whites being generally sought either among the slaves or among the black or coloured free. Profligacy and corruption were thus diffused through the whole mass of society, so that even if a respectable free coloured man had wished to marry a wife of his own complexion, he could find few among them whom either he could induce to marry, or who had not been already living in habits of vicious indulgence.—This whole class of evils, among the most destructive which can pollute and curse society,* the West Indian clergy too have seemed, by a sort of tacit deference to public feeling, to consider as out of the line of their public denunciations and remonstrances. They were in the habit of associating familiarly with those around them, even with married men who were living in open and habitual concubinage with black or coloured women. Will this view of things be thought exaggerated? *Non meus hic Sermo.* We refer in proof

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Report of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge for 1828, his Lordship is represented as considering the teaching of the slaves to read as indispensably necessary, in order to effect any permanent improvement among them. (British Critic, 431.)

* Dr. Paley justly represents this vice to be, from whatever cause, the most depraving to the moral principle and character of any of the vices. Is it not because the Almighty meant to brand, with a peculiar mark of degradation, a vice which strikes at the root of domestic virtue and happiness?

of its accuracy to various West Indian writers. Bryan Edwards is clear and explicit on the subject in his history of the West Indies, (see vol. ii. p. 19, &c. 5th Ed.) No less so is Mr. Stewart in his "past and present state of Jamaica;" also Dr. Williamson, Mr. Bickell, and many others. But no man's testimony is more to our purpose than that of Mr. Orderson of Barbadoes, a man well known in that island, who, in a pamphlet published during the period of the discussion on the registry bill in 1815 and 1816, scrupled not to admit or rather to declare, that scarcely was there any one in Barbadoes, however favoured in his domestic relations, who had not reason to blush for illicit connections of this kind.

And amidst this overflowing tide of iniquity, what have the Society and its agents done to counteract it on the Codrington estates? They do not even profess to have discouraged concubinage, or to have given encouragement to pure and permanent unions between the sexes, at least until very recently. What hope indeed could we entertain that these estates should form an oasis in this moral desert, while both the chaplain of the establishment and the agent of it concur in thinking that slaves should not be encouraged to marry till they are instructed to observe the obligations of matrimony. Till then, young and old, white and black, male and female, are to be left, (on estates which ought to be the shrine and sanctuary, as it were, of pure Christianity), to pursue their own sensual inclinations, unfettered by any law or regulation, restrained by no tie, and disturbed by no exhortations, even from the pulpit, to "abstain from those fleshly lusts which war against the soul."

Those will not think that we have been too diffuse in our remarks on this great subject, or that our language has been too strong, who remember, as we have already stated, that the permanent union of the sexes was ordained, by God himself, on the creation of man, to be the basis of domestic virtue and happiness, the source and the support of all the domestic and social affections. Long, however, as we have dwelt on this important topic, we have by no means exhausted it; but we hope we have said enough to rouse the good sense and Christian feeling of the members of this Society to a due consideration of the case. If our statements be denied, we are fully prepared to support them by the most decisive and overwhelming evidence. But what we have already said we trust will have its effect, and that we shall have no more apologies for fornication, and no more discouragements to marriage, from the chaplains and advocates of this venerable Society.

We shall not think it necessary to follow our Critic through his preposterous speculations on Colonial Slavery, or through his attacks on the conduct either of the Anti-Slavery Society or of individual members of it. He seems to have borrowed his views chiefly, either from the Quarterly Review of 1824, or from Mr. Wilmot Horton, whose opinions he nevertheless condemns on the important point of the compulsory manumission clause. We will leave our opponent to settle, as he may, his differences with that Right Honourable Gentleman, only observing, that if he chooses to follow out his lucubrations on the singular and, as we think, mischievous crotchets of Mr. Horton, he may find ready help in our pages. Before however we quit this branch of our Critic's attack, we think it right to say, that he has shewn profound ignorance of

many parts of the question, and has committed blunders, not a few which he could not have honestly committed had he consulted those sources of information which are quite accessible with a sincere desire to ascertain the truth. To leave him without any future excuse for such ignorance, in respect to the principles and past proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Society, we refer him to the list of publications inserted at the close of the Reporter, No. 32, pp. 175, 176, of which we would recommend to his special consideration, (besides *Stephens's Delineation of Slavery,)* the *Preface* to the Debate of May, 1823; the pamphlets called *Negro Slavery*, and *The Slave Colonies of Great Britain;* and the Reporters, Nos. 11, 13, 14, 18, 19, 26, 27, and 31. Several of the subsequent numbers of the same work will also be found to contain by anticipation an answer to some of our Critic's unfounded statements and vague speculations, all of which he seems to have borrowed, either from the Quarterly Review, or from the pamphlets of Mr. Dwarris and Mr. W. Horton, or from the speech of Lord Seaford in the last Session; and to all of which an answer has already been given in our pages, as he may see by a perusal, in addition to the above references, of the Reporter, No. 37 with its supplement; and of Nos. 38, 39, 40, and 43.*

It would be unjust however to the British Critic, and to the cause which we have uniformly, cordially, and perseveringly, however feebly, advocated, were we to overlook the aid which, by his admissions, he has rendered to that cause. We wonder indeed where *his* Anti-Slavery zeal has been slumbering duing the six or seven years which have elapsed since 1822. But though coming into the field somewhat late in the day, we nevertheless hail him as an important auxiliary, and we proceed to avail ourselves of his gratifying and decisive avowals, leaving to himself a task which would be beyond our power, that of reconciling those avowals with other parts of his review, and particularly with his vehement abuse of us who are his precursors, at least, in that career of philanthropy on which he is now entering.

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* No part of the Critic's statement is more wide of the truth than the disparaging account which he gives, p. 423, of the exertions of the Moravians and Wesleyan Methodists among the slaves in the West Indies, while he exaggerates the good effected by the Establishment. The Moravian and Methodist missionaries, we think, are chargeable in some degree with the same faults of vagueness, and of silence, as to some great prevalent evils, with which we have charged the Conversion Society; and they may have been too ready to sacrifice, from a well meant, but, as we think, mistaken policy, their own just rights and those of their unfriended and oppressed converts, to the anti-christian spirit of the colonists. Still it is certain that they were long almost the only effective labourers in the vineyard of the West Indies, and that much fruit has resulted from their labours. The Moravians, indeed, have not had much success in any of the English islands excepting Antigua and St. Kitts, in the former of which islands they reckon about eight or nine thousand slaves as belonging to their church. But the Methodists, at the close of 1828, actually numbered among their members, in the West India colonies, 22,590 slaves, and 6470 free blacks and persons of colour, all of whom had at least arrived at the age of puberty, and must have been maintaining something of a Christian walk; as they could not otherwise, according to the rules of Methodist discipline, have been enrolled and continued as members of the Methodist society. This certainly cannot be called forming congregations on a *small* scale, as the British Critic describes them; as the above numbers comprise only the adults in Society, not the mere atendants on worship, or the children taught.

"Putting," says the British Critic, p. 412, "the errors and exaggerations of the Anti-Slavery Society," (of which by the way he prudently avoids all specification,) "entirely out of sight, looking solely at notorious and acknowledged facts, drawing our information exclusively from the West Indians themselves, *the system pursued in* THEIR *country is one which* MUST *be* RADICALLY REFORMED. *The voice of this great empire calls imperiously for such a measure.* If," he adds, "the idle din and clamour of the Anti-Colonial party were once effectually silenced"—(and yet to what but to their din and clamour is it owing that the voice of this great empire now calls imperiously for a *radical* Colonial reform, or that the British Critic himself has become awake to the call?) the nation, he goes on to argue, might then learn something of the real state of the case, (might learn it, viz. from the British Critic;) and then, when, by the silence of the Anti-Colonists and the eloquence we presume of the British Critic, light is diffused, and the present "apathy is overcome,"—(we had heard just before of the imperious call of this great empire for a radical Colonial reform!) then, we shall be able, the Critic thinks, to see and appreciate the difference between our own happy lot and that of our unhappy brethren in the West Indies.

He then proceeds to give us that just description of the condition of the slaves which we have already twice quoted, (see above p. 477, and No. 47, p. 461,)—and at the close of it adds, warmed with his subject, "We protest therefore, once for all, against those defences and palliations of the West India system which formerly were familiar in the mouths of all, and are still to be heard from some who consider themselves bound to persevere in upholding the Colonial interest, or in opposing the attempts of the abolitionist," p. 413. And, "What, in one word," he asks, "was the condition of the British West Indies previously to the formation of the Colonial Episcopate?"—(Ought not the question to have been, What was it previous to the formation of the Anti-Slavery Society, to which even the Episcopate has owed its existence?) To that question the following is his answer; and on that answer we shall take the liberty of making a comment or two.

"The religious teachers (of the West Indies) were such as they have been just described—few in number, and cramped in their operations.* The whites were far behind their European brethren in general character and attainments, and were wedded to a system which it was impossible to defend, and most difficult to relinquish or reform. The coloured po-

* The description given, by the British Critic, of the West Indian clergy of former times is, we fear, far more favourable than the truth will warrant. It is true that in general they were wholly regardless of the spiritual interests of the slaves, not even considering them as a part of their flock, though ready to pour the water of baptism upon them when requested to do so, and paid for doing it, and that they miserably neglected also their duties to the free whether white or coloured, except when gain accrued to them from the performance of the occasional services of the church, burials, marriages, and christenings; but it is also true that the conduct of many of them (notwithstanding a few bright examples of a contrary kind) was of the most opprobrious description, and strangely at variance with the decencies and proprieties of the clerical character; so that even in the midst of a community of peculiarly dissolute habits,

pulation of all shades and ranks were degraded to a degree of which it is difficult to form an adequate conception. Even the free and the wealthy were deprived of every political privilege, for no other offence than the colour of their skins; while the slaves, if not treated with cruelty which, in later times, at least, was the exception rather than the rule, yet passed their lives in severe labour, men and women working together in a state of total, or nearly total nakedness; their sabbath, instead of being a day of religious rest, was commenced by public marketings, and concluded by public dances; the marriage of one man to one woman was hardly known; their very names were the names which were given to monkeys or puppy dogs; the small portion of them that were initiated into the Christian church were reminded of their wretched condition and inferiority as often as they entered the house of God, and even when they knelt at his altar; and when they came to die, their bodies were buried with the burial of an ass, and the whites would have considered their cemetery as profaned, if the bones of a black had found admission within its pale. We do not lay these things to the charge of the individuals who exercised authority in the colonies, but to that of the system under which they were unhappily born. For a long course of years they had been supplied by the slave trade with labourers whom they treated as if they had been brutes; and when labour, though still too severe, was in some degree lightened, and cruelty was in a great measure renounced, contempt, the bitterest and most unmitigated remained, and was strengthened by the absence of other and more detestable feelings."* B. C. p. 426.

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they became too often the song of the drunkard and the merry jest of the profane; not, as sometimes is the case, on account of the sanctity of their demeanour, but because they outdid those around them in the irregularity and corruptness of their example. We speak, of course, of by-gone, though not very remote periods. Whether such instances find their parallel in the present day we do not take it upon us to affirm; but that approximations to them may still be met with, no one is permitted to doubt who has read the Rev. Richard Bickell's West Indies as they are; or who is familiar with the colonial transactions of late years.

* The British Critic seems to speak of all these abominations as if they were matter only of past history. But whatever he may have been informed, or may dream to the contrary, they characterise, though still faintly, the actual, the now existing state of society, with very few exceptions, throughout our slave colonies. Speaking generally, the whites are still very low in character and attainments; the free black and coloured population are still deeply degraded and oppressed; the slaves are still treated with cruelty, still driven to excessive and uncompensated labour, men and women, by brute force; still deprived of their sabbaths: still strangers to the marriage tie and the charities of domestic life; and still treated as brute animals, a race beneath humanity's level, and, as the reviewer admits, so bitterly contemned as not to be even entitled to the sympathy which their namesakes of the horse and dog species receive; while their lives, *we* add, are fast wearing away by excess of toil and scantiness of food. This is now, as we maintain, and have, over and over again, proved, in spite of all the tales with which Mr. Dwarris, or the Quarterly Review, or the British Critic, or other West India writers may attempt to delude the public, the actual state of things, at the present day, in our slave colonies.—See Reporters, Nos. 5; 16; 18; 19; 21; 25; 26; 28, p. 96; 30; 31, p. 135; 37; 41; 42; 43; 44; 45, p. 411; 46, p. 439; and 47, p. 461.

We have shewn, in a note, (last page,) how incorrect our Critic is in representing the evils which he enumerates as past, and not as now existing; imitating, in this respect, the successive advocates of colonial bondage during half a century, who have never been able to find in their vocabulary any present tense for the atrocities of the system. But we must do our Critic the justice to say, that he himself appears to have some misgivings on the subject; for he seems unwilling to quit it without attempting to obviate the effect of his too flattering delineations of the colonial desire of improvement. He even shakes his mantle in a somewhat menacing attitude while he utters his valedictory warning, " that, unless the progress of colonial reform is materially accelerated in the course of the present year, no one will believe that the colonial legislatures entertain a sincere desire for the religious instruction of the slaves. There are rules and practices, and even laws," he adds, " still existing in almost every colony, which no member of the West Indian body in England would venture to defend either in parliament or in any other public assembly. The Sunday markets, the rejection of slave evidence, and the whipping of women" (Is this all? might he not have greatly swelled the list?) " are condemned by the unanimous voice of this great empire; and, *if the colonial legislatures refuse to purge themselves of these abominations,* THEY MUST EVEN TAKE THE CONSEQUENCES." p. 454.

Nor is it only the British Critic who has surprised the world by this threatening language. The Quarterly Review, which, in 1824, was fairly embarked as a partizan in support of the colonial cause, and loaded the abolitionists with heavy censures for the unconciliating tone of their Anti-Slavery proceedings, and was particularly loud in denouncing whatever partook of menace, (see Nos. 58 and 60,) seems now, after a silence of some years, either to have changed its opinions or to have had new opinions dictated to it. In the last number, (No. 78,) its port towards the Colonists is still more unequivocally one of reproach and defiance than even that of the British Critic. Well may they say " et tu Brute!" The Quarterly Reviewer seems almost to have had in his eye an article in the 81st number of the Edinburgh Review, which, at the time of its appearance, was denounced as outrageously offensive.

" With regard to Jamaica, and some other of the West India Islands," (says the last Quarterly Review, p. 343,) " which have their houses of assembly; their systematic opposition to every measure proposed by the King's government, considering the precarious situation in which they stand, appears to us to be *little short of insanity*. They seem not to know that they are *tottering on the very brink of a volcano, which the first blast of a trumpet from St. Domingo would cause to explode, and bury in one common ruin, man, woman, and child. As it is, nothing but the King's armed force preserves them from destruction.* And yet *these silly people* have been so unwise as to refuse to continue the supplies which they are bound to furnish to the troops who protect them, nay, even to throw out something of a threat to sever themselves from the mother country, and seek for protection elsewhere. Is it possible that these people can for a moment forget that *England protects them and their sugars at the expense of her other colonies?* Do they not know that if she were to admit the sugars of the East Indies and the

Mauritius,* on the payment of equal duties; or still more effectually if she were to levy a discriminating duty on West India sugar, the sun of their prosperity would immediately set? *Let the House of Assembly look at these things, and desist in time from using or abusing its authority, by a vexatious opposition to his Majesty's Government.*"

Before we close this long article, we feel called upon to acknowledge our obligations to the British Critic for the kind advice he has lavished upon us. He warns us, (p. 418,) that the work of weaning men from their errors, or of reforming such a body as the whites in our slave colonies, "is not to be accomplished by ridicule, misrepresentation, threats, or blows; that the abolitionist should enter upon his work with clean hands and a single eye; that good sense and moderation should be conspicuous in his conduct; that he should bring forward no charges which he cannot substantiate; that he should be ready to soften rather than exaggerate existing abuses; and that if he does not succeed in removing the suspicion, quieting the fears, and doing away the prejudices of the planter, he should, at least, conduct his cause in a manner which, in the estimation of impartial men, ought to produce these effects."

This good counsel our Critic follows up by the rather hazardous observation, that not a single abolitionist will be found to say that his party have adhered to these maxims, and, at least, that no one out of their ranks would venture on such an assertion. We know not what those out of their ranks may say, but we will boldly maintain that we have acted up to, and even beyond, the Critic's *beau ideal* of an Abolitionist, and of which, we suspect, he must have even borrowed his conception from our pages. He must, moreover, be little acquainted with the feelings of abolitionists, if he does not know that the moderation of the Anti-Slavery Reporter is deemed by some of them one of its great faults. Leaving him and our *ultra* friends to settle between them their conflicting views of our conduct, we challenge both to quit their vague and general accusations, and to condescend to point out in our pages the particular and specific instances, either of a charge which we have made and not substantiated, or of an existing abuse which we have exaggerated, or of one just and essential principle which we have compromised;—and we promise to give them ample satisfaction.

Before we conclude, we take this opportunity of again thanking the British Critic for the opportunity he has given us of so fully vindicating our principles and our conduct, and we shall rejoice if the result shall prove as satisfactory to him, as we have no doubt it will to the public at large.

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* Does the Quarterly Reviewer not know that the Mauritius sugars have been admitted for some years to home consumption on equal duties with those of the West Indies. They have obtained this favour for no other reason that we can discover, but, because they are, like the sugars of the West Indies, grown by slaves; while the sugars of Bengal, the growth of free labour, are subjected to heavy duties, for the common benefit of all British slaveholders.

END OF SECOND VOLUME.

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