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June 1829

ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER.

No. 49.]

FOR JUNE, 1829.

[No. 1. Vol. iii.

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS.

1. SLAVE EVIDENCE.
2. SLAVE TRADE AND SLAVERY OF THE MAURITIUS, FOLLOWED BY A DEFENCE OF THE REPORTER FROM THE CHARGES MADE AGAINST IT.
3. EMANCIPATION OF NEGRO CHILDREN.
4. FREEDOM OF TRADE, AND SUGAR DUTIES.
5. CIVIL RIGHTS OF FREE BLACK AND COLOURED INHABITANTS OF OUR COLONIES.

So much space has recently been occupied in discussing the question of a want of a Sunday for the slaves; and in pointing out the miserably defective nature of that education and religious instruction they are said to be receiving that we fear lest our readers should begin to imagine that these constitute the exclusive evils of colonial slavery, and that, if these were but obviated, the work of reformation would be accomplished. This was a fatal misconception. The prevailing want of a Sunday is, indeed, most adverse to the hope of christianizing the slave population, and it reveals, at the same time, the insincerity of those, who, while they either conceal the fact of this compulsory desecration of the Sabbath, or resist or postpone the measures necessary for its prevention, are nevertheless loud, both in the profession of their zeal for the religious instruction of the slaves, and in the boast of the religious improvement that has been effected among them. But, even if a Sabbath were at length given to the slaves, and more efficient plans of instruction were adopted, little benefit would accrue, even from these improvements, under a system so debasing and brutalizing in its character and effects, and so incompatible with the purity and elevation of christianity, as is that species of personal bondage which exists in the slave colonies of Europe. For be it remembered, that even the British Critic has not scrupled to describe that system as one by which "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 magistrate for crimes, being inflicted there by the master for idleness or impertinence; 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 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 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 depots of the Anti-Slavery Society throughout the kingdom.

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And, when we add to this sad picture, the excess of labour to which men and women are subjected by the most brutal coercion; the scantiness of their food; the frequent and forcible disruption of their dearest domestic ties; the tremendous severity of the punishments which may be inflicted on them, by individual caprice, for any offence or for no offence—we may well abandon the hope of seeing christianity flourish in such a population, continuing bereft, as it is by its present actual circumstances, even of that first principle of moral and spiritual life, the power of voluntary agency. Is it possible to contemplate the whole of this system, in all its length and breadth of oppression and enormity, without coming to the conclusion of the same British Critic, that it **MUST BE RADICALLY REFORMED**; in other words, it must be extinguished, root and branch.

Having made these general remarks with a view of guarding against misconception, we shall now proceed to notice, as succinctly as we can, what has recently passed in parliament on the subject of slavery.

1. *Slave Evidence.*

On the 25th of May, *Mr. Brougham*, who had given notice of his intention to bring forward a Bill for the purpose of making the evidence of slaves admissible in all cases, subject only to those exceptions to which the evidence of all other parties is liable, begged to ask the Secretary of State for the Colonies, whether his Majesty's Government had not a similar plan in contemplation. He felt it to be so important that the measure should originate with them, that, if such was their intention, he would gladly resign it into their hands.—*Sir George Murray* entirely concurred with *Mr. Brougham* in his sense of the extreme importance of the subject, and also in his view of the propriety and safety of making the evidence of slaves admissible without any other than the ordinary reserves and exceptions. He did not even see the necessity of those records of baptism, or certificates of character from religious instructors, which it had been thought, by some persons, expedient to require. To require preliminary tests of religious belief and information did not appear to him a course well adapted to advance the ends of justice, or even to promote the interests of religion itself. He had always been of the opinion, that the holding out a temptation of a secular kind to any one, to adopt a particular set of religious sentiments, was injurious and degrading to religion itself. The session was now too far advanced to do any thing in this matter with effect; but, it was his intention, in the next session, to propose a bill for the reform of the Colonial Judicatures, founded on the reports of the Commissioners of Judicial Inquiry in the West Indies; and he purposed to introduce into that Bill a clause for admitting, universally, the evidence of slaves on the same footing as that of other persons. He saw no reason for clogging the measure with distinctions to the slave's disadvantage.

In reply to a question from *Mr. Bernal*, *Sir George Murray* observed, that the measure he meant to propose to parliament would apply to the Slave Colonies generally, and not to the Crown Colonies alone. Indeed, one of the chartered colonies, Grenada, had already, he believed, anticipated the measure which the Government contemplated.

The utmost satisfaction was expressed by *Mr. Brougham*, *Mr. Huskisson*, *Lord Nugent*, and *Sir James Mackintosh*, with the pledge which *Sir George Murray* had now given on this momentous subject. And, indeed, with reason, for when it shall have been fulfilled by a parliamentary enactment, it may be regarded as the first effective step towards any real reform of our colonial system; in fact, the first practical result of the hitherto fruitless and unproductive resolutions of 1823; not indeed, we lament, to say, as the completion of the work of reform; but as the commencement of that series of measures which, we trust, may lead to its completion, by the entire extinction of that foulest blot on our national character, the negro slavery of our colonies.

2.—*The Slave Trade and Slavery of the Mauritius.*

An important conversation took place on this subject in the House of Commons on the 3rd of June, to which we are induced to give a larger space than we usually allot to similar occurrences, on account of the prominent manner in which we ourselves were, on that occasion, dragged, before the bar of the house and of the public, by more than one individual, and there, not charged merely, but absolutely condemned, as base and malignant calumniators, without the specification of a single fact to justify the sentence. The conversation arose out of a question which was addressed by *Sir Robert Farquhar* to *Mr. Buxton*. *Sir Robert* asked him whether it was his intention to proceed with the charges preferred on the subject of the Mauritius, which were first brought forward in 1826, and which had been postponed on one plea or another to the present period. *Mr. Buxton* must ere now have formed a deliberate opinion on the truth or falsehood of those charges. If he had discovered that they were false, and that he had slandered the innocent by accusations which could not be supported, he was bound now to rise in his place and candidly to acknowledge his error. If he believed them to be true, he ought to prosecute the investigation. He was bound either to retract his accusations, or to proceed with the inquiry into their truth.

Mr. Buxton shewed that the delay was in no degree to be attributed to him. The Committee was originally granted to him in 1826, but so near the close of the session that it was found impossible to bring forward more than a very small portion of the evidence which he had collected. The honourable Baronet indeed had chosen to say that the evidence against him had broken down. He was completely at issue with the honourable Baronet on that point. So far from having broken down, it had scarcely been opened. Early in the session of 1827 he had endeavoured to renew the Committee, but was prevented from doing so by the interposition of *Mr. W. Horton*, at the express and earnest request of *Mr. Canning*. He was a second time in the same session about to move for the reappointment of the Committee, and had actually fixed a day for the purpose, when he was seized with an illness, which, it was well known, had endangered his life, and from which he was even now, notwithstanding his occasional attendance in that House, but too imperfectly recovered to justify his undertaking the laborious conduct of any great public cause. Here *Mr. Buxton* read two letters

from his physician, Dr. Farre, one dated February 28, 1828, and the other so late as April 9, 1829, stating, in strong and express terms, as his clear opinion, that he, Mr. Buxton, could not, without the utmost risk of life, place himself in a situation of public responsibility, requiring much serious attention or mental exertion of any kind. Under these circumstances he had urged the successive Colonial Secretaries of State, Mr. Huskisson and Sir George Murray, to undertake the prosecution of the inquiry, offering to place in the hands of the Government the whole of the evidence in his possession. Mr. Huskisson had declined the proposal. He had been led, however, to expect from Sir George Murray, that the Crown would forthwith institute a Royal Commission for thoroughly investigating the facts of the case, and if this expectation were realized, he should gladly transfer to the Government all the evidence he had collected. But if no such inquiry should be instituted as he hoped for, he now pledged himself, at whatever personal inconvenience, or even hazard, to bring the whole subject under the consideration of the House at the earliest period of the next session, so as to afford the honourable Baronet the opportunity he desired of fully refuting every charge made against him while Governor of the Mauritius. The honourable Baronet had put to him the alternative of either retracting his charges, or proceeding with the inquiry. He chose the latter. It was quite impossible for him to retract the charges he had brought against the administration of the honourable Baronet. It was impossible that, in opposition to his full and firm conviction, he should deny his belief that a slave trade had existed to an enormous extent under that administration. There was another person also, who had an interest in this inquiry, he meant General Hall, who had acted as Governor of the Mauritius during Sir R. Farquhar's absence, and who had pledged himself, on the faith of a man, and the honour and reputation of an officer, to prove, if publicly called upon, that during the government of the honourable Baronet, the slave trade was carried on, with remarkable impunity, to the full extent he had asserted. While, therefore, he could not retract one iota of his former statements, he must do the honourable Baronet the justice to admit, that there was no stronger *prima facie* proof of innocence than that which is afforded by a disposition to court inquiry. He admitted, in its widest sense, the doctrine that all accusations must be received without prejudice until they are proved; but at the same time he must now warn the honourable Baronet, that the inquiry which he demanded would disclose scenes of cruelty, violations of public law, and a toleration, if not encouragement, of slave trading, unexampled in any other part of his Majesty's dominions, or perhaps in any other part of the world.

Dr. Lushington bore his personal testimony to Mr. Buxton's absolute inability, on account of the state of his health, of having proceeded with the inquiry, (as did also Mr. Hudson Gurney, Mr. Brougham, Sir J. Mackintosh, and Mr. Wodehouse.) He contended, however, that a full inquiry was indispensable, considering that the uninterrupted continuance of the slave trade, for the first nine or ten years of the honourable Baronet's administration, was not only asserted by his honourable friend, but admitted on all hands, and even by the honourable Baronet himself,

who only dated its cessation in 1821. It was also a notorious fact, which he defied any one to disprove, that it had gone on with impunity; not a man ever having been imprisoned for this crime who had not been allowed to escape; to walk, in fact, out of the prison, the doors or the walls of which were always so insecure, in the case of persons implicated in slave trading, as never to oppose any hindrance to their escape. He did not assert that the honourable Baronet had used no exertions to prevent and punish the slave trade; but those exertions had certainly been most unsuccessful, and it was fit that the cause of their failure should be ascertained.

Mr. Hudson Gurney regretted the personality of this discussion. He confessed he did not know much of the charges brought against the Hon. Baronet, but he must say he was not disposed to give much credit to them. He had read, indeed, the statements circulated by the Anti-Slavery Society, and he really thought they bore on the face of them a want of that due scrutiny which justice to the colonists demanded. They seemed to be the work of hot-headed enthusiasts. It was impossible for any person to believe the details of horrors and cruelties occasionally contained in those publications: they appeared to him untrue and inflammatory, and ought not to be received without strict previous inquiry. They seemed to be stories taken up at random, on the information of interested and discontented parties, and were not to be depended upon. Sir R. Farquhar, he always understood, had exerted himself to suppress the slave trade; but the task he had to perform was difficult. He was the first Governor of a conquered colony in which the slave trade had always been permitted. He ought, therefore, to be held irresponsible for any slave trading that might have taken place there, until the charge of not having done his duty were proved against him.

Mr. Brougham hoped that no prejudice would be infused into the discussions on this subject, and that no premature judgment would be formed on the conduct of the Hon. Baronet. He agreed with Mr. Buxton that the readiness to meet these charges bore the appearance of innocence, and he trusted, therefore, that the Hon. Baronet would come clear out of the ordeal. He hoped, at the same time, that the Hon. Baronet, when the inquiry did come on, would be prepared with a better witness to support his cause than Mr. Gurney, who had taken occasion to draw a conclusion unfavourable to the views of Mr. Buxton, and to stigmatize the publications of the Anti-Slavery Society as rash and unfounded, for no other reason than that he was ignorant of the subject, and did not know whether the charge against the Hon. Baronet was right or wrong. He did hope that the Hon. Baronet would be provided with better compurgators than the Hon. Member.—He could understand very well why that Member considered the publications to which he alluded as a mass of exaggeration. He naturally could not believe it possible—he could not bring his mind to the belief, that such atrocities could be perpetrated by any human being as were detailed in the Anti-Slavery Reporters. It was not surprising that such cases, for instance, as that of the Mosses,* should be supposed to be mere fictions of the

* See Reporter, No. 47, p. 462 to 468.

brain, the inventions of fancy, the result of flimsy rumours collected in all quarters, and dressed out in all the fantastic and extravagant colours which a morbid imagination could bestow upon them. But were these details untrue? Was the story of the Mosses a fabrication? Was all that revolting statement an idle tale? The Hon. Member could not suppose it possible that such stories could be true; or that human nature could be guilty of such atrocities. He did not suppose it possible that any man or woman, that any creature in human shape, and especially a lady in respectable life, could be found capable of treating a helpless and unprotected female, in the brutal manner there described, excoriating her body with the lash, rubbing Cayenne pepper into the lacerated flesh and even into the eyes of the sufferer, and repeating these dreadful operations again and again, until the unfortunate creature was thrown into a fever, the intervention of which alone prevented the perpetrators of these atrocities, which terminated in death, from being tried and hung for murder, a crime of which they were morally, if not legally, guilty. Such a case was, indeed, incredible, but nevertheless it had happened. What the Hon. Member, what the House could not believe, was nevertheless recorded in the proceedings of Courts of Justice; was nevertheless made the subject of communication from the Colonial Government to his Majesty's Government at home. It was also made the subject of a despatch from the Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Huskisson,) who then held the situation of Secretary of State for the Colonial Department, and who expressed in a tone of manly indignation, the feelings upon the subject which an English Statesman must ever feel, and which, he trusted, no English Minister would ever be unwilling to use on such an occasion, or, if unwilling, would ever dare not to use. It was the imperative duty of the House not only not to shut their ears to statements of facts, such as those now alluded to, (as the Hon. Member would have them to do as unworthy of credit, and as the mere creatures of the heated brain of the enthusiast,) but to listen patiently to them; to investigate them; and after the fullest investigation, and coming to a just and safe conclusion, fearlessly to do their duty, whatever that might be.

Mr. Irving observed, that he had regularly attended the Mauritius Committee; and he was bound to say, as a man of truth and honour, that he had formed, from the evidence which had been adduced before that Committee, a conclusion very different from that at which Mr. Buxton had arrived. He did not impute any improper motives to those by whom that evidence had been collected, but he had never heard, before a Committee of that House, evidence which appeared to him to be so little entitled to credit; or which, doubtful as it was, was so decidedly contradicted by evidence on the other side which it was impossible to impugn. The Hon. Member for Weymouth had spoken of the readiness of General Hall to support the charges against the Honourable Baronet. What the evidence of General Hall might be he could not say; but he must give the most decided contradiction to the assertion, that, in the evidence which had been brought before the Committee, there was any thing criminatory of the Hon. Baronet. When it was considered that the Hon. Baronet had been three years labouring under the

accusation of a great public crime, stigmatised by public feeling, was it surprising that he should come forward and insist, either that the case should be immediately investigated, or that he should stand acquitted of the imputation cast upon him? The Member for Weymouth, had, undoubtedly, given sufficient reasons for not having himself proceeded with the investigation. It was unfortunate for him to have laboured under such indisposition, which no man regretted more sincerely than himself; but it was still more unfortunate for the Hon. Baronet, for, if the investigation had been proceeded with, he would have been completely cleared in the opinion of the House and of the public. He had seen enough in the Committee not to entertain the least apprehension for the character of his Hon. Friend.—He blamed Mr. Brougham for mixing up stories of cruelty with the present case. He might as well exhibit Mrs. Hibner, lately executed at Newgate, as a specimen of English conduct, as Mr. and Mrs. Moss, of colonial conduct. The course of the discussion, however, had given him an opportunity of expressing his opinion of the publications of the Anti-Slavery Society. He did not know whether the Learned Gentleman was a Member of that Society, or if he was aware of the tone and manner in which the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* was got up. Its object appeared to be to degrade and stigmatise, in the public estimation, every man who had any property or interest in the West Indies. A more false, libellous, scandalous, and disgraceful publication never issued from the British press. It was by this publication, after the public had been satisfied that the charges against the Hon. Baronet were unfounded, that the accusation against him had been revived, and the Hon. Baronet had again been dragged forward to answer imputations which no attempt was made to establish. So far was his Hon. Friend, from having favoured the Slave Trade, that there was not a despatch from him to his Majesty's Government in which he did not represent the prevalence of the traffic, and complain that his Majesty's Government had not given him sufficient power to put it down. At length, in 1821, a squadron and other means were furnished him; and from that time the Slave Trade had ceased to exist in the Island of Mauritius.

Mr. Brougham, in explanation, said that he believed he was a member, in common with many thousands, of the Anti-Slavery Society. His allusion to the Mosses had been forced from him by the remarks of Mr. Gurney on the exaggerated statements of the publications of that Society; he wished he could say with the Hon. Gentleman, that he disbelieved those statements.

Mr. Fergusson defended Sir Robert Farquhar, who, he asserted, was most anxious to meet this inquiry. No man in his situation could have done more to suppress, and no man from feeling had a greater horror of, the slave trade than the Hon. Baronet.

Mr. Wodehouse observed, that he also had been a member of the Committee, and the impression of the evidence, as far as it went, had not been favourable. A great mass of evidence was still to be produced on the subject; and General Hall had certainly declared himself ready at any time to substantiate the charges, which had been preferred by his Hon. Friend.

Sir James Mackintosh agreed, that the Hon. Baronet, besides the general presumption in favour of any man whose guilt had not been proved, had the additional presumption in his favour which resulted from an eagerness to meet investigation. Besides his wish that any man in the same situation might clear himself from all imputation, he had particular reasons for wishing the Hon. Baronet to clear himself on the present occasion. Although some warmth had entered into the present conversation, no substantial difference of opinion had been manifested in it. They were all agreed that the Hon. Baronet had earned a presumption in his favour by courting inquiry; and they were all agreed that the delay in the investigation had been not the fault, but the misfortune of the Hon. Member for Weymouth. Here he should have ended his remarks, had not the Hon. Member (Mr. H. Gurney) introduced into the discussion topics altogether different, in tone and temper, from the judicial subject before them, and which had drawn down upon him a just chastisement from his Hon. and Learned Friend. With that censorial gravity which so well became him, that Honourable Member condemned the levity of rash accusation against others, while at the same time he had himself furnished an example of considerable levity—not of accusation, for his proceeding had not been of so fair a character; (accusation having reference to some individual, and particularizing the how, and the where, and the when) but of broad and indefinite and undistinguishing assertions against large bodies of men; assertions which came with great weight from the Hon. Gentleman, because he had an opportunity of knowing well the character of many of those on whom he had heaped reproach, and whom he had charged with being calumniators. He would not retaliate by applying that term to the Hon. Gentleman; for that would be neither just to him nor consistent with his own feelings towards him. But the fact was, that the Hon. Member for Newton had thought fit to condemn a body of respectable persons, the same who for forty years had laboured to abolish what—although he remembered the time when it was considered jacobinical to make the assertion—was now allowed by every one to be a most atrocious crime and the greatest stain on human nature, the slave trade. That same body had for forty years persevered, under every variety of circumstances, through good and through bad report, in their endeavours to wipe out this stain. Having succeeded in abolishing the slave trade, they were now turning their attention to the wisest and best mode of raising the slaves into circumstances which would admit of their being relieved from their present unhappy condition. When he heard therefore such accusations against the Society, he called upon those who preferred them (just as the Hon. Baronet had very fairly called upon the Member for Weymouth) either to substantiate their charges or to silence their obloquy. For the warmth shewn by another Hon. Member (Mr. Irving) he was willing to make great allowance. But the only specific charge even he brought against the Anti-Slavery Society was, that it had renewed the subject of the horrible traffic which had so long been carried on at the Mauritius. But how was that a charge? Was not silence on the subject the very circumstance of which the Hon. Baronet and his friends complained?—The Hon. Member had had re-

course to a species of argument respecting the case of the Mosses, which he remembered was used at the beginning of the debates on the proposed abolition of the slave trade. A great West India proprietor said, on the occasion to which he had alluded, that the House might as well judge of the morals of England by the records of the Old Bailey, as to judge of the character of the West India planters from a few occurrences selected for the purpose of making an unfavourable impression on the public. To this Mr. Fox replied—"I do not wonder that the slave trade should remind the Hon. Gentleman of the Old Bailey. Nothing can be so congenial as the two subjects. Nevertheless I will point out to the Hon. Gentleman a contrast between them. At the Old Bailey we hear of crimes which shock our moral feelings; but we are consoled by the punishment of the criminals. We read of crimes as atrocious in the West India islands, but our moral feelings are shocked at hearing not only of the impunity of the criminals, but of their triumph." In adverting to the case of the Mosses, the Hon. Member had, most unfortunately for his argument, alluded to the case of Mrs. Hibner. The contrast which these cases presented between the moral feeling of the Bahamas and the moral feeling of this country was much more striking than the contrast to which Mr. Fox had formerly called the attention of the House. The offenders in the Bahamas having not only committed a murder, but committed it in the most barbarous manner possible, had been condemned to five months' imprisonment. What followed? A memorial had been presented to the Colonial Secretary, signed by what were called the most respectable persons in the colony, attesting that the character of these cruel murderers was generally one of great humanity, and praying for a remission of their punishment. That was the manner in which this atrocious crime was viewed in an island, the inhabitants of which were in no other way demoralized than as the possession of unbounded and irresponsible power always corrupted the heart of man. Nay more, a public dinner, as a matter of triumph, was actually given, by the chief persons in the colony, to the criminals who had barely escaped the most condign punishment for their offences. What was, on the other hand, the case in London when a criminal of the lowest order, this same Mrs. Hibner, whose crime was not aggravated by the consideration that she was possessed of information which ought to have taught her better, committed a similar offence? He was not the apologist of the vindictive feeling exhibited by the populace on the occasion; but it was well known that they departed from the humanity which they usually exhibited towards the unfortunate persons who underwent the last sentence of the law. They could not conceal their horror at a crime, which, however, was far less atrocious than that which had been committed by the *respectable* Mosses; and even rent the air with shouts of triumph when they witnessed the payment of the dreadful penalty. In justice however, to the people of London, he must observe, that he remembered only three instances in which they had thus deviated from their usual feelings of commiseration for suffering criminals; and those were all cases in which the punishment of death had been inflicted for the crime of murder, accompanied with circumstances of peculiar cruelty. Thus, even in their errors, the ge-

nerosity which belonged to their general character was strongly evinced.*

Sir George Murray was not surprised, when the subject was slavery and the cruelties which proceeded from it, that the just indignation which all must feel upon it should seduce Honourable Members into a greater warmth of expression than perhaps the immediate occasion justified. He did not, however, rise to pursue the same course, or to protract the discussion, but to bring the attention of the House back to the original question; and that he did in consequence of the allusion to himself by the Hon. Member for Weymouth, who said he had intimated to him his willingness to pursue the inquiry, and his being prepared with convincing evidence on the subject. The Hon. Member was perfectly correct in that statement. But it was only just to add, that the Hon. Baronet had expressed with equal confidence his conviction, that he could rebut the imputations cast upon him. He himself could have no other feeling than an anxiety, if guilt existed, that that guilt should be clearly established; or the still greater anxiety, if possible, that if no guilt existed, that fact should be made equally clear. In the mean time he perfectly agreed, that where guilt had not been established, it ought not to be presumed. As to the continuation of the slave trade at the Mauritius, there was that in the geographical situation of the island which was extremely favourable to the prosecution of that trade; and to that circumstance he imputed a great part of the difficulty which had been found in putting it down. He had the satisfaction, however, of saying most confidently, that the difficulty had been overcome, and that the slave trade at the Mauritius no longer existed.

Mr. Sykes, as a Member of the Committee which had been appointed to inquire into this subject, observed, that he had gone into the investigation with the most unprejudiced mind; that he had given the greatest attention to the proceedings; and that he deeply lamented they had been terminated before any satisfactory conclusion had been arrived at. At the same time he must say, that the evidence adduced was not such as to entitle the Hon. Baronet or his friends to express any confidence as to what might have been the result. Three or four witnesses only had been examined out of a much larger number.

Sir Robert Farquhar defended himself by reading extracts from the evidence taken before the Committee, in 1826, which went, he said, to prove that he had taken the most judicious steps to put an end to the slave trade at the Mauritius. He read also an extract from a letter he had addressed to the Colonial Office, in reply to the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 42, and which had been since laid on the table of the House of Commons. In common with Mr. Irving, he charged the Anti-Slavery Reporter, and especially No. 42, with gross falsehood. Several instances of cruelty therein cited against him, he said, were untrue, as would be seen when his answer came to be printed.

Such was, in substance, the conversation which passed on this occasion. We trust we shall be excused if we detain our readers with a few remarks upon it.

The vague and general charges of Mr. H. Gurney and Mr. Irving,

* The whole of this remarkable case of the Mosses, a case of recent occurrence, will be found in the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 47, p. 462.

we consider as scarcely meriting a reply. We might, with equal justice, retort upon them a heap of offensive epithets; ignorance, prejudice, falsehood, calumny, malignity, &c. &c. &c., on much better grounds than they have produced, or are able to produce, for similar imputations upon us. But, what would the cause of truth gain by thus following their example? We call, however, upon Mr. Gurney especially, if he values his character for truth and fair dealing, to specify the misrepresentations and exaggerations, with which he declares us to be chargeable, or at least to select, from the whole series of our numbers, a single statement which he has discovered to be unsupported by evidence.—With respect to Mr. Irving, we are disposed to make larger allowances. He is a West Indian merchant, and is, in some measure, entitled to feel galled by our writings, and to resent them. But, we desire to say to him, as we have already said to his predecessors in the same line of general and vague invective, that we totally deny the truth of his criminations, and that we boldly challenge him to the proof. For the answers we have already given to similar charges, preferred with equal vagueness, though with less coarseness, by Mr. Dwarris and Lord Seaford, we refer him to the Reporters, No. 37 and 40. Again, we challenge him to the proof. We call upon him to specify the particular statements on which he rests his charge. If he refuses to do so, will not his own epithets recoil upon himself? *

* A long and laboured article has lately appeared in the *Monthly Magazine* in defence of slavery, and in pretended refutation of the statements of the abolitionists. It is, in fact, an epitome of Alexander Barclay's exploded work. We beg to refer those who are disposed to attribute the slightest weight to this renewed attempt to reconcile the national conscience to the foul crime of retaining our fellow men in a cruel and degrading slavery, to the different pages of our own work, and more particularly to the two numbers of it mentioned above, and to Nos. 18, 19, 35, &c.

We have been struck, in perusing this article, with the audacious falsification of fact, of which the framer of it has been guilty. We know nothing which goes beyond, or even equals it, except in the pages of *Blackwood*. "The indisputable evidence of authenticated facts, proves," he says, "that the slaves of Jamaica are in the actual enjoyment of all the comforts and advantages which are the fair rewards of their labour," that is to say, of their forced and uncompensated labour. But, where is that evidence to be found? The mere assertion of this writer will hardly pass for proof; and he has given us no other. He has fortunately ventured, however, to quit the safe ground of such vague generalities, and to favour us with some specification of the particulars which, he affirms, go to constitute this imposing aggregate of comforts and advantages actually enjoyed by the slaves of Jamaica; and has thus given us an opportunity of weighing the value of his testimony, and of fixing upon it the undoubted characters, either of gross or stupid ignorance, or of wilful and deliberate falsehood. We select two or three instances, by way of exemplification, and we pledge ourselves that they form a fair specimen of this impudent attempt to impose upon the British public.

1. "The hours during which the slaves work," he says, "are not more—we believe, not so many—as those which are devoted to the same purpose by the agricultural labourers of Great Britain." Now, Mr. Huskisson, in commenting on the very latest legislative attempt at amelioration of the Jamaica Assembly, the disallowed act of December, 1826, observes on that clause of the act, which affects to limit the exaction of the labour of slaves, "*out of crop*," to eleven hours and a half, (namely, from five in the morning till seven at night, the intervals for meals being two hours and a half,) the tale of labour during crop having no limit, that such excess of toil is inconsistent with the health of the slave, (see his letter of 22d September, 1827, and the act to which it refers, also

Notwithstanding the grave charges Mr. Irving has permitted himself to make against the Anti-Slavery Reporter, it is evident he has not read

Reporter, No. 33, p. 180.) But even the eleven hours and a half of field labour, which Mr. Huskisson thinks in such a climate (and, indeed, in any climate) is most excessive, are exclusive of the night labour of crop, which, for four or five months of the year, adds five hours more of labour during the twenty-four; exclusive too of the time consumed in going to and returning from the field, procuring grass for the cattle at night, collecting fuel to dress their food, and cooking it, with a variety of other domestic offices. And yet, though the very laws authorize this enormous and destructive excess of labour, we are to be told, by this writer, they do not work so many hours as labourers in this country.

2 "That baneful practice," (enforcement of labour by the whip) this writer tells us, "has been almost, if not wholly discontinued, in Jamaica." Now, it is utterly false, that any restraint is put on this practice by the law of Jamaica. The abolition of the driving whip was proposed, indeed, to the Assembly, by Lord Bathurst, in 1826, but rejected. It was then proposed by a Member, at least to substitute the cat for the cart-whip, but even this modification of the driving system was also rejected; and the very reason given in the Assembly by Mr. Hilton, for refusing a compliance with Lord Bathurst's wish, was the danger to be apprehended from such an *innovation* of established usage as that of relinquishing the driving-whip. As for "the driving-whip," the Barbadoes Assembly "consider it to be inseparable from slavery." (See Reporter, No. 21, p. 305 and 307, and the Parliamentary Papers, and the Jamaica Journals of the day, there referred to. Even so late as the 22d March, 1823, we find Mr. Huskisson, in a despatch to the Governor of Jamaica, remarking that "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." And yet, in the face of such evidence, this advocate of slavery has the hardihood to affirm, that the *baneful practice*, as he terms it, of driving the human team with the cart-whip, is almost, if not wholly, discontinued in Jamaica. Can any untruth be more gross than this?

3. "Save, as the punishment of *crime*, the use of the whip in the West Indies," he further tells us, "is discontinued." Discontinued! by what law? By that of Jamaica, most certainly, its use is undiminished. At this very hour it may there be used, for any offence or for no offence, to the number of thirty-nine stripes, (and in Barbadoes there is not even this wretched limit) on the bare body of any man, woman, or child, without the slightest liability to question, by any master or overseer of slaves. The terms of the Jamaica law are, "and in order to RESTRAIN arbitrary punishments, no slave shall receive *any more* than ten lashes, unless the owner, &c. or overseer is present; and no such owner, &c. or overseer, shall punish a slave with more than thirty-nine lashes at one time, and for one offence." To this extent then every man is at liberty, without being obliged to prove that any offence has been committed, to inflict the torturing punishment of the cart-whip. A look, a gesture, construed into insolence; a suspicion of feigning illness; an involuntary omission; the languor of weariness; incapacity of exertion—all may be punished, and are legally punished, as crimes under this mild system. (See also, No. 45, p. 424.)

4. If asked "why we have left out of the picture the tortures to which slaves are put at the mere caprice of their masters, the dismemberments, the chainings, the wanton floggings, the separate selling of slaves who are united in families, the cruel severing of nature's sweetest and holiest ties, the answer is, that if such atrocities ever existed, they have for many years past ceased to disgrace the colonies: and that to assert that they now exist, *in any degree*, is a foul, gross, malignant calumny, the falsehood of which is notorious to every one who has taken the trouble to read and examine the evidence on the subject, and more notorious to none than to the crafty forgers of these monstrous lies." This unblushing assertion is the very reverse of truth—the very climax of audacious imposture. In reply to it, look only at the Jamaica law, last quoted, for the tortures which a master or overseer may legally inflict, at his caprice, on any slave; and next look to the official returns from the West Indies for the tortures actually inflicted, as these are detailed, not by abolitionists, but by Colonial functionaries, and in the recorded decrees of Colonial Courts of Justice. See, for pregnant examples, the returns of the Fiscal of Berbice, (Reporter,

that work with common attention. He charges it with having revived the abortive accusations of Mr. Buxton. Now, Mr. Buxton's accusations referred, exclusively, to the *slave trade*. The Anti-Slavery Reporters, Nos. 42 and 44, refer to a new and perfectly different subject, namely, the state of *slavery* in the Mauritius; a subject on which Mr. Buxton had not entered. With respect to the Reporter, No. 42 in particular, against which the displeasure of the Baronet and his friends seems to be chiefly directed, we are quite at a loss to conceive to what part of it they mean to apply their severe and vituperative remarks. The charge we bring against Sir R. Farquhar, in that number, is confined to a single point, and, if it be untrue, is capable of the easiest confutation. It is chiefly drawn from a comparison of his own official correspondence, while Governor, with the official returns from the Mauritius, recently laid on the table of parliament. Have we quoted that correspondence or those returns unfairly? If not, wherein can we have calumniated or maligned the Hon. Baronet? Is it true, or is it not, for example, that, on the 1st of February, 1812, he wrote to Lord Bathurst, to say that it had been in his power, "*by a series of measures, to ameliorate the condition of the slaves?*" And, is it also true, or is it not, that a return having been obtained from the Mauritius to an order of the House of Commons, calling for all regulations of this description during his administration, not one such has been forth-

Nos. 5 and 16); the returns of the Protector of Berbice, (No. 43); the case of the Mosses, (No. 47); also No. 40, p. 305, No. 44, *passim*, &c.—Then as to the cruel separation of families, the utter falsehood of the assertion that it has ceased, will be proved by referring to the Reporter, No. 18, p. 251, and No. 19, p. 272—275, which last contains the law and practice on this subject as officially announced. Nay, so recently as the 14th of March, 1826, the Duke of Manchester, in a despatch of that date, expressly states that he is not aware of any law in Jamaica to prevent the separation of husband and wife, of parents and children; and, indeed, it is impossible to open a Jamaica Gazette, even the most recent, without seeing that, in accordance with the *power* of separating families, which the state of the law enables the master to exercise at his discretion, is the constant weekly *practice*.—And yet, says this veracious writer, "*if such atrocities ever existed, they have for many years ceased,*" adding, "that to assert that they exist in any degree, is a *foul, gross, malignant calumny,*"—" *monstrous lies,*" the work of "*crafty forgers.*" And all these facts too, to which we have adverted, and which will be found more fully detailed in our preceding pages, are taken not from any dubious, or concealed, or suspicious source, but from authentic and official public documents, laid before Parliament by the Ministers of the Crown, and drawn by them from colonial records, which have been prepared and kept, and are verified, either by colonial slave holders themselves, or by functionaries acting under their eye and with their privity. Such are fair specimens of the daring impostures with which we have to contend! And let it never be forgotten (see Reporter, No. 18, p. 255) that thirty years ago, writers equally unprincipled, and witnesses equally mendacious, came forward, on behalf of the slave traders and slave holders of this country, to eulogize the loveliness of the slave trade itself, and to load with the foulest reproach and obloquy those who ventured to unveil its hideous lineaments to public view. The present writer is a worthy inheritor of their principles as well as imitator of their practices, and he will shortly, we trust, experience their fate. His attempts to sanctify crime and varnish guilt, and to hide out from our view, and from our hearing, the sighs, and groans, and tears, and blood, of our fellow-men, will, like theirs, be consigned in no long time to the universal execration of mankind; while the abominations which he and his fellows now so zealously patronize, and even hold up to public veneration, will take their place, as the slave trade has already done, in the list of the felonies, and murders, and piracies which are deemed worthy of the extremest penalties of the law.

coming? Our observations, therefore, in that number, as far as they were inculpatory, had no connection with Mr. Buxton's charges, or with the slave trade. They referred to the variance between his official communications respecting the condition of the slave population, and the facts of the case as indicated by the subsequent returns. If these observations are unfounded, nothing is easier than to refute them. The "measures" said to have been taken, have only to be produced. They have been called for, and have not been produced. If they exist, let Sir Robert now produce them, and then let him visit, with his severest animadversions, not those who have noted the fact of their non-production, but those who have violated their duty in suppressing them when called for.

Sir Robert Farquhar, and his friends, have fallen into another mistake. They have chosen to consider the Reporter, No. 44, with all its horrid detail of cruelties, as intended to inculcate him. That may, possibly, be its effect, but certainly was not its intention. Its sole purpose was, what it professes to be, to give "a picture of negro slavery existing in the Mauritius," not under the administration of Sir Robert Farquhar alone, but under that of General Hall, General Darling, Sir Lowry Cole, and General Colville, in short, the general condition of the slaves in the Mauritius, independently of all governors and all administrations. This also is a new question, distinct from that hitherto brought before parliament by Mr. Buxton. It is a question also, not personal to Sir Robert Farquhar, but which respects the whole servile system, the general state of the law and the practice, with regard to the treatment of slaves in the Mauritius. And the Duke of Manchester, or Sir Benjamin D'Urban, might as well regard our expositions of the evils of slavery in Jamaica or Demerara, as a personal attack on themselves, as Sir R. Farquhar regard in this light our attack on the slavery of the Mauritius. We do not wonder at the excitement he has manifested, if he conceives himself personally implicated in every act of cruelty or oppression, which is stated to have taken place during his government. We defer any further observations till we have seen his reply.

3.—*Emancipation of Negro Children.*

At one o'clock of the morning of the 5th instant, in a very thin House, *Mr. Otway Cave* moved the following resolutions, which were negatived without a division, and, indeed, without a debate, if we except some weighty preparatory observations of the Honourable Mover.

"Resolved, 1st. That no human Legislature has any lawful power to abridge or destroy the natural rights of life and liberty, unless the owner shall himself commit some criminal act that amounts to a forfeiture.

"2. That although neither the Government nor the Legislature of this country have arrogated to themselves the power of destroying the natural rights of innocent British subjects, or of delegating any such power to other authorities, it is a notorious fact, that in many British Colonies lying remote from the immediate observation of the Government, innocent British born subjects are, from the time of their birth, robbed of their natural rights, and converted into slaves.

"3. That it is the especial duty of this House, as the representatives

of the people, to take effectual measures for protecting all British subjects, that shall be born henceforward in the West Indian Colonies, from similar violations of their natural, inherent, and paramount rights as human beings.”

We respect the motives which have influenced Mr. Otway Cave on this occasion. We must still, however, think the course he has pursued unfortunate, and the time ill chosen. Who could ever have supposed it possible, that after a session of four months' duration, a motion of which formal notice had been given in the preceding session, a motion too of such vital importance, and big with so many vital interests, would at last have been shuffled into a corner; that at the unseasonable hour of one o'clock in the morning, on almost the last day of the session, when no rational hope could be entertained of a beneficial discussion or a favourable result, when the House had been nearly emptied, resolutions so momentous, and so sure to be opposed, should have been brought forward and attempted to be passed? Such a course was hardly fair either to the friends or the opponents of our cause; and not even dreaming that such a thing was within the verge of possibility, almost every individual who felt an interest in the question had withdrawn; though, had they remained, they could only have used their influence to induce the mover to select a fitter time for his propositions, to which, independently of this circumstance, we ourselves could not but be favourable.

4.—*Freedom of Trade.—Sugar Duties.*

Several discussions have taken place on these important questions, and with a better prospect of favourable results than we have hitherto been permitted to entertain. The approaching termination of the East India Company's charter has given a stronger impulse to the desires that had been awakened in the country of throwing open the trade of India and China; of permitting the unrestrained introduction of British capital and skill into our Eastern empire; and of removing the injurious and immoral protection now given to the productions of slave labour as compared with those of free labour. We look forward with increasing hope to the consummation of our wishes on these points, and intend, during the recess, to advert to the subject more at large, with a view to the extended examinations and discussions which will certainly take place in the ensuing session.

5.—*Civil Rights of the free black and coloured Inhabitants of our Colonies.*

On the 1st of June, *Dr. Lushington* presented a petition on behalf of this class, imploring the Imperial Parliament to take their case into consideration, and to extend to them the common rights and privileges of British subjects, of which they are now unjustly deprived; which he accompanied with some appropriate observations. *Sir George Murray* said he was pleased to see petitions, from any individual or class of persons in the colonies, addressed to the Imperial Parliament, as it marked the confidence of such persons in its wisdom and justice, a confidence extremely desirable, considering the relations which existed between a colony and a parent state, comprehending dependence on the one side, and protection on the other. With respect to the people of colour, he was

of opinion that in any colony, and especially in those where the distinction existed of freemen and slaves, it was a most desirable policy, that all the members of the former should participate in all the advantages of the superior class, notwithstanding differences of colour. An opinion, however, existed in the colonies, that changes in this respect should be made with caution. It was in this spirit that the local legislature of Jamaica had passed acts in favour of the coloured inhabitants, and within the last few years had further conceded, to particular individuals belonging to the class of the free people of colour, special enactments, giving them the same rights as his Majesty's white subjects in that colony enjoyed. The Government, however, so little shared in this opinion, that in an Order in Council recently issued, they had at once removed all the various disabilities of the coloured inhabitants of Trinidad, and they had made similar concessions in the colony of Berbice, thus giving to the colonial legislatures an example of perfect liberality, in legislating for the equal claims of this class to civil and political liberty. He trusted the example would produce the most salutary effect on the other colonies. A spirit of liberality was gaining ground, and he looked with confident hopes to increased progress in the cause of the petitioners.

Dr. Lushington agreed with the Secretary of State for the Colonies, that the Assembly for Jamaica had improved within the last fifteen or twenty years in their dispositions towards the people of colour; but he could not view the concession of political privileges, by special acts made to particular individuals, during the last seven years, which had been mentioned, as an evidence of increasing liberality. For among all these private enactments, there were only seven, in all that space of time, which gave to coloured persons the same rights as the whites enjoyed. In every other instance the concessions were much restricted. He therefore hoped that some more general and effectual measure might be adopted, so as to save him the necessity of pressing the subject on the attention of Parliament in its next session.

The valuable enactment to which Sir George Murray referred, for the removal of all civil disabilities from this class of persons in Trinidad, is dated the 13th of March, 1829, and purports that Whereas by certain laws and ordinances heretofore made by the authority of the King of Spain before the cession of Trinidad to His Majesty, and by certain laws, ordinances, and proclamations since issued, his Majesty's subjects of free condition, but of African birth or descent, are subject to various civil or military disabilities in the said island, to which His Majesty's subjects of European birth or descent are not subject; and it is expedient that all such distinctions should be abolished and annulled:—His Majesty therefore is pleased to order that every law, ordinance, or proclamation in force, within the said island, whereby His Majesty's subjects of African birth or descent, being of free condition, are subject to any disability, civil or military, to which His Majesty's subjects of European birth or descent are not subject, shall be, and the same and each of them are and is for ever repealed and annulled.

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- I.—SIR ROBERT FARQUHAR'S ATTACK EXAMINED.
II.—WEST INDIA REPORTER, viz. 1. *Sectaries of Jamaica.* 2. *Condition of Slaves.* 3. *Consolidated Slave Law.* 4. *West India Committee and its Mercenaries,* and, 5. *Challenge of Anti-Slavery Reporter.*
III.—THE COMPULSORY MANUMISSION CLAUSE.
IV.—NATIVES OF SOUTH AFRICA.
V.—FREE BLACKS AND COLOURED.
VI.—CULTURE OF SUGAR BY FREE LABOUR.
VII.—FRENCH SLAVE TRADE.

I.—SIR ROBERT FARQUHAR'S ATTACK.

THE last Reporter will have prepared our readers to expect the reply of Sir Robert Farquhar to the statements made in our former numbers, Nos. 42 and 44, on the subject of slavery in the Mauritius. Sir Robert indeed professes to confine his reply to the former, but it does, in point of fact, embrace both. Of this reply we wish to speak with all due forbearance and respect; and yet it would be vain for us to attempt to conceal that we have read it without the slightest alarm for the integrity of the statements which it affects to expose. We must first throw entirely aside the Baronet's angry vituperations against the Reporter, such as "wanton attack of wicked and designing persons;" "a tissue of atrocious calumnies;" "the illiberality and falsehood of the narrow-minded, grovelling, and paltry charlatans of the present day," their "incautious enthusiasm;" their "dangerous spirit and blind fanaticism;" their "venom;" their "wild" and "visionary experiments;" their "gratuitous, wicked, barefaced falsehoods"—"basest falsehoods" of men who, "like inquisitors, work in the dark, and stab men's reputations behind their back," and that, "from motives of private pique and personal interest or malice;" of men pursuing a "system of perjury and subornation of perjury," "debauching soldiers for purposes the most wicked and diabolical," and whose conduct is "without a parallel since the infamous days of the star chamber."

These hard words are gleaned from less than five pages of letter-press, two-thirds of which consist moreover of mere unsupported assertions, remarks laudatory of his own administration, vague speculations on colonial policy, and random denunciations of the designs of the abolitionists as tending to ruin the colonies and to enrich themselves.

To no part of these fruitful topics, whether laudatory of himself or accusatory of us, is it necessary to say one syllable in reply. Valeat quantum! We will confine our observations strictly and exclusively to what is precise and tangible in his affirmations.

We had asserted in the Reporter, No. 42, p. 337, that, during Sir Robert Farquhar's administration, we could not discover that either

any "series of measures," or even "any one measure," had been adopted by him "for the defence and protection of the slaves," "for restraining the oppressions of the master, or protecting the persons, or improving the condition of the slaves." This assertion Sir Robert describes as "a gratuitous, wicked, and barefaced falsehood."—Now we think the Honourable Baronet is hardly justified in the use of such strong language.—In consequence of an address voted by the House of Commons on the 24th of November, 1826, there were made to that House, on the 10th of July, 1828, the following returns, viz. 1. "A return of the laws, with copies or extracts thereof, in force at the Mauritius, *regulating the punishment of slaves BY THEIR MASTERS*, and which have been registered in the courts." 2. "A return of orders made from time to time by the several authorities at the Mauritius, *regulating the punishment of slaves by their MASTERS*."

These returns are perfectly silent as to any measures, nay, as to any single regulation, adopted, during Sir R. Farquhar's administration, "for restraining the oppressions of the masters, or protecting the persons or improving the condition of the slaves." Surely, then, we have, in these returns, at least good *prima facie* evidence of the truth of our averment. Still Sir Robert speaks of "*MY numerous measures*" upon this subject, and affirms that he can "cite numberless regulations made for the benefit, ease, and comfort of the slaves since the conquest;" and he refers, in proof, to a certain report made to him by the Attorney General of the colony, in 1814, in compliance with certain orders he had issued to that officer. He produces, however, neither his own orders nor the Attorney General's report; nor does he tell us where either the one or the other may be found. But while he declines to particularize all *his numerous measures* of amelioration, he condescends to specify a few, and these we presume the most important and prominent of the whole. From among "the proclamations and orders issued by himself and the British Government, for ameliorating the condition of the slaves since the conquest," he selects four, on which to rest his vindication. These we shall consider separately:

1. "Modifications, in the year 1814, for facilitating the liberation of slaves." We have already referred to these modifications, (No. 42, p. 335.) We there speak of them as forming the single edict of Governor Farquhar, which appeared to modify in any way the slave law of the Mauritius, and thus describe it: "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;" this edict "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."

It seems a misnomer, therefore, to designate this particular act as calculated to "*ameliorate* the condition of the slaves." Its proper designation is an act to *deteriorate* their condition. And so thought and still thinks His Majesty's Government. Not only is it opposed to the spirit of all Lord Bathurst's instructions on the subject of slave

reform, and to the spirit of all Sir George Murray's practical measures with respect to the freed; but its whole tenor is expressly condemned and reprobated by Mr. Huskisson, in his despatch of the 10th of October, 1827. "I do not perceive in it," he says, "any provision which tendst o facilitate manumission. The tendency of every part of it, on the contrary, is to create obstacles which render it almost nugatory as a meliorating measure." These words indeed apply more immediately to Sir Lowry Cole's amended edition of Sir Robert Farquhar's law on the subject; but they apply with infinitely greater force and appositeness to the latter. Sir R.'s proclamation never received, says Mr. Huskisson, His Majesty's sanction; and he directs that it should be made "known to the public, in the most authentic manner, that his Majesty is pleased to disallow" both it and the proclamation of Sir Lowry Cole. Indeed it is only necessary to read the boasted act, to be convinced of its tyrannous and oppressive nature, (see Papers by command, of 1828, p. 277.

Sir R. Farquhar seems to rely chiefly on this edict of his, respecting manumission, as proving the falsehood of our assertions as to the absence of all measures for improving the condition of the slave. He clings to it with fondness, and returns to it again and again. It is certainly, however, rather unfortunate that this very measure must be viewed, in the judgment of every man in this country capable of discerning right from wrong, no less than in that of His Majesty's Government, as in reality an act for *deteriorating* and not for *ameliorating* the condition of the slaves.

2. "In March, 1811," says Sir Robert, "the public orders issued by me at Mauritius, and republished at Bourbon in April of the same year, diminished the weight of chains one half in all cases of simple police when applied to men, and altogether abolished them when applied to women and children." It is further true, that in a letter of Sir Robert Farquhar, dated February 15, 1811, he stated that he had "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 this order, the slaves are to become forfeited to the use of government."—Now after this official statement of the 15th of February, 1811, addressed to the Earl of Liverpool, and the extract which precedes it from the Baronet's letter of the 3rd of February, 1829, we shall perhaps be thought hazarding too much when we say that we believe Sir R. Farquhar to be mistaken in supposing such an order to have been actually issued by him. That on the 15th of February, 1811, when he affirms he had already issued his order respecting chains, he had not actually issued but only contemplated issuing it, we may infer from his saying in his last letter that it was issued not in February but in March. But, putting this perhaps accidental discrepancy out of view, the probability, on the whole, still seems to us to be, that no such order, having the force of law, was ever issued. Our reasons for this opinion we will now shortly state.

In the first place no such order has been produced. It has been called for, but has not been returned.

In the second place, when, on the 13th December, 1826, Sir Lowry

Cole issued an Act for fixing "the weight of the chains and fetters, or iron rings, which the inhabitants are authorized by the existing laws to put upon their slaves," (see paper of 10th July, 1828, No. 526, p. 27), he introduces it by the following preamble: "Whereas the laws of the colony, particularly the 37th article of the letters patent of the month of December, 1723, in *permitting to the inhabitants to put their slaves in chains whenever they shall think these latter shall have merited it, have determined nothing with respect to the weight of the chains and fetters;*" and then he proceeds (as is stated in the Reporter, No. 42, p. 335,) to define the weight of chains and fetters which may thenceforward lawfully be put, not only on men, but on women and children also.—But how could Sir Lowry Cole affirm that no previous law of the colony had determined any thing as to the weight of chains and fetters, if Sir R. Farquhar's order of 1811 had previously had any legal existence? Had such an order existed, it must of necessity have been known to Mr. Blane, the Secretary of the Government, who, along with Sir Lowry Cole, signed the law of December, 1826, and who had filled the office of Chief Commissary of Police, under Sir R. Farquhar, at so early a period as 1813, (see papers of 1828, No. 295, p. 28). Mr. Blane, we think, could not have been ignorant of such a law, if it had been enacted in 1811; at least, if he, the Chief Commissary of Police, knew nothing of it, it might as well not have been enacted: it must have been a dead letter from the first. The very signature of Mr. Blane to such a preamble as we have cited seems decisive of the question.

It is no less extraordinary, if the alleged order by which Sir Robert says he abolished, in 1811, chains altogether as respected women and children, ever had a legal and efficient existence, that, in 1826, Sir Lowry Cole and Sir Robert's own Commissary of Police, Mr. Blane, should be jointly occupied, under pretence of lightening the chains of the slave women and children, in framing a law, which actually went to reimpose those chains, after they had been previously altogether struck off by Sir Robert Farquhar in 1811.

But we have a third and still stronger reason for doubting the correctness of Sir Robert Farquhar's memory with respect to the promulgation of this alleged law of 1811. We mean the conduct of Sir Robert himself, and of the Magistrates acting under his immediate observation and control in the town of Port Louis, in the month of October, 1821. Two cases were in that month tried in the public courts, which involved this very question of the weight of chains; the cases of Virginia and Azor. They are both detailed in the Reporter, No. 44, p. 382, and p. 383; and, though a communication was addressed to Sir Robert himself on the occasion, yet no reference appears to have been made to this law which, had it existed, must have ensured the conviction and punishment of the parties accused; one of whom had imposed, on a male slave, chains of 30lbs. weight, six times heavier than the heaviest allowed by Sir Lowry Cole's subsequent act; and another had imposed, on a slave girl, irons weighing 76lbs., besides "*martyring*" her flesh with the rattan.—Now, in these two cases, the judges decided that what the accused persons had done was allowed by law, and that

the weight of the chains they had imposed was not excessive. We cannot, therefore, believe that there could have been any law of Sir R. Farquhar's with which such a sentence would have been compatible; or that, if there were any law of his with which it was incompatible, he himself, being on the spot at the time, would have calmly permitted it to be so grossly and flagrantly violated without one word of remonstrance, or a single note of dissatisfaction.

We may, therefore, fairly put aside this alleged law of 1811, as well as that of 1814, as securing any amelioration of the condition of the slaves.

3. "In the year 1817," Sir Robert further affirms, "the public whipping of women was totally prohibited by my orders, as well as the public working in chains of female maroons." Now we will tell Sir Robert, that if the whipping of women is permitted at all, it were better to be public than private. But, be that as it may, this order of Sir Robert, (whatever may have been its terms and its tenor, for it has not been produced, and we have only his account of it,) could evidently have had nothing to do with the relation of master and slave, but must have been confined to *police* inflictions, and to the chain or convict gang which was placed under the police officers. It is not fair, therefore, to cite as an order for "ameliorating the condition of the slaves," one which must have been intended, not for the regulation or control of *masters*, but for the regulation of his own police.

That we have given a probable account of this matter will still more clearly appear by referring to a letter of Sir Lowry Cole, of the 15th December, 1826, addressed as a circular to the Commandants and Civil Commissaries of Districts, (paper of 1828, No. 526, p. 32,) in which he says, "I also think it necessary to dwell on the various punishments inflicted on negro women. *Up to this moment, there has not existed any difference in the corrections ordered, by the masters, in respect to THEM, and those in use in regard to the men. Rest assured, gentlemen, that his Majesty's Government will suppress the punishment of flogging for negro women,*" &c. &c.—If it had been true that Sir R. Farquhar had passed any law on this subject, in 1817, how could Sir Lowry Cole have used such language as this in 1826?—Again, therefore, we say, if we have misrepresented the matter, it will not be enough for Sir Robert to brand what we have said with the terms, "gratuitous, wicked, barefaced falsehood:" such terms will not avail him. He must produce those orders of 1811 and of 1817, a bare reference to which he now would make his shield of defence, and then let the public judge between us.

4. The only remaining measure which Sir Robert specifies is one, he says, which "*I made on the 25th January, 1813, by which the barbarous practice of paying to the owner the price of a maroon, in the event of his being killed in pursuit, when flying from the officers, or resisting them, was totally abolished; and, by the same law, the reward to the officer seizing the maroon, was greatly augmented when the maroon was taken alive.*" Again, we say, if there be such a law, why is it not produced? But, even if there be such a law, and it shall be found to bear out all that Sir R. Farquhar predicates of it, it is still a law which

has respect to the officers of police alone, and has nothing to do with the relation of master and slave. It cannot, therefore, invalidate, in the very slightest degree, our abused, and calumniated statement, that we had not discovered, in the records of Sir R. Farquhar's administration, a single trace of any one measure for restraining the oppressions of the master, or for protecting from those oppressions the person of the slave.

If there be any such measure, we say again, and again, let it be produced. It has not yet been produced; and the defence of Sir Robert Farquhar only strengthens our doubt of its existence.

But Sir Robert Farquhar has not only thus egregiously failed in proving the incorrectness of our statement, with respect to his legislative measures for the amelioration of the condition of the slaves; he has equally failed in shewing the incorrectness of the facts we adduced, in confirmation of the total inefficiency of the existing laws to protect the slaves from cruelty of the most revolting description.—Of all those facts he has selected for contradiction only three, the cases of Prevot, Cotry, and Madame Nayle. (See our No. 44, p. 390, and 391.)

With respect to the facts of Prevot's case, there is no difference between us that we can discover. Sir Robert does not deny the horrid cruelties of which Prevot had been guilty, and we had ourselves stated that this ruffian alone had met with the fate he merited.

With respect to Cotry, the Honourable Baronet does not controvert our statement of the revolting enormities which that man is said to have committed, though the account we gave of them is, we suppose, one of the *impure* statements which he so squeamishly reprehends.—(Let our readers turn to it!) But then the Baronet says, Cotry, who was to have been hanged for his crimes, hanged himself, and, so only, escaped the gallows. We, on the other hand, have said, on authority we believe to be good, that Cotry did not hang himself, though that was most certainly reported, but escaped from prison, and two years afterwards reappeared in the Mauritius. We do not ourselves, of course, vouch for the correctness of this statement. But is it not just possible, that Sir Robert may have been deceived by an untrue report of Cotry's suicide, circulated to cover his escape; and that, quitting the island in the following year, he may not have known of Cotry's subsequent reappearance? If, however, Cotry really did kill himself in prison, as the Baronet affirms, let the "*procès verbal*" connected with the act of suicide be produced, and that will at once place the matter beyond question.

And now for Madame Nayle; we do not understand that Sir Robert means to deny the unspeakable atrocities we have attributed to that wretched female, or the attentions stated, nevertheless, to have been lavished upon her, by many of the Colonists, as in the case of the Mosses of Bahama, while she lay in prison. He says something, however, of "a stretch of the law in her case," which *we* would have "clamoured against as an unpardonable excess if Madame Nayle had been black instead of white." We do not at all understand to what the Hon. Baronet here alludes. We will only say, that that man must have a mind very singularly constituted indeed, who, after having read the detail of Madame Nayle's crimes, could be moved to commiseration, for any thing she is

stated to have suffered, on account of any variety of complexion she may have received from nature.

Had we known the fact which Sir Robert communicates, of his having cashiered a magistrate for his culpable want of promptitude in arresting Madame Nayle, we should certainly have mentioned it, as a fact highly creditable to him; but also as a fact illustrative of the enormity of the transaction which led to this act of just retribution.

We purposely omit to combat the unsatisfactory defence of Sir Robert Farquhar with respect to the slave population returns, as it would not be quite decorous to anticipate an inquiry which will necessarily be brought forward in the ensuing session of Parliament. We will merely remark that no explanations on the subject, which he either cites from a letter of the 7th of November, 1822, or brings forward for the first time in his letter of the 3rd of February 1829, can form a justification of, what alone we have censured, the silence he maintained upon the subject in the year 1815, when the completion of the first registration of slaves, under the new Act, discovered to him that a population which, on the 8th of January 1811, he had stated to consist of only 60,000, namely, 39,415 males and 20,585 females, and which, on the 28th of July 1812, he further stated to be yearly diminishing at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum, was found to have grown, during the intervening period, to the enormous amount of 87,352, *viz.* 56,684 males and 30,668 females.*

One word more. Sir Robert Farquhar states it to be untrue that the Mauritius law of slavery, as contained in the French Ordinances of 1723 and 1767, "arm the master with such absolute power over the slave," as we have represented. We have given a faithful abstract of them in the Reporter, No. 42, p. 332—334, and we must leave our readers to judge between us. There is no disputing about tastes, but we should have thought, with all due deference to the superior discernment of Sir R. Farquhar, that we were not sinning violently against good taste when we characterized as "arming the master with absolute power over the slave, and affording to the slave no effectual protection against its abuse," a law which prescribes, among other things, that slaves can possess no property whatever; that they cannot be witnesses or suitors; that if they strike a master or his child they shall suffer death; that their first absence for a month shall be followed by their being branded and having their ears cut off, the second by being branded and having their hamstrings cut, and the third by death; and that, when deemed deserving of it, they may be put in chains and flogged by the masters, at their discretion, to the amount of thirty lashes; &c. &c. &c.

Such then is Sir Robert's defence of an administration, by which he boasts to have done as much for the cause of humanity "as the whole party (of abolitionists) put together, and even their great patriarch himself," (meaning, we suppose, Mr. Wilberforce); and this defence, he

* Sir R. Farquhar has addressed another letter to the Colonial Office, on the Report made by the Commissioners of Inquiry, on the slave trade of the Mauritius, which is scarcely less accusatory of their motives than the letter now before us of those of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

trusts, "will at length open the eyes of the public to the delusion attempted to be practised upon them, by persons whose statements he has shown to be utterly unworthy of credit, and whose incessant labours militate against the best interests of the country." We can only hope with Mr. Brougham, that when the promised inquiry takes place, he will be furnished with better witnesses and better compurgators than the attempted vindication of his conduct, contained in the letter now before us, will be found to supply.

II.—WEST INDIAN REPORTER.

THE West-Indian Reporter has so long been silent, that we concluded it had ceased to exist, when towards the close of the last month it burst upon us with five successive numbers in one day, viz. Nos. 16 to 20. The two first bear the date of April, the others have no date assigned to them. We propose adverting briefly to a few of the topics of which they treat; for by far the largest proportion of their contents is a dull uninteresting mass, composed of West-Indian documents, of no value whatever; of the eternal mouthing of such Jamaica speechifiers as Messrs. Berry and Barrett and Mitchel; of a tiresome history of the double duty question, for which, out of Jamaica, notwithstanding all the noise it makes there, no one here cares one farthing; and of the worthless evidence of anonymous writers, or of such a discredited partizan as Alexander Barclay, varied by stupid extracts from the colonial journals, and enlivened only by foul abuse of the Missionaries and of the Anti-Slavery Reporter; the whole more resembling a spent bullet, hot, heavy, and dusky, than any thing we remember lately to have seen in the way of authorship.

1.—Sectaries of Jamaica.

No. XVI. contains eight very closely printed pages relating to the *Sectarians*, in which the proceedings of the Jamaica Assembly respecting them are partially detailed. The evidence procured by a Select Committee of that body was avowedly taken, so says the West-India Reporter, in order "to be laid before the King in Council and his Majesty's Ministers, and to be distributed and circulated generally in this country;" and he draws, as we shall see, from this fact, the most triumphant proof of the integrity of the Jamaica Assembly, and the irresistible force of the testimony by which its committee has reported that they had established, beyond all possibility of question, the following charges.

First, "That the *principal* object of the Sectarians in Jamaica is to extort money from their congregations by every possible pretext; to obtain which, recourse has been had to the *most indecent* expedients.

Second, "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 misrepresentations and falsehood endeavour to cast odium upon all the public authorities of the island, not even excepting the representative of Majesty itself.

Third, "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.

Fourth, "That therefore the interference of the Missionaries between the master and the 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."

This extraordinary report was adopted by the House of Assembly, and it was 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 83rd, 84th, and 85th clauses of the slave law, disallowed in 1827; and that the said report, and examination and clauses be printed and distributed by the agent."

Let us now hear what the West-Indian Reporter, the organ of the West-Indian committee, says on this subject.

"It is scarcely necessary," he says, "to remind the public that the measure of appointing this committee was adopted for the purpose of producing evidence in support of the three clauses of the slave law of 1826, which occasioned its disallowance by Mr. Huskisson; and which being re-enacted in 1828, recently occasioned its rejection by Sir John Keane. This evidence is of course most important. If the Jamaica House of Assembly have resorted to any unfair means to procure that evidence, or if it be not sufficiently strong to support these clauses, then are they the most foolhardy set of men who ever sat on a bench of legislature; since they have directed copies of it to be transmitted to their agent, to be laid before the King in Council, and before His Majesty's Ministers, and to be distributed and circulated generally in this country. They have done this too with the perfect knowledge that there is a strong body of Dissenters in this country, who will make common cause with the Missionaries in Jamaica, and who will spare neither time, nor trouble, nor expense in investigating the truth of that evidence; and if it be liable to imputation, holding up its authors and suborners to the ridicule and detestation of the multitude, and the just vengeance of His Majesty's Ministers. They know too that there is another organized body of inveterate enemies, who damn with disbelief every document, of whatever nature, or of whatever testimony, that bears the semblance of defence of colonial justice, or a vindication of colonial policy. They knew that ere a word of that evidence was printed, the Anti-Slavery Society was prepared to deny its truth; and if they doubted, the last packet that sailed from England will have proved it to them when it came in the last number of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.* They must know it will be attacked in Parliament by the united body of saints, sectarians, and all whom the love of mob popularity, and political and commercial rivalry enlist under the banners of the anti-colonists. They cannot overlook the vantage ground which they would thereby have afforded to their keen-eyed antagonists, if it be liable even to a justifiable suspicion of subornation of perjury. It is the design of Mr. Brougham to annihilate, if he can, through Parliament, the legislatures of all the colonies; and they cannot but be conscious of the tremendous accession of influence he will have gained, if he can show by any means that one of these legislative assemblies has procured and sanctioned an act restrictive of religious liberty, by means of the disgraceful testimony of perjured witnesses. He, and other leaders of that party, the Lushingtons, the Denmans, and the Buxtons, are unscrupulous enough as to the means they use in producing excitement in the House of Commons against the West-Indians

* No. 46, p. 433. The obnoxious words are, "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." Such is still our conviction, only strengthened by the subsequent suppression of this evidence with which we were at first so boldly menaced.

and to the statements they bring forward. No matter to them whether a charge be true or false ; it is made ; and they mind not the contradiction, or have ingenuity enough to avert its effect. By these arts they almost annually add to the number of the anti-colonists : but it is really *AWFUL* to think how great that folly must be, which would put into Mr. Brougham's hands such a report. What could they suppose it would be in the power of even the staunchest adherents of West-Indian interests to urge in reply to Mr. Brougham, should the legislature of Jamaica have based their cause on such a rotten foundation? They must feel to have acted dishonourably here, is to have given themselves up, bound hand and foot, into the hands of a persevering and implacable enemy, who will follow up his advantage to the death." "We would put it to the common sense of the indifferent public, whether it is probable that the Jamaicans can have such a set of madmen at the head of their councils? And yet the Anti-Slavery Reporter has already, with his customary insolence, pronounced them guilty of this absurdity of crime, while common sense gives the lie to their calumnious accusation ;" "but the characters of these revilers is now too low for them to have much fear of their libels having much effect." p. 18, 19.

This elaborate, and, to their own apprehension, triumphant argument of the West India Committee, or whoever else superintend the West Indian Reporter, by which they seem to have hoped to silence for ever the whole host of abolitionists, it will now be perceived, has not only failed of its intended effect, but has recoiled with double force on themselves. On former occasions, the arts have been exposed by which the colonists abroad have laboured too successfully to delude the people of Great Britain, by means of testimony prepared to suit some present purpose. We have seen how easily, by such means, obnoxious individuals may be overwhelmed, like Smith, or like Leceſne, with unfounded obloquy, and even crushed under masses of suborned and perjured evidence ; how easily also, in times of excitement, crowds of affidavit-men may be raised to support any proposition however untrue ; and how even insurrections may be got up or provoked, and, to give them a colour, innocent blood poured out like water, if the reforms so much dreaded may thereby be averted. We have seen all this ; but we have never before seen so undisguised an effort as the present, for effecting, by means of their usual machinery, their favourite object of maligning the Christian missionary, and extinguishing the light of Christianity among the slaves. The plot, however, has been too clumsily framed not to betray its true character to every eye but that of the heated and prejudiced artists of the imposture ; for it appears that the moment these examinations, which, in Jamaica, were expected to perform such miracles of conviction in this country, and which were deemed of so irresistible a character by the excited colonists, came to be viewed more calmly by their friends at home, the danger of giving them publicity was at once seen ; and though the force of this evidence had been so much vaunted in anticipation, even by the West Indian Reporter, yet it has been unsparingly stifled, and seems now doomed, if possible, to utter oblivion. Not a copy of it, we believe, has been suffered to escape ; and all that is known of it is from the scanty notices of the Jamaica journals.

But how came the West Indian Reporter to have disturbed this prudent silence? Whence the strange folly of *publishing*, as well as printing its misplaced eulogy on evidence, only partially known, and which it has been now found necessary to suppress? It will be for its conductors to explain this. We suspect, but we do not vouch for the correct-

ness of the suspicion, that the editors deceived by the strong representations of their angry and over-zealous friends abroad, and, to use their own phrase, not believing it possible "that the Jamaicans could have such a set of madmen at the head of their councils" as it now appears they have; proceeded in that belief to frame the 16th number of their Reporter, before they had yet received and weighed the examinations from which so much was expected; but that when, having seen and weighed them, they discovered their error, and how egregiously they had been misled, it was then probably too late to prevent all the effects of their hasty confidence, as many copies of the work had prematurely been permitted to circulate. They could not have expected so sad a reverse as has since taken place; and, admiring the energy of their own production, were naturally eager to give it effect, by circulating it even before they had seen the whole of the evidence. At present, we doubt not, they regret their precipitancy, as the subsequent suppression of the evidence only converts their argument into a confirmation of our view of the nature and tendency of the whole of this abortive contrivance for vindicating the cruel and persecuting clauses of the act of 1826, and expelling the missionaries from Jamaica.

2. Condition of the Slaves in the West Indies.

Number XVIII of the West India Reporter, containing twelve closely printed pages, is occupied with a feeble attempt to prove that the *present* condition of the negroes in the West Indies is a state of unexampled enjoyment. It commences with a reference to the testimony "of impartial witnesses, the governors, naval and military officers, visitors," &c. the same parties who, in 1790, proved, with equal clearness, the innate humanity and loveliness of the African slave trade. This is followed by an anonymous letter from Jamaica, (dated July 30, 1795!!) which demonstrates that the slaves "*are in a far better situation than the labourers at home.*" This letter we leave to be refuted by the pamphlet of Mr. Dwaris and the speeches of Lord Seaford, the burden of whose song is, in concert with the great body of West Indian writers of the present day and with Mr. Barclay among the rest, that all the improvements which now render the state of the colonial slave the just envy of the British peasant, are the growth of the last twenty years.—The next witnesses produced are more modern, but they are also anonymous, and cannot weigh one feather's weight in this controversy, viz. an obscure periodical work called "*The Spectator,*"* and a publication entitled "*Sketches and Recollections of the West Indies.*" And this array is brought up by the discredited and exploded work of Mr. Barclay, respecting which we have only to reiterate our oft repeated and as often declined challenge to the West India Committee, (see No. 44, p. 396.) "*to point out any one of the propositions advanced in Mr. Stephen's Delineation of the Law of West India Slavery as it existed in 1823, when he penned his invaluable production,*" which has been refuted, or

* Credit is claimed for this work on the ground of its avowed impartiality. And yet, when a paper was transmitted to its Editor, disproving every assertion it had made in favour of West Indian slavery, the paper was rejected. Such is its impartiality!

in any degree invalidated by Mr. Barclay. That challenge being still declined, we leave this fresh attempt of those who bolster up their desperate cause by again producing Mr. Barclay as their champion to its fate. In the mean time we again refer those who desire information on the subject, to Nos. 18, 19, 37, and 40 of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

3. *Consolidated Slave Law.*

A great part of the *West India Reporter*, No. 19, is occupied by a discussion of the *Consolidated Slave Law* of 1825, many of the most salutary clauses of which are attacked with no small degree of zeal and perverted ingenuity. We leave its defence to its parliamentary framer, Dr. Lushington, whenever it shall be deemed expedient to propose its alteration. In the mean time we rejoice that Sir George Murray has added to his other claims on public gratitude, that of having permitted the clauses of this act, which gave to His Majesty's Government the power of licensing the removal of slaves from one colony to another, to expire, as they did at the close of the last Session. The door is thus shut against the recurrence of those abuses, to which the continuance of such a power might have given birth.

4. *The West India Committee and its Mercenaries.*

An article bearing this title, which appeared in our No. 45, p. 427, has excited the ire of the *West Indian Reporter*. He does not deny our general statements, but only retorts them.—If the *West India Committee* has its pro-slavery rent levied on all colonial imports,* the *Anti-Slavery Committee* has also its contributions from all parts of the kingdom. If the advocates of the colonial cause are largely remunerated by the *West India Committee*, so, the writers of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, and the authors of the *Anti-Slavery* articles which appear in the *Edinburgh Review*, are remunerated from the funds of the *Anti-Slavery Society*. And as we called upon the *West India Committee* for a detail of their expenditure, so does he call on the *Anti-Slavery Committee* for a similar disclosure. This last request, we beg to inform him, has been complied with; a full and explicit statement of all the *Anti-Slavery Society's* receipts and payments has been regularly printed and extensively circulated, and is open to his inspection. And although we never intended to affirm or even to insinuate that the mere circumstance of receiving a fair remuneration for work done, is at all discreditable, either to those who pay or to those who receive it, yet it is due to truth that we should state, most distinctly and unequivocally, that no writer, either in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, or on colonial subjects in the *Edinburgh Review*, has ever received, directly

* The *West Indian Reporter* affects to deny the extent of the sum thus raised, and which we had conjectured might amount to £20,000. He can easily set us right in this respect. Our conjecture rests on a circular, signed Alexander Macdonnell, Secretary, and dated *West India Dock House*, 15th July, 1825, announcing an impost of sixpence on every cask of sugar, coffee, or rum, brought to this country, and on other articles in like proportion. Now, at this rate, the three articles which are particularly specified, viz. sugar, coffee, and rum, ought to yield, on the whole amount of their annual import into Great Britain and Ireland, at least £12,500. What may be the amount of all the other articles of import cannot be calculated with any thing like the same approximation to accuracy; but it must be very considerable:

or indirectly, from the Anti-Slavery Committee, or from any other person in their behalf, a single sixpence for any thing which has ever appeared in either of these works. This we assert solemnly, deliberately, and most confidently, without the slightest qualification or reservation whatsoever; and we include in this formal, and absolute, and sweeping denial, all that is said of “*hired orators*,” and “*mercenary authorlings*,” and “*offers of remuneration to authors if they will write against the West India colonies*.”

5. *Challenge of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.*

In our two last numbers, in commenting on the language of crimination employed respecting us by the British Critic, (No. 48, p. 488.) and by Mr. Irving in the House of Commons, (No. 49, p. 11.) we use words to this effect. “We totally deny the truth of their criminations, and we boldly challenge them to the proof. We call upon them to specify the particular statements on which they rest their charges—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; and if they refuse to do so, will not their harsh epithets recoil upon themselves?” “We accept this challenge,” gallantly replies the West India Reporter. But how does he accept it? “We accept the challenge,” he says, “observing, that *we do not feel ourselves bound to point out ONE DIRECT CALUMNY distinctly asserted*.” In other words, we accept the challenge, but wholly decline its terms. But they add, “we could shew page after page in which the libel is conveyed to the mind through the medium of the hint, the sneer, the base insinuation, which wound more frequently and penetrate more deeply than perhaps the most violent direct charge.” And then he produces, as his illustration, our comments on the case of the Mosses, and of the returns from the Fiscal of Berbice, (see No. 47, p. 468,) which comments, we maintain, convey neither hint, nor sneer, nor base insinuation, but the direct affirmation of our firm belief, that the occurrences brought to light, in colonies where we have had access to authentic returns, exemplify what may be reasonably apprehended to have occurred, in colonies similarly circumstanced, governed by similar laws, and marked by similar manners, habits, and feelings, but from which we have had *no* returns, either because no records are kept, or because, if they are kept, they are withheld from us. Besides, can any one have forgotten the presumptions furnished to this effect by the mock trials and massacres of Barbadoes in 1816, and of Demerara and Jamaica in 1824? But, says the West India Reporter, these things are the exception, not the rule, and to ground on them a sweeping censure is a libel which has been over and over again refuted by unexceptionable testimony. Our charge, however, is against the system, which we are no more afraid of being found to libel than we should have feared to be deemed guilty of libelling the slave trade in 1789, by describing it as a system of cruelty and blood, though Governors, and Generals, and Admirals, and planters, and merchants concurred in extolling its beauty and humanity, and though we were charged on their testimony, then as now, with malignantly substituting the exception for the rule. We deny the charge. The particular instances we at any time cite are merely illus-

trative and corroborative of the innate and incurable iniquity of any system which subsists by making man the slave and chattel of his fellow man.

So much for the five contemporaneous numbers of the West India Reporter.

III.—THE COMPULSORY MANUMISSION CLAUSE.

A PAPER printed by the House of Commons, June 2, 1829, and numbered 301, contains the "Copy of an Order in Council respecting the Manumission of Slaves in Demerara and Berbice, which has been issued since the examination of evidence upon that subject before the Privy Council." After reciting the substance of the petitions presented to the Privy Council, their Lordships state, that having considered those petitions, and heard evidence upon them, they did, on the 18th March, 1829,

"Agree humbly to Report, as their opinion, to your Majesty, that no sufficient cause hath been shewn why your Majesty should rescind so much of the Berbice Ordinance, as enables the slaves within the said colony to effect the purchase of their freedom upon an appraisement, in cases where the owners of any such slaves may not be consenting, or, by reason of some legal disability, may be unable to give any valid consent to such purchase; and they have further agreed humbly to report as their opinion, to your Majesty, that it may be expedient that your Majesty in your Privy Council, should issue an Order, confirming and giving effect to the said Ordinance, with such modifications, with a view to the more effectual execution thereof, as may appear advisable; regard being had to the laws of the said colony, which laws your Majesty has been graciously pleased to preserve and maintain. And his Majesty having taken the said Report into consideration, was pleased, by, and with the advice of his Privy Council, to approve thereof."

We are most anxious to know the result of this important decision. The clause on manumission, as it now stands in the Berbice Order, is so framed as to defeat, instead of accomplishing its own professed object, and the intentions of his Majesty. An account of its many defects may be found in our 28th Number, p. 93, and thither we refer those whom it concerns. We sincerely trust that those defects will now be remedied, as otherwise the order will be unavailing to any very beneficial purpose.

IV.—NATIVES OF SOUTH AFRICA.

ANOTHER gratifying proof of the effective liberality and just and enlightened views of his Majesty's Government is afforded us by another document, laid before Parliament on the 12th June, 1829, numbered 339, being "an Ordinance for improving the condition of the Hottentots, and other free persons of colour, at the Cape of Good Hope, and for consolidating and amending the laws affecting these persons."

The provisions of this Ordinance, which first emanated from the local Government at the Cape, on the 17th July, 1828, appear to be excellently adapted to their professed object of effectually securing the rights and liberties of the native Africans, and other free persons of colour, from the dreadful oppressions and spoliations to which they have so long been subjected. In giving to those provisions the Royal sanction, which was done on the 15th January, 1829, the following clear, unambiguous, and decisive terms are employed.

“ His Majesty is graciously pleased, by and with the advice and consent of His Privy Council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, That the said Ordinance shall be, and is hereby ratified, confirmed and allowed, and finally enacted: And for the prevention of any doubt which might arise upon the construction of the said Ordinance, His Majesty is further pleased, with the advice aforesaid, to declare and it is hereby ordered and declared, That all Hottentots and other free persons of colour, lawfully residing within the said Colony, are and shall be, in the most full and ample manner, entitled to all and every the rights, privileges and benefits of the law, to which any other His Majesty’s subjects, lawfully residing within the said Colony, are or can be entitled: Provided always, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to abrogate or annul the provisions made by the said Ordinance, for the good government of such Hottentots or other such free persons of colour, or any of those provisions: And it is hereby further ordered, That it shall not be lawful for any person within the said Colony, to whom any Hottentot or free person of colour hath been apprenticed, or to whom any such Hottentot or free person of colour hath entered into any contract of service, to detain or take in execution the person of any such Hottentot, or of any such free person of colour, for or by reason of any debt due and owing, or alleged to be due and owing to any such master or employer, by any such Hottentot or free person of colour: And it is hereby further ordered, That this present Order and the Ordinance hereby confirmed, shall not in anywise be altered, repealed or amended, by any law or ordinance to be hereafter made by the Governor or the Officer administering the government of the said colony, with the advice of the Legislative Council thereof, unless such Ordinance shall have been first expressly ratified, confirmed and allowed by His Majesty, with the advice of his Privy Council; and that every such Ordinance or pretended Ordinance, until so ratified, confirmed and allowed, shall be void and of no effect, and shall not be enforced or carried into execution by any of His Majesty’s Courts, Judges, Justices, Officers and others, within the said Colony.”

V.—FREE BLACKS AND PEOPLE OF COLOUR.

WE noticed in our last number the spirit of justice and liberality which characterized the order, issued by the King in Council, relative to his Majesty’s subjects of free condition, but of African descent, in Trinidad. A similar Order has been issued for the island of St. Lucia. It is to the following effect:

“ Whereas his Majesty, taking into his gracious consideration the loyalty and good conduct of persons of free condition of African birth and descent, inhabiting the island of St. Lucia, and having considered the restrictions under which they laboured, by virtue of laws passed previous to the cession of the island, has been pleased, by his Order in Council, issued at the court at Windsor on the 15th of January last, to order that all laws, edicts, and ordinances having the force and effect of law at any time heretofore made or promulgated within the island, whereby free persons of African birth or descent were subjected to any disabilities or restrictions to which other free persons inhabiting the said island were not subject, should be, and the same were, thereby repealed, and for ever annulled and cancelled.

“ The Governor doth hereby announce and promulgate such his Majesty’s gracious pleasure; and therefore all such laws, and all such edicts and ordinances whatever, are declared to have been by the said Order in Council repealed, and for ever annulled and cancelled.

“ The Governor is assured that the parties in whose favour this Order has been issued, will show by their future conduct, and by their readiness and zeal in coming forward, without distinction of class, for the maintenance of order, as they have hitherto done, that they entertain a due sense of the King’s gracious regard for them.

“ Given at the Government House, Castries, 6th of April, 1829.”

We cordially rejoice in the progressive extension of such just and

beneficent principles, principles which are every way worthy of British statesmen, and more truly honourable to them than the laurels that shade their brows; and which, afford to suffering humanity a dawning hope of brighter and better days. And it is most cheering also to perceive that the operation of these principles is not confined to the British empire. We have been assured by Mr. Rocafuerte, the Mexican ambassador, that in the great and populous province which he represents, those illiberal distinctions of colour, which the fastidiousness of Castilian pride had created and so long cherished in that soil, have nearly vanished; and this, not only as they respect civil and political rights, but as they respect the feelings, associations, and habits of social and domestic life; rank, property, talents, and education, unaffected by mere colour, forming the grand passports to eminence and respect. Nothing could prove this more clearly than the recent elevation of Guerrero, by the free suffrages of his countrymen, to the first office in the state, although he is the son of a negress by a mulatto, or what in our West-India colonies is known by the name of a Sambo.

VI.—CULTURE OF SUGAR BY FREE LABOUR.

IN a former number of our work, No. 37, p. 251, we quoted the authority of Mr. Ward, our envoy to Mexico, in proof of the possibility of profitably cultivating sugar, even in gangs, by free labour. This important fact is now officially notified to us by the production, on the table of Parliament, of a despatch from Mr. Ward, addressed to Mr. Canning from Mexico, on the 13th of March, 1826. We should have inserted this document at length had we had room. We must at present postpone it.

VII.—FRENCH SLAVE TRADE.

WE extract the following passage from the last number (that for June, 1829,) of the *Journal of the Society de la morale Chretienne*, at Paris.

“A letter from Martinique, of the 9th of February, informs us that seven slave ships have landed their cargoes in that colony. The first on the 4th of November, 1828, in the parish of François, contained 385 slaves, who were publicly sold on the plantation Hardy; the second, on the 12th of November, 500 slaves, in the parish of the Trinity, on the plantation Beausejour; the third, (a brig called *l'Entrepreneur*;) on the 24th of November, 1828, 212 slaves, in the parish of François, on the plantation Blamprés; the fourth on the 4th of December, having 130 slaves, in the same parish, on the plantation Hardy; the fifth, 200 slaves, on the 10th of December, on the plantation *Moulin-a-vent*, in the same parish; the sixth on the 13th of December, 180 slaves, on the plantation *La Pointe*; and the seventh on the 5th of January, 1829, on the plantation Hardy, by the schooner *la Folie*, 114 slaves. It appears that these slave ships belonged to Martinique, and had taken out their clearances for the island of St. Thomas, (on the coast of Africa). Twenty-five or thirty of the wretched slaves were ill, and have died since their arrival, and the pains were not taken even to bury them.”

Thus do the French observe their solemn treaties on this subject!

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I. REVELATION OF COLONIAL SECRETS.

II. CULTURE OF SUGAR BY FREE LABOUR; III. MAURITIUS.

I. REVELATION OF COLONIAL SECRETS.

IN our last Number (p. 24) we adverted to the language of exultation used by the West India Committee in London, (assuming *them* to be virtually the authors of the West India Reporter) in speaking of the evidence taken by the Jamaica House of Assembly, in order to justify their persecuting enactments against the sectarian Missionaries; and we stated that, notwithstanding the important ends which it was most unhesitatingly affirmed that it would answer, it had since been prudently suppressed by this same Committee. The inferences we drew from the rash eulogy on that evidence which, prior to its reaching their hands, they pronounced upon it; and from the large expectation of benefits by its general diffusion which they then indulged; combined with its total suppression since the whole of it has been before them; have been curiously confirmed by a recent publication in a Jamaica newspaper, the postscript to the Royal Gazette of the 23rd of May last. In that paper is inserted the "Extract of a letter from a respectable West India Proprietor, (in London) dated the 2nd April," 1829, the greater part of which extract we shall transcribe for the edification of our readers.

"The Session of Parliament," says this respectable proprietor, "has naturally renewed the interest which you take in the advices from England, and the extraordinary circumstances which have distinguished the proceedings of the legislature this year, must inspire you with the utmost wonder and alarm. I am not now about to weary you with my sentiments on the approaching emancipation of the Catholics, but to remark on the situation in which the West India Colonies will be placed as soon as that measure is accomplished. So long as *it* remains in dispute, so long the West Indians are safe, if not from attack, at least from danger. But I tremble to think of the consequences when the British ministry and the British public are at leisure to turn their eyes to the islands so much farther west from Ireland. The Morning Journal of the 26th March did not hesitate to declare, that the Duke of Wellington intended to introduce a bill for full uncompensated Emancipation of the negroes, as soon as the Catholic relief bill had received the Royal Assent. This assertion was contradicted the same evening by the Courier, and there can be no doubt that the contradiction may fairly be believed to come from authority. So far so good. But the Morning Journal of the next day returns to the charge, and reaffirms his assertion. I am no believer in the Morning Journal, nor is it of any importance whether the Duke made any such declaration or denies it. His denial, it is evident from

experience, will not retard him from adopting any course that may occur to him ; and therefore it is necessary to look at what the ordinary course of events must produce. That will and must be a renewed agitation of the Slavery Question by our opponents, with increased means of annoyance, arising from the comparative leisure of Government and the tranquillity of the people. The latter will have nothing to excite them, and the English seem unable to live without excitation ; and the curtain having dropped over the scene exhibiting Mr. O'Connell's entrance into Parliament, will have to be drawn up again to the first scene of the first act of the West Indies in an Uproar—a Comedy, I hope, it will prove, but it may turn out a terrible Tragedy.*

“ Never, therefore, was a crisis when the union of all West India interests required a stricter consolidation ; and it is lamentable to observe that discord seems so prevalent. The planters abroad find fault with the planters at home for not defending their interests better, and the discontent is shared by many members of the general body even at home. I am persuaded this feeling arises partly from ignorance and partly from prejudice. You abroad will not consider that we have an up-hill battle to fight, and overlook the circumstance that the success of the exertions of the West India body here is to be estimated, not by the victories we gain, but by the possessions we preserve. Our line is the defensive : we cannot advance without almost the certainty of defeat and ruin. We press for a repeal of the sugar duties, or a reduction. The minister refuses. Appeal to the public, cry the agitators, muster your parliamentary interests and insist upon it. Why, in an instant, the minister would let loose upon us, the saints and the East Indians. We may force a reduction of the sugar duties, but if it is so obtained, it will be accompanied with an admission of foreign sugars on equal terms, or at least, on very low protecting duties. Nevertheless, it would be most prudent to strengthen the West India body, and to allay the discontents and to unite all parties in one common bond. It is intended to re-organize the Committee, which, perhaps, may infuse into it fresh vigour.

“ In the meantime, you residents in the West Indies, cut out plenty of work for us. What is to be done with the case of Jamaica is difficult to advise : you are fairly committed to hostilities with ministers on three distinct points ; the double duties, the sectarians, and the slave question. Mr. Brougham has given notice of his intention to move for leave to bring in a bill to force the adoption of the slave evidence measure in the Colonies, and if he should be supported by the government, it is not the fifty or sixty West India members who will be able to resist his motion. I firmly believe, that as much ignorance, haste, and imprudence, have been exhibited in the management of the Colonies recently, as were evinced by the ministers who produced the American war. But as government cannot now consistently recede, however much they may deplore the infatuation of their predecessors, from the line marked out for them, it is but too much to be dreaded, that they should yield to the united clamours of the Saints, the Liberals, and the Methodists.

“ Never could there have been a worse time than that unluckily chosen for a dispute with the latter mentioned class of persons. In England, the idea of oppression in religious matters will not be tolerated for an instant. The people at large are quite aware of the grasping propensities of the sectarians, and are adverse to their ambitious schemes ; but they are not yet prepared for any interference with their preachers, such as you have adopted. You have united against you a body comprising about three million of members, and clear indeed ought to be the evidence by which you shall justify your proceedings. The Anti-Slavery Reporter boldly proclaims the whole evidence to be printed, respecting the report on the sectarians, to be procured by subornation of perjury.† You must prepare, therefore, for its being most strictly investigated. I rely upon its truth ; but true or false, your fellow Colonists may be assured it will be treated as false. If it be not well supported, those who framed it may rest satisfied with the assurance that they have done more to ruin the West India cause than could have been accomplished by the united labour of years. I have no inclination to

* It can do so only through the blind folly and intemperance of the West Indians themselves.

† We challenge its ungarbled production.

criticise the conduct of the Assembly; but it is rather an awful increase of difficulty on the West Indians here, to have extraneous subjects of dispute with the government, arising from your proceedings, mixed up with the already sufficiently embarrassing question of Slavery. It will be difficult also for ministers in deciding on the part they will adopt, to avoid taking into consideration the resistance on the double duty question, and the sectarian clauses in the Slave Bill, as subjects of annoyance against you.

"The most useful study that could be recommended to your legislators would be the pages of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, in which they will regularly find all the evidence and information concentrated which are to be used against you in the House of Commons, and which have considerable effect on the people.* It is not much known except among a particular sect, but the misfortune is that it serves as a guide to the Parliamentary orators, and contains most elaborate references to all parliamentary papers which bear on the subject, and presents in one view those extracts which are most susceptible of being turned to our disadvantage. To answer this work, therefore, to have a counter-work of a similar nature is most desirable; and if your journalists would occasionally comment on its pages, it would be rendering essential service. Whatever can be done by way of counteraction will be done here; but any information that can be furnished by you will greatly assist. The *Anti-Slavery Reporter* may independently, be of little consequence, but it is very dangerous as supplying materials for debate. I remember one of Mr. Brougham's tirades, and another of Lord Suffield's, which were taken almost word for word from this work.† We here feel the difficulties arising from the pertinacious and persevering attacks of our adversaries, which you abroad affect to despise.

"A meeting has lately, I understand, been held of the West India Committee, at which it has been resolved to give fresh strength to its proceedings, by inviting the assistance of a number of individuals connected with the West Indies. The difficulty of proceeding in this respect has arisen from wishing to exclude all persons who are not really West Indian proprietors interested in the soil, as the attempts to introduce spies among them by the saints prove the necessity of doing.‡ I cannot help anticipating from this renovation that considerable vigour will be added to the body, and at all events its strength will be more consolidated and united. It is determined to prosecute with all their energies the reduction of the sugar duties, and to appeal to the people,§ in case of a failure with ministers, by another petition to parliament similar to that so ably introduced by Mr. Pallmer last year. By the bye, where was Mr. Barry's recollection in reproaching the supineness of the West Indians, when he omitted to notice Mr. Pallmer's exertions, and the speeches of Lord Seaford in the House of Lords last year, speeches which have brought down on his lordship the accumulated wrath of the saints?"||

* How different an estimate do the West Indians in reality form of this publication, from that which the British Critic has affected to form of it? We have here, in this *private* communication, not a word of its falsehood.

† How is it possible that there should not be a coincidence between the statements of these distinguished individuals and the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, when both draw their facts from the same unquestionable official sources?

‡ There is something supremely absurd in this affected fear of *espionage* on the part of the saints. While the West India body contains such members as the writer of this letter and his sage correspondent in Jamaica, and above all, while their own authenticated records are accessible, the saints need be driven to no such base expedient, even if they could stoop to its use.

§ The idea is not a little amusing of an appeal to the people of England to support, by bounties and protecting duties, the system of abomination which they have resolved to extinguish root and branch.

|| This tremendous infliction of wrath on poor Lord Seaford consists simply in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 40, which, in point of fact, is nothing more than a calm, temperate, and decisive refutation of every position in the two famous speeches of his Lordship. We now know who form the strength of the West Indian cause, in this country, even in the judgment of the West Indian party—viz. Mr. Pallmer and Lord Seaford.

II. CULTURE OF SUGAR BY FREE LABOUR.

IN our last number we promised to lay before our readers the official Report of Mr. Ward, our Mexican Envoy, on the important subject of the culture of Sugar by free labour. It is as follows:

“ Sir,

Mexico, March 13, 1826.

“ THE possibility of introducing a system of free labour into the West India Islands having been so much discussed in England, I conceived that it might not be uninteresting to His Majesty’s Government to receive some details respecting the result of the experiment in this country, where it certainly has had a fair trial.

“ I accordingly took advantage of Mr. Morier’s prolonged stay here to visit the Valley of Cuernavaca, and Cuantla Amilpas, which supplies a great part of the federation with sugar and coffee, although not a single slave is at present employed in their cultivation.

“ I have the honour to inclose a sketch of the observations which I was enabled to make upon this journey, together with such details as I have thought best calculated to show both the scale upon which these estates are worked, and the complete success with which the abolition of slavery has, in this instance, been attended.

“ The valley which extends almost uninterruptedly from Cuernavaca to Cuantla Amilpas, and Juncar, (covering a space of about forty miles,) is situated on the road to Acapulco, at the foot of the first range of mountains by which the descent from the Table Land towards the south-west commences, about fifty miles from the Capital.

“ It is about 2,000 feet lower than the Table Land of Mexico. The difference of temperature is proportionably great, so that two days are sufficient to transport the traveller into the very midst of Tierra Caliente.

“ The vicinity to the capital was probably one of the circumstances which induced the first planters to establish themselves in this district. The richness of the soil, and the abundance of water which they found throughout the plain, convinced them that they could not have made a better choice.

“ It is believed that the sugar-cane was first planted there about one hundred years ago; from that time the number of sugar-estates has gone on increasing, until there is now hardly an acre of ground on the whole plain which is not turned to account.

“ The cultivation was originally carried on entirely by slaves, who were purchased at Vera Cruz, at from 300 to 400 dollars each.

“ It was found, however, that this system was attended with considerable inconvenience, it being impossible to secure a sufficient supply of slaves during a war. The losses likewise, at all times, were great, as many of the slaves were unable to support the fatigue and changes of temperature, to which they were exposed on the journey from Vera Cruz to Cuernavaca, and perished, either on the road, or soon after their arrival.

Several of the great proprietors were induced by these circumstances to give liberty to a certain number of their slaves annually, and by encouraging marriages between them and the Indians of the country, to propagate a race of free labourers, who might be employed when a supply of slaves was no longer to be obtained.

This plan proved so eminently successful that on some of the largest estates there was not a single slave in the year 1808.

The policy of the measure became still more apparent on the breaking out of the revolution in 1810.

The planters who had not adopted the system of gradual emancipation before that period saw themselves abandoned, and were forced, in many instances, to give up working their estates, as their slaves took advantage of the approach of the insurgents to join them en masse; while those who had provided themselves with a mixed cast of free labourers, retained, even during the worst times, a sufficient number of men to enable them to continue to cultivate their lands, although upon a smaller scale.

The insurrection, however, proved highly injurious to the proprietors in

general. Most of them were Europeans, and as such, particularly obnoxious to the insurgents; and, although by coalescing amongst themselves, and maintaining a considerable armed force for their defence, they prevented the enemy on several occasions from entering the valley, they found it impossible to secure their communication with the capital, and were thus often deprived of the only market for their goods. In the year 1814 too, the siege of Cuantla, which Monelos had occupied, and which he defended for three whole months against the vice-regal army under General Calleja, spread destruction throughout the district.

“Several of the Haciendas have not even yet recovered the losses which they then sustained, and some, which were quite ruined, have never been rebuilt. In general, however, the last eight years of comparative tranquillity have been sufficient to restore things to their ancient state, and I could not learn that the produce of the different estates about Cuernavaca had ever greatly exceeded that of the last twelve months.

“The scale upon which these estates are worked is enormous. From a supposition that the ground is exhausted by two successive crops, the Mexican planters run into the contrary extreme, and divide their sugar-lands into four equal parts, one only of which is taken annually into cultivation. The remaining three are turned to no account, so that an idea may be formed of the extent of an estate upon which so enormous a quantity of land is allowed to remain unemployed.

“The largest Haciendas in the neighbourhood of Cuernavaca are those of Yemisco and San Gabriel, (both of which belong to the family of Don Gabriel Yermo, an old Spaniard, famous for the arrest of the viceroy Sturrigaray in 1808, with which the Mexican revolution may be said to have commenced), Treinta Pesos, El Puente, Meacatlan, San Easpar, and San Vicente Chicouquac. Each of these estates produces annually from 25,000 to 40,000 arrobas of sugar, of 25lbs. weight each, (about 5,250,000 lbs., taking 30,000 arrobas as the average produce,) and to this at least another million may be added, for a number of other smaller estates not included in this list.

“The crops are usually most abundant, the cane being planted much thicker than is customary in Jamaica, and the machinery, in the opinion of Dr. Wilson, who accompanied me, and who has been much in the West India Islands, is fully equal to any used in the British colonies.

“The number of workmen generally employed upon an estate capable of producing 40,000 arrobas of sugar amounts to 150, with occasional additions when the season is late, or the work has been retarded by any accidental cause.

“The labourers are mostly paid by the piece, and many of them can earn, if industrious, from six to seven rials per diem, (3s. 3d. or 3s. 9½d. English money, reckoning the dollar at 4s. 4d.)

“Fifty men are employed in watering the canes, twenty in cutting, ten in bringing the cut canes from the field, (each with six mules,) twenty-five (mostly boys) in separating the green tops, which they use for fodder, and binding up the remainder for the muleteers. Twenty men, divided into gangs of four each, in feeding the engine day and night; fourteen attend the boilers; twelve keep up the fires; four turn the cane in the sun, after the juice has been expressed, and dry it for fuel; and ten are constantly at work in the warehouse clarifying the sugar, and removing it afterwards to the general store-room, from whence it is sent to the market.

“The art of refining, though well understood, is seldom or never carried beyond the first degree of the process, there being no demand for double-refined sugar in the market; and the consequence is, that though abounding in saccharine matter, the article is for the most part coarse in appearance, and of a bad colour.

“The arroba of 25 lbs. sells in Mexico for about three dollars, or two dollars and a half, if not of the best quality. The great Haciendas expend in wages to the workmen, and other current charges, from 800 to 1,200 dollars a week.

“It often happens, however, that in a good year the sale of the molasses alone is sufficient to defray this expense, so that the sugar remains a clear profit.

“For every arroba of sugar an equal quantity of molasses is produced, which sells, at the door of the Hacienda, for five rials and a half the arroba. It is bought up by the proprietors of the small distilleries, which abound to such a

degree, that in the neighbourhood of Cuernavaca alone from 25,000 to 30,000 barrels of Chingarito (a sort of rum) are made annually.

“The distance from Cuernavaca to Cuantla is about twenty-five miles; and, with the exception of a ridge of mountains which separates the two valleys, the whole intervening space is richly cultivated.

“After passing through the village of Yantepec, which lies at the foot of the mountain, there is a constant succession of Haciendas, most of which appear admirably kept up.

“The most remarkable in the district of Cuantla are San Carlos, Pantitlan, Cocoyóc, Calcleron, Casasano, Santa Ines, Cohahuistla, Napastlan, and Yenestepango, none of which produce less than 30,000 arrobas of sugar annually, while the annual produce of some (Cohahuistla and Yenestepango) may be estimated at from 40,000 to 50,000.

“The Haciendas of Cocoyóc and Pantitlan enjoy the additional advantage of being not only sugar but coffee-estates.

“Their owner, Don Antonio Velasco, introduced, at a great expense, from Cordova, the cultivation of this plant, which has succeeded perfectly. He has now upon his two estates upwards of 500,000 plants, 50,000 of which are already in full vigour. The produce of the last year amounted to 5,000 arrobas, or 125,000 lbs. of coffee, and as a great number of the young plants will begin to bear this year, it is supposed that the amount will be more than doubled.

“Coffee is now selling at seven dollars the arroba in Mexico. Its cultivation would therefore prove indefinitely more advantageous than that of the cane, if the demand were equally great. But coffee is by no means in general use in this country, nor is Cuantla the only place from whence this demand can be supplied.

“There are immense coffee plantations in the vicinity of Cordova, and the whole of the Eastern coast is of course supplied by the nearest market. Were this not the case the speculation would prove a very lucrative one, as a coffee-estate of 200,000 plants does not require the constant attendance of above twenty men, (to weed and water,) and consequently entails upon the proprietor but little expense.

“The average produce of each tree may be estimated at two pounds and a half.

“The young plants require great care and attention, and must be protected from the sun for two whole years. For this purpose a large piece of ground is covered in, which is called the semillero. The third year the young trees are transplanted to the open field, where they begin almost immediately to produce something, and the fourth they may be reckoned in full vigour. They last from five and twenty to thirty years.

“I saw most of the Haciendas enumerated in the preceding list; but was struck with none so much as with Santa Ines, which is beautifully kept up. It is almost the only estate which possesses a large distillery, which produces from 4,000 to 5,000 barrels of Chingarito yearly.

“The barrel in Mexico is worth twenty-four dollars, with duties and carriage deducted; an idea may be formed by this of the immense annual value of the estate.

“Cohahuistlan might be still more productive, as it is much more extensive, and commands a greater supply of water, but it is not done justice to. The estate belongs to the convent of Dominican Friars; and as the abbot is changed by the rules of the order every three years, the overseers of the Hacienda are usually changed with him, and they consequently allow every thing to go to ruin.

“In general, the fertility of an estate depends entirely upon the supply of water: the produce of those which have only enough for irrigation, and are forced to work their wheels by mules, will seldom be found, whatever may be the quality of the soil, to amount to one third of those which can command a sufficient supply for both purposes.

“In the quality of the soil there is but little difference.

“The average annual produce of all the estates it would hardly be possible to compute.

“The greatest part of it is sent to the capital, from whence it is distributed to the different provinces; muleteers, however, often come direct from the interior.

"It is a curious fact, that an immense quantity of sugar is yearly remitted to Vera Cruz, not for exportation, but for the home consumption of a province which might produce sugar enough to supply all Europe if it chose to turn to account the advantages with which nature has so richly endowed it.

"The most remarkable circumstance, however, is the total abolition of slavery in a district where such a mass of colonial fruits is produced, and the success with which the introduction of free labour has been attended; it is this which has induced me to lay these observations before His Majesty's Government, and to hope that they may be esteemed not wholly unworthy of its attention.

Right Hon. G. Canning, &c. &c.

(signed)

"H. G. WARD."

III. MAURITIUS.

SINCE the publication of our last number two very important papers, printed by order of the House of Commons, have reached us. One (of 1st June 1829, No. 292), is a Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry, Messrs. Colebrooke and Blair, on the Slave Trade of the Mauritius; the other (of 12th June 1829, No. 338, being also a Report from the same gentlemen,) refers to the law and state of Slavery in that colony. The evidence on which these reports proceed is so very voluminous, that the printing of it has been delayed until a selection of such parts as may be material to the questions at issue shall have been made; and in the mean time it is open at the Colonial Office to the inspection of any member of Parliament who may choose to examine it. The whole will, of course, be accessible to the Parliamentary Committee which is to be appointed in the ensuing session, for the investigation of the Mauritius Slave trade. Under these circumstances, we shall abstain from entering minutely into a consideration of the Report of the Commissioners on that subject, only remarking that, as far as we can judge from the rapid outline there given of the bearing of the evidence, it goes substantially to establish the statements made to the House of Commons by Mr. Buxton, in the session of 1826, in respect to the prevalence and extent of the Mauritius Slave trade, the frauds and evasions as well as the atrocities to which that trade gave birth, and the remarkable impunity which has attended all classes of its criminal agents and abettors. But on that wide field it would be premature to enter. We shall confine ourselves at present to some collateral points, which seem to us of high importance, and to deserve the attentive consideration, not of the public only, but of his Majesty's government and of Parliament.

1. We have often been thought to deal unfairly by the owners of Slaves in our colonies, when we have refused to admit their testimony in favour of their own system, (although such testimony amounts to no more at best than the substitution of the plea of Not Guilty in the place of legal evidence;) or when we have ventured, as in our last number (p. 26,) and on many former occasions, to warn our readers against the effects of that sympathy of interest and fellow feeling among them which tends to produce a general and firm combination of all the members of the dominant class, not only in defending *per fas et nefas* the worst abuses of their system, but in oppressing and persecuting every individual of their body who may dare to assist in exposing its incurable wickedness. But have we really merited the charge of unfairness on

this account? We think not. In addition to the innumerable proofs which have been exhibited of such combinations from the year 1787 to the present day, we have it now in our power to corroborate what have been deemed our harsh and groundless imputations, by the testimony of his Majesty's Commissioners, whose report is now before us. "Although the investigation of such a subject as the Slave trade," these gentlemen observe, "would at any time have been unpopular with the inhabitants (of the Mauritius,) it was apparent to us on our arrival that circumstances had caused a strong repugnance to prevail against it." "As it might be supposed that many individuals were deeply interested in evading the retrospect into their former proceedings, they would take advantage of their influence and of the situation of the community, to awaken a general apprehension of the consequences of such an investigation as that with which we were charged, and of the risk attending any admission of the extent to which the Slave trade had been carried on and encouraged." And it has even appeared to the Commissioners "that the community had tacitly, if not expressly," "entered into a general resolution to make no admission that the Slave trade had been encouraged by the inhabitants, or carried on to any extent in the colony." They therefore have felt themselves bound to state, "that the difficulties of the inquiry, from the general unpopularity attending it have been considerable;" nor have they "deemed it proper *at this stage of the inquiry*, and in the *present* temper of the community, to disclose to parties the names of their accusers," because as there is a "prevalent impression of the hostility of the community against persons making accusations of Slave trading," and examples of "prosecutions sustained" by those persons; such disclosures would have been construed into an intention, on the part of the Commissioners, "to discourage persons from coming forward" to give evidence on the subject. In the mean time the witnesses were made to subscribe their statements, and were warned that they should be held responsible for them, and would be liable to be called on to confirm them judicially. The Commissioners farther intimate that they had every reason given to them to apprehend that "the extensive powers of the police department had been unjustly exercised to the prejudice" of persons who had given information respecting the Slave trade and had thereby incurred the hostility of the community; and they express their solicitude, particularly in the case of one individual who had made a frank confession of his own delinquencies, that "in giving publicity to his information, care may be taken that *he* shall not be made to suffer from the consequences of the voluntary avowal of his past conduct." The danger, however, appears to be still more imminent in the case of slaves or of liberated captives who may be instrumental in making known infractions of the abolition law; and it is manifest both from the present report and from a variety of past occurrences, (see for examples the case of Pedro, vol. ii. p. 384, and that of Troptard, 14th Report of the African Institution, p. 23,) that nothing but the most energetic and determined interference of the government can save such persons so informing from the effects of a cruel and remorseless vengeance. Now what does all this indicate but a community made up of confederates

in crime, hardened, by the kindred employments of Slave trading and Slave driving and by mutual countenance and support in evil, to deliberate combinations for purposes the most foul and lawless, and to the perpetration of whatever deeds of ferocity may be necessary for securing their fraudulent or blood-stained acquisitions? And such confederacies belong not to the Mauritius alone; they belong essentially and inherently to every community on which Slavery exercises the same withering and demoralizing influence.

But in thus adverting to some of the characteristic peculiarities which attach more or less to the holders and drivers of Slaves in our colonial possessions, we have no intention of instituting any complimentary distinction in favour of those in this country, who, though removed from any actual manipulation in these guilty transactions, yet derive thence the wealth and influence which enable them to uphold so nefarious a system. On the contrary, we would call on such to consider whether their share of the guilt be not at least as great as that of the agents by whose services they are enriched. Even the splendour and luxurious profusion of a dinner at the Albion, with all its costly viands, and rich wines, and delicious fruits, and dulcet strains, and soothing speeches, cannot wholly veil, even from the view of those who share in these festivities, the unhallowed and polluted sources of this lavish expenditure, or the sordid and selfish purposes which it is vainly hoped and intended to promote—We say *vainly*; for we believe the decree is gone forth, and is stamped deep in the heart of every true friend of his country and his kind, whether in the administration or out of it, which shall sweep away root and branch the abominations of colonial despotism, and all those “refuges of lies” by which alone that despotism has been upheld; nor can its final success be prevented, however it may be retarded, by the most exquisite refinements of the culinary art, or by healths five fathoms deep, even though a scion of the highest ranks of the peerage should condescend to be the master of the feast.

2. But there is another and if possible a still more important consideration arising out of this report, to which we are anxious to direct the attention of the public, and still more of his Majesty’s Government; and that is, the numerous acts of gross injustice under which multitudes of our fellow subjects are at this moment suffering the severest of all penalties which human beings can endure, the loss of personal liberty, inflicted upon them by the barefaced violation of solemn parliamentary enactments; an infliction, from which we are bound, by every obligation divine and human, to see that they are relieved. Here is an object for prosecuting, to its complete termination, the inquiry entered into by Mr. Buxton, and now further developed in the Report before us, which far surpasses in importance any consideration of personal delinquency or personal punishment. Even if that inquiry should issue in the legal acquittal and impunity of every individual who has been charged as participating in the crime of Slave trading, or as aiding and abetting it by his neglect or connivance, it would not be the less incumbent upon us to prosecute the investigation for the sake of redressing the wrongs which have been illegally inflicted upon, and are at this moment enduring by, thousands of our fellow subjects, equally entitled to the

effectual protection of British law as any one of ourselves, or as any member of his Majesty's Government, or of the British Parliament. The momentous case to which we solemnly invoke the public attention will be best understood by some extracts from the Report before us.

The Commissioners, after entering into a great variety of details to shew not only the extent of the illegal importations into the Mauritius, but the gross frauds that have been continually practising with respect to the registration of slaves, state, (p. 33,) that they had adopted the course of bringing to the knowledge of the Governor (Sir Lowry Cole,) "any infraction of the law which became known to them in the course of their inquiry, and which had not been prosecuted,"—comprehending either direct charges of slave trading, or frauds in violation of the Orders for the registration of slaves—and that in this course they had persevered, "although informed by the Governor of the objection he entertained to the prosecution of parties for former offences," and that it was not his intention "to originate any proceedings."—They then go on to remark: "In respectfully calling your attention" (namely, that of the Secretary of state,) "to the correspondence which has passed between the Governor and ourselves, and especially to the expression of the injustice of proceeding against past offences, *even in cases where the liberty of so many persons, who may be found to be illegally held in slavery, is involved* ; while we differ entirely from this opinion, as well as from that on which General Darling grounded his objection to carry into effect the orders conveyed in Lord Bathurst's despatch of the 20th July, 1819, for taking charge of the unregistered negroes; we shall only say that, for the sake of our inquiries, we have had reason to regret that the Governor should not have taken a different view of a question *involving the conduct of public servants, the interests of public justice, and THE RIGHTS OF PERSONS WHO ARE ENTITLED TO THE PROTECTION OF THE LAWS.*

"If the parties formerly condemned in penalties were, for the most part, persons who were without the means of paying them, it is only to be regretted that men of property who promoted the slave trade within the colony, should so generally have been allowed to escape; and in the cases where the owners of the slaves are themselves charged with having illegally imported them, we cannot conceive that the rights of the negroes can justly be affected by any question, as to the period when the law was violated; nor can the individuals who may be proved to have fraudulently registered them as their slaves, plead the injustice of being made to forfeit the advantages they had acquired in direct violation of the law," p. 35.

Some very gross cases are then stated, in which Sir Lowry Cole had refused to enforce the penalties of the law against the guilty parties; although for the desire which has been evinced by him to prevent future acts of slave trading, and future frauds in the registration of slaves, the Commissioners give him the fullest credit. "But," they add, "with whatever integrity the laws may have lately been upheld, we cannot but perceive very unfavourable effects likely to arise from the reluctance evinced to bring to justice persons implicated in past offences against the laws, and from the unsatisfactory proceedings in the courts

in some cases. Considering the large amount of penalties in which parties have been condemned, the trivial instances in which these penalties have been enforced, and the unsatisfactory result of the few prosecutions for the felony which have taken place in the colony, the inhabitants must naturally have become confident in their belief that if violations of the law are concealed for a time, and the parties can elude the immediate vigilance of the authorities, some casual change, by removing those who are responsible for neglect, may absolve them from the consequences; nor could the zeal and activity of some public officers counteract the general want of energy on the part of the colonial functionaries in the enforcement of laws which must be still characterized as unpopular.

“Notwithstanding the motives now operating with the inhabitants in restraining them from any *daring* violations of the law, and from their former *clamorous* opposition to it, we can discover no essential change in the public opinion on the subject which would more justify a general indemnity for past offences, than a relaxed execution of the law at the present moment, when the temptation to practise frauds and evasions is so greatly facilitated, by the situation of these islands, and their vicinity to countries subject to imperfect regulation, and over which no control can be exercised.

“*We have taken occasion to notice some of the frauds and perjuries which have been traced in the registry; but notwithstanding their admitted existence, we are not aware of a single instance in which the right of a negro to his freedom has been declared or recognized by the inhabitants, or the least hesitation evinced in placing indiscriminately, on the new registers, those whom the parties must have known to have been illegally imported.* This has been done in cases where they have not previously been registered, or where the registers containing the names had been marked by the court on account of the frauds they contained, and in some instances where the individuals registering the slaves had stolen them after they were landed by the slave traders, and even when they had been seized and condemned to the crown.

“Considering the extent to which these crimes and others have been committed, we can neither subscribe to the justice nor the policy of opposing any obstacle to the vindication of the rights of those whose freedom has thus been compromised,” p. 36.

“With regard to the penalties already adjudged in the Vice Admiralty Court, amounting to £124,000, we think it will be expedient in the first instance to direct their impartial enforcement; and as to several of the parties who were not tried for the felony, and who with others absconded to Bourbon, and have resided in the foreign settlements where they continue to carry on the slave trade, their apprehension might be accomplished by direct application to the foreign governments in whose settlements they have taken refuge, and also by the publication of rewards. With exception of those who have continued to violate the laws, we think that a remission of the penalties might be accorded to the parties making a full acknowledgment of their proceedings and connections in the colony, and thus facilitating the redemption from slavery of the negroes they had imported. In the same view we

recommend that the law officers of the crown, as well as the guardian of slaves, may have full access (AT PRESENT WITHHELD!!) to the original records of the Slave Register Office whenever they may require to refer to them." p. 37.

The Commissioners recommend a variety of other expedients, both for detecting the frauds and the felonies already committed, and thus restoring the unhappy victims of these crimes to the freedom to which they are legally entitled; and for preventing the renewal of such atrocities in future. Most of these suggestions seem to deserve the favourable consideration and early adoption of Government; and we cannot but hope that if adopted they will prove effectual to their end.

We lay our account indeed with a great clamour being raised by the colonists against this righteous proceeding. And yet upon what plea or even pretence can they dare to oppose it? Our ears, it is true, have been long familiarized to hear British Acts of Parliament pleaded as the warrant, formerly even for the Slave Trade itself, and now for the retaining of men, women, and children, born under the king's allegiance, in a state of cruel, hopeless, and interminable bondage. And grieved are we to admit that there exists, in the unchristian and unconstitutional enactments of the British statute book, even the shadow of a ground for such a plea. May the foul blot be speedily effaced!—But in the present case even this humiliating plea is wanting. The enactments of the British parliament are here most decidedly and unequivocally in favour of the rights of the pretended slave, in opposition to the usurpation of the master. The slave, in this case, is free by express and special statute; and by the same statute he who holds him in bondage is branded as a felon of the worst description. And can it be permitted, that, in this case alone, the felon should be allowed to enjoy his plunder undisturbed, and quietly to reap the fruit of his crime, when by such a permission we entail, on the victims of that crime and on their descendants for ever, the curse of slavery with all its tremendous appurtenances of unceasing and uncompensated toil, of stripes and chains, of degradation and torture. Of such "a decision" the British Government are wholly incapable. But if *they* could hesitate as to the course incumbent on them, the voice of the country would speak too plainly to be resisted. Even Europe, nay, the world at large, would cry shame upon us, if after our zealous diplomatic efforts to induce other nations to abolish the Slave Trade, we were ourselves thus to palter with our plain and obvious, our often admitted and solemnly professed obligations. Every slave illegally introduced into the Mauritius, as well as every slave fraudulently entered in the Registry, is free in law, and is as much entitled to the possession and protection of his liberty as any one inhabitant of this favoured land. Can a single doubt be entertained on this subject?—Let then the felon planter, who will be affected by this act of justice, clamour as he may. Our path is plain; and greatly must we have mistaken the character of him who now holds the seals of the Colonial Department, as well as of him who now stands at the head of the British government, if either fear or favour should induce them to swerve from their obvious line of duty, or to omit any means of vindicating the legal title of these otherwise helpless

claimants on their humanity and justice, to the full, free, and unconditional enjoyment of the rights and immunities of British subjects.

3. During the conversation which took place in the House of Commons on the 3rd of June respecting the Mauritius, Sir George Murray is reported to have said, "As to the continuation of the Slave Trade there was that in the geographical situation of the island which was extremely favourable to the prosecution of that traffic; and to that circumstance he imputed a great part of the difficulty which had been found in putting it down. He had the satisfaction however of saying, most confidently, that the difficulty had been overcome, and that the slave trade of the Mauritius no longer existed."

Disposed as we are to rely implicitly on the statements of Sir George Murray, we nevertheless cannot help entertaining some doubt of the perfect accuracy of the information on which he, probably, relies, in making this unqualified declaration as to the extinction of the Mauritius slave trade. We have been so long accustomed to similar statements, on the part of the local authorities of this island, which subsequent events have proved to be groundless, that we cannot divest ourselves of all apprehension that the assurances now given may partake of the incorrectness which has marked so many former assurances of like import. To some of these it may be useful to recur.

On the 5th of October, 1812, Sir R. Farquhar thus addresses Mr. Peel, who had written, suggesting certain inquiries on the subject. "I have made every effort on the part of my government to secure the due execution of the laws on the abolition of the slave trade, and *have every reason to think that these efforts have been completely successful through the whole extent of my government. There is therefore no point at present for me to direct my inquiries upon.*"

And yet at that moment the abolition laws had not been even registered in the Colonial Courts, and therefore had no operation there whatever. In fact they were not registered till 1814.

The above letter, however, seems to have obtained for Sir Robert the Regent's approbation, as (September 20, 1813,) we find him saying, "I am highly gratified that my exertions and vigilance in support of the abolition acts have met with the approbation of the Prince Regent."

On the 17th of May, 1814, Sir Robert thus writes to Lord Bathurst, "I can, with great truth, assure your Lordship, that I have found the current of popular feeling in this island *decidedly against* the Slave Trade, and that the inhabitants have almost universally begun to enter *cordially* into the considerations of humanity and justice which triumphed in its abolition," &c. &c.

During Sir Robert's absence from the colony, in 1818 and 1819, we find his successors denouncing, in strong terms, to Lord Bathurst, the extensive prevalence of slave trading, and the universal combination of the inhabitants of all classes in its support; and urging the adoption of the most vigorous measures of internal police as indispensable to its suppression. Sir Robert returned in July 1820, and, on the 9th of October following, he transmits to Lord Bathurst an address from the inhabitants of the colony collectively, "declaring their obedience to the abolition laws, devoting to public opprobrium those who should attempt

to infringe them, and expressing their determination to bring to justice and to remove from among them, by every legal means in their power, such as might still be wicked enough to engage in such nefarious practices." And to this piece of miserable persiflage, this hypocritical mockery of his Majesty's Government, the Governor seems to have given his authoritative credence, observing, that "it is a great satisfaction to me to be able to add, that since my arrival here *there has been no attempt* to renew this traffic at Mauritius," and expressing his trust that he shall have "the unanimous cooperation of the inhabitants" to enable him "to wipe off that stain from this part of the world."

Again, on the 28th of February, 1821, Sir Robert refers to "the *unanimous determination*" he had announced in his letter of the 9th of October, 1820, "of all the respectable inhabitants to concur, by every means in their power, to repress and extinguish the slave trade;" and then says, "it is *with the most heartfelt satisfaction I can declare, that no instance of it has been detected, or even suspected to have occurred, since my arrival in the colony,*" (viz. in July, 1820.)

These assurances are renewed on the 2nd of May, 1821, when it is added, that "the inhabitants themselves feel their true interests to consist in repelling any attempts" to import slaves. Nay, on the 14th of July, 1821, he tells his Lordship, that "the public indignation was now strongly directed against the low and desperate persons whose criminal enterprises had contributed to throw a stain on the colony."

On the 12th of July, 1822, he again assures Lord Bathurst, that with one exception since July, 1820, "this island continues free from the stigma of slave trading." And on the very eve of his final departure from the island, on the 16th of May, 1823, he renews the expression of the great satisfaction it was to him, "to leave this island freed from the stigma of the slave traffic." And on the 20th of that month he transmits a petition of the colonists, which he vouches to be correct, and in which they assert, that "notwithstanding the aspersions thrown on them, as participating largely in the slave trade," they "challenge *the testimony of the local government* in asserting, that *for many years past* that trade has been reprobated by all respectable classes; and that for the last two or three years, through the effectual and sincere cooperation of the inhabitants, it has entirely ceased." No. 236 of 1825, p. 19.

Such also is substantially the language of Sir Lowry Cole. On the 24th of November, 1824, he assures Lord Bathurst—"I have every reason to think that the introduction of slaves into the Mauritius has entirely ceased; and it is but justice to the inhabitants to say that, as far as I can judge, I perceive no disposition whatever on their parts to renew the trade in slaves, but rather a feeling of condemnation of the horrors incident to this trade seems to be gaining ground." Again, on the 25th of August, 1825, he asserts "the *extinction* of the traffic in slaves, as far as the Mauritius and its dependencies are concerned." And yet almost at the same moment, on the 28th of July, 1825, he tells Lord Bathurst—"Every day seems to convince me more and more of the *absolute nullity* of the present slave registration."

Could assurances be more solemn than were thus received at different times, during the course of twelve years, of the extinction of the

slave trade, and of the fixed determination of the inhabitants to discountenance it? During the whole of that time, however, and even to a later period, it now appears unquestionable, looking at the report of the Commissioners, that multitudes of slaves had continued to be illegally imported; and that the inhabitants were as much attached to the slave trade as ever. The government therefore during the whole of that time have been labouring under a delusion on this subject, produced by the positive statements of Sir Robert Farquhar and Sir Lowry Cole, and for aught we know of General Colville also, for we presume it is on the strength of *his* representations that Sir George Murray stated, so confidently, in his place the entire actual suppression, at the present time, of the Mauritius slave trade. Now that Sir Robert Farquhar and Sir Lowry Cole laboured under some delusion themselves, and were themselves deceived by those in whom *they* confided, may be their apology, and is certainly the supposition most favourable to them which can be made on the subject. And yet must they not have been aware, at the time they made these statements, of the strong motives which existed, in the whole body of the colonists, and even among some of their own confidential advisers, to lull their suspicions, to conceal from them or to palliate every adverse circumstance, and to obtain credit for, what was in itself wholly incredible, their own zeal for the extinction of the slave trade. We put entirely out of view any apathy in the cause of abolition which may seem to mark the conduct of these functionaries, in the almost universal impunity of detected delinquencies, and in the determined refusal to inquire into and relieve the wrongs of persons known to have been illegally enslaved; although, if we suppose the same supineness to have pervaded their exertions and inquiries in other directions, then their necessary ignorance, or their easy credulity would solve the whole difficulty. But putting this out of view, must they not have been aware, with Sir George Murray, that "the geographical situation of the island was extremely favourable to the prosecution of that traffic;" and with the Commissioners, (p. 19), that there were some months in the year during which, from the state of the periodical winds, while his Majesty's ships must necessarily be absent from their station, "the slave traders were usually most active," because then "the landing and concealment of cargoes might readily be accomplished?" And must they not therefore have been aware, considering the irresistible temptations to carry on the slave trade existing in the island, that, under these circumstances, it would to an absolute certainty be carried on, provided the internal regulations of the island were wholly unavailing to detect illegal importations when once effected? But that these regulations were unavailing was and is admitted on all hands; and such being the case, must it not have been obvious, that the want of direct proof of importation did not of itself furnish any ground to presume on the cessation of the slave trade?—It was under a complete conviction, on the part of his Majesty's Government, that it was impossible to prevent slave trading at the Mauritius, except by a complete registration of the slaves, that a slave registry was ordained. But that indispensable check was, from the first, rendered wholly inoperative, either by frauds on the part of the colonists, or by gross neglect on the part of the public functiona-

ries. In 1825 Sir Lowry Cole is forced to declare that the slave registration law, after ten or twelve years of nominal operation, was an *absolute nullity*; and the more recent report of the Commissioners, bearing the date of March 1828, shews clearly that, even down to that period, the defects of its administration were still so great as materially to lessen its effectiveness as a check on the importation of slaves. But besides the continued absence of this essential check, without which all other means of suppression *must* prove unavailing, we learn from the whole history of this island, as well as from the present report, that the local laws instead of being so framed as to facilitate detection, are actually so framed as to secure criminals of this description from all risk of immediate detection and punishment; while, at the same time, the extraordinary determination of the local government, not to employ any of the means in its power for vindicating the rights of those who have been illegally enslaved, gives the assurance of future and complete security to the lawless inhabitant. Under these circumstances it was something like fatuity to indulge or to hold out the hope, for a single moment, that treaties with Radama, or with the Imaum of Muscat, even if religiously observed by them, could shut out importations of slaves from the Mauritius. In fact, the risk of such importations was actually increased by the false confidence with the exaggerated representations made on the subject tended to produce, especially in this country. We were here led to suppose that such treaties necessarily closed the door against slave trading. In fact, they only changed its direction, and suggested new expedients of evasion and concealment. Neither these treaties, nor the occasional activity of our naval force, nor the mere parade of legislation, nor the empty threats issued from time to time in proclamations of the local government, could have the effect of preventing importations, while the registry continued in a state of absolute disorder and inefficiency, serving, through the reluctance shewn to all retrospective investigation, rather as a cover for crime than a check upon it.

Now, if to the glaring defects in the registry, and in the internal laws of the colony, an effectual remedy has not yet been applied; and if the various measures of detection and prevention recommended by the Commissioners as indispensable, have not yet been adopted and enforced; we cannot but greatly fear that the assurances which Sir George Murray has recently received, of the actual extinction of the slave trade at this moment, will prove as unfounded and delusive as these which, in the preceding years, were communicated, with at least equal confidence, to his predecessors. It is with no unfriendly purpose that we state this apprehension, but from a conviction of its justice, and a desire to save his Majesty's government the pain of finding that they have again been deceived.

The same view of the subject was earnestly pressed on the attention of his Majesty's government in the year 1825, but we fear with little effect. The representation then made has since received abundant confirmation, and it may not be unseasonable, after a lapse of more than four years, to refer to it. It is inserted as a note at the close of this article. (See the succeeding page.)

Both this report and that on the state of slavery in the Mauritius,

contain a few opinions, in the consistency of which with the facts the Commissioners have there so well developed we hesitate to acquiesce, at least without some qualifications. We may resume the subject in a future number. In the mean time we feel that we cannot express in too strong terms our sense of the services they have rendered to the cause of humanity and justice by their truly able and luminous reports.

To one of their suggestions we trust that immediate attention will be paid, we mean that of promptly and effectually prosecuting, in this country, the investigation which the Commissioners have commenced. This, we apprehend, would be done much more completely and satisfactorily by a royal commission, than even by a parliamentary committee; and we had hoped that that course would have been adopted; but no steps appearing to have been taken for that purpose, we presume that some valid objections to its adoption may have occurred.

Observations made in May 1825, on the Mauritius Slave Trade during 1822, 1823 and 1824, referred to in the preceding page.

RESPECTING the state of the Slave Trade in the Mauritius, during the years 1822, 1823, and 1824, the substance of what has been communicated *officially* is contained in a letter from Sir Robert Farquhar, and one from his successor, Sir Lowry Cole, both addressed to Earl Bathurst;—The first dated the 23d January 1823: and the second, 18th November 1824, (see extracts from them above, p. 45.) The fair inference from these communications would seem to be, that in those years the Slave Trade had been reduced to a very low ebb in the Mauritius. It is impossible, however, under all the circumstances of the case, not to entertain very considerable doubts of the accuracy of that information, and a suspicion that the Governors may have been deceived upon the subject. Sir Lowry Cole indeed affirms, that not only has the introduction of slaves ceased at the Mauritius, but that, on the part of the inhabitants, there is no disposition to renew the Slave Trade, but rather a feeling of indignation at its horrors: and this appears to have been also the opinion of Sir Robert Farquhar. The planters of the Mauritius have, without doubt, *professed* to renounce and to detest the Slave Trade, but it is very difficult to give them credit for the sincerity of those professions. They had long been familiar with this trade, and they had evinced, even to a recent period, an attachment to it so rooted as to lead even some of the higher classes to brave, for the sake of its profits, all the infamy of a felonious conviction. What then could have wrought this extraordinary conversion in so short a time? An external difference of conduct, indeed, might fairly be expected. The increased vigilance of our cruisers increased the risks of transgression, while the extremely low price of colonial produce, during the period in question, diminished the temptation to transgress. But to infer from this temporary cessation of the trade, even if such cessation had actually taken place, that the planters of the Mauritius had become, in principle, adverse to that trade, is not consistent with the character of those planters, or with what we know of human nature itself. Besides, it is notorious, that, during this period, the planters of the Mauritius were making great efforts to obtain the removal of the protecting duty on their sugars; and they must have felt, that a decent external compliance with the Abolition Laws was essential to their success. If a reference be made to the official testimonies already adduced, as disproving this suspicion, it may be said in reply, that the papers laid before Parliament in the late session furnish numerous proofs of similar representations, in favour of the conduct and dispositions of the colonists, on the part of the colonial authorities in the West Indies, at the very moment when the whole course of proceeding pursued by those colonists was furnishing a direct and palpable contradiction to the official eulogy.

One of the strongest presumptions against the alleged purity of the planters

of the Mauritius, is drawn from the records of Parliament. Had they been as sincere in their abhorrence of the Slave Trade as they are represented to be—and we may add, had the colonial functionaries been as earnest and vigilant in repressing it as they were bound to be—some proof of this would have been found in the regularity with which the Order in Council for the Registration of Slaves had been complied with by the slave-holders, and in the strictness with which the salutary provisions of that order had been enforced by those charged with its execution. It was felt by all enlightened abolitionists, and by none more than by his Majesty's ministers, that the only effectual security against the continuance of the Slave Trade, to any extent which the planters of the Mauritius might desire, was in the establishment of a perfect system of slave-registration. Both in Mauritius and Bourbon, experience had shewn, that, for the due repression of the Slave Trade, no reliance could be placed on the fidelity of courts and juries composed of planters, themselves participating, or desiring to participate, in its criminal gains. And as for our navy, what could one or two cruisers, however vigilant, effect to prevent small and fast-sailing vessels from throwing slaves ashore during the night, without the cognizance of any persons except the inhabitants, who were also the parties interested in concealing the transaction.* The slave market, be it remembered, was distant only a few hours' sail: Slaves could there be bought for only a few dollars. That they were eagerly desired by the planters, no one doubts. What, under these circumstances, could prevent an active Slave Trade, but a well-regulated registry? But in the Mauritius the registry has not been well regulated. The proof of this is now on the table of the House of Commons. A registry of the slave population, regularly kept, it was admitted, could alone effectually prevent the illicit importation of slaves; but it now turns out that that registry has been suffered to fall into inextricable confusion. It is not only wholly and absolutely inefficient to its purpose, but, there is even reason to fear, may have been converted into a convenient instrument of giving facilities to the illicit importation of slaves.† And here it is remarkable, that, although the due establishment and the vigilant superintendance of the Slave Registry was one of the first and most essential duties of the local government, and although it was recognised by the supreme authorities of the state as the most effectual means of preventing the Slave Trade, yet the imperfection, not to say the perfect nullity,‡ of the Mauritius registry, appears to have excited no attention till a recent period. It is obvious, however, that, in the peculiar circumstances of the Mauritius, the very course which the best friends of the Slave Trade would be disposed to pursue, in order to secure its undisturbed continuance, would be to declaim against that trade, and to threaten punishment on those who should engage in it, and yet to allow the slave registry to fall into complete disorder.

The Order in Council which established a slave registry in the Mauritius was promulgated there in the year 1815. From that time, had the provisions of the registry act been fulfilled, the introduction of slaves, if not entirely prevented, must have been rendered difficult and hazardous. If any one object, therefore, more than another deserved the vigilant inspection of the colonial government, it was this.

A strong suspicion that this essential instrument of preventing the Slave Trade had become wholly inoperative, was excited by an examination of the returns made to the House of Commons, and printed by order of that House on the 23d March, 1823 (No. 89, p. 122), and which appeared to be in so unsatisfactory a state as not even to afford any accurate information with respect to the slave population, much less to prove an effective check on the illicit importation of slaves. The suspicion thus excited has since been abundantly confirmed by a return made to the House of Commons, so recently as the 27th June 1825, by Mr. Amyot, the registrar of colonial slaves in Great Britain. It is entitled, "Return of the Amount of the Slave Population in the Mauritius, as received in the Office of the

* For some months in the year this process, from the course of the winds, was greatly facilitated; while the same winds made it impossible for the naval force to maintain its station.

† The recent report of the commissioners fully proves this.

‡ The very words used by Sir L. Cole on the 28th July 1825. (See above, p. 46.)

Registrar of Colonial Slaves since its first Establishment," and is as follows :—
 "1816. Males, 55,717; females, 29,706; total, 85,423.

"The duplicate slave returns in the Mauritius, for the year 1819, are so imperfect as not to afford any means whatever of ascertaining the amount of the slave population at that period, and have therefore been sent back to the colony for correction. Those for 1822 are supposed to have been lost in the ship *George the Fourth*, wrecked on her voyage from the Mauritius, in June last."

And this neglect is the more remarkable, as it is in defiance of the provisions and penalties of an Act of Parliament, passed in the session of 1819, for securing the regularity of such returns. To whom the neglect is to be attributed does not appear. It is, however, so criminal in itself, and so ruinous in its effects, that it is to be hoped that one of the first measures of the next session of Parliament will be the appointment of a Committee to investigate the subject of the Mauritius registry, as well as some other matters connected with Slavery and the Slave trade in that quarter.

Until the existing state of things, as to the registration of slaves, has undergone a radical change, all general statements as to the non-introduction of slaves into the Mauritius must be regarded as illusory. It is known, too, in this case, that a Governor is surrounded on all sides by functionaries, and judges, and juries, who are almost one and all holders of slaves, and who are therefore deeply interested, not only in keeping open the channels of supply, but also in concealing every act of delinquency: so that, without the infallible means of information which a perfect system of registration alone can afford, it would be impossible for him to pronounce with confidence as to the execution of the Abolition Laws.

And if this reasoning is applicable to the Mauritius, even under the circumstances of depression, arising from low prices and protecting duties, which prevailed there in 1822, 1823, and 1824, how much more strongly does it apply at the present moment, when the removal of the protecting duties, and the general rise in the price of colonial produce, must have given an increased stimulus to cultivation, and rendered the temptation of the adjacent slave market still more irresistible?

It would be easy to shew, in addition to this, in how open and barefaced a manner *new Negroes* have been introduced from the Seychelles, by means of certain "formalities," which, under all the known imperfections of the system of registration, can be of no use in checking, but may be of great use in facilitating, an illicit slave trade. It were idle to suppose that the slave registration system is more perfect in the Seychelles, than it is in the Mauritius, and yet the certificate of the officer commanding at the former has been sufficient to secure the admission into the latter of any number of slaves he may accurately describe, and certify as coming from those islands; and yet, for any thing that appears, or can appear, to the contrary, he himself may have first imported these slaves from Mozambique or Zanzibar, and then transferred them to the Mauritius.

The whole of this state of things is an outrage on the honour and character of the British nation. Our own Government has been strenuously urging France, and other powers, to adopt our plan of registration, for the effectual prevention of the Slave Trade. How justly may they charge us with hypocrisy and insincerity, when they contemplate the administration of that system in the Mauritius!

But it will be alleged, in reply to all this, that, the Slave Trade being abolished by Radama in Madagascar, and by the Imaum of Muscat, there is now no source from which slaves may be easily drawn to the Mauritius; and, moreover, that slave trading being now declared to be piracy by statute, none but a few desperate characters will venture to engage in it.

As for the treaty with Radama, supposing it to be religiously observed on his part, (and, in consideration of the very large annual payment made to him by the British Government, which he would otherwise forfeit, this is possible), it furnishes no security against the Slave Trade in those parts of Madagascar which are not subject to his dominion, and especially in those which are under French jurisdiction. The treaty with Radama cannot, in the slightest degree, interfere to prevent a vessel which may have cleared out at Port Louis in the Mauritius, with a destination to any place whatsoever (or "to sea" generally,

which *there* is a very usual destination), from calling at Fort Dauphin, one of the French establishments in Madagascar; taking slaves on board there: landing them in the night at some inlet in the Mauritius; and appearing the next day at Port Louis, and entering at the custom-house there as returned from her voyage in ballast.

With respect also to the treaty with the Imaum of Muscat, it presents no effectual barrier to the introduction of slaves into the Mauritius by British subjects, which, in the present instance, is the crime to be especially provided against.

As for the peril which is incurred by British subjects who engage in the Slave Trade, and which, it may be argued, will of itself be sufficient to prevent any attempts at the illicit introduction of slaves, that risk, it is to be feared, is estimated in the Mauritius at a very low rate. It is perhaps not known in this country, that, notwithstanding the numerous and notorious infractions of the Abolition laws which have taken place in that colony, since it came into the possession of his Majesty, not one offender has hitherto been convicted and punished for slave-trading. A few individuals, who were sent over to England for trial, were here convicted and punished; but no individual brought to trial for slave-trading in the colonial courts, it is believed, has hitherto met the reward of his crimes. To suppose, therefore, that the dealers in human flesh at the Mauritius should entertain any very lively fears with respect to the future, would be to accuse them of a strange inaptitude to profit by the lessons of experience. If it were credible that importations had ceased during the years 1822, 1823, and 1824, yet credulity itself can hardly suppose that they will not now be renewed. It is not to be hoped, that, in the absence of all effectual check from registration, as well as of all disposition in the colonial courts to convict slave-traders, either the fear of the gibbet, or the treaty with Radama, or the convention with the Imaum of Muscat, will prevent the revival of the Slave Trade (even supposing it to have ceased for a time,) now, more especially, since the abolition of the protecting duties on sugar, and the enhancement of the price of that article, have combined to give a new and powerful stimulus to the extension of sugar-planting. It were folly to expect it.

This general, but, as it appears, most conclusive reasoning on the subject, derives additional force from the amazing disparity in the sexes existing among the slaves of the Mauritius, which does not appear to have been lessened since the capture of the colony, but which would have been greatly lessened in the intervening period, had importations really ceased. The inference fairly deducible from this fact is corroborated by the late progressive increase of the sugar cultivation of the Mauritius—a cultivation not only more destructive to human life than any other, but requiring a greater number of hands to carry it on. Connected with this fact, it is further necessary to bear in mind the known prejudices of the Mauritius planters in favour of the buying, as compared with the breeding, system; the contiguity of the slave markets; the extraordinary cheapness of the slaves; the known partiality of the courts of justice in favour of slave-traders; and the eminently harsh and destructive nature of the bondage which prevails in this island. These things considered, it is impossible to acquiesce in the opinion, so confidently announced, of the cessation of the Slave Trade in the Mauritius.

But, independently of all the strong presumptions adduced above, and which are sufficient to justify the refusal of an implicit assent to the statements that represent the illicit importation of slaves into the Mauritius as having ceased, a variety of details on the subject have recently reached this country, which go far to convert these presumptions into proof, and which at least call for increased vigilance in enforcing the laws, and for increased attention to the due registration of the slaves. But neither into these details, nor into an exposition of the cruel nature of the slavery prevailing in the Mauritius, aggravated as it is by the facility of importations and the cheapness of the imported slaves, is it possible now to enter: they are unavoidably deferred to a future occasion.

Nineteenth Report of the African Institution, (May 1825) p. 235—245.

ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER.

No. 52.] FOR SEPTEMBER, 1829. [No. 4. Vol. iii.

I. PROGRESS OF COLONIAL REFORM—CIRCULARS OF SIR G. MURRAY ; GENERAL REMARKS ; SLAVE LEGISLATION OF COLONIES, VIZ. ANTIGUA, BAHAMAS, BARBADOES, BERBICE, BERMUDA, CAPE, DEMERARA, DOMINICA, GRENADA, HONDURAS, JAMAICA, MAURITIUS, MONTSERRAT, NEVIS, ST. KITT'S, ST. LUCIA, ST. VINCENT, TOBAGO, TORTOLA, TRINIDAD.

II. CULTURE OF SUGAR BY FREE LABOUR.

I. PROGRESS OF COLONIAL REFORM, &c.

A CONTINUATION of those documents on the Progress of Colonial Reform which in each successive year since 1823 have been "presented to parliament by his Majesty's command," bearing the date of 12th June, 1829, and numbered 333, has recently reached us. It bears the title of "Papers in explanation of the measures adopted by his Majesty's Government for the amelioration of the condition of the slave population in his Majesty's possessions in the West Indies, on the continent of South America, and at Mauritius, (in continuation of the papers presented in the year 1828.)" We regret to say that, speaking of these papers generally, they will be found equally disappointing to the hopes and wishes of the nation with those which have gone before. That we may not however be supposed to be merely following a habit we have acquired of carping at colonial legislation, we shall pursue the same course which we have followed on former occasions of going through the different slave colonies in alphabetical order, and shewing what has been done in each, since we exhibited our last complete but meagre view of colonial ameliorations, and for which we refer our readers to volume ii. of the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 28 to No. 31 inclusive, some further notices being added in the Nos. 33, 38, and 43.

We do not feel it to be necessary to repeat our statement of the defectiveness, when set against the paramount demands of justice, of the measures to which Government and Parliament have pledged themselves ; nor how far these measures, as exemplified even in the Orders in Council for Trinidad, Demerara, &c., fall short of that pledge ; nor how very much farther still the enactments of the colonial legislatures fall below those even of the defective Trinidad Order. These points will be found fully stated in the numbers of our Reporter already referred to, and also in vol. i. No. 11, and vol. ii. No. 34, and in some of the earlier publications of the Society.

To the Governors of each of the chartered colonies Sir George Murray has addressed two circular letters, one dated the 3rd and the other the 15th September, 1828. He begins the former with making known the interest he himself feels in the improvement of the condition of the slaves, and "the settled purpose of his Majesty's Government," as expressed during the last session of parliament, by the ministers of the crown, in their places, to adhere strictly to the unanimous resolutions

of parliament on the subject, and he states it to be "the object of this despatch to convey to your Excellency the strong sense which, in common with all my colleagues in office, I entertain of the obligations imposed on his Majesty's Government by this solemn and reiterated engagement, and to call upon you assiduously to employ your endeavours to convey the like impression to the colonial legislature." Sir George then refers to the specific measures of improvement which had been already so pointedly brought before them by his predecessors, and adds that it would almost appear a needless work were he again to recommend "*each of them separately to particular attention.*" He therefore rather confines himself to calling that attention to the resolutions of parliament and the principles there laid down, "which must form the basis of all wise legislation upon the subject, and which reason and humanity equally recommend."

"There are two objects for the attainment of which it is necessary that effectual provision should be made. The first is the gradual elevation of the moral character of the slave population, and the second is the due protection of all the just rights of property which existing laws have vested in the owners of the slaves." These two objects, he is aware, many from prejudice or other causes think to be "wholly incompatible, and that a choice must at once be made between a positive sacrifice of the rights of property on the one hand, or a positive denial on the other of the advantages which humanity has sought to obtain for the slaves." The steps however already taken in several colonies, and the progress happily made in some of them in ameliorating the condition of the slaves lead him to expect "that the example of those which have advanced the furthest, without any detriment having resulted from their liberal line of policy, will persuade others that it is possible to imitate, without risk, these laudable proceedings." But though he believes that "motives of sound and enlightened policy as well as those of a more sacred and elevated character will induce local legislatures and other colonists of influence to lend an ear to the appeals made to their judgment and their feelings on this subject," "there are also other calls upon them, which render every day more and more urgent, as a measure of necessary policy, the ameliorating the condition of the slave population, for of the two alternatives, that of withholding amelioration, or that of effectually improving the condition and character of the slaves, the latter is the one which holds out by far the best prospect, under the existing circumstances of the world, for general tranquillity and for the security of property in the colonies."

While Sir George declines to enter into a detailed review of each of the measures so often and so urgently pressed on the colonies, he must nevertheless, he says, advert to a few which he deems of peculiar importance. "The first of these is the religious instruction of the slaves." "Independently of the sacredness of the obligation which requires that no impediments should be placed in the way of their acquiring a knowledge of the great truths of religion, there is no more certain mode of advancing their civilization, without detriment or danger to society at large, than by religious instruction. It is *necessary*, however, that this important object should not be intrusted solely to indi-

viduals, but *that provision should likewise be made for it by law*, in order to guard against the injury which society would sustain by the want, in any one, of a just sense of its importance. Amongst the enactments which will suggest themselves upon this subject, there is none which appears more proper, more becoming in itself, or which it is more incumbent on the legislature of every Christian country to enforce, than the due observance of Sunday. It is most desirable therefore that Sunday should be to the slave population in all the colonies a day of entire relaxation from compulsory labour, and open to be devoted to religious duties and to moral instruction. I am aware, however, that while provision is thus made for securing to the slave sufficient time and opportunity for religious instruction, and every latitude is allowed with respect to the mode of his instruction which the spirit of moderation demands, it is very fit, notwithstanding, that certain local regulations should be established to guard against those abuses, and that misapplication to which the best institutions are liable, and to obviate those disorders which might be occasioned, or the apprehension of which might be reasonably entertained, if an unrestricted liberty were permitted to assemble considerable bodies of the slave population, at unseasonable hours, or without the previous sanction of their owners."

The next object to which Sir George calls the attention of the colonial legislatures is, "the admission of the evidence of slaves." This, he says, "may appear to some of the colonies to be too great a step to be at once taken, but the concessions already made on this point by others," induce him to hope that "the principle is gradually gaining ground in the West Indies, and that it will ere long be generally felt, that by elevating the slave to the rank of a person whose evidence is admitted under the same restrictions only under which that of free men is received, and by teaching him and his fellow-subjects that the avenues of justice are not closed against his testimony in any case whatsoever, an important improvement will be effected, as well in the character of the slaves themselves, as in the general feeling and conduct of the population at large."

The only other object adverted to by Sir George, is the situation of the free blacks and people of colour. It appears to him "that it would be wise to act with much liberality towards this class of individuals," and he therefore directs each Governor "strongly to recommend their interests to the favourable consideration of the local legislature."

Such is the substance of Sir George Murray's circular despatch of the 3rd September, omitting only a sentence at the close which has a special reference to the varying circumstances of the different colonies. This despatch is followed, on the 15th of September 1828, by another to the different Governors, in which he explains himself more fully and confidentially on some of the topics adverted to in his previous circular.

"In legislating," he observes, "as is recommended in that despatch, for the observance of Sunday, the principle which it will be essential to keep in view, is, that the labour of the six days shall not be so exclusively and rigidly allotted to the master's profit, as to leave the seventh day alone for the slave to labour for himself. The object is, that Sunday shall be a day *wholly clear* both from the demands of the master

and from the necessities of the slave. The property of a master in his slave is a property, qualified, of course, by many conditions, amongst which is the obligation of fully maintaining him; and if, instead of his maintenance being provided for out of the labour of six days (which is all that, in any Christian country, a master can claim on the score of law, and of recognised property), that maintenance is to be provided for out of the labour of the seventh day, then the master, in effect, escapes from the performance of the condition, upon which alone society has permitted him to hold the slave as property.

“ It is in vain to say that the slave is not *compelled* to labour on the Sunday, if without the Sunday’s labour, the necessary support and reasonable comforts of his situation must be wanting to him. If the slave, when left a free agent on Sunday, shall choose to occupy a part of that day, after its proper duties shall have been performed, in agricultural or in other business, for his own benefit, and that of his family, in order to procure for himself or them such additional comforts as his master would not be bound to provide, that occupation, of course, will not fall within the description of labour which my despatch of the 3rd instant purposes to exclude.

“ The other main topic to which I shall here advert, the admission of slave evidence, is one to which his Majesty’s government attach the utmost consequence; it is, in fact, one of the most important and influential steps which can be taken towards a system of improvement; it removes a general stigma from the whole body of the slaves, and must tend to raise them, not only in their own estimation, but even in that of the masters themselves.

“ While the courts of law exclude the slave from all participation in the means resorted to for the ends of justice, not scrutinizing his evidence to make sure of its truth, but rejecting it at once, on the presumption that it must be false, the local prejudices that exist against this class of men are fortified by a judicial sanction, and the law is made not merely to authorise their condition of slavery, but to acknowledge and even to certify their moral degradation.

“ This is the first consideration. The next is that of the safety with which this privilege, if it can be so called, may be conferred. It is a privilege which, though it raises the character of the whole class, will be actually exercised by comparatively very few; that exercise too will be occasional, and dependent on accident. It is a boon that bestows no power; it merely removes a universal brand of falsehood.

“ I am not insensible to the objection arising from the chances of perjury, but those are chances which accompany all trials by the testimony of witnesses; and interests as near, and prejudices as strong as any which can be supposed to influence the slave, either on behalf of his master or against him, have always existed in every society, without being found to endanger the general probabilities of truth. The evidence of the child is admitted in the cause of the parent, and the prosecutor is often the only witness on the trial of a quarrelsome neighbour by whom he has been assaulted. Nor are the peculiarities of West Indian society to be urged as a ground of exception from this general argument; on the contrary, they add reasons why the principle may be

applied with especial safety. The courts, the judges, and the juries, are of a different class and colour from the proposed witnesses ; acquainted, for the most part, with the habits and tendencies of the slave ; accustomed to measure his understanding, his moral sense, and the accuracy of his perceptions ; and protected by all these advantages against the danger of any undue influence or impression from his testimony. The proposed alteration goes only to make that testimony admissible, not to make it conclusive. The law when this change shall have been introduced, will only have rendered the witness competent ; it will still have left to the particular tribunal to determine whether he be credible. Perjury, to be mischievous, must be consistent in all the circumstances of its fiction ; and the lower the rate of the intellect employed in the contrivance, the less is that consistency to be apprehended. It will hardly be maintained, that the negroes, such as are found in the West Indian communities, are of so ingenious a turn of mind, so adroit in the fabrication of falsehoods, and so fertile in resources for repairing it under the pressure of a public examination, as to baffle the search of truth more effectually than the practitioners of fraud in the great societies of Europe.

“ There is yet another reason which makes me peculiarly anxious for some colonial measure recognizing the competency of slaves as witnesses. A voluntary act of the local legislatures to this effect, would go far to satisfy the Parliament of this country, who, as well as the Government, are pledged to the resolutions of 1823, that the principles announced by those resolutions are really at work and in progress in the colonies. Unless the local legislatures shall furnish their friends in this country with some such practical proof of their sincere concurrence in the principle of amelioration, it will soon become difficult and inadvisable, if not impossible, to stem the impatience of the people of these kingdoms, for some efficient and authoritative interference.

“ There are few circumstances which could occasion more regret to His Majesty’s Government, than that the neglect of the colonists to exercise their rights of legislating for the slave population, should at length induce the necessity of a legislative interposition from home.

“ These are the principal topics and considerations of which I am desirous to put you in possession, in order that you may urge them in those quarters where such a communication may appear to you likely to be advantageous. That any change in the habits and constitution of any part of the community may, in some instances be resisted, or very reluctantly admitted, His Majesty’s Government are, of course, prepared to expect ; but they trust that, as these discussions become more familiar, the colonists will perceive, what indeed it is very material that you should take every convenient opportunity of impressing upon them in your private communications, that their own interests are very deeply involved in the proposed improvements. Upon a considerate view of the general progress which free institutions and opinions are making throughout the world, it must be clearly perceived that the present condition of society in the West Indies, is one which can scarcely be expected to endure much longer, without material modifications. It seems, therefore, to be the dictate of pru-

dence, as it is also the desire and expectation of the British people, very generally and very strongly expressed, that such relaxation as can be granted, consistently with the acknowledged rights of property, should not be withheld.

“ In portions of the empire, isolated as our West India colonies are, where the free inhabitants form but a small proportion of the population, the minority might find themselves, at no distant period, in a very precarious position, unless their voluntary endeavours to comply with the just expectations of the mother country, with regard to the improvement of the condition of the slaves, should have founded for them such a claim to our approbation and support, as would incline her, in any season of difficulty, to furnish a prompt and effectual assistance.

“ This despatch, as your Excellency will perceive, from its title, is a circular, and certain passages of it will therefore, in some of the colonies, be inapplicable, or applicable only in part, or with modifications ; but I have thought it best, for many reasons, and especially as it is not intended that the Governor should lay this despatch before the local assemblies, to put you in the fullest possession of the general principles which His Majesty’s Government are most anxious at this juncture to promote, throughout the colonial system of the empire.”

It is impossible not to admire the kind and amiable spirit which breathes through these letters, or to refuse to Sir George Murray the very amplest credit for his anxious desire to alleviate the oppressions, and to improve the state of the slave population. We have brought them before the public, both that the views of His Majesty’s Government on the subject of colonial slavery may be fully and clearly understood, and that we ourselves may have the opportunity of marking some of the points on which those views differ from our own.

The resolutions of 1823, especially as these resolutions have since been sometimes not a little unfairly interpreted, have been made to exhibit colonial slavery in the light, not of a crime to be renounced and got rid of, at whatever cost, but of an inexpedient and impolitic, yet legally authorized investment of property, liable indeed to great abuses, and some hazards, but to be treated and modified, and eventually abolished, only as the measures for that purpose can be made to coincide, not with the clear rights of those unjustly held as slaves, but with the prejudices and pecuniary interests of those who claim such slaves as their legal property.

It is a consideration of these alleged proprietary rights of the planters, which has formed apparently the guiding principle in every step taken since 1823, with respect to slavery, to the exclusion of every idea of any conflicting rights on the part of the King’s subjects held as slaves.

So far has this partial, and, may we not add, iniquitous view of the subject been carried, that the only advance made towards even a distant glimmering of hope of restoring the slave to his rights, even to his right of property in his own person, has been what is called the compulsory manumission clause, a clause, however, which, as yet, operates only in one or two colonies. This clause permits him, if he would recover his unalienable right to the use of his own liberty, while he still continues to employ his strength for the sole benefit of the man

who is called his master, to labour, also, if he can, during his scattered fragments of repose, till he amass as much as shall be equivalent to his assumed value in the slave market, in order to satisfy the claim of him who lives by the forced exaction of his labour.

Against this injustice, both in its principle, and in its proposed practical application, we have again, and again protested. No claim of the colonists, founded on any alleged dicta of law, can *justly* be allowed to interfere with the clear and indubitable rights of the slaves. Whatever be the colonist's claim, it can only attach to the British Nation, who sanctioned his unwarrantable usurpation: it cannot by any possibility attach to the human being, the black British subject, who is the innocent and unconsenting victim of it. And it would, therefore, be utterly repugnant to every principle of equity, that we, the British Nation should discharge any debt we may have incurred to the colonist, not from our own resources, but with the toil, and sweat, and blood of our dark coloured fellow subjects. Again, "the obligation to indemnify the planter for the liberation of those he calls his slaves, whatever that claim may be, evidently does not, and cannot attach to the alleged slaves themselves. On the contrary, if there be any one of the parties more clearly entitled to indemnity than another, it is the man who has been iniquitously robbed of his liberty, and who, even by the proposed manumission clause, whatever improvement that may be on the former system," "has this injury added to all his other wrongs, that he is thereby condemned to pay the penalty of the criminal conduct of his oppressors." See Brief View; also vol. ii. No. 27, p. 72, &c. &c. &c.

On these clear and undeniable principles, when Government thought proper to institute an inquiry, in 1827, before the Privy Council, respecting the objections made by the colonists of Berbice, to an imperfect and mutilated version of the Trinidad manumission clause, and applied to obtain evidence in its favour, the reply was in substance as follows: "We do not deny, that the manumission clause, as it stands in the Trinidad Order, though it falls far below the Spanish law on the subject, is still an improvement of our colonial system. The Berbice clause, however, is no improvement at all. But if it were otherwise; if it were all that the Trinidad Order is, still we could not undertake to plead for it, or to bear testimony in its favour, as if it were consistent with justice, or reconcilable with the plain and paramount moral obligations of this great nation. Slavery as it exists in our colonies is a crime of the deepest dye; and it is, therefore, in itself, a monstrous injustice to enact, and to require, that the party suffering from it should be made to indemnify the criminal for the benefits which he alleges he is entitled to derive from that crime, before the victim of it shall cease to suffer: in short, that the suffering negro shall not only yield day by day, to the man who holds him in slavery, his coerced and uncompensated toil, but shall be driven, as his only and almost hopeless means of deliverance from this cruel and abject state, to employ the minute and scanty portions of his leisure, his breathing moments of broken repose, to make up the price of his liberty to the usurper of it. We cannot believe this to be just; nor can we come forward in support of such a principle."

Such were the sentiments expressed by the abolitionists on that oc-

casions, and such are the sentiments we have uniformly held and still hold on this subject, and which the reader who desires to satisfy himself, may find expressed in different, but equally strong terms, in our second volume, No. 40, p. 301.

It was under the influence of the same principles that soon after the resolutions of 1823 had received the sanction of Parliament; (resolutions in which the idea of the rights of private property had been allowed to maintain an undue degree of prominence, while the dangers of sudden change, or even of public discussion were erroneously and mischievously magnified in the well framed address of Mr. Canning on that occasion,) a scheme was laid before that minister, so simple in its structure, and yet so certainly and infallibly efficacious in its operation, while it guarded against the alleged but unwarranted *dangers* of sudden change, and provided also for the alleged *claims* of the colonial planters, that it was hoped it would have reconciled every varying and conflicting opinion on the subject, and have fulfilled the most sanguine wishes at that time indulged by the nation. This scheme will be found detailed, with all its economical advantages, and with an answer to the various economical objections which even its enemies had been able to raise to it, in the appendix to the second Report of the Anti-Slavery Society, pp. 168—187. Its sole object was the immediate redemption of all female slaves, an object which, it was demonstrated, might be effected, on a most liberal scale of indemnity, at an annual cost which would not have amounted to one-half of what the nation was then paying in bounties and protecting duties to support this cruel and unchristian system, independently of all the other enormous charges brought upon it by the slave colonies. Its *express* and prominent object therefore was not that all slave children should thenceforward be free, though that result was necessarily involved in it; but *its infallible effect* would obviously have been, that no more slave children could thenceforward have been born. The mothers having been emancipated, the children born of them (whether male or female) must have been born free likewise.

It is doing no more than justice to Mr. Canning and to Lord Liverpool to say, that they expressed their approbation of the principle, and generally of the details of this scheme; and, for this fact, we are ready to refer to living witnesses of the very first respectability. It was strongly objected to, however, by Earl Bathurst, who was then the Colonial Minister. The well known events, the deaths and the various other changes, which followed this period (1825,) in rapid succession, extinguished for a time the hopes which had thus been raised. The same scheme, was again submitted to Sir George Murray, after his accession to the colonial office, though it is not known with what effect; and we still think that it affords perhaps the best practical solution which has yet been offered of the difficulties which still encumber this question.

That the colonial legislatures, or the colonists, will take one effectual step to forward any such scheme; or even any single measure, however in itself desirable, and however enforced by the strongest considerations, either of religious obligation, or of natural justice, or of constitutional law, which shall tend directly and obviously to the extinction of slavery, we do not believe. Experience has left not one doubt remaining on this

point, already sufficiently established by those unerring general principles which govern human conduct. Our own pages furnish most abundant illustrations in proof of this position; and it seems to us to acquire additional confirmation, if any were needed, from the tenor of the despatches from which we have made such copious extracts. Those despatches appear to avoid (whether designedly or not) any direct reference to that part of the parliamentary pledge, which contemplates the "*participation*" by the slaves "*in those civil rights and privileges, which are enjoyed by other classes of his Majesty's subjects,*"—and which binds Parliament "*to the accomplishment of this purpose,*" this essential, and indispensable and primary purpose, "*at the earliest period compatible,*" with all the great interests involved in it. We are very far from meaning to imply, that the framer of those despatches is not also anxious for as early an accomplishment as he deems practicable of this purpose. But his object in writing them was conciliation; and he probably well understood how little that object was likely to be gained, if the ultimate end of the measures proposed were held up prominently to the view of those whom he addressed. He may continue to reason with them, and to flatter them for years to come, as others have done for years past; he may repeat the laudatory notices, which, year after year, have been bestowed on every vain semblance of a salutary approximation to the measures proposed by Government, which the delusive enactments of the colonial legislatures may exhibit; but, in the end, he will find that nothing effectual has been done; and that nothing effectual will or can be done to extinguish slavery, but by the direct and authoritative interference of Parliament. To this we must come at last; and the sooner we come to it the better for all parties.

There are still two points in these letters, to which we would advert.

The first is Sir George's urgent recommendation to admit the slaves to the full, free, and unfettered right of giving evidence in all cases, civil and criminal, and which, we are glad to see, is accompanied by an intimation, that if not carried into effect by the colonists, it will be effectually done by Parliament. Nothing can be more just and luminous than Sir George's views and reasonings on this subject; nor more satisfactory than the line he proposes to take.

The other is the recommendation that "the Sunday shall be a day wholly clear, both from the demands of the master, and the necessities of the slaves." But this object, it is obvious, is unattainable, unless, out of the other six days, the law shall expressly allot, to the slave, time equivalent to the Sunday which it is thus proposed to abstract from all necessity of labour;—shall give him, that is to say, another day in the week, in lieu of Sunday, and in addition to the time *now* allowed him. Nothing short of this will fulfil the pledge given by Mr. Canning, as the organ of the Government, both to Parliament and the public on this subject.

But we would here suggest, that it is vain to hope even for a qualified compliance, on the part of the chartered colonies, with such a recommendation, while so defective an example has been set them in the colonies subject to the direct legislation of the crown. We refer our readers to the case of Trinidad, the model colony, as it will be found exhibited

in our second volume, No. 30, p. 124—133. They will there find that, on the subject of the observance of Sunday, and time in lieu of it, and also on the admissibility of slave evidence, the legislation of Trinidad is in a miserably defective state, falling even below that of one or two chartered colonies. How can this be reconciled with the tone and tenor of the present despatches? We heartily hope, that the weight of a correct example in the legislation of the crown will now be added to the precept.

But we would exemplify in another remarkable instance, that of Berbice, the painful deviation from its own principles which occurs in the legislation of the crown. The instruction of Sir George Murray, to the chartered colonies, is that “the Sunday should be wholly clear from the demands of the master, and the necessities of the slave.” But, what is the example held out in Berbice, where the Crown alone legislates; and where nothing is wanting to the enactment of any reform; but a clear and distinct order of the Secretary of state?

In Berbice, the slaves cannot, on Sunday, quit the plantation to which they belong, without a written licence, and they may therefore be shut out from public worship and instruction by the mere caprice of the master or manager.

In Berbice, masters are expressly permitted, by law, to occupy the morning hours of Sunday in distributing to the slaves their weekly allowances. The two or three best hours of the day are thus most unjustly taken from the slave and given to the master, while the day itself is desecrated by this secular and also fatiguing employment.

In Berbice, Sunday markets, which ought not to exist in any colony, are prolonged, *by law*, till eleven o'clock, thus occupying nearly half of each Sunday.

In Berbice, not a single day is, *by law*, allowed to the slave during the week, for any purpose whatsoever, whether for marketing, or for his garden, or for his grounds, or for repairing his cabin, or for obtaining and conveying home, from the plantain walk to his house, his bulky allowance for the week of plantains for himself and family. All these operations must be crowded into the Sabbath; in addition to a variety of other domestic matters necessary to be attended to; for *the law, the new law, the model law*, does not give him one hour except Sunday for any of these purposes.

Now, is it to be supposed that the chartered colonies will be induced to comply with the recommendations made to them on this subject, while such is the example of legislation set by the Crown itself? Why have the slaves of Berbice no Sunday clear from all such demands of their masters, and all such necessities of their own; and why is not other time given them for such purposes?

But it may be asked, why we take so much pains in exposing these minor evils of the colonial system, and do not attack rather the system in the gross;—why, when we have to complain that the whole of the slave's time is unjustly taken from him, we should make so much ado about restoring to him a mere fragment of it? We reply, that we admit the injustice of the whole system, and the right the slave has to the whole of his time; and if we could destroy that system, root and

branch, or restore to the slave the whole of that time of which he is iniquitously deprived; or if we could prevail with those who have the power (the Parliament and Government of this country,) to perform this righteous work, we should most cordially rejoice to see it done. But until it is done, we do not think we err, either as moralists or as Christians, in labouring to lessen the actual amount of suffering endured by the slave; and especially in labouring to promote, as far as our representations can serve that end, the fulfilment of whatever pledge to that effect may have been given by the Government. We heartily wish that the negro had all his time to himself; but until he has, we shall still most anxiously desire and strive that he may not be deprived of that portion of it to which the pledge of the Government, as well as the justice of the case, has given him a claim. We would gladly strike off every link of the chain which binds him to the earth; but, if we cannot do this, we would, at least, not decline any opportunity of lightening its pressure.—Keeping in constant view these general principles, we proceed to a more particular analysis of the information which has now been communicated to Parliament.

I.—ANTIGUA, p. 40—47.

Sir George Murray states it to be his “painful duty to express to Sir Patrick Ross,” the Governor, “the regret which has been felt by His Majesty at the extreme backwardness shewn by the islands of Antigua and Montserrat, in the adoption of those measures for the amelioration of the condition of the slave population, which have been at different times suggested to them, under the pressing recommendation of the Crown, supported by the unanimous opinion of both Houses of Parliament, and enforced by the general expression of the public opinion in the mother country.” In point of fact they have not, since May, 1823, adopted a single shred or patch of an ameliorating provision. Their statute book still bristles with its ancient horrors, and, instead of even *pretending* to amend it, they seem to have done little, during the last six years, but rail at abolitionists and free negroes; praise their own humanity; and listen to flattering compliments from the Governor; occasionally varying the scene by vehement quarrels among themselves, and by furiously abusing and persecuting a poor Quaker.*

And yet, in the face of all this, we have their Governor gravely telling the Secretary of state, in a letter dated the 3rd of June 1828, “I may be permitted, in justice to the island, to observe, that its existing code of laws are considered to contain a greater number of enactments in

* This worthy man was employed by some benevolent persons in this country to distribute little donations of money to any poor slaves, or others, whom he might think to need such relief. For this heinous offence he was cited before the Assembly, subjected to a rigid examination, and, because he refused to deliver up to them his private correspondence with his friends in England, he has been thrown, as guilty of a contempt, into a loathsome gaol, where he has already lain for many months, and where he may probably continue for many more, if death do not relieve him. Can Antigua be a British colony? Has the King no power to interfere in so atrocious a case of oppression? The Assembly actually continues, by merely adjourning instead of proroguing its sessions, to keep this man in gaol without any opportunity of release.

favour of the slave population than that of any other legislative colony, with the exception of St. Christophers." Can Sir Patrick Ross have read the code which he thus rashly eulogizes? We cannot believe it. He must have been imposed upon by some artful informant. But he ought not to have permitted himself to have been so imposed upon. He ought to have ascertained for himself the real contents of that cruel code before he undertook its defence.

Again, he tells Sir George Murray, in a letter of Dec. 27th, 1828, that "the statute books of Antigua have long contained many humane and liberal enactments in favour of her slave population." Those statutes are now before us, and we cannot repress the astonishment we feel, as we cast our eyes over their enactments, that such a judgment should have been formed of them by Sir Patrick Ross.

II.—BAHAMAS, p. 10—15.

In our 2nd volume, No. 28, p. 80—87, we have reviewed the proceedings of the Bahama legislature, and pronounced them to be "mere unmeaning verbiage; enactments 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." On the 3rd of March, 1828, Mr. Huskisson addressed a letter to the Governor of that colony, which is little more than an amplification, certainly a most able one, of this brief description of what its legislature had done. The only thing it has since done has been to pass an act for "fixing the mode of trying questions relative to the freedom of negroes," and a second act to amend this act; both of which have been very properly disallowed by the King. They are worthy of the colony that was the scene of the tragedy recently enacted by the there highly-respected Henry and Helen Moss. In disallowing those acts, Sir G. Murray observes, that they impose restraints on persons asserting a title to freedom, for which no good cause can be suggested. In such cases, instead of restraint, there is a peculiar call for indulgence to suitors. But these acts subject them to many difficulties. They must first obtain permission of the court to sue; they must then sue by a guardian; they must then be kept in custody pending the process; and, at last, they can only obtain nominal damages. "A suitor so fettered," as Sir George Murray well observes, "is but too likely to conduct his cause amiss." We have here a beautiful specimen of colonial legislation!

III.—BARBADOES, pp. 16—18.

The state of the slave code of Barbadoes may be collected from our 2nd vol. No. 28, pp. 87—91, and No. 43, pp. 345—350.

In reply to Sir George Murray's circular, the Barbadian legislators plainly tell their governor that they have already gone the utmost length that prudence will allow in giving effect to the wishes of his Majesty's ministers. This is at least plain dealing. It is well worth while to look back to the pages just referred to, in order to see to what this boasted perfection of Barbadian reform amounts.

IV.—BERBICE, pp. 80—84.

We have already adverted to the state of the slave law in this colony as respects Sunday. Some of its other defects may be seen by turning to our 2nd Vol., No. 28, pp. 92 and 93. But if the state of the law be bad, its administration is infinitely worse. In proof of this we have only to refer to our 1st Vol., No. 5 and No. 16; and to our 2nd Vol., No. 43, pp. 359—367. And yet this colony is directly subject to the legislation of the Crown; and the execution of its laws is in the hands of functionaries appointed by the Crown. How is this to be satisfactorily accounted for?

We see, by the papers before us, that means have been taken to facilitate the recovery of small debts owing to slaves, by passing an act for that purpose; but the act has not yet been produced. Confinement in the stocks is also forbidden, and simple confinement alone permitted, in the case of slaves sentenced to be flogged by their masters, between the period of sentence and that of punishment.

V.—BERMUDA, pp. 85—92.

The first effort of Bermudian legislation, on the subject of slavery, that has been made for many years, is contained in an act which bears the date of July 30, 1827. The laws which previously existed were of the most oppressive and sanguinary description. (See second Report of the Anti-slavery Society, Appendix, pp. 144—146.) That which is now presented to us would seem to indicate that the legislators of Bermuda had been little accustomed to the idea either of justice or mercy in their dealings either with slaves or with free persons of colour. Even the free people of colour, instead of being raised to their proper level, are pressed down, by this handful of proud and petty islanders, to the legal abjectness and debasement, and the utter destitution of civil rights of the slave population. It is altogether a harsh and cruel code. What judgment the Government may have formed of it we have no means of knowing, but we conclude it must have been disallowed. Its provisions are marked throughout by an utter disregard of every principle recommended by his Majesty's Government, and especially in the recent despatches of Sir George Murray.

VI.—CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

Of this colony not one word is said in these papers. The state of its slave code may be seen by turning to our 2nd Vol., No. 28, p. 94. A great and salutary change has since taken place in the condition of the *free* classes of African descent inhabiting this colony. See No. 50, p. 30.

VII.—DEMERARA.

Of Demerara also nothing is said in these papers. Its slave laws may be classed nearly with those of Berbice; and being subject to the direct legislation of the Crown, their defects are of course removable at the pleasure of the Crown. We will therefore only again remark, that

while the laws of Demerara and Berbice remain in their present imperfect state—imperfect even as compared with the pledges and recommendations of the Government—much cannot be expected from the chartered colonies. The reader may further consult, with respect to Demerara, our 1st Vol., No. 11, pp. 145—151; and our 2nd Vol., No. 27, p. 26; No. 29, p. 99; and No. 43, pp. 355—359.

VIII.—DOMINICA, pp. 20—22.

A pretty clear view of the Dominica slave code may be obtained by referring to our 2nd Vol., No. 29, pp. 98—102, where an account is given of the defects of its act of January, 1826. But notwithstanding the strong representations of those defects made by Earl Bathurst, in his despatch of April 3, 1827, and the anxious desire he there expressed that the act might be reviewed and amended, no step whatever appears to have been since taken by the Dominica legislature.

In reply to Sir George Murray's circular despatches of the 3rd and 15th of September, 1828, General Nicolay, the governor, observes, "On one subject of very great importance, that of extending religious instruction, your wishes have been anticipated by an act of the legislature, which I lately transmitted to you, establishing a rector for the parish of St. Andrew's. A school for the gratuitous education of children of all classes is also in fair progress."

Now the despatch of Sir George Murray went to this—to impress upon Governor Nicolay that it was "*necessary*" that "the important object" of "religious instruction" "should not be intrusted solely to individuals, but *that provision should likewise be made for it by law.*" The wishes of Sir George Murray, however, says the governor, on the important point of religious instruction, have been anticipated. But this anticipation proves to be, not an act of the legislature establishing and enforcing the religious instruction of the slaves by law, but an act for establishing a rector for St. Andrew's. Is it possible that the governor can deem this to be a fulfilment by anticipation of the wishes of Government? If so, he is certainly not qualified to be the interpreter of those wishes to the colonists. Sir George Murray expressly delegates to the governor the task of explaining to the colonists, and urging upon them, by suitable arguments, the plans and purposes of his Majesty's Government. Now let us only conceive a dialogue to take place between him and a party of colonial legislators. "How," they say, "are we to fulfil the recommendations of Sir George Murray as to making provision for the religious instruction of the slaves by law?" "O, you need give yourself no farther trouble on that point. The thing is done. You passed an act last year which anticipates those recommendations; that, I mean, which appoints a rector for St. Andrew's. Besides, a free school is in fair progress." All this would appear only extremely ridiculous were it not that it was also so supremely mischievous—so fatal to all hope of colonial improvement through such media. As for the free school spoken of by the governor, and said to be in fair progress on the 3rd of November, 1828, we can shew him that it was equally so in June, 1823. Whoever wishes to understand the kind of legerdemain, the

charlatanerie practised by colonial authorities, on subjects like these, has only to turn to the first series of papers on Colonial Amelioration, laid by his Majesty's command before parliament, in 1824. There, at p. 28 to p. 34, he will find given at length the first act of this farce of a free school, which is still exhibiting, when occasion calls for it, even in 1828. It was originally played off in 1823, to meet the first circular of Lord Bathurst on Colonial Reform; and it served its purpose. For a time our ears were dinned with the zeal exhibited by Dominica in the work of religious instruction, and we were reproached with our distrust of men who had, by their exertions, even anticipated our wishes. The free school, however, so ostentatiously projected in June, 1823, and then so boldly sketched, having already its master nominated, with a salary of £150., is as yet only in its embryo state. In 1827 it appears from the Conversion Society's Report for that year, that a schoolmaster had been very recently appointed (p. 126), and it was hoped, therefore, that the arrangements already in great forwardness "have been carried into effect." But no such thing;—for now at length, at the close of 1828, comes the governor, and tells us that this school, so vaunted of in 1823, and the subject of hope in 1827, was only then "*in fair progress*," that is to say, was still a subject of preparation and arrangement, and not of operation and efficiency. How is it that public men can be so duped as to lend themselves to such palpable delusions?

IX. GRENADA, p. 23—39.

For a brief notice of the past legislative proceedings of this colony, on the subject of slavery, we refer our readers to our 1st volume, No. 11, p. 155—162, and to our 2nd volume, No. 29, p. 102. We had heard much of the great advances since made by the Grenada legislature in the work of Reform, and we therefore opened the present volume with an eager desire to ascertain how far these rumours were realized by the enactments on the subject. We proceed to examine them.

1. The first is an act to prevent the holding of markets on Sunday, and appointing Thursdays and Saturdays to be public market days. This act, dated the 24th of November 1828, was to take effect on the 1st of January 1829, and from that day forward, as its title indicates, it certainly does prohibit the holding of markets on the Sundays, and also appoints Thursdays and Saturdays as public market days. But it contains no provision whatever by which the act is to be made to contribute, in the very slightest degree, to the amelioration of the condition of the slaves. *They* can no longer, it is true, attend Sunday markets. But no legal provision whatever is made for their being permitted to attend on any other day. Neither Thursday nor Saturday is given to them by this or any other law. Nor are they, by this or any other law, protected, on either of these days, from arrests for their master's debts, which, in a vast majority of instances, would be the inevitable consequence of their travelling to the market place on any day but Sunday. To the slave, therefore, without some law which shall appropriate Thursday or Saturday to his use, and which shall protect him from arrest for the

debts of his master on that day, the pretended boon is a positive injury, and not a benefit. Is it possible then to conceive a more solemn mockery of the high functions of legislation than this act exhibits? It is framed with all the technical verbiage of such instruments. It passes the Assembly and the Council after being read three times in each; it then receives the sanction of the Governor, the representative of his Majesty; and is then transmitted to the Secretary of state as a triumphant proof of the general desire which animates all ranks in Grenada to meet the wishes of the mother country, with respect to the improvement of the condition of the slave population. And yet, after all, it has not, nor can it have, any operation whatever, as respects the slave population, but one of injury and not of benefit. What an exemplification of the genius of colonial legislation, on matters connected with slavery, does not this boasted act afford!

2. The next is an act "for the admission of the testimony of slaves in all cases without restriction." And we hail it with unfeigned satisfaction as the first instance we recollect to have met with, among the professedly ameliorating provisions of colonial slave codes, which marches straitly and fairly to its object. It is plain, intelligible, and practical. The enacting clause is to the following effect:—"And be it enacted, that in all trials and examinations whatsoever, whether in civil or criminal cases, it shall and may be lawful to examine, as a witness on oath, any slave within the island of Grenada and its dependencies, in any court, and before any judge, justice of the peace, grand jury or petit jury, or other tribunal or authority whatever having cognizance of such cases, in the same manner, in every respect, as free persons are by law admitted and received as witnesses by and before any such courts, judges, justices, jurors, or other tribunals aforesaid, without any restriction whatever arising from their being slaves; any law, usage, or custom to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding." Even to the provisoes, which guard this sweeping enactment, we have no objection to make, except that we see not why they should be confined to the case of trials and convictions on *slave* evidence, and not extended to all trials and convictions; namely, that on all capital convictions the sentence should be laid before the Governor, and receive his approval before its execution; and that on every trial for a capital offence, a list of the witnesses should be furnished to the accused four days before the bill of indictment against him is presented to the grand jury.

Here then we have at last met with a legislative enactment, proceeding from a Colonial Assembly, which we can approve *ex animo*, with scarcely a single reservation. We cordially rejoice in it as the first effectual step, in any one of our chartered colonies, towards a reform of the slave code.

3. The third act will probably divide the sentiments of many of our friends. It is an act for granting a salary of £500 currency a year, or about £225 sterling, to a Roman Catholic Clergyman, the Rev. Anthony O'Hannan, as Rector of the Roman Catholic church in Grenada; who shall be bound, in consideration of this salary, to take, from no Roman Catholic slaves within this government, any fee or remuneration whatsoever for any baptismal, marriage, or burial rites, or for any other

sacrament or thing administered in his spiritual capacity to such slaves; the said Anthony O'Hannan being bound not to refuse, on account of the non-payment of any such fee, to perform all sacramental and other rites for the slaves.

4. The fourth act respects the free people of colour. As early as the month of June 1823, (see vol. ii. No. 27, p. 51,) the Assembly of Grenada admitted, and recorded the admission, that the enfranchised black and coloured population of that island, which exceeded the white population in the proportion of four to one (the respective numbers in 1825 were 3486 and 883,) possessed no small proportion of the property in the colony, two-thirds of the chief town actually belonging to them; and that they were a respectable well behaved class of the community, and fairly entitled to the elective and certain other franchises which they then claimed. It was not however until the month of November 1828, that any effect was given to these admissions. An act was then passed relieving a part of them from *one* of the many disabilities of which they complained. The act provides that thenceforward "all the freeborn," not enfranchised but freeborn "coloured," not black also but coloured only—that "all the freeborn coloured male British subjects within these islands, being freeholders, merchants, traders, managers, or chief owners of plantations, or lessees of estates, shall be liable to serve as petty jurors in criminal cases, and as jurors in all causes between party and party in the supreme courts of judicature and coroner's inquests," and are to be summoned in the same manner as other jurors. Now small and fractional as is this concession, especially when compared with the course pursued by Government in the crown colonies, (see No. 49, p. 16, and No. 50, pp. 30 and 31,) yet we hail it as a first step, however tardy in the march of liberality, with respect to the coloured free.

These four enactments are followed by two reports on the progress of religious instruction in Grenada, by the Rev. J. C. Barker, Rector of St. George's, and Rural Dean of the island, and the Rev. Mr. O'Hannan, the Roman Catholic Rector. Mr. O'Hannan's duties seem to be of the most laborious kind. His flock comprises four-fifths of the slaves, about 20,000, and two-thirds of the free black and coloured. He preaches both in French and English to large congregations of 1500 to 2000 slaves, and catechises besides; and he has instituted both Sunday and other schools in St. George's, at which 147 slaves of both sexes attend. The Report of Mr. Barker is less favourable, three of the five parishes being without a catechist, and the education given to the slaves consisting almost entirely of a Sunday school held for an hour or two for ninety-six children in St. George's, and another similar school in St. David's, it is not said by how many attended. Mr. Barker complains of the difficulties in the way of the efficient instruction of the slaves, arising from the prevalence of the Roman Catholic religion, and the general use of the French language. This is the same Mr. Barker mentioned in our 2nd volume, No. 47, p. 446, &c., as having denounced, in a sermon preached by him in 1827, "the general neglect of the Sabbath day, and its perversion to secular employments," as the grand sources "of ignorance, vice, and mental degradation"—adding, that "until we amend this evil all attempts to promote Christian knowledge

will be vain and fruitless." To this evil, however, neither he nor Mr. O'Hannan makes any allusion in the official reports before us.

X.—HONDURAS.

From this colony there is no return.

XI.—JAMAICA, p. 5—10

To the circular of the 3rd of September, 1826, addressed to the Governor of Jamaica, was added a sentence to express the opinion of Sir George Murray, that although some objectionable clauses in the act of 1826 had induced His Majesty to disallow it, yet the principle of amelioration pervaded that act to such a degree, as raised the gratifying expectation, that the measures urged upon the legislature, for bettering the condition of the slaves, would ere long be adopted. Sir George, we fear, has greatly overrated the desire of reform, in the Assembly of Jamaica; as Mr. Huskisson appears to us, to have overrated the amount of improvements in the act of 1826, as compared with that of 1816, and which really is very trivial. The result of the urgent intreaties of the Government, is thus given by Sir John Keane, in a despatch of the 11th of Dec. 1828: "The slave law of 1826, after a violent and continued opposition, passed the House of Assembly precisely in the same words as the old law, with the difference of dates. The Council amended the bill," but "the House have refused to adopt any amendment." "I need not add, that I shall refuse my assent to it, expressing in strong terms, my concern that the two leading objects which I had submitted to them, by the direction of His Majesty's Government, had completely failed."

XII.—MAURITIUS, p. 93—101.

In a preceding number, No. 42, p. 335, and 336, vol. ii. we brought before our readers three documents, on which we commented, one an Ordinance of Sir Lowry Cole, of the 13th Dec. 1826, for regulating the imposition of chains by the master, not only on male but on female slaves, and on slave children also; another, a circular letter to the Commissaries of Districts, recommending a cessation of Sunday labour, a more moderate use of the whip, the abstaining from female flogging, and some other matters; the third a law of Sir Lowry Cole of 27th of Jan. 1827, regulating the manumission of Slaves, being a great improvement on a former law of Sir R. Farquhar, of the 30th of Dec. 1814. By reading the above two pages of No. 42, the reader will be in possession of the subject matter of these documents.

In apparent contradiction, both to the ordinance respecting chains, and the circular to the Commissaries, Sir Lowry Cole says he is much gratified in assuring the Secretary of state, both from the information he has received and his own observation, that the treatment of the slave population has materially improved, and that the inhabitants at large, seem quite disposed to attend to the suggestions and recommendations of Government on this subject."

The general reasoning which follows, is in the best, and most approved style of colonial logic. "It has seemed to me," he says, "de-

sirable, as well on account of the slave, as the master, that the improvements in the situation of the former, should rather appear to proceed from the free-will of the master, than from any compulsive measure." (Hence his preference of persuasive circulars to laws!) "For thus," he adds, "not only are the inhabitants gratified in their feelings, and gradually brought into the views and measures of Government, but the alarm and apprehension which the promulgation of legal enactments would have created in their minds, would be avoided." (And what offender would not prefer his own choice, to a compulsory law?) And then he dreams, that being thus prepared, when the laws shall at length be published for improving the condition of the slaves, they will all have been anticipated by the "*premature* and voluntary compliance of the inhabitants."—Notwithstanding his tirade against female flogging, in his letter to the Commissaries, Sir L. Cole whispers into the ear of the Secretary of state, that "in many instances, the conduct of the women slaves is, in every respect, fully as bad as that of the worst of the male slaves;" and therefore, "though I admit that the abolishing of corporeal punishment in the case of female slaves is *highly desirable*," yet, "*I conceive that bad consequences might result from its immediate prohibition.*" Such are the minds employed to govern our colonies!!

The following extract from a letter of the Secretary of state, dated 8th of May 1829, on the subject of the wretched ordinance about chains, &c. will be read with pleasure. "It would have been made," he says, "the subject of much earlier communication, but for an impression that it had been superseded by the recent ordinance for improving the condition of the slaves." He has learnt, however, from the Commissioners of Inquiry, that this ordinance is still law in the Island, and that "the practice of chains, which it professes to regulate, still prevails there." "It is not without much surprise and concern," he adds, "that His Majesty's Government have observed the provisions of this ordinance. The use of chains, as an ordinary instrument of domestic punishment, in a tropical climate, must be deprecated on every principle of humanity and sound policy. In the West India Islands, long before the commencement of the recent discussions respecting slavery, the use of chains for this purpose had been very generally, if not universally, prohibited under severe penalties.* But this enactment not merely tolerates them, but subjects even women and children of the most tender years to the same description of punishment. It even permits the use of what are termed, branches, attached to the collars borne on the neck of the sufferer. It assigns no limit to the duration of this species of punishment; and when the sanction of the Civil Commissary can be obtained, imposes no limit even on the weight of the chain. It cannot, unfortunately, be suggested, that the

* This, we fear, is incorrect. In several islands there is no prohibition of chains that we can discover, e. g. Antigua, Tortola, Nevis, Montserrat, Grenada, Tobago, &c. &c. In some their use is partially restricted. See Bahamas Act of 1824, sec. 20; Barbadoes Act of Oct. 1826, sec. 47; Dominica Act of 1826, sec. 34; Jamaica Act of 1816, sec. 29, &c.; and St. Kitt's Act of 1798, sec. 18.

instruments the owners are permitted to employ are formidable only in name. The Commissioners of Inquiry thought it their duty to transmit to this department specimens of the various chains and collars, with or without spokes, which are used at Mauritius in the punishment of slaves, and they appear to be nothing less than instruments of torture. I deeply regret that your predecessor did not at once adopt the measure of abolishing and prohibiting them altogether.”—“ You will, therefore, with the least possible delay, after the receipt of this despatch, propose to the Council a law for the total and immediate prohibition of the use of chains, collars, fetters, &c. &c., in the punishment of slaves, either with or without the sanction of the Civil Commissary. The use of chains and similar instruments of punishment cannot be permitted at all, except when necessary to prevent the escape of persons committed for trial on heinous charges. And even in this case the practice should be carefully regulated, so as to prevent any abuse of the power intrusted to the gaoler. The protector of slaves should be specially charged with the execution of this law.

“ It has been stated, that in the streets of Port Louis, the slaves employed as scavengers, are yoked together to carts, and exhibit a very offensive and humiliating spectacle. If any such practice really prevails, immediate measures must be taken for the suppression of it. In the improvement of the general condition of the slaves, nothing can be more essential than to cultivate a sense of self respect among the slaves, and to abolish all practices destructive of it.”

Sir George Murray further condemns the total inefficiency of the regulations for preventing the vindictive punishment by the master of complaining slaves.

We have already noted, No. 50, p. 19, the pointed condemnation by Mr. Huskisson, of the ordinances, both of Sir Robert Farquhar and Sir Lowry Cole, on manumission. In consequence of this, Sir Lowry published a fresh ordinance on the subject, dated 14th May, 1828, but in this ordinance also he seems to have failed to meet the wishes of Government. In a letter of Sir George Murray, of 3rd January, 1829, addressed to General Colville, he directs him to frame a new order, embodying the suggestions contained in his present despatch.—The ordinance of May, 1828, he says, actually prevents the enfranchisement of an unregistered slave; whereas, to secure the observance of the registry laws, “ the penalty should fall, not on the innocent slave, but on the negligent owner.”—“ It still renders necessary to the valid manumission of a slave, that a petition should be addressed to the Governor,” whereas the interference of Government appears to be needless, and therefore improper; there is no good cause “ why the grant of freedom should be fettered with this species of restraint from which all other legal grants between private persons are exempt.” One or two other less material defects are noticed.

On the whole, it is quite consolatory to mark the zeal and vigilance manifested in this correspondence to repress abuses; and the honest indignation which is excited in the breast of the Secretary of State by the view of injustice and oppression.

XIII.—MONTERRAT.

The only mention made of this colony will be found above, (p. 63) under the head of Antigua.

XIV.—NEVIS, pp. 49—65

Several acts, professed to be in compliance with the wishes of His Majesty's Government, have been passed in this island.

1. An act for the protection and guardianship of slaves. This act instead of appointing an independent protector, appoints the justices,—the planters and slave owners,—protectors; and, if any of these shall wilfully and maliciously refuse to do their duty as protectors, they shall be liable to a penalty of £200. currency, (about £80. sterling) to be recovered by indictment in the Court of King's Bench. Suits, however, must be brought within twelve months, and the plaintiff, if he fail, shall be liable to treble costs. Can a greater mockery be imagined than such protection?

2. An act for admitting the evidence of slaves. No persons shall hereafter be rejected as witnesses, by reason of slavery, in any civil or criminal court, but their evidence shall be received in the same manner as that of white or free persons; but with this important exception, "that no slave shall be competent to give evidence in any matter or thing in any case where the master, mistress, owner, renter, manager, or director of any such slave, or where any other person having the immediate authority or control over such slave, may be charged with or prosecuted for any capital offence without benefit of clergy, or a second time after a former conviction, for a chargeable felony." These are the very parties against whom slave evidence is chiefly wanted to guard.

3. An act for regulating slave marriages. It is declared lawful for slaves to marry, provided the marriage is solemnized by a minister of the church of England, or of the church of Scotland; and provided the owners consent to it, or not consenting, and not shewing just cause for refusing, the ordinary shall authorize it. Such marriage, however, is not to alter in any way the relation of master and slave, or to affect the rights of masters, or to give any authority to the husband over the wife or her children, or to endow the wife with any property of her husband, or to confer any rights inconsistent or at variance with the duties of slaves to masters, &c. &c.

4. An act to regulate Sunday markets and prevent Sunday labour. Sunday markets are, in fact, *legalized* until eleven o'clock. No day is given to the slave in lieu of Sunday. Masters are not to employ slaves to labour on Sunday except in cases of emergency, but no provision is made for paying them in such cases. This, we need hardly say, is a perfectly worthless and nugatory act.

5. An act to enable slaves to acquire property. This is not only a worthless but an oppressive law. It professes to give the slave a right of property, but expressly debars him from purchasing, acquiring, possessing, or holding, directly or indirectly, any lands, chattels real, leasehold property, houses, tenements, or hereditaments, slaves, boats or vessels of any description, or from becoming a juror in any case whatever. Nay, if on the passing of this act, any slave shall be found pos-

sessed of such property as has been enumerated, it shall be absolutely sold and conveyed from such slave, and the amount paid to him; and whatever property of that kind he may become hereafter possessed of shall be disposed of in like manner. There is also a provision, that all civil wrongs or criminal offences against a slave by his owner, shall be tried and punished in the same way as in the case of indifferent persons, *except where the means of redress or punishment are already provided by any positive law in force in the island.* This exception may entirely nullify the provision, for any thing that appears to the contrary. And this is an act for enabling slaves to acquire property and for securing it to them!

6. An act to prevent the separation of slaves by sale, in certain cases, without their own consent. This act professes to prevent the separation by sale of husband and wife, parents and children, without their own consent; and it affects to guard the enactment by a number of provisions. But its whole effect seems to us to be rendered nugatory by the introduction of a single word into the enactment. It provides, that no slaves, being *lawful* husband and wife, shall be so separated. In the Trinidad Order, and in all other acts where there is a *bona fide* desire to prevent the separation of families, the word *reputed* is used. In the present act that word is used with respect to children, but changed into *lawful* in the case of husband and wife. This act is dated October 10, 1828. The act which has for the first time made any marriage of slaves valid, that is *lawful*, in Nevis, is dated the 9th of October, 1828. Do we then unjustly charge the colonists with delusive legislation? In Nevis too, it is to be remembered, that many marriages of slaves have been solemnized, as far as a religious ceremony could solemnize them, by the Methodist ministers. These are wholly left out of the contemplation of the new act. They are not among the *lawful* marriages. Is this right?

7. An act to facilitate manumissions. This act proceeds on the principle that no owner is to be compelled against his free will to manumit a slave. It relates wholly therefore to voluntary manumission by the master, which it loads with unnecessary restrictions for securing the future maintenance of the manumitted slave, in a colony where there are already about 1800 manumitted persons, and only two paupers among them: it obviates, however, some legal difficulties where there are litigated interests, &c.

It will be allowed, we think, that Nevis has but very imperfectly answered the call of his Majesty.

XV.—ST. CHRISTOPHER'S.

A full view of the very defective legislation of this island has been given in our 2nd Vol., No. 38, pp. 270—276. The only notice taken of it in these papers is in a letter of Sir George Murray, of the 8th of June, 1829, in which he signifies that he leaves the act to its operation.

XVI.—ST. LUCIA.

Nothing is said on this island. We refer for a view of its legislation to our 2nd Vol., No. 29, pp. 113—117, and No. 43, p. 354.

XVII.—ST. VINCENT'S, pp. 66—72.

For the St. Vincent's slave code we refer to our 1st Vol., No. 11, p. 163, and 2nd Vol., No. 29, pp. 116, 117. Since then no progress has been made in legislating on the subject, if we except an act empowering slaves to give evidence *against* slaves, (not *for* them,) though they have no certificate of baptism or of character.

The remainder of the correspondence respecting this island consists in some not very luminous speculations, and some not very accurate statements of Sir Charles Brisbane, who is the governor. We pity Sir George Murray that he should be doomed to endure such a commentator on the text of his despatches.—He sets out with exposing the importance of the questions at issue, in their various bearings, both to master and slave; and then bespeaks the confidence of Government as being himself equally free from the precipitation and zeal manifest on the one hand; and the prejudice, and perhaps needless fears entertained on the other. He then gives his clear opinion, and there we believe him to be right, that the legislature of St. Vincent's will not advance a single step in the way of reform beyond the act passed by them in 1825. Now, when we refer to Lord Bathurst's comment, of the 3rd of April, 1827, on that act, (the substance of which will be found in No. 29, p. 116,) we may well concur with Sir G. Murray in regretting the little comparative progress made in this island in improving the condition of the slaves.

Sir C. Brisbane, however, seems disposed, notwithstanding the comment of Lord Bathurst, and the regret of Sir G. Murray, to undertake the apology of the legislators of St. Vincent.

As to Sunday, Sir C. Brisbane says, "I can safely and truly declare, that Sunday is, in the fullest sense of the expression, a day of rest, and that the slaves are as exempt as they can be from compulsory labour on that day." He refers in proof of this to the 13th section of the act of 1825. Again he says, "To return to the Sunday, I repeat that it is really a day of rest and relaxation from labour; and it is expressly provided by law that it should be so, under a heavy penalty." Now, with all due deference to Sir Charles Brisbane, we venture to say, that he has been led to mistake both the law and the practice in this instance. The 13th section of the act, to which he refers, does not contain a single syllable as to preventing compulsory labour on the Sunday, nor does it make the Sunday a day of rest and relaxation, but the contrary. The penalty it imposes is not for compulsory labour on the Sunday, nor for applying Sunday to other purposes than rest and relaxation. It simply enacts that if any person does not allow his slaves twenty-six days, over and above the Sundays, for the purpose of working their grounds, he shall forfeit £50. currency. Now this clause is so far from enjoining *rest* on the Sundays that it assumes the Sundays to be employed by the slaves in cultivating their grounds. The additional days for that purpose are over and above the Sundays. The 7th and 9th clauses regulate shops and markets; and the 11th forbids putting mills about, on Sunday: and this forms the whole of the laws on the subject of Sunday. No

statement therefore can be more incorrect than that of Sir Charles Brisbane as to the law on this subject.

This mistatement of the *law*, which law he must have had before his eyes, is rather a presumption against the correctness of his representation of the *practice*, which he must have collected chiefly from the information of others; and unquestionably, that information has misled him. We could produce many proofs to this effect, independently of the manifest intent of the law as contained in the 13th section: but our limits oblige us to confine ourselves to one, but that one is quite decisive.—The Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction of negro slaves, gave, in their last Report (p. 132, and Appendix, No. viii.) a detailed account of the proceedings of an excellent and zealous clergyman, the Rev. Mr. Holberton, in St. Vincent's. This gentleman, writing in 1827, informs the Society, that there was then "reason to believe, 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 in the district, this *obligation does not exist, one day in the week throughout the year being allowed them*." From this unimpeachable testimony of a zealous minister of the Church of England, labouring among the slaves, and who must have known the facts, it appears that, in 1827, the obligation of the slaves to cultivate their lands on the sabbath day was general. On one or two, out of thirty-three estates in a particular district, Mr. Holberton says, the slaves were relieved from this obligation, their masters giving them a day throughout the year in lieu of it; but on the other thirty-one estates, the obligation continued, evidently because the masters did not give their slaves a day in the week in lieu of Sunday. Mr. Holberton seemed to indulge a hope, that the obligation to work on the Sunday would cease generally; but that could only be effected by a legislative act. Since 1827, however, no such legislative act has been passed. On the whole, therefore, we think we are fully borne out in believing that Sir C. Brisbane's statement of the *practice*, as to Sunday labour, is as incorrect as it most manifestly is, in respect to the *law*.

But Sir Charles Brisbane proceeds, "The rights of property are recognized, and property itself secured and protected to the slaves, by the fifth and sixth sections of the act of 1825, and marriage is encouraged by the tenth section."

Now Sir Charles Brisbane seems, both on these points and on that of the Sunday, to have entirely overlooked, what he was bound to have respected, the clear and deliberate opinions of Lord Bathurst, on the very clauses he cites, as contained in his Lordship's letter to him of the 3rd April, 1827. Speaking of the 5th and 6th clauses, his Lordship observes, "With respect to the possession of property, I remark, that the slave is not enabled to maintain an action, whether in his own name or that of any other person; neither is any provision made for the securing the payment of money lent by a slave, or of any legacy bequeathed to him. If the property of a slave be sold to his owner or manager, there is no provision for enforcing the payment of the purchase money: and even in the case where the slave is unlawfully deprived of property, the law is silent respecting the manner in which,

or the person by whom the complaint is to be advanced and proved, if the owner or manager should be the party offending. I observe also, that the slave is prohibited from holding land, even in the smallest quantity. In all these respects" "the provisions respecting the property of slaves are defective and inadequate, and will require an early and careful revision."

Lord Bathurst might have added, that by the 81st, and following clauses of this very act, slaves are debarred from selling or trading for any articles, or merchandize of any sort, except firewood, fish, poultry, goats, hogs, grass, fruit, and vegetables!

With respect to the tenth section, of which Sir Charles also boasts, Lord Bathurst observes, regarding marriage, that no provision is made against the capricious refusal of owners to permit it; that the right of celebrating it is improperly confined to the established clergy; that no marriage registry is provided for; that the clause is omitted making marriages of slaves binding, valid, and effectual; besides other imperfections, noticed by his Lordship.

But we have done with Sir Charles Brisbane for the present. He pleads for the Colonists thus, "What can we expect from men who apprehend they are walking on a precipice? Can we wonder they should be hesitating and slow?" We reply, certainly not; and especially if they have, in their Governor, an interpreter of the views of Government, disposed to palliate the defects of the system which it is *their* object to reform, and to present to the planters motives to resistance, rather than motives to compliance with *their* wishes.

XVIII.—TOBAGO, pp. 73—78.

A view of the slave legislation of this colony may be seen in Vol. ii. No. 29, pp. 117—119. The legislature refuse, on the usual pleas of having done enough already, to do any more; and they are backed by General Blackwell, the Governor. But we will go no further into their statements than to notice one inaccuracy of considerable importance, into which both have fallen. It is asserted, that not only have Sunday markets been abolished, and Thursday markets substituted, but that both days are now wholly given up to the slave for his own employment. Now it is not true that the law of Tobago gives Thursday to the slaves. The 40th clause appointing Thursday markets, does *not* give it to them. And from the 41st clause, even the contrary may be inferred.—See our remarks on this important subject above, (p. 67) under the head of Grenada.

XIX.—TORTOLA.

The return is nothing. Indeed, the idea of a representative body for such a paltry white population as this and some other colonies contain, is highly absurd.

XX.—TRINIDAD, pp. 78, 79.

These papers contain only an attempt to explain certain discrepancies in the statements from Trinidad, on the subject of the price of slaves, which is not very intelligible to the general reader. The progress of Reform in Trinidad, if progress it can be called, may be found in our

first volume, No. 11—and in our second volume, No. 30, pp. 121—133, and No. 43, pp. 351—354.

We will defer, for the present, any general observations on the above abstract of colonial proceedings; which goes irrefragably to establish the point for which we have so strenuously contended during the last six years, that no remedy is to be expected for the enormities of the slave system, except by the intervention of parliament. We repeat, slavery is a national crime to be renounced and extinguished, and not merely an evil to be palliated. And to expect from those who profit by that crime, a voluntary renunciation of it, shews an extraordinary inacquaintance, both with human nature, and with the lessons of experience.

While employed in preparing the above analysis, we received a parliamentary volume, containing the “Protectors of Slaves’ Reports.” Our limits will not now permit us to enter upon it. Indeed it deserves a more prominent place, than the closing pages of one of our numbers. The West Indian writers have been endeavouring, in their usual way, to extract from it a defence of their system; with how little success it can be pressed into that service, we shall take an early opportunity of shewing. In the mean time we have to thank the Editor of the *Times* for some acute and conclusive observations on the light thrown by this document on the real nature and bearings of colonial slavery. But then it ought always to be kept in view, that the main practical evils of the system are not even touched by such details as these; we mean, the *overworking* and the *underfeeding* of the slaves; evils less liable to detection, but which, being unceasing in operation, far exceed, in their malignant, and deathful influence on the slaves, all the other physical evils of slavery put together.

II. CULTURE OF SUGAR BY FREE LABOUR.

WE are anxious, before we close this number, to advert to another topic, on which the colonial pamphleteers and journalists have laboured hard during the last month, to work on the public mind. We allude to the culture of sugar by free labour. A writer of the name of Saintsbury, has stepped forward among the rest, and repeated the exploded fallacies of the late Mr. Marryat, as well as those of Mr. Macqueen, on the subject of the sugar imported hither from the East Indies, which they hardily affirm to be the produce of slave labour, and not the produce of free labour. Our readers of the present day are, perhaps, not aware, that this controversy was conclusively settled in 1823. The late Mr. Marryat then employed his able pen in endeavouring to establish this point; and the present race of writers have, in fact, done little more than, with far less of talent and acuteness, to produce again his refuted arguments, and to fortify them with his disproved statements. The refutation and disproof may both be found in a pamphlet published by Hatchard, entitled, “A letter to W. W. Whitmore, Esq. M.P.” This pamphlet was deemed decisive at the time. The facts of the case are precisely the same now as they were then, and the Letter to Mr. Whit-

more is just as complete a reply to Mr. Saintsbury's positions as it was to those of Mr. Marryat. A sheet, extracted from this pamphlet, has been published by the Anti-Slavery Society, and to that we must refer our readers. It will there be seen that, not only is there no instance in which the husbandry of the Bengal provinces, from which alone we derive our sugar, is conducted by slaves; but we have it pointed out to us clearly, and in every instance, by whom the labour is performed, namely, by the family of the Ryot or farmer, and by labourers hired by him as they are wanted, and whose rates of wages are distinctly given in the official documents on the subject.

The whole effect on the public mind produced by Mr. Saintsbury and others, proceeds from their wilful and deliberate misrepresentation of the documents to which they refer. They quote, as applicable to Bengal, passages which have a reference only to the Malabar coast. The existence of slavery, for instance, in some recently ceded district on the Malabar side of India, is made to prove that sugar is cultivated by slaves in Bengal. The voluminous collection of documents, printed by the East India Company in 1823, furnishes the most decisive and irrefragable proofs—(every page is full of them)—that the whole of the agriculture of the Bengal provinces is conducted by free labour. On this fact there can be no controversy with an honest reader of these documents. But, in order to overthrow this mass of testimony, what do such writers as Mr. Saintsbury do? They resort to statements which refer to quite another part of the world, and apply them to Bengal; and they hope to evade detection, because Malabar and Bengal are both in Asia or in India. They might with equal conclusiveness prove that corn is grown in Great Britain by slave labour, because there happen to be slaves in Russia. The only sugar, however, which we receive from India comes from Bengal. Malabar imports sugar from abroad for its own consumption. The proof of all this may be seen in the pamphlet to which we have referred, and which points in every case to the page of the authentic work which it cites.

There is also another pamphlet, published in 1824, which is equally conclusive on this point as the letter to Mr. Whitmore. It is entitled, "East India Sugar, or an Inquiry respecting the means of improving the quality and reducing the cost of sugar raised by free labour in the East Indies."

But if there were no such pamphlets in existence, the statements of Sir Edward Hyde East and Mr. Hume in the House of Commons on the 1st of March, 1826, would of themselves be sufficient to refute every syllable published by Mr. Saintsbury or a thousand such writers. Sir E. H. East is a large Jamaica proprietor, who had filled for years the situation of Chief Justice in Bengal. He denied, in the most explicit terms, that slavery was recognized by law as a condition of society in Bengal; and Mr. Hume added, that he had been much in Bengal, and from what he knew of society there, he would undertake confidently to say, that there were no agricultural slaves there. (See Vol. i. No. 10, p. 105.)

Let a single extract more on this subject suffice for the present. It is taken from the letter to Mr. Whitmore already referred to. The letter writer quotes the testimony of the Bengal Board of Trade, of the

7th of August, 1792, to the following effect, as contained in the first Appendix to the East India Company's great volume, printed in 1823, pp. 51 to 60. "In this country (Bengal) the cultivator is either the immediate proprietor of the ground, or he hires it, as in Europe, of the proprietor, and uses his discretion in cultivating what he thinks best adapted to the nature of the soil or the demand of the market. One field produces sugar, the next wheat, rice, or cotton. The husbandman is nourished and clothed from his own ground; or, if he thinks it more his interest to sell the whole of his own produce, supplies himself and family with the necessaries of life from his neighbours on the next public market." Contrasting their state with that of slaves in the West Indies, it is added, "The Bengal peasantry are freemen." "The Bengal peasant is actuated by the ordinary wants and desires of mankind. His family assist his labour and soothe his toil, and the sharp eye of personal interest guides his judgment." This statement is followed by a great variety of Reports from the presidents and collectors in the different provinces of Bengal, and extending through more than 200 closely printed folio pages. The existence of slavery as a condition of society in Bengal is not once alluded to in any one of these Reports, although they give us a variety of minute and detailed calculations of the cost of raising sugar. In short, there is no more allusion to slave labour, as forming a constituent part of the charge of cultivating sugar, than there would be to slave labour in an estimate of the cost of growing corn in the county of York. Slaves are never mentioned; and the only substitute for hired labour ever hinted at, is the labour of the farmer's household.

But we may spare ourselves the trouble of confuting the elaborate misstatements of our adversaries on this question. The controversy is fast tending to its termination. The march of events will scarcely leave room much longer, either for misrepresentation or misapprehension. The facilities already given in Bengal by Lord W. Bentinck, to the investment of British capital and the development of British skill in the cultivation of the soil; the almost certainty that those fiscal regulations which have hitherto depressed the growth of sugar in Bengal, and prevented the large increase of its imports into this country, will soon be repealed; the prospect of an early removal of the other restrictions which still fetter the commerce of our Eastern possessions; the rapidly increasing population and prosperity of Hayti; the official statements of Mr. Ward, as to the profitable culture of sugar by free labour in Mexico; and the rapid extension of the manufacture of beet root sugar in France; a prelude, as we conceive, to its introduction into this country, and especially into Ireland; all these circumstances combined, afford a promise which can scarcely fail of seeing a death-blow inflicted on the culture of sugar by slave-labour, which all the misrepresentations of all the slave holders in the world, with all their clamorous partizans in this country cannot avert, or even long retard. We mean, however, shortly to recur to the subject.

AN INDEX for the 1st and 2d volumes of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* has been printed, and may be procured at the Society's Office, 18, Aldermanbury, either separately, or bound up with the 2d volume. Price of the volume, half-bound in calf, Five Shillings. Title-pages and Contents for both volumes may also be procured separately.

ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER.

No. 53.]

FOR OCTOBER, 1829.

[No. 5. Vol. iii.]

- I. DUBLIN ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING.
- II. CORK ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING.
- III. LIVERPOOL MEETING FOR FREE TRADE TO INDIA AND CHINA.
- IV. WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

IT was our intention to have analysed in the present Number the Reports of the Protectors of Slaves which have recently been laid before Parliament; but circumstances, which it is unnecessary to explain, have obliged us to postpone our purpose, and to confine ourselves to the domestic occurrences mentioned above.*

I.—DUBLIN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

WE ought to have taken an earlier opportunity of noticing the progress which the cause of liberty and humanity has made in Ireland. The *Dublin Morning Post* of the 22d of April, contains an interesting account of the transactions which took place at the last meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society for that city. A report clearly enouncing and forcibly inculcating the principles which this publication maintains, was read and approved; and several animated speeches were delivered. One of the gentlemen who addressed the meeting, most truly remarked, that the labouring population of Ireland have a deep interest in the question.

“There has been a Committee,” said he, “in existence for a considerable time, for the improvement of Ireland, which is better known by the name of the Mansion-house Committee. This society consists of gentlemen, at whose head is the Lord Mayor, of patriotism, talent, and influence, and their object was to improve the country. But I will tell those gentlemen, that with the incubus which presses down upon us, you can do nothing; you may meet daily instead of monthly, you may pay

* An error has crept into our last Number, which we are anxious to take the earliest opportunity of correcting. It occurs at p. 63. We there stated that the benevolent individual who had been honoured by the persecution of the Antigua Assembly, because he had administered some pecuniary relief to certain needy slaves in that island, was a Quaker. In this we were mistaken. He is not a member of the Society of Friends, though he possesses sufficient philanthropy and firmness of character to account for the mistake.

In our account of the legislation of Nevis, in the same Number, (p. 73,) we stated that the Justices of the Peace of that island, (in fact the planters and slave-owners of that island,) had, by the new law, (in mockery, as it were, of the Royal Recommendation to appoint an *independent* Protector of Slaves,) appointed themselves *Protectors*; and these Protectors being so appointed, have enacted that, should they *wilfully* and *maliciously*, refuse to do their duty, they may be indicted in the Court of King's Bench, and fined £80. sterling. We omitted, however, to mention, that the Judges and the Jurors of this Court are all composed of the very individuals who are thus to be controlled and punished by themselves.

At p. 77, line 25, for—*to their wishes*, read *with their wishes*.

down your pounds where you have heretofore paid your shillings, and the links of the civic chain may be kept bright by the movements of charity, and there may be additional lustre flung around it from the patriotism of him who wears it, and the plans may be as good as human intellect can devise, and their execution may be intrusted to men of the highest moral principles, and the highest intellectual attainments, and all will avail, I was going to say, nothing, towards the completion of their objects, because the load is too mighty for them to raise. It has been asserted by the philosopher, that every violation of the physical and moral law is visited back with due and measured punishment, and that the assessor is made inevitably to feel the weight of its infringement—and in no case is this more clearly exemplified than in the punishment of our ruined manufactures, and consequently the threatened starvation with which we are now surrounded—a consequence naturally resulting from the violation of justice, in robbing the slave of the price of his labour and detaining him in slavery.”

II.—CORK ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

ON the 2d of September, was held the Annual Meeting of the Cork Anti-Slavery Society. The transactions were so interesting that we cannot, we think, gratify our readers more than by transferring the whole account from the columns of the *Southern Reporter* to our pages.

Charles Beamish, Esq. having taken the chair, said that he accepted that honourable post with gratitude. It afforded him unqualified gratification to see such a distinguished meeting assembled, as it was, for furthering the glorious work of ameliorating and emancipating the millions of wretched beings at that moment suffering bondage the most appalling that could be imagined. The object of the meeting was to petition the legislature to interfere for the liberation of the wretched West Indian captive, but it would first be necessary the Secretary should read the Report for the last year. *Thomas Wilson Newsom, Esq.* then read the following Report:—

“ In presenting their Annual Report, the Committee deem it unnecessary to lay before the Society any details on the progress of the cause, or its present state, as such information is amply supplied to our members by the “Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter,” which so vigilantly watches, and ably advocates the great cause we are associated to promote. Yet the Committee feel it gratifying briefly to advert to the recent acts of the executive government, by which some measures of improvement have been already introduced, and others of a more decided nature contemplated, especially that highly important project now in preparation, a general reform of the Colonial Judicatures, and the universal admission of the evidence of Slaves, on the same footing as that of other persons: this measure must produce very salutary results, not only by raising the moral condition of the slave, but also protecting him in a great degree from the wanton inflictions of that cruel despotism which has so long been exercised with impunity.

“ Much, however, remains to be accomplished; but the improvements already introduced, together with the measures in contemplation

of Government, should encourage the friends of the injured Africans to persevere in their philanthropic exertions, confiding in the ultimate success which cannot fail to crown a cause founded on the immutable principles of justice, humanity, and religion.

“The exertions of the Ladies’ Association, acting in concert with ours, have tended materially to promote the cause in this neighbourhood; by diffusing a knowledge of the debased and suffering state in which the hapless victims of colonial slavery continue to be held, and thus exciting a feeling of compassion towards these oppressed bondsmen.

“In referring to the annexed statement of accounts, the Committee have to regret that their funds are still insufficient, although but a very limited sum is requisite for defraying incidental expenses, and procuring the necessary supply of the Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter, and other means of circulating correct information; the Committee, therefore, appeal to the public, and to the individual exertions of their members, for the trifling aid required to prosecute an object, involving as well as their own pecuniary interests as the best feelings of human nature.”

The *Rev. Mr. Hort* presented himself to the meeting, and said it was with peculiar pleasure he rose to address so interesting an assembly—one composed of those of different religious and political opinions, but all combining in one great and philanthropic object—namely, the present amelioration and future abolition of slavery.—(*Hear, hear.*) The subject was one well befitting the splendid eloquence of a Demosthenes or a Cicero. Though old in years, his heart beat warm when he saw slavery, the worst of slavery, still existing in the world, and in no part of the world, with more dreadful and appalling cruelty than in that portion of the British Dominions—the West Indies. It was a slur upon the British character and name that, notwithstanding the thundering eloquence of Pitt and Fox and Wilberforce, and the efforts of Granville Sharpe, in the cause of suffering humanity, still slavery was *permitted* to exist. (*Cheers.*) Was it not repulsive to the finest feelings of human nature—was it not derogatory to the human race, that one man, by any code of policy should be allowed to exercise unlimited and brutal sway over the actions, person, and life of another. Yet so it was in the West Indies, and for the putting an end to that dreadful state of thralldom, the present important meeting had assembled. The glorious work of the abolition of the Slave Trade was not regularly attempted until the year 1765, when Granville Sharpe, the illustrious friend of humanity, began to show himself as the public advocate of the oppressed Africans, after having spent whole years in bringing to light the cruelty and wretchedness of that detestable traffic. The estimable Society of Friends, ever ready for every exertion in favour of the miserable, had, indeed, passed their censure upon the Slave Trade, at their yearly meeting in London, 1727. This they followed up with other resolutions, as a body, in the years 1751—1761—1763, and 1772. In the year following they petitioned Parliament against its continuance, and in the same year several members of their communion deemed it their duty to acquaint their countrymen at large with its horrible nature and practice; for which purpose they wrote and circulated pamphlets, and conveyed

information on the subject, by means of the London and country newspapers. In 1785, Dr. Pickard, master of Magdalen College, Cambridge, having previously most severely condemned the infamous trade, in a sermon preached before that learned and liberal university, gave out, as a subject for a Prize Poem, the question, whether it be lawful to make slaves of others against their will.—This excited the attention of Clarkson, at that time a young man of one and twenty. He wrote for, and gained, the premium, which circumstance gave an impulse to his mind that finally induced him to devote his time and industry to this interesting object. The impulse which thus bore him forward, Clarkson communicated to Wilberforce, Member for the county of York. In 1787, a Committee was formed, consisting of Granville Sharpe, Clarkson, Dillwyn, and some others of the Society of Friends, which, labouring under Wilberforce, as its parliamentary head, became the instrument of Providence, for the final overthrow of a trade, which, measuring its magnitude by the crimes and sufferings it produced, was, perhaps, the most fearful evil that ever afflicted the human race. (*Hear, hear.*) Clarkson was indefatigable in his labours for procuring information concerning this odious traffic, for which purpose he repeatedly took up his abode in Bristol, Liverpool, and other Slave Ports—the very seats and high places in which this dreadful, iniquitous worship was paid to the Golden Idol, before which mankind has ever been too ready to bow. (*Hear, hear.*) In the mean time, the Committee made known its existence by public advertisement, and unfolded the great object which it had in view. Its seal was engraved for its correspondence, the device of which was, a Negro in chains, kneeling with hands uplifted towards Heaven, and exclaiming “am I not a man and a brother?” The community of Friends came forward first, as a body, to acknowledge and approve this Committee. The general Baptists followed next. Then poured in letters of encouragement and promises of support from persons of every religious denomination; Price, Wesley, Roscoe; Bishops Porteus, Woodward, Horne, and Bathurst; Paley, the celebrated La Fayette, Brissot and Claviere, noble friends of freedom, who lost their lives under the sanguinary tyranny of the monster Robespierre, joined their efforts. The good feeling now spread far and fast among all ranks and orders; so that in 1788, thirty-five petitions against the Slave Trade were presented to Parliament from different places. These proceedings, together with the evident diminution of revenue occasioned by the abstinence from all West Indian products, to which multitudes had mutually pledged themselves, produced such an effect upon Government, that a Committee of the Privy Council was appointed to inquire into the nature of the Slave Trade. This inquiry continued through February, March, April, and part of May, of that year, when on 9th May, 1788, Wilberforce, who had prepared himself to bring the subject before Parliament, being so ill that his life was despaired of, Mr. Pitt, then Prime Minister, opened the business in the House of Commons, the effect of which was the passing of a motion to take the matter into consideration early in the next Session. On the 12th of May, 1789, Mr. Wilberforce addressed the House on this topic, with zealous and pathetic eloquence; but such was the opposition offered by slave-dealers

and proprietors, that the discussion was deferred to the next Session. In April of the year 1791, Mr. Wilberforce again exerted his strength and talents in this glorious cause, in the House of Commons, yet though supported by the splendid abilities of Pitt, Fox, Burke, Grey, Windham, and Whitbread, his motion was lost, such was the opposition and influence exerted by ambition and self-interest. This disappointment did not, however, quell the spirit of the nation; for, in March, 1792, no fewer than 517 petitions lay on the table of the House of Commons, praying for the abolition of the Slave Trade. Year after year, Wilberforce renewed the glorious struggle, till in March, 1806, the great question was ushered again into Parliament, under the auspices of Grenville and Fox, who supported it with unrivalled powers of eloquence; a modification of the original motion was then carried by a vast majority.—In the Session of 1807, the contest was renewed, and though death had carried off one of its ablest supporters—Fox—yet sustained by Grenville, Wilberforce, Romilly, Roscoe, and others, in the House of Commons; and by the Duke of Gloucester, Barrington, Bishop of Durham; Lords Moira, Holland, and King, in the House of Lords, the question was at length triumphantly carried. On the 24th of March, 1807, it passed both Houses, and on the 25th it received the Royal Assent. Thus, after twenty years of hard struggle, during which the field had been disputed, inch by inch, and was at last by the arms of reason won, passed this important bill, the triumph of humanity over interest and ignorance. The Rev. Gentleman concluded by proposing the first resolution.

The *Rev. Mr. Townsend* seconded the resolution, and addressed the meeting at some length—in the course of which he took occasion to say, that the foulest blot on the British Constitution was allowing slavery to exist in their dominions. He said their object was a christian object, and the Lord came on earth to abolish slavery; and though it might be said it was the chain of sin the Lord had broken, yet that object they could not attain unless they raised the slaves from their prostrate condition—gave them the benefit of education and particularly a scriptural education. The unfortunate slaves were even deprived of the right of the sabbath—christianity could not shed her holy light upon them—every ray of hope was shut out, and they were kept down in gloomy darkness. The Reverend Gentleman said, in conclusion, there was a strong prejudice against them because persons mingled party feelings and their angry passions in the discussion of this subject. He hoped that for the future such would not be the case, and that they would remember the object in which they were engaged.

Rev. James Daly,* in proposing the second resolution said, The honour of proposing this resolution has been conferred upon me; and I must say, I feel quite inadequate to the task of doing justice to its merits. We are met this day in a glorious cause—a cause in which all persons of every political and religious creed are engaged—namely the abolition of slavery. Every thing in my humble power shall be given to further

* A Roman Catholic.

this great measure—(*Hear, hear.*) I shall not detain you long, as you will hear other speakers of great and popular talents. But, Sir, I have one observation to make, and it arises from the resolution I hold in my hand; it suggests to me that any laws enacted against liberty are both oppressive and arbitrary. We have authenticated evidence of the existence of a system of horrible slavery in our colonies—a system not justified, revolting to human nature, and against the well being of society. (*Hear, hear.*) Therefore, as a Christian Minister, I am happy to bear testimony to the zeal and alacrity manifested by this Society in such a cause. Our first exertions should be to free them. That done, to impart to them the blessings of religious instruction. As freemen they will better know how to appreciate the value of such a heavenly boon. If the proprietary in the colonies conceive right, they would perceive the benefits their interests would derive from free labour. Lately rescued from a state of political slavery, I feel its benefits, and though my chains were less galling than those of the African, I would wish to extend the blessings I enjoy, to every human being. (*Cheers.*)

The *Rev. Mr. Burnett** rose, and in a speech, of which the following is a faint outline, seconded the resolution.—Sir, in seconding this resolution, I cannot say with others, that I have not been accustomed to address public meetings: for I have addressed other meetings from which many who have now joined us, have staid away. But, Sir, this is a meeting of a different description—a meeting of all churches, of different creeds, political antagonists of all descriptions and non-descriptions; radicals and anti-radicals, (*Laughter, and loud cries of hear, hear*)—those glad of emancipation, and those who are sorry for it; and to see you, Sir, presiding in that chair gives me infinite pleasure. (*Hear, hear.*) We are looking for emancipation—the emancipation of our fellow-beings from the fangs of ruthless oppressors; and when I recollect the strange character of this assemblage, I observe a feature in it, which is, that in the limits of a free empire, and in the 19th century, we are assembled to inquire whether men are to be oppressed, or whether they are to be stolen? (*Hear, hear.*) Shall such be allowed to continue? (*No, no.*) The question was forgot to have been put sooner. Why not make the request with nations of common power to enable us to compel oppressors to surrender to the unfortunate Africans their rights and privileges. (*Hear, hear.*) Men may and do act with injustice towards each other; all the world's history furnishes us with the fact. Like the waves of the ocean, agitated with tumultuous heavings, lifting some monster to the surface, and giving him power over others of the same species. (*Loud cheers.*) But the storm soon becomes a settled calm. Restore to the planters their feelings, and compel them to sympathize with their fellow-men. Some of them are giddy with their elevation. If unjust power be necessary to support them, it may flow for a season with its own peculiar attribute; but its potency will not last, and their own thunder will be sufficient to consume them. (*Hear, hear.*) I know of no moral right connected with oppression—

* A Presbyterian.

climes or circumstances considered—such a right Heaven's moral administration denounces. Those raised even by the Deity itself to power have abused the trust. Man has no moral right to oppress his brethren. The Planters talk of vested rights, and say you cannot touch them. If persons have investments, originally acquired by fraud, murder, and robbery, why they can boast of their association with banditti. We do not hear them talk of vested wrongs.—(No, no.)—Let the negro but speak his sentiments upon his wrongs, and troops are sent amongst them; the whip and tortures applied; and is it to such men we are to apply for the relief of the persecuted African. Speak to them, and they will say our slaves are well treated.—We are kind, tender, and affectionate to them.—They would despise the idea of leaving us. But when you refer to the state of the negro, and say he is unhappy—oh, no, he is sullen and vindictive, is the answer; they even go further, and tell you that by Revelation they are entitled to keep slaves. The Jews had slaves. Well, I shall meet them upon that, by saying that the Jews were the chosen people of the Lord, called for a particular purpose, instruments in his hands to punish and root out an idolatrous people, and the remnants of them were made slaves. (*Hear, hear.*) Can they pretend that they have a divine right for their tyranny upon these unfortunate people? If we take the law of slavery as it existed amongst the Jews, we find it in the 21st Exodus, chap. 16:—“*And he that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his pound, he shall surely be put to death.*” The moral law of Heaven is for all. (*Hear, hear.*) Having now shewn by the law of Moses, that they have no right to act, I give them the benefit of this characteristic of the New Testament—“*Do unto others as you would be done by.*”—(*Hear, hear.*) But, in answer, they say if we give the slaves liberty, and send them home, they will be destroyed by cannibals. I, for myself, would, if in a state of slavery, prefer even the chance of being eat by cannibals, to dying by inches with tortures too horrible to dilate upon.—(*Cheers.*) Why, then, should we apply to the colonists? If we look for the manumission of the slaves, they say we affect their happiness. But we throw light upon them, and if the lightning should flash, and the thunder roll, we tell them to take the helm and steer the vessel. Let the planters abandon her, and she will find her way to port. (*Cheers.*) Sad and degraded must the slave be, who hugs his chains, and bends his obsequious knee to his oppressor. (*Hear, hear.*) We like to see the eagle chained upon a pedestal in a gentleman's garden, but I like to see him—the bird of Jove—wing his way to heaven, with all the ardour of his character, worthy of the emblem he was destined to represent. (*Loud cheers.*) There is something splendid about him. Pitt, Fox, Burke, Sheridan, Wilberforce, and Windham, have been arrayed in vain to obtain full and equal redress for the slaves. Shall we look to the Legislature? They will not interfere. No, they have sunk the Majesty of the British Senate. (*Loud cheers.*) Leaving the legislature, we turn to the great body of the people, to join us, and by their common energies, and with their assistance, the legislature will become strong; if the people withhold their cooperation, it becomes weak. (*Hear, hear.*) Africa looks to us. The people are the wheel by which the smaller springs are

moved; and therefore let all the wheels of the gigantic machine be set in motion, and liberty to the captive is certain. (*Cheers.*) We have received promises, but promises will not do.—Spread your canvass to the wind, and whilst the breeze is stiff, make for the destined haven, (*cheers.*) our common triumph will be to achieve. (*Loud cheers.*)

James Lane, Esq. was aware that it was not a little presumptuous in him to offer himself to the notice of the meeting, after the extraordinary display of eloquence with which they had been delighted. The few words he should say would be more of a pecuniary or calculating nature than of a character to excite the feelings. The monopoly of the West India Planter was at present supported by a bounty of 5s. per cwt. on the exportation of refined sugar, which raised the price, in the whole consumption, £750,000 to £900,000 per annum; (*hear,*) nearly £500 to each of the 1800 planters, who form the proprietorship of the sugar estates in the West Indies. In order, avowedly, to encourage this dreadful system of wholesale murder, a large duty of 10s. a cwt. is also levied on sugars from all other parts of the world, from India, for instance—so that, in the whole, the consumer was taxed with a duty of more than 1d. a lb.—imposed as premium on slave production, and in order to enable slave proprietors to reside in England in splendour and ease—(*hear, hear,*)—delegating to hirelings the care of their wretched slaves. (*Applause.*) What was the result of this policy? Why, that in the very article of cotton, the nineteen-twentieths of the consumption of England was obtained from America—while, not 30 years ago, the one-tenth part of the cotton grown in Jamaica was not produced in the whole of the United States. (*Hear, hear.*) The American Planter resided on his plantations, and looked well to the condition and prosperity of his labourers; not so the West India Planter—he delegated the superintendence of his estates to a merciless underling, and hence one cause of the almost annihilation of the produce of cotton in the West Indies. The mass of the West India population having no personal interest in the present state of things, rendered a large standing army necessary, at an expense to this country of two millions per annum, and the loss of 2000 soldiers, from the pestilence of the climate, while the East Indies paid the expense of their own establishments, civil and military. (*Hear, hear.*) Indeed the inhabitants of the East Indies could not take our manufactures, as we could not import their raw material at a fair price; and any one taking the trouble to calculate the extent of the *negative* evil alone, would best find it elucidated by reference to population.—Hindoostan contained 70,000,000, and China 134,000,000; making 204,000,000 human beings whom England was more or less shut out from commercial intercourse with, in consequence of the present state of policy regarding the produce of the West Indies. (*Hear, hear.*) Under a system of free trade Great Britain and Ireland may import all her cotton from India, in British ships, and on better terms than those on which it was now received. This would necessarily lead to the establishment of a better system in the West, and be the immediate and obvious cause of extinguishing slavery there. 'O yes, a free trade with those countries would give full employment to our own wretched population—would exchange idleness, want and discontent, for industry,

comfort, and happiness. Our fine mill-streams, now wasting their efficacy, would give motion to numerous manufactories, and the produce of our soil would find ample demand from our unemployed population. It, therefore, only remains for me to lay before you, in the resolution I now submit, the impolicy, as regards our pecuniary interests, of this disgraceful and detestable system. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. James Daly rose to second the resolution. He should not say a word if he were not satisfied that there were still sceptics as to the doctrine of free trade. Some time ago England was fearful, in the event of the removal of restrictions from the article of wool, that the existence of the trade would be at an end. But look at the result: the restrictions are removed, and the operations in the trade have become tripled—aye, quadrupled. Some West India Planters argue that the removal of slavery in those islands would be peculiarly injurious to Ireland, inasmuch as the provision trade therewith would be destroyed. Granted; and if the West Indies were sunk in the ocean, England would be infinitely bettered; the protecting duty of 10s. per cwt. on sugar would be at an end; the new and vast—unlimited—sources would be opened in the East. An interchange of our manufactures and productions for their commodities would be effected, and Ireland be once more in a position to consume her own beef and butter. (*Cheers.*) *Mr. Daly* concluded by expressing a hope that, ere long, he should see England and Ireland concentrated in one general effort for the manumission of the wretched slaves in the West Indies.

Reuben Harvey, Esq. moved the fourth resolution. He professed himself to be unaccustomed to address public assemblies. However, in a few words he should say that he abhorred slavery in any shape, and that it was high time for the colonists (it was for their interests,) that free labour was substituted for slavery. (*Applause.*)

The *Rev. Mr. Reilly* spoke as follows—*Mr. Chairman*—It is not necessary for me to read this resolution, which I have been called upon to second, as you have just heard it from the excellent and respected friend who has proposed it. It is, I conceive, a subject of uncommon weight and magnitude, and demands our particular attention. The unusual interest which has been excited on this great occasion by the eloquent appeal of the learned and Rev. Gentleman who has preceded me, renders it unnecessary for me to occupy your attention by any lengthened observations. But it were not justice to my own feelings to give this subject my mere silent support. We need not, Sir, view the question, whether there can be any right by which one part of the human family may enslave another—whether the body, the mind and liberties of men should be matters of traffic. There is an instinctive resistance in the mind of man to slavery, as a violation of common rights. But to those who have been accustomed to cherish principles of liberty it must be viewed as a crime of the greatest enormity. The minds of the unhappy slaves are enthralled and debased, and they are debarred of every opportunity of illumination and improvement by their heartless and cruel tyrants. Every thing connected with man's soul is inconceivably important by its alliance with immortality and a future world. What is even the eagle's flight, rising from his native rock, and soaring in that

flight till lost in the clouds of heaven? (*Cheers.*) What is this to the mind of man? It can wing a bolder flight and rise above creation itself, and contemplate the nature and perfections of him who made us. (*Cheers.*) The resolution tells me that it is in vain to look to the colonist for ameliorating the treatment of their slaves. No, Sir, interest and avarice are against our cherishing such an expectation. I am glad to find that there is a Ladies' Society connected with us—for they are capable of great things—their hearts are full of the milk of human kindness. (*Hear.*) They never hear a tale of woe that it does not wring their bosoms, and cause the tear of pity to flow from the eye. Where is the mother and daughter who are not affected at such tales of woe as those to which we have adverted? A doubt has been thrown out by some speaker as to the probability of succeeding with the British legislature at present. To the British public we look for this; they must express their sentiments of horror at this abominable system, and they will be heard, and will ultimately wipe this foul reproach from the British nation. Some think it a hopeless, enthusiastic attempt. So thought many as to the abolition of the slave trade, when Clarkson exhibited the materials of this system, and Wilberforce and his coadjutors brought the claims of injured Africa before the British Senate. Continue to petition and you will succeed. Enthusiasm! be it so. No great or good purpose was ever effected without enthusiasm. The Rev. Gentleman here read extracts of the manner in which slaves were cruelly and ruthlessly dealt with, and concluded by seconding the resolution.

Rev. Thomas R. England begged to claim attention for a moment. Frequently as he had addressed public assemblies, it never fell to his happy lot to speak before so peculiarly interesting a meeting as the present. (*Hear, hear.*) Here there was a commingling of all creeds and politics, having for their grand object the freedom of their fellow man. (*Hear, hear.*) They were told that all partaking of, and subject to, the British Constitution, were free and unshackled;—yet was there one spot within the dominion of England, where bloody slavery, attended with all its frightful train of evils, was permitted to lift its monster head. (*Cheers.*) To effect the abolition of that which made his blood boil—of that which made masters tyrants—of that which subjected the unhappy, uncomplaining negro to the hot burning sun of a tropical climate, rendered him subject to the capricious cruelties of hirelings—debased his mind—and bound down his body—the extinction of that hell-born system would be a more glorious triumph than even that at the Nile or Waterloo. (*Cheers.*) Any attempt at information was repressed by the planter. To speak of religion—of a better world—of a glorious futurity, the slave understood not the terms—or if he did yield willing ears, his hard task-master prevented the good work from being pursued. A gentleman who travelled through part of the West Indies a few months since, overtook, one day, a pair of slaves apparently of more than ordinary interest. They were chained together. Who are these? inquired the gentleman. Father and son, was the reply. Why chain them?—Because, said the keeper, they were sold yesterday, and if I loose them, the young man, who is only just married, and has to be sent

500 miles to his new purchaser, would escape to his family!—Oh! yes, continued the Rev. Gentleman, they chained the body, but could not the affections. (*Cheers.*) It has been often my lot to visit the wretched criminal, just sentenced, for the murder of his fellow-man, in order to afford religious consolation to him; he who was on the morrow to expiate his life on the scaffold. But I once witnessed a scene that will never be effaced from my memory. One day, I was sent for to visit a sailor who was approaching fast to his eternal account. On my speaking to him of repentance, he looked sullen, and turned from me in the bed;—of a great God, he was silent;—of the mercy of that God, and he burst into tears. Oh, said he, I can never expect mercy from God. I was ten years on board a slave ship, and there superintended the cruel death of many a sick slave. Many a time amid the screams of kindred, has the sick mother—father—and new born babe, been wound up in canvass and remorselessly thrown overboard. Now their screams haunt me, night and day, and I have no peace, and expect no mercy. He soon died, I hope pardoned, but he afforded me little evidence of it.

Mr. Richard Dowden in rising to second the resolution, was deeply affected by the impressive speech of Mr. England; after a few moments pause, he thus proceeded. Rising under the strong influence of a feeling, which I share in common with this large and respectable assembly, I feel incapable of adding to the force of the reasoning, or of increasing the universality of the sympathy which has already convinced and moved the auditory present. Yet, Sir, having spoken in public on other subjects, I should almost feel myself a traitor to this great cause—this cause of good policy, liberty, and humanity, if I did not, even at the risk of exciting but little additional interest, give at least my good-will and voice, however feeble, on this day—This resolution, Sir, pledges the meeting to petition the legislature to use its constitutional power of interference to redeem the British name of tolerating the the system of Slavery. (*Hear, hear*) Sir, we believe that what we ask the legislature to do is constitutional, if, indeed, we have any notion of what constitutional acts imply; they are acts which tend to the benefit of the constitution, of the greater proportion of the persons governed by the laws which are the foundation of our constitution. Now, it has been clearly proved here to day, that the legislatures of the West India Islands make laws, not for the benefit of the many, but for what they, in their stupidity, deem the interest of the few. This, Sir, is in direct and flagrant opposition to every theory of good government; and as these Islanders hold a delegated authority under the British Government, it is not to be endured that these provinces of Great Britain should be allowed to exert a tyranny, which the legislature of the parent country, the fountain of provincial power, would not dare to inflict. The legislature of Great Britain is called on, therefore, to come between the oppressor and the oppressed. What, if it were true that the slave was unconscious of his chains; yet we are conscious of them, and we are participators in the tyranny, if we tamely endure it. (*Cheers.*)—Mr. Chairman, nearly all the sophisms which interested ingenuity has invented to blind the eyes of justice have been answered, and never more perfectly than to day; but, Sir, one which was omitted, has occurred

to me, and it has been used to prevent the humane man from feeling his fellow-creature's sufferings; it is this, that the slave-owner will be kind to his slave for his own interest. This is a false argument among ourselves. We know that a wise self-interest would save us from a thousand crimes; yet have we not often seen passion too much for self-interest? Any one who has seen a proprietor of horses maim a noble animal for failing in the race, or baulking at a leap, can judge how inefficient a safe-guard for the slaves must be even the base selfishness of the planters. Sir, even the wretched security of cupidity is ineffectual, and every day's intelligence from the West Indies proves that the love of power holds a bad and barbarous superiority over the love of riches. We cannot believe then in the guarantee of the apologist for the planters; but must secure the black inhabitants of the islands from the ferocity of their masters, and the masters themselves from the excesses which a depraved state of society sanctions and countenances. It is our duty, and our interest to teach those ignorant and obdurate men their duty to themselves and their fellow men. The legislature of the empire must act on them as on an outward conscience, and force justice by a noble violence upon those who would resist it. (*Cheers.*) This resolution calls on you to petition. In proceeding to perform any work, it is proper to look to the materials for working; it is quite consistent consequently to look to the pecuniary capabilities of this society. It appears that there is a balance due to the Treasurer. The proceedings on this day will be attended with some expense. Come forward, then, in aid of our exertions; do not be mere listeners to speeches; but be assisting our work; the subscription of 5s. per annum is small; yet it is all we require from the friends of our cause. Do you want a motive for laying out this trifle in procuring justice for the negro? Has the commercial interest of your country no claim on you? Has the great principle of justice no demand for your countenance? I asked a respectable merchant the other day to subscribe to this society; he said he rejoiced to do so "for he was zealous to abolish from the world every nest of slavery to be hatched in, and tyranny, petty or great, to plume itself on." Will you emulate Wilberforce? Would you bear the honours of Buxton and of Romilly? Do your best in this cause; it was all they did, and every hearer of their names may imitate their virtues. Have you all heard of Howard in vain? Where is his name embalmed that all society may honour it? Amidst the mild glories of benevolence it is held up to our view; and what is the mere warrior's fame or the more politician's honours to those of him who broke in upon the darkness and terror of the dungeon, who visited the prisoner, and mitigated the misery of him who had none to help him? Would you emulate Howard? I tell you the West Indies are one great prison house, and that not for the criminal but the innocent. (*Cheers.*) Be Howards, every one of you in this cause, and if this virtue be so general as to divide your fame it will as universally attend the happy feeling which doing good can ever bestow. (*Applause.*) Mr. Chairman, far be it from me to drag the female name from its natural retirement, or to call up the blushes of the softer sex, by fixing the public attention on them too strongly in this crowded meeting; yet if I may appeal for aid to that throne of all the sympathies—a

woman's heart—let me here tell them that the fair hand of charity will never be more white while the damning spot of slavery remains to stain it. (*Cheers.*) To that sex then, who are alive to all the charities of life, I appeal, and call on them to come forward and hold up the arms of the warriors in this fight, and they may be assured that among their sweetest recollections will be found the memory of what they have done to relieve their fellow creatures; nay, it is not too much to say that such deeds will not be the least bright among the gems which we hope will one day adorn the crown of those who obtain mercy, because they were merciful. (*Great cheering.*) Mr. Chairman, it is needless to detain you much longer. It is not necessary to enforce the avowed convictions of the meeting, and all I arose to ask was, that they should not be inefficient convictions; that you should enable us to petition, and thus to express your sentiments and your anxieties. Shew that you are sensitive under your responsibility, that the crime of neutrality is your scorn, that you fear to know what is right and not to do it; that you are bold enough to encounter with generous feelings and generous deeds, the scowl of the selfish and the sneer of the heartless, and to secure to yourself a praise which they can neither know nor understand. I conclude by seconding the fifth resolution; (*Reiterated cheers.*) and the Petition having been read,

Mr. O'Connell, M. P. rose, and was received with loud applause.—Mr. Chairman, I move that the petition now read be adopted by the meeting, and if they agree to adopt it, they shall not want a person to present it.—(*Loud cries of hear, hear.*)—I solicit the high honour of receiving it. In the estimate of my own pretensions and abilities, I shall say I bring zeal and perseverance to the cause. I may have some personal vanity in saying so, but you must not take my partial estimate. If you intrust me with this petition to present, I cannot be temperate upon it. I must be intemperate; it is for liberty or slavery; therefore, I have but one choice, and must be intemperate for liberty.—(*Laughter, and hear, hear.*)—I cannot adopt a partial abolition, for tyranny is a crime. Slavery is an offence, and therefore I shall offer no compromise upon the subject. The West India slaves are men, sprung from the hands of the Great Creator of the universe as well as we are—have the same helplessness of infancy—the same wants, and redeemed by the same precious blood that was shed for us.—(*Loud cries of hear, hear.*)—The man who debars another from his rights, and deprives him of his liberty, is an atrocious criminal.—(*Loud cheers.*) But I shall take any instalment that may be offered; ours is a just demand; like a man to whom a debt is due, and who is offered 5s. in the pound, and who takes the offer, and then demands the remainder. The surest way to get a part is to demand the whole at first.—I will call upon the House to put an end to slavery; but, though we wish for the abolition of slavery, still it should take place by degrees, not instantaneously. The sudden transition from the rack to the enjoyment of liberty, may be shuddered at; for liberty is sometimes licentious.—Our object is utility not annihilation; but, if in the general regeneration of the blacks, a resistance may be made by the few whites, who would still wish to lord it over the regenerated slave—why, painful as would be the alternative to me if blood should be shed, I would prefer the happiness and freedom of the many

to the lives of the few. It is an awful choice to make; but under such circumstances I would make it. Give me the blacks. (*Loud cheers.*) To expect any thing from West India Planters is absurd. To this hour, in their courts of justice, composed of whites, they would not take the oath of a black; would not allow him as a witness; what horrible injustice! I would confide nothing, nor expect any thing from their feelings. The Legislature must act. We can carry it only by the British Parliament. Let them refuse but for one Session to vote money for the subsistence of an army there; let them refuse to send the youthful and the brave soldiers from the heaths of Ireland—from its hills and valleys—to an early and an unhonoured grave in the mephitic dews and swamps of the West Indies; refuse a tax upon other sugar, and then slavery will be at an end, and the blood-stained tyrant becomes impotent. (*Loud cheers.*) The West Indies is a source of national poverty and wealth. We are at an immeasurable expense in its support. It is a horrible cancer in the side of Great Britain—(*hear, hear*)—horrible in the sight of Man and God—the destruction of all moral and religious ties. If the Legislature does not act, are we not citizens of the world? Have we not duties to perform?—What we say, the Press, that mighty engine, will convey with the winds of Heaven, beyond these narrow walls, and the sea-girt limits of our Island. (*Loud cheers.*)—The English language is spoken every where. It is understood from the banks of the Ganges to the Western Hemisphere; to the banks of the Missouri and the Mississippi. It shall convey a moral lesson to the world. I speak of liberty in commendation. Patriotism is a virtue, but it can be selfish. Give me the great and immortal Bolivar, the saviour and regenerator of his country; he found her a province, and he has made her a nation; the first act of his was to give freedom to the slaves upon his own estate.—(*Hear, hear.*)—In Columbia, all casts, and all colours are free and unshackled; but how I like to contrast him with the far-famed Northern heroes. George Washington! that great and enlightened character—the soldier and the statesman, had but one blot upon his character. He had slaves, and he gave them liberty when he wanted them no longer—(*loud cheers.*)—Let America, in the fulness of her pride, wave on high her banner of freedom and its blazing stars. I point to her, and say, there is one foul blot upon it—“*You have Negro Slavery.*”—They may compare their struggles for freedom to Marathon and Leuctra, and point to the rifleman with his gun, amidst her woods and forests, shouting for liberty and America. In the midst of their laughter and their pride, I point to them the negro children, screaming for the mother, from whose bosom they have been torn. America, it is a foul stain upon your character.—(*Cheers.*)—Certainly, the Northern States have washed away the stain in the tears of charity. Vermont, Pennsylvania, and several of the other States, have abolished Slavery.—But in Maryland, Georgia, and Virginia, the horrible system is still kept up. (*Hear, hear.*) This conduct, kept up by men who had themselves to struggle for freedom, is doubly unjust. Let them hoist the flag of liberty with the whip and rack on one side, and the star of freedom upon the other. The Americans are a sensitive people; in fifty-four years they have increased their population from three millions to twenty millions; they have many glories that surround them, but

their beams are partly shorn, for they have slaves. (*Cheers.*) Their hearts do not beat so strong for liberty as mine. She excuses her conduct, and refers to the British and West India Islands. Nothing, they say, can be wrong, because it is British. (*Cries of hear, hear.*) When I was a boy the gentlemen had a habit of flogging the peasants in Ireland. But they have now given up the practice! (*Hear and laughter.*) I recollect an argument being urged that the slaves in the West Indies were better treated and fed than the peasants in Ireland. With that I cannot agree. The peasant has the heath to recline upon; he has the mountain, with its lively stream, and he returns to his humble hut as to some genial clime, and indulges his filial and paternal affections amidst his family, not the less concentrated, for being poor—(*hear, hear.*) I have this day listened with delight, and with heartfelt pleasure, to the Rev. Gentleman (Mr. Burnett) who addressed you. His lion genius, superior to all—the mild language of the Gospel flowing from his lips—will be echoed by many. (*Loud cheers.*) We meet no more on points of repulsion; but meet now in better feelings, those of kindness and christian charity. (*Loud and repeated cheering.*) Men in this lovely island shall no longer be opposed to each other, but union and harmony shall blaze over our mountains and our glens. (*Repeated cheers.*) The struggle is forgotten; the advantages are manifest. In the cause for which we are met I consider myself not the representative of one but of all.—(*Hear.*)—I will call for justice, in the name of the living God, and I shall find an echo in the breast of every human being. (*Cheers.*) If we cannot obtain all, we must watch the current that wafts the bark to the harbour of liberty and universal freedom. (*Hear, hear.*) You cannot restrain the cupidity of the West India planter. He is extravagant—but when he wants money, or the market may be hurried on any emergency, the lash is applied, and, if necessary, he increases his wealth by killing the negro with hard labour. (*Hear, hear.*) The state of the West Indies is miserable. Human cupidity gives way to human passion.—Man is not fit for unshackled and uncontrolled power. It corrupts the human heart; it is the wild inebriation of passion; and the poor slave must be the victim. The day, I trust, is about to come. I will call the star of New York, in 1825, to my recollection; and, in 1830, I trust that all born within the allegiance of the British King, shall be free—(*cheers.*)—not by a revolution. A revolution is a volcano, which though some salutary effects may result from it, sweeps in its destructive progress, arts, sciences, beauty, and strength, old age and helplessness. Give me, continued the Honourable and Learned Gentleman, with considerable feeling, give me no revolution any where; the extent of improvement is abroad, and let us ask like men—religious improvement amongst all classes is rapidly advancing.—(*Cheers.*) That cannot be in the West Indies;—where the Missionary of the Gospel—the martyr to his duty—(*Mr. Smith*) fell a victim to their tyranny, and for what? Why, because he endeavoured to inculcate the principles of religion and morality amongst the benighted negroes—His blood remaining upon the earth, unrequited and unrevenged. I see you anticipate whom I mean; the colonists treat the communications of government with contempt; look to the official correspondence between the Colonial Secretary and their Executive,

and you will see the fact. On the continent of South America, Mr. Power, a gentleman from this city, has a portion of property, and inhabited by descendants from the old possessors, he has made them free and happy. Let us then struggle for these unhappy beings, and I shall be ever ready to obey your call in advocating their claims. You have made me ambitious of your approbation, but I must say that for myself I have no ambition. I trust that we shall all deserve well from humanity by this day's work. (*Loud and long continued applause.*)

Francis B. Beamish, Esq. seconded the motion, which passed.

Mr. Burnett again rose and said, the learned Gentleman who had so eloquently addressed them has said it will be his first act in parliament to present our petition, if it be intrusted to him; and without disrespect to our city or county members, I say we ought to intrust the petition to the Hon. Gentleman. No other member of parliament had come amongst us—and, as Mr. O'Connell offers his services, we will accept them. Mr. O'Connell stated his sentiments upon the subject, and said that the principles contained in the petition are his; let us then trust him and if he deserts those principles, we know how to deal with him.

The motion was carried by acclamation.

Mr. O'Connell said he was greatly honoured, and would make the Cork Petition the occasion of his first effort in Parliament.

Mr. Beale, said he never heard any thing go so far to satisfy him that his principles were correct as this day's proceedings.

Mr. Boyle, then moved a resolution of thanks to the Chairman, which received a unanimous shout of concurrence.

III.—FREE TRADE TO INDIA AND CHINA.

ON the 15th of September last, a meeting took place at Liverpool, Mr. Cropper in the Chair, at which Mr. Whitmore the member for Bridgenorth attended, and made a most able, luminous, and convincing speech, which was followed by several others, including Messrs. Cropper, Alston, Radcliffe, Lytham, Rathbone, Grant, Rushton, E. Roscoe, D. Hodgson, and Garnet, and we only regret we cannot report them as fully as those which a fortnight before were delivered at Cork.

IV.—WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

We have great pleasure in mentioning that the *Westminster Review* has taken a decided part on the question of Slavery; and that, in the October Number of that Work, the West Indian System is attacked with great force of reasoning and vivacity of style. With the ready concurrence of the conductors of that able work, the article will in a few days be published, separately, in a cheap form.

The "ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER" will be forwarded to 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, on application at the Society's office, No. 18, Aldermanbury. Single Copies may be had of all booksellers and newsmen, at the rate of 1d. per half-sheet of eight pages.

A Supplement to the present Number will appear in a few days.

SUPPLEMENT
TO THE
ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER,
FOR OCTOBER, 1829, No. 53.

- I. OBSERVATIONS ON THE PRESENT STATE OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE.
II. EXTRACT FROM THE EDINBURGH REVIEW OF OCTOBER 1824, p. 464.
III. EXTRACT FROM THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW OF OCTOBER 1829.

(Being a transcript of a Pamphlet just published, entitled, "The Death Warrant of Negro Slavery throughout the British Dominions.")

I. OBSERVATIONS ON THE PRESENT STATE OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE.

THE title we have given to the present pamphlet will possibly surprise some of our readers, departing as it does from the measured tone we have usually employed. But let them not suppose that this altered tone indicates any change of character or purpose. The change is not in us, but in the circumstances in which we stand; and the effect of these circumstances a very few words will suffice to explain.

A year ago, we were far from sanguine in our expectations of an early extinction of Slavery. On the contrary, our hopes were low. They have risen since that time; and therefore we feel it incumbent on us, as honest men, to avow the change without reserve or hesitation. We are looking forward, we admit, at the present moment, to a much earlier, and, through the Divine favour, a more auspicious, termination of our labours, than we ventured to anticipate twelve months ago.

Do any of our readers wish to know the grounds of this revolution in our views? We will give them without reserve. The change has been slow, gradual, and progressive. But the result is, that, instead of our previous despondency (the fruit of those blighted hopes that sicken the heart); we now entertain a confidence,—which, we trust to shew, is sober, rational, and justifiable,—of early, final, and complete success.

1. To those who take an interest in the question, and who have followed its progress for some years past, as it may be traced in the pages of the Anti-Slavery Reporter—(and it is only such whom we can expect either to ask, or to listen to our reasons)—we would say, in the first place; Look back to the following

Numbers of that work : namely, No. XL., XLI., XLII., XLIII., XLIV. and its Supplement, No. XLV., XLVI., XLVII., XLVIII., XLIX., L., LI., LII., and LIII. ; making in all about twenty Numbers.—Of these, however, it would be necessary to read not more than about two hundred pages of letter-press, at the expense of about five or six hours of time at the utmost ;—a sacrifice which, on such a subject, those who feel an interest in it will not be unwilling to incur. They will then be in a capacity to understand the indications to which we shall now point.

By referring, in the first place, on the subject of Sugar Duties, to No. XLIX. p. 15; No. LI. pp. 36—38; No. LII. pp. 78—80; and to the whole of No. LIII. it will be seen that the state of our prospects, and the concurrent improvement of public feeling and effort, are most materially, and even radically, altered on that vital part of our whole case ; we mean, the Slave-holders' monopoly ; the paupers' fund for sugar planters ; and the absolute and universal freedom of trade, which, of itself, must prove the death of Slavery.

By referring, in the second place, to No. XLIII. pp. 341, 350, 354, 362, 367—370; to No. XLVII. pp. 462—468; to No. XLIX. pp. 1, 10, 15, 30, 31; to No. LII. pp. 53—58, 61, 64, and 70—74, no one can fail to perceive such an altered tone in those whose *fiat* would of itself, even if public opinion were silent, decide the question ; that he must feel that, when they shall be duly aided and supported and urged forward by it, no more doubt can be entertained of their success, than we can doubt, that six months ago—in the face of difficulties infinitely more insurmountable ; and an opposition very far more formidable, than can now be apprehended—an emancipation was achieved of ten times the extent and difficulty of that now sought for.

Out of Parliament at least, the numerical amount of the opponents in the former case, as compared with the present, must have been ten thousand to one ; while the object to be gained, involved interests at least twenty times more important and vital ; big, in the apprehensions of millions, with the most dangerous and disastrous consequences ; and yet presenting to the eye of the national conscience not half the heart-stirring obligations to prompt and energetic decision, which the present case involves.

Government and Parliament are called, not to expunge from the statute-book some enactments of dubious policy, about which good men have differed, and do now differ. But they are called to put down a crime, which has lost nothing of its original malignity by the lapse of ages ; but has become more highly aggravated in its guilt by the light recently poured upon it. A crime, did we say ?—Nay, a series, and complication of crimes—proceeding daily and hourly before our eyes,—in the name and under the authority of the British Sovereign ; supported by his troops, and paid for by the money of his people ;—a series of

crimes, any one of which, if perpetrated in this country, would call for the gibbet and the executioner to do their duty on the felons and murderers whom we are at this very moment protecting and cherishing.

But, thirdly, we would refer our readers to another series of passages in the same Reporter, which seem, in the actual infatuation of the defenders of this bloody and atrocious system, sufficiently to prove our position. The precursor of dissolution has already appeared.

Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat.

The throes of approaching death are already on its victim, whose faltering speech and erring intellect seem to mark him as no longer an efficient and living member of the body politic.

What are the symptoms? Look only at the documents which the upholders and defenders of this mass of abomination have themselves supplied to the public, in their own unhappy case. Look back only for twelve or fifteen months. We will take no wider retrospect.

First, let us take individuals.

There is Lord Seaford; in all other points a man of sense and discernment; see him approach this subject!* Look next at Sir R. Farquhar†; Sir R. Woodford‡; Governor Grant§; General Nicolay||; Sir C. Brisbane¶; Sir Lowry Cole**; Mr. Irving; and Mr. H. Gurney; MM. P. ††; and, lastly, at Col. Young of Demerara, Protector of Slaves! †††

Look next at larger bodies of men:—at legislatures—nay, at whole communities of slave-holders. A few examples will suffice.

Look at the island of Jamaica, with Mr. Barret as their organ §§;—at the Bahamas, with their governor at their head |||;—at Bermuda ¶¶; at Nevis***; at Grenada †††. Look, again, at the planters of St. Lucia ††††; of Berbice §§§; of the Mauritius ||||:—Nay, look at the collective wisdom of the whole West-India body, as exemplified in its writings which have recently appeared in

* Anti-Slavery Reporter, vol. ii. No. XL. pp. 291—308.

† Ibid. Nos. XLII. XLIX. L. and LI. ‡ Ibid. No. XLIII. pp. 353, 354.

§ Ibid. p. 345; and No. XLVII. p. 462—468.

|| Ibid. vol. iii. No. LII. pp. 66, 67.

¶ Ibid. pp. 75—77.

** Ibid. No. XLIII. p. 367; and vol. iii. No. LI. pp. 45—49.

†† Ibid. No. XLIX. pp. 5, 7. ††† Ibid. vol. ii. No. XLIII. pp. 355—358.

§§ Ibid. vol. ii. No. XLIII. pp. 341—345; and p. 370.

||| Ibid. vol. iii. No. LII. p. 64.

¶¶ Ibid. vol. iii. No. LII. p. 65.

*** Ibid. vol. iii. No. LII. p. 73.

††† Ibid. p. 67.

†††† Ibid. vol. ii. No. XLIII. p. 354.

§§§ Ibid. pp. 359—367.

|||| Ibid. No. XLII.; and No. XLIII. p. 367; and No. XLIV.; and vol. iii. No. LI. pp. 39—52.

this very city*. And, as if there were no exception to the influence of this contagious infatuation, wherever slavery enters as an element; look, in the last place, to the many excellent men who compose the governors of the Christian societies for converting the Negro Slaves, and for propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. And we shall see even these venerated individuals, when they come in contact with the Antilles, at once yielding up, to their Creole or Creolized agents, the keeping, as it were, of their consciences, and the guidance and controul of their reason; and ranging themselves unwittingly on the side of falsehood, imposture, irreligion, and impiety†.

What can we say to all this? Only what we have said. Of a system so supported, and producing such fruits, what can any man in his senses say,—who has read the book either of common sense, or of experience, or of Scripture;—but that, in the language of an ancient writer, it “decayeth and waxeth old, and is ready to vanish away?” (Heb. viii. 13).

This is our first reason. Our remaining reasons will not occupy an equal space.

2. The second reason is, the manifest and unquestionable change which has taken place in the feelings and sympathies of the community. We will not look back with recollections which might tend to check the nascent zeal of the day, or to prevent those from joining us of whom we had long hoped better things; and who, though they ought to have been the first, have been among the last, (the most lukewarm and sluggish), in a cause where the duty of all who profess to love their Saviour, and to love their fellow-men without distinction of clime or colour as his and their brethren, and for his sake, yet have not done what they could or ought—to prove the sincerity of that profession.—But better times, we trust, are approaching; and we perceive, among some to whom we now allude, (of every name), a growing desire to redeem the time they have wasted in listening to vain and groundless fears and scruples and objections, wholly forgetful of their allegiance to Him of whom they boast as their rightful Lord; but whose cause they have hitherto deserted.

3. At length, however,—after the endurance of two centuries of crime and blood; of torture inflicted under British authority; of broken hearts; of wasted lives; of coldness and indifference to every claim of humanity and justice;—we are now, as it were, starting from the sleep, or rather dream, of our own fancied goodness, and are reminded by conscience, that we have been wanting to the strongest obligations of heaven and earth, and are our-

* *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, vol. ii. No. XLV. p. 432; and No. XLVI. p. 441—444; and vol. iii. No. L. pp. 24—30; and No. LI. pp. 33—35.

† *Ibid.* vol. ii. No. XLI.; Supplement to No. XLIV.; No. XLV. pp. 420—427; No. XLVII. pp. 455—462; and No. XLVIII. pp. 469—498.

selves partakers in the foul crimes that have now been denounced; while we have been cherishing the idea of our spotless innocence and exemplary benevolence; of our religious light and of Christian perfection. The delusion, we trust, is at an end, and is dissipated for ever. In fact, we are, ourselves, as a nation, now on our defence, at a higher bar than that of man or of public opinion.—This is felt, and we trust will be felt, more and more every day that God spares us to prepare for our own great audit; and to account to him for our wasted opportunities of good.

4. But, in the fourth place, Ireland is now alive to her obligations, and has added seven millions to our ranks. They claim for the Negro race an emancipation, to which they shew themselves to be well entitled, by considering it as the first duty of grateful hearts to labour to impart to others the blessings of which they themselves have newly tasted. Ireland has not shared in our guilt; but she desires to assist in delivering us from its pollution and its punishment; and has begun the work of petitioning, which, we may hope, will, in this case, soon produce similar effects to those which have now enabled her to buckle on her armour, and to raise her voice, (without one dissenting or discordant note from Episcopalians, Catholics, Presbyterians, Emancipatists, and Non-emancipatists), in favour of mercy, and humanity, and equal justice.

5. Nor is England without its parallel on a smaller scale. All, who know any thing of the subject, know, that one of the most effective and mischievous props of the system of West-India Slavery, was the Quarterly Review. It had attained a demi-official character; and knew how, with an unhappy dexterity, to convert the influence thence derived to the purposes of the party to which it belonged. For two or three years, it carried on a too successful warfare against truth and justice and humanity and honour; cheered on by the shouts of the Colonial Club.

In February 1823 (No. LV. p. 178), it commenced its war against the whole race of Abolitionists. In the following December (No. LVIII. p. 476), appeared its first grand attack upon the Anti-slavery Society; and from that hour it became, for three or four years, the favourite text-book of the West-Indian party at home, and of the more ferocious of the Colonial journals abroad.

Its first gallant effort was to attempt to degrade Mr. Wilberforce (p. 479) in the public opinion, at a time when that revered and cherished individual could no longer (as they well knew) use the eloquence from which they would have shrunk, to reduce their pitiful sneers and base taunts to their due insignificance.

This was followed by an article no less bitter, but still more disingenuous; and, what is more remarkable, no less faithless and injurious to the Government they professed to serve, than to the slaves, to whom they also professed to wish well.

This article put an end to the forbearance of those whom these hangers-on at the public offices had combined, with the Colonial Club, to make marks for the finger of scorn to point at. And, in two months, there appeared "a Review of this Quarterly Review;" or "an Exposure of the erroneous Opinions promulgated in that Work on the Subject of Colonial Slavery." Since that time, we do not recollect to have had our bile excited by one sentence from the pen of this writer.—Indeed, we should scarcely have known that he retained any vitality as to this question for four long years; had he not, in January last, given some signs of life and malignity (No. LXXVII. p. 181), by one of his savage growls at Sierra Leone. This colony had once been patronized by the Abolitionists. But for twenty-two long years it had been in the hands of the friends of these Reviewers, who, during that time (we speak before those who know the fact), had not only neither asked nor taken counsel as to its management, but had contrived to ruin it by their neglect, and then to throw the blame on those, whom they had declined to consult, and who had no more to do with its failure than the Great Mogul.

This, we say, was our erroneous conception of the state of this able, but uncandid and insidious, work; when, in April last, we were surprised by an incidental observation occurring, without rhyme or reason, at p. 343 of No. LXXVIII. The passage has been already quoted, but we will here quote it again.

"With regard to Jamaica, and some other of the West India Islands, 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" [Here we have a proof of ignorance, which makes us rejoice that their advocacy of our cause is confined to twenty lines] "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."

Here, then, we have another sign of the times, and one which speaks volumes to those who are initiated.

6. But still more satisfactory is it to us to perceive an union of sentiment and of feeling in two other publications of the same description, the Edinburgh and the Westminster Reviews; which, though they have mutual collisions and complaints of their own, yet have waived them all, like the Catholics and Anti-Catholics of Ireland, in their overwhelming attachment to the interests of their common humanity.

Of this last position more directly;—but incidentally of every other to which we have adverted; we now proceed to furnish some proof.

Our FIRST proof is an article extracted from the Edinburgh Review, of Oct. 1824, (No. LXXXII. p. 464, &c.), containing a review of Mr. Stephen's *Delineation of Slavery in the West Indies*, and which has already been five years before the public. That in that time it has produced, (notwithstanding the zealous activity of the Aberdeen Anti-Slavery Society,) so little fruit; we pretend not to explain, except by the torpor which, for a time, seemed to have seized, with a few rare exceptions, on all classes—in Parliament and out of Parliament; Churchmen and Dissenters; Whigs, Tories, and Radicals;—until the present day of brighter promise and of quickened energy has begun to dawn upon us.

We trust that the re-appearance of this article, at this moment, will make an impression more proportionate to its fair claims on the public attention.

The only material change it has undergone, has been to suppress some compliments to the West Indians resident in Great Britain; which, though in 1824 they might not have appeared unreasonable, we cannot republish under our sanction, since the added experience of five years has proved them to be utterly undeserved.

The NEXT is an extract from the last Number of the Westminster Review. And this is an article not only of rare and singular merit, but one which is most seasonably adapted to meet the exigencies of the present moment. Its clear, plain, and intelligible statements are only to be outdone by the force and luminousness of its arguments. If we could indulge the base passion of envy, especially in such a cause, we should envy the writer's power of producing on the public mind the effects which the popular talents, wherewith the great Author of those talents has endowed him, enable him to produce;—were it not that we should almost shrink from the heavy responsibility, both to God and man, which they impose upon their possessor.

II.—EXTRACT FROM THE EDINBURGH REVIEW OF OCTOBER 1824,
p. 464, &c.

OF the numerous excellent works in which this important subject has lately been discussed, that of Mr. Stephen is the most comprehensive, and, in many respects, the most valuable. We are not aware that any opponent has appeared, sufficiently intrepid to deny his statements, or to dispute their results. The more decent and cautious advocates of Slavery carefully avoid all allusion to a publication which they feel to be unanswerable; and the boldest content themselves with misrepresenting and reviling what they cannot even pretend to confute. In truth, it is not too much to assert, that, on the part of the slave-drivers and their supporters, this controversy has, for the most part, been conducted with a disingenuousness and a bitterness to which literary history furnishes no parallel. The warfare has been carried on by a race of scribblers, who, like the mercenary Mohawks, so often our auxiliaries in Transatlantic campaigns, unite the indifference of the hireling to the ferocity of the cannibal; who take aim from an ambush; and who desire victory only that they may have the pleasure of scalping and torturing the vanquished.

The friends of humanity and freedom have often boasted, with honest pride, that the wise and good of hostile sects and factions seemed, when Slavery or the Slave-trade were in question, to forget their mutual antipathies;—that the introduction of this subject was to such men, what the proclamation of a Crusade was to the warriors of the dark ages,—a signal to suspend their petty disputes, and to array themselves under the same holy banner, against the same accursed enemy.—In this respect the slave-drivers are now even with us. They, too, may boast, that, if *our* cause has received support from honest men of all religious and political parties, theirs has tended, in as great a degree, to combine and conciliate every form of violence and illiberality. Tories and radicals, prebendaries and field-preachers, are to be found in their ranks. The only requisites for one who aspires to enlist, are a front of brass and a tongue of venom.

‘Omnigenumque Deum monstra, et latrator Anubis
Contra Neptunum et Venerem, contraque Minervam
Tela tenent.’

But it is neither on facts nor on arguments that Slavery seems now to depend for protection. It neither doubles, nor stands at bay. It has neither the ingenuity of the hare, nor the intrepidity of the lion. It defends itself, like a hunted polecat, by the loathsomeness with which it taints the atmosphere around it; and hopes to escape by disgusting those whom it can neither weary nor subdue. We could say much on this subject. But the sum is, that ‘the worm will do his kind’—and we have a more important task to perform. It is our intention to analyze, very concisely, the valuable work of Mr. Stephen; and afterwards to offer to our readers some remarks which the perusal of it has suggested.

Mr. Stephen begins by inquiring into the origin and authority of the

Colonial Slave-laws. It has been commonly supposed in England, that there exists some known local law in the Colonies, distinct from the law of England, by which the bondage of the Negro has been introduced and defined. There is, however, no such law. The Colonists could, at no time, venture to present an act for such a purpose to an English Sovereign. The Spanish conquerors and the roving pirates of the Antilles had established that state: and the English settlers considered themselves as succeeding to the rights of the original despoilers of America. Those rights, as they at that time existed, may be summed up in one short and terrible maxim, that the slave is *the absolute property* of the master. It is desirable that this should be known; because, although a few restraining statutes have of late years been passed, this odious principle is still the basis of all West-Indian legislation. It is pre-supposed in all meliorating acts. It is the rule, and the restraints are exceptions. In the benefits which every other English subject derives from the common law, the Negro has no share. His master may lawfully treat him as he pleases, except in points regulated by express enactment.

Mr. Stephen proceeds to analyze the legal nature of the relation between the master and the slave. Throughout the West Indies, Slavery is a constrained service; a service without wages. In some of the Colonies, indeed, there are acts which affect to regulate the time of labour, and the amount of the subsistence which shall be given in return. But, from causes to which we shall hereafter advert, these acts are nugatory. In other islands, even these ostensible reforms have not taken place; and the owner may legally give his slaves as much to do, and as little to eat, as he thinks fit.

In all the islands, the master may legally imprison his slave. In all the islands he may legally flog him; and in some of the islands he may legally flog him at his discretion. The best of the meliorating acts promise little, and perform less. By some of them it is enacted, that the slave shall not be flogged, till recovered from the effects of his last flogging; by others, that he shall not receive more than a certain number of lashes in one day. These laws, useless as they are, have a meaning. But there are others which add insult to cruelty. In some of the Colonial codes there are facetious provisions, that the slave shall not receive more than a certain number of lashes at one time, or for one fault. What is the legal definition of a time? Or who are the legal judges of a fault? If the master should choose to say that it is a fault in his slave to have woolly hair, whom does the law authorize to contradict him?

It is just to say, that the murder of a slave is now a capital crime. But the West-Indian rules of evidence render the execution of the laws on this subject almost impossible. The most atrocious kinds of mutilation—even those which in England are punished with death—when committed upon the person of a slave, subject the offender only to a fine, or to a short imprisonment. In Dominica, for instance, ‘to maim, deface, mutilate, or cruelly torture’ a slave, is a crime which is to be expiated by a fine, not exceeding one hundred pounds currency (40*l.* sterling), or by imprisonment, not exceeding the term of three

months. By the law of Jamaica, a master who perpetrates any outrage short of murder on the person of his slave, is subject to a fine, not exceeding one hundred pounds currency (70*l.* sterling), or to imprisonment, not exceeding the term of twelve months. In very atrocious cases, the court may direct the enfranchisement of the slave. But this, though a benefit, as far as it goes, to the Negro, is a very slight aggravation of the punishment of the master: at most, it is only an addition of a few pounds to the fine: and as the possession of a slave who has been maimed in such a manner as to render him helpless, is rather burdensome than profitable, it would, in many cases, be really an advantage to the criminal.

If these terrible prerogatives were confined to the master alone, the condition of the slave would be sufficiently wretched. Yet it would not be without alleviations. The proprietor might sometimes be restrained by a sense of his pecuniary interest, if not by higher considerations, from those extreme outrages, against which the law affords so scanty a protection. At all events, during his absence his Negroes would enjoy an interval of security. Unhappily, the Colonial codes permit all the representatives and agents of the master—black and white, bond and free—to exercise most of his despotic powers.

We have seen that the slave has no legal property in his own body. It is almost unnecessary to say, that he has no property in any thing else; that all his acquisitions belong, like himself, to his master. He is, in fact, a chattel. We should rather say, that, to serve the purpose of rapacity and tyranny, he is alternately considered as real and as personal property. He may be sold or bequeathed at the pleasure of his master. He may be put up to auction, by process of law, for the benefit of the creditors or legatees of his master. In either of these ways he may be, in a moment, torn for ever from his home, his associates, his own children. He is, in addition to this, legally a subject of mortgagés, demises, leases, settlements in tail, in remainder, and in reversion. The practice of raising money on this species of property, is favoured by the laws of all the Colonies, and has been equally fatal to the owner and to the slave. It is fatal to the owner, because it enables him to risk capital not his own in the precarious lottery of the West-Indian sugar-trade. It is fatal to the slave, because, in the first place, while it leaves to the master all his power to oppress, it deprives him of his power to manumit; and secondly, because it leads the master to keep possession of his Negroes, and to compel them to labour, when he has no prospect of holding them long, and is therefore naturally inclined to make as much by them, and to spend as little upon them, as possible; a fact amply proved by the miserable state in which the gang is generally found, when transferred from the ruined planter to the half-ruined mortgagee.

Such is the legal condition of the Negro, considered with reference to his master. We shall proceed to examine into the nature of the relation in which he stands towards free persons in general.

He is not competent to be a party to any civil action, either as plaintiff or defendant; nor can he be received as informant or prosecutor against any person of free condition. He is protected only as a

horse is protected in this country. His owner may bring an action against any person who may have occasioned the loss of his services. But it is plain that the slave may sustain many civil injuries, to which this circuitous mode of obtaining redress is not applicable; and even when it is applicable, the damages are awarded, not to the injured party, but to his master. The protection which indictments and criminal informations afford, is also of very narrow extent. Many crimes which, when committed against a White man, are considered as most atrocious, may be committed by any White man against a slave with perfect impunity. To rob a slave, for instance, is, in most of the islands, not even a misdemeanor. In this case, the grand principle of Colonial law is suspended. The property of a slave, it seems, is considered as belonging to his owner for the purpose of oppression, but not for the purpose of protection. By the meliorating laws of some of the Colonies, the crime of highway robbery upon a Negro is punished by a fine, which in no case exceeds thirty pounds currency.

But this is not all. The natural right of self-defence is denied to the slave. By the laws of almost all the islands, a slave who should defend himself from murder or torture, to the injury of a White person, though such White person should possess no authority whatever over him, might be punished with death.

We now come to the laws respecting the evidence of slaves—laws which the Colonists stoutly defend—and with reason; for, while these remain unaltered, the meliorating acts, feeble at best, must always be utterly inefficient. The testimony of these unfortunate beings is not admissible in any cause, civil or criminal, against a White person. To this general rule there are, in one or two Colonies, some trivial and worthless exceptions. It is needless to say, that every crime may be easily perpetrated in a community of which only one member in ten or fifteen is a competent witness. The only excuse we ever heard made for so disgraceful a state of law is this, that the Negroes are ignorant of the nature and obligations of an oath, and, in fact, are scarcely responsible beings. But from this excuse the legislators of the Antilles have excluded themselves, by enacting, that a slave who commits perjury, in a criminal cause, against another slave, shall suffer the same punishment as the prisoner, if convicted, would have suffered. If a slave be ignorant of the nature of an oath, why is he admitted as a witness against any human being? Why is he punished, in some cases, with death, for an offence which subjects his more enlightened, and therefore more guilty, master, only to transportation? If, on the other hand, he possesses the moral and intellectual qualifications which are required in a witness, why is he not suffered to appear against a European?

But we must proceed. The slave, thus excluded from the protection of the law, is subject to all its restraints. He undergoes the miseries of a beast of burden, without enjoying its immunities. He is bound, notwithstanding that alleged inferiority of his understanding, which is admitted as a reason for curtailing his rights but not for lightening his responsibility, by the whole of the Criminal code which is in force against free persons. And, in addition to this, he is sub-

jected to another most unjust and cruel code, made for his class alone. If he flies from the Colony, he is put to death. If he goes beyond the limits of the plantation to which he is attached, without a written permission, he is liable to be severely punished. Actions in themselves perfectly innocent—buying or selling certain goods in a market, raising certain descriptions of produce, possessing certain species of live stock—are crimes for which the Negro is punished, unless he can produce a written authority from his owner. To beat a drum, to blow a horn, to dance, to play at quoits, to throw squibs, to make fire-works, are all offences when committed by a slave, and subject him to the cruel chastisement of the whip. When things merely indifferent are visited with such severe penalties, it may be easily imagined that real delinquencies are not very mercifully dealt with. In fact, many actions for which a White man is only imprisoned, or otherwise slightly punished, if punished at all, are capital crimes when committed by a slave. Such are, stealing, or attempting to steal, to the value of 12d. currency; killing any animal of the value of 6s.; uttering mutinous words; and a long list of equally heinous crimes. We have already mentioned the infamous law on the subject of perjury. Another of a most kingly character is in force in the same islands. To ‘compass or imagine the death’ of any of the White inhabitants (God bless their majesties!) is an enormity for which a slave is punished with death. It is contrary to the duty of their allegiance!

Such is the penal code to which the slaves are subject. The manner in which they are tried is, if possible, still more disgraceful. On charges which do not affect their lives, a single Justice, or two at most, are competent to decide. In capital cases, several Justices must attend, and, in most of the colonies, a Jury is summoned—if that name can be applied where there is neither parity of condition nor right of challenge. No previous investigation takes place before a Grand Jury. In most of the islands no record is drawn up: in some, it is enacted that the execution shall immediately follow the sentence. The prisoner is *now* sufficiently lucky to be hanged; but formerly it was not unusual to inflict what the Colonial codes styled ‘exemplary punishment.’ When it was thought expedient to exercise this right, the offender was roasted alive, hung up in irons to perish by thirst, or shut up in a cage and starved to death! These punishments were commonly reserved for wretches who had committed the diabolical crime of insurrection against the just and paternal government, of which we have feebly attempted to delineate the excellence.

The bondage, of which we have given this description, is hereditary. It is entailed on the posterity of the slave to the remotest generations. The law does not compel his master to enfranchise him, on receiving a fair price: on the contrary, it has actually interfered to prevent the master, even when so inclined, from giving him his liberty. In some of the islands, a direct tax was imposed on manumission; and in all, the encouragement which is given to the practice of raising money on Negroes by mortgage, tended to obstruct their liberation.

Slavery in the West Indies is confined to Negroes and People of Colour. This circumstance is peculiar to the slavery of the New

World; and its effects are most calamitous. The external peculiarities of the African race are thus associated in the minds of the Colonists with every thing degrading, and are considered as the disgusting livery of the most abject servitude. Hence it is, that the Free Negroes and Mulattoes lie under so many legal disabilities, and experience such contemptuous treatment, that their condition can be esteemed desirable only when compared with the bondage to which it has succeeded. Of the rules to which this class is subjected, we shall notice only one of the most odious. We speak of the presumption against liberty, which is a recognised principle of Colonial law. The West-Indian maxim is, that every Negro and Mulatto is to be considered as a slave, till, by documentary evidence, he can be proved to be otherwise. It may be notorious, that he has been free since he first resided in the colony—that he has lived twenty years in England—that he is a citizen of Hayti, or Columbia. All this is immaterial. If he cannot produce a deed of manumission, he is liable to be put up to sale by public auction! On this subject remarks would be superfluous. Thank God, we are writing for a free people!

We have not alluded to that part of Mr. Stephen's work in which the lamentable state of the law on the subject of religious instruction is described; because the evil has been universally acknowledged, and something intended for a remedy has at last been provided. The imagined specific, as our readers are aware, is an Ecclesiastical Establishment. This measure, we doubt not, is well intended; but we feel convinced, that, unless combined with other reforms, it will prove almost wholly useless. The immorality and irreligion of the slaves are the necessary consequences of their political and personal degradation. They are not considered by the law as human beings; and they have therefore, in some measure, ceased to be human beings. They must become men before they can become Christians. A great effect may, under fortunate circumstances, have been wrought on particular individuals: but those who believe that any extensive effect can be produced by religious instruction on this miserable race, may believe in the famous conversion wrought by St. Antony on the fish. Can a preacher prevail on his hearers strictly to fulfil their conjugal duties, in a country where no protection is given to their conjugal rights; in a country where the husband and wife may, at the pleasure of the master, or by a process of law, be, in an instant, separated for ever? Can he persuade them to rest on the Sunday, in colonies where the law appoints that time for the markets? Is there any lesson which a Christian minister is more solemnly bound to teach; is there any lesson which it is, in a religious point of view, more important for a convert to learn, than that it is a duty to refuse obedience to the unlawful commands of superiors? Are the new pastors of the slaves to inculcate this principle, or not? In other words, are the slaves to remain uninstructed in the fundamental laws of Christian morality, or are their teachers to be hanged? This is the alternative. We all remember, that it was made a charge against Mr. Smith that he had read an inflammatory chapter of the Bible to his congregation! Excellent encouragement for their future teachers "to declare unto them,"

according to the expression of an old divine, far too Methodistical to be considered as an authority in the West Indies, "the whole counsel of God!"

The great body of the Colonists have resolutely opposed religious instruction; and they are in the right. They know, though their misinformed friends in England do not know, that Christianity and slavery cannot long exist together. At every step which the Negro makes in the knowledge and discrimination of right and wrong, he will learn to reprobate more and more the system under which he lives. He will not indeed be so prone to engage in rash and foolish tumults; but he will be as willing as he now is to struggle for liberty, and far more capable of struggling with effect. The forms in which Christianity has been at different times disguised, have been often hostile to liberty; but wherever the spirit has surmounted the forms—in France, during the wars of the Huguenots; in Holland, during the reign of Philip II.; in Scotland, at the time of the Reformation; in England, through the whole contest against the Stuarts, from their accession to their expulsion; in New-England, through its whole history—in every place, in every age, it has inspired a hatred of oppression, and a love of freedom! It would be thus in the West Indies. The attempts which have been made to press a few detached texts into the cause of tyranny, have never produced any extensive effect. Those who cannot refute them by reasoning and comparison, will be hurried forward by the sense of intolerable wrongs, and the madness of wounded affection. All this the Colonists have discovered; and we feel assured that they will never suffer religious instruction to be unreservedly given to the slaves. In that case, the Establishment will degenerate into a job. This is no chimerical apprehension. There have been clergymen in the West Indies for many years past; and what have they done for the Negroes? In what have they conduced, either to their temporal or to their spiritual welfare? Doubtless, there have been respectable men among them. But is it not notorious, that the benefices of the Colonies have been repeatedly given to the outcasts of English society—men whom the inhabitants would not venture to employ as book-keepers, yet whom they desired to retain as boon companions? Any person, who will look over the Parliamentary papers which contain the answers returned by the Colonial Clergy to certain queries sent out a few years ago by Lord Bathurst, will see some curious instances of the ignorance, the idleness, and the levity of that body. Why should the new Establishment be less corrupt than the old? The dangers to which it is exposed are the same; we do not see that its securities are much greater. It has Bishops, no doubt; and when we observe that bishops are more active than their inferiors, on this side of the Atlantic, we shall begin to hope that they may be useful on the other*.

Those reforms have begun at the wrong end. 'God,' says old Hooker (no enemy to Episcopal Establishments), 'first assigned Adam main-

* See Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 41, No. 44, Supplement to No. 46, No. 47, and No. 48.

‘tenance for life, and then appointed him a law to observe.’ Our rulers would have done well to imitate the example,—to give some security to the hearth and to the back of the slave, before they sent him Bishops, Archdeacons, Chancellors, and Chapters.

The work of Mr. Stephen has, we think, disposed for ever of some of the principal arguments which are urged by the Colonists *. If those who conscientiously support slavery be open to conviction, if its dishonest advocates be susceptible of shame, they can surely never again resort to that mode of defence, which they have so often employed when hard pressed by some particular case of oppression. On such occasions their cry has been, ‘These are individual instances: you must not deduce general conclusions from them. What would you say, if we were to form our estimate of English society from the ‘Police Reports, or the Newgate Calendar? Look at the rules, and not at the exceptions.’ Here, then, we have those boasted rules. And what are they? We find that the actions which other societies punish as crimes, are in the West Indies sanctioned by law;—that practices of which England affords no example but in the records of the jail and the gibbet, are there suffered to exist unpunished;—that atrocities may there be perpetrated in the drawing-room or in the market-place, on the persons of untried and unconvicted individuals, which here would scarcely find an asylum in the vaults of the Blood-bowl House.

Is it any answer to this charge, now most fully established, to say that we too have our crimes? Unquestionably, under all systems, however wise; under all circumstances, however fortunate; the passions of men will incite them to evil. The most vigilant police, the most rigid tribunals, the severest penalties, are but imperfect restraints upon avarice and revenge. What, then, must be the case where these restraints are withdrawn? In England, there is a legal remedy for every injury. If the first Prince of the Blood were to treat the poorest pauper in St. Giles’s, as the best code in the West Indies authorizes a master to treat his slave, it would be better for him that he had never been born. Yet even here we find, that, wherever power is given, it is occasionally abused; that magistrates, not having the fear of the Court of King’s Bench before their eyes, will sometimes be guilty of injustice and tyranny; that even parents will sometimes starve, torture, and murder the helpless beings to whom they have given life. And is it not evident, that where there are fewer checks there will be more cruelty?

But we are told, the manners of a people, the state of public opinion, are of more real consequence than any written code. Many things, it is confessed, in the Colonial laws, are cruel and unjust in theory: but we are assured that the feeling of the Colonists renders the practical operation of the system lenient and liberal. We

* Mr. Stephen’s work was published in 1823, and reviewed in 1824. Six years have passed, and Mr. Stephen’s delineation is still an accurate representation of the Slave laws in our colonies. The slight variations which have taken place in colonies having legislatures of their own, have effected no real change in the law.—See *Anti-Slavery Reporter* No. 52, and the authorities there referred to.

answer, that public feeling, though an excellent auxiliary to laws, always has been, and always must be, a miserable and inefficient substitute for them. The rules of evidence on which public opinion proceeds are defective, and its decisions are capricious. Its condemnation frequently spares the guilty, and falls on the innocent. It is terrible to sensitive and generous minds; but it is disregarded by those whose hardened depravity most requires restraint. Hence its decrees, however salutary, unless supported by the clearer definitions and stronger sanctions of legislation, will be daily and hourly infringed; and, with principles which rest only on public opinion, frequent infraction amounts to a repeal. Nothing that is very common can be very disgraceful. Thus public opinion, when not strengthened by positive enactment, is first defied, and then vitiated. At best it is a feeble check to wickedness; at last it becomes its most powerful auxiliary.

As a remedy for the evils of a system of slavery, public opinion must be utterly inefficacious; and that for this simple reason, that the opinion of the slaves themselves goes for nothing. The desire which we feel to obtain the approbation, and to avoid the censure, of our neighbours, is no innate or universal sentiment. It always springs, directly or indirectly, from consideration of the power which others possess to serve or to injure us. The good-will of the lower orders is courted only in countries where they possess political privileges, and where there is much that they can give, and much that they can take away. Their opinion is important or unimportant, in proportion as their legal rights are great or small. It can, therefore, never be a substitute for legal rights. Does a Smithfield drover care for the love or hatred of his oxen? And yet his oxen, since the passing of Mr. Martin's meliorating act, are scarcely in a more unprotected condition than the slaves in our islands.

The opinion, then, which is to guard the slaves from the oppressions of the privileged order, is the opinion of the privileged order itself. A vast authority is entrusted to the master—the law imposes scarcely any restraints upon him—and we are required to believe, that the place of all other checks will be fully supplied by the general sense of those who participate in his power and his temptations. This may be reason at Kingston; but will it pass at Westminster? We are not inveighing against the White inhabitants of the West Indies. We do not say that they are naturally more cruel or more sensual than ourselves. But we say that they are men: and they desire to be considered as angels! We say, as angels; for to no human being, however generous and beneficent, to no philanthropist, to no fathers of the church, could powers like theirs be safely entrusted. Such authority a parent ought not to have over his children.—They ask very complacently, 'Are we men of a different species from yourselves? We come among you; we mingle with you in all kinds of business and pleasure; we buy and sell with you on 'Change in the morning; we dance with your daughters in the evening. Are not our manners civil? Are not our dinners good? Are we not kind friends, fair dealers, generous benefactors? Are not our names in the subscription list of all your charities? And can you believe that we are such monsters as the

Saints represent us to be? Can you imagine, that by merely crossing the Atlantic we acquire a new nature?' We reply, You are not men of a different species from ourselves; and therefore we will not give you powers with which we would not dare to trust ourselves. We know that your passions are like ours; we know that your restraints are fewer; and therefore we know that your crimes must be greater. Are despotic sovereigns men of harder hearts by nature than their subjects? are they born with an hereditary thirst for blood, with a natural incapacity for friendship? Surely not. Yet what is their general character? False—cruel—licentious—ungrateful. Many of them have performed single acts of splendid generosity and heroism; a few may be named whose general administration has been salutary; but scarcely one has passed through life without committing at least some one atrocious act, from the guilt and infamy of which restricting laws would have saved him. If our own king Henry VIII. had been a private man, he might have torn his wife's ruff, and kicked her lap-dog: he was a king, and he cut off her head—not that his passions were more brutal than those of many other men, but that they were less restrained. How many of the West-Indian overseers can boast of the piety and magnanimity of Theodosius? Yet, in a single moment of anger, that prince destroyed more innocent people than all the ruffians of Europe stab in fifty years. Thus it is with a master in the colonies. We will suppose him to be a good-natured man, but subject, like other men, to occasional fits of passion. He gives an order: it is slowly or negligently executed. In England, he would grumble, perhaps swear a little: in the West Indies, the law empowers him to inflict a severe flogging on the loiterer. Are we very uncharitable in supposing that he will sometimes exercise his privilege?

It by no means follows that a person who is humane in England will be humane to his Negroes in the West Indies. Nothing is so capricious and inconsistent as the compassion of men. The Romans were people of the same flesh and blood with ourselves—they loved their friends, they cried at tragedies, they gave money to beggars—yet we know their fondness for gladiatorial shows. When, by order of Pompey, some elephants were tortured in the amphitheatre, the audience was so shocked at the yells and contortions by which the poor creatures expressed their agony, that they burst forth into execrations against their favourite general. The same people, in the same place, had probably often given the fatal twirl of the thumb which condemned some gallant barbarian to receive the sword. In our own time, many a man shoots partridges in such numbers that he is compelled to bury them, who would chastise his son for amusing himself with the equally interesting, and not more cruel diversion, of catching flies and tearing them to pieces. The drover goads oxen—the fish-monger crimps cod—the dragoon sabres a Frenchman—the Spanish Inquisition burns a Jew—the Irish gentleman torments a Catholic. These persons are not necessarily destitute of feeling. Each of them would shrink from any cruel employment, except that to which his situation has familiarized him.

There is only one way in which the West Indians will ever convince the people of England that their practice is merciful, and that is, by making their laws merciful. We cannot understand why men should so tenaciously fight for powers which they do not mean to exercise. If the oppressive privileges of the master be nominal, and not real, let him cede them, and silence calumny at once and for ever. Let him cede them for his own honour; let him cede them in compliance with the desire—the vain and superfluous desire, we will suppose—of the people of England. Is the repeal of laws which have become obsolete, is the prohibition of crimes which are never committed, too great a return for a bounty of twelve hundred thousand pounds—for a protecting duty most injurious to the manufacturers of England and the cultivators of Hindostan—for an army, which alone protects from inevitable ruin the lives and possessions of the Colonists?

The fact notoriously is, that West-Indian manners give protection even to those extreme enormities against which the West-Indian laws provide. We have already adverted to one of the most ordinary sophisms of our opponents. 'Why,' they exclaim, 'is our whole body to be censured for the depravity of a few? Every society has its miscreants. If we had our Hodge, you had your Thurtell: if we had our Huggins, you had your Wall. No candid reasoner will ground general charges on individual cases.' The refutation is simple. When a community does nothing to prevent guilt, it ought to bear the blame of it. Wickedness, when punished, is disgraceful only to the offender: unpunished, it is disgraceful to the whole society. Our charge against the Colonists is, not that crimes are perpetrated among them, but that they are tolerated. We will give a single instance. Since the West Indians are fond of referring to our Newgate Calendar, we will place side by side a leaf from that melancholy register, and another from the West-Indian annals.

Mr. Wall was governor at Goree. In that situation he flogged a man to death, on pretence of mutiny. On his return to England, he was indicted for murder. He escaped to the Continent. For twenty years he remained in exile; for twenty years the English people retained the impression of his crime uneffaced within their hearts. He shifted his residence—he disguised his person—he changed his name—still their eyes were upon him, for evil, and not for good. At length, conceiving that all danger was at an end, he returned. He was tried, convicted, and hanged, amidst the huzzas of an innumerable multitude*.

Edward Huggins of Nevis, about fifteen years ago, flogged upwards of twenty slaves, in the public market-place, with such severity as to produce the death of one, and to ruin the constitutions of many. He had grossly violated the law of the Colony, which prescribes a limit to such inflictions. He had violated it in open day, and in the presence

* We should be far, indeed, from applauding those shouts, if they were the exultation of cruelty; but they arose from the apprehension that Court favour was about to save the criminal; and the feeling expressed was for the triumph of justice.

of a magistrate. He was indicted by the law officer of the Crown. His advocate acknowledged the facts, but argued that the act on which he was tried was passed only to silence the zealots in England, and was never intended to be enforced. Huggins was acquitted!—But that was a trifle. Some members of the House of Assembly lost their seats at the next election, for taking part against him. A printer of a neighbouring island was convicted of a libel, merely for publishing an official report of the evidence transmitted to him by authority. In a word, Huggins was considered as a martyr to the common cause, and grew in influence and popularity; while a most respectable planter, an enlightened and accomplished gentleman, Mr. Tobin, who, nobly despising the prejudices of his class, had called the attention of the Government to these diabolical outrages, was menaced with prosecutions, assailed with slanders, and preserved only by blindness from challenges.

Let these cases be compared. We do not say that Wall was not as bad a man as Huggins; but we do say that the English people have nothing to do with the crime of Wall, and that the public character of the people of Nevis suffers seriously by the crime of Huggins. They have adopted the guilt, and they must share in the infamy. We know that the advocates of Slavery affect to deride this and similar narratives as old and threadbare. They sneer at them in conversation, and cough them down in the House of Commons. But it is in vain. They are written on the hearts of the people; and they will be remembered when all the smooth nothings of all the official defenders of such transactions are forgotten.

The truth is simply this. Bad laws and bad customs, reciprocally producing and produced by each other, have given to the Whites in all the slave islands—Dutch, Spanish, French, and English—a peculiar character, in which almost all the traits, which in this quarter of the world distinguish the different nations, are lost. We think we describe that character sufficiently, when we call it the despotic character. In nothing does this temper more strongly appear than in the rage and contempt with which the Colonists receive every command, and, indeed, every admonition, from the authorities of the mother country. When the territorial power and the commercial monopoly of the East-India Company have been at stake, has that great body conducted itself thus? Do even foreign powers treat us in this manner? We have often remonstrated with the greatest sovereigns of the Continent on the subject of the slave trade. We have been repulsed; we have been deluded; but by whom have we been insulted? The representations of the King and People of England have never been met with outrageous scorn and anger, except by the men who owe their food to our bounties, and their lives to our troops. To the most gentle and moderate advice, to the suggestions of the most respectable of the West-India proprietors resident in England, they reply only in ravings of absurd slander, or impotent defiance. The essays in their newspapers, the speeches of their legislators, the resolutions of their vestries, are, almost without exception, mere collections of rancorous abuse, unmixed with argument. If the Anti-Slavery Society would

publish a small tract, containing simply the leading articles of five or six numbers of the Jamaica Gazette, without note or comment, they would, we believe, do more to illustrate the character of their adversaries, than by any other means which can be devised. Such a collection would exhibit to the country the real nature of that malignant spirit which banished Salisbury, which destroyed Smith, and which broke the honest heart of Ramsay.

It is remarkable, that most of these zealots of slavery have little or no pecuniary interest in the question. If the colonies should be ruined, the loss will fall, not upon the book-keepers, the overseers, the herd of needy emigrants, who make up the noisy circles of Jamaica; but upon the Chandoses, the Ellises, the Hibberts, the Mannings, the Pallmers, &c. &c. &c., in this country. *They* might have been excused, if any persons could be excused, for employing violent and abusive language. And why have they not done so? Simply because they live in England, and understand and participate in English feelings. The Colonists, on the other hand, are degraded by familiarity with oppression. They do not merely live by oppression; they practise; they inflict it. Let us not be deceived. The cry which resounds from the West Indies is raised by men who are trembling less for their property than for the privileges of their caste. These are the persons who love slavery for its own sake. The declarations so often made by the Parliament, by the Ministers, by the deadliest enemies of slavery, that the interests of all parties will be fairly considered, bring no comfort to them. They may have no possessions—but they have white faces. Should compensation be given, few of them will receive a sixpence; but they will lose the power of oppressing, with impunity, every man who has a black skin. And it is to these men, who have scarcely any interest in the value of colonial property, but who have a deep interest—the interest of a petty tyrant, and a despicable pride—in the maintenance of colonial injustice, that the British Parliament is required to give up its unquestionable right of superintendance over every part of our empire. If this were requested as a matter of indulgence, or recommended as a matter of expediency, we might well be surprised. But it is demanded as a constitutional right.—On what does this right rest? On what statute? On what charter? On what precedent? On what analogy? That the uniform practice of past ages has been against their claim, they themselves do not venture to deny. Do they mean to assert, that a Parliament in which they are not represented ought not to legislate for them? That question we leave them to settle with their friends of the Quarterly Review and the John Bull newspaper, who, we hope, will enlighten them on the subject of virtual representation. If ever that expression could be justly used, it would be in the present case; for probably there is no interest more fully represented in both Houses of Parliament, than that of the Colonial Proprietors.—But for ourselves we answer, What have you to do with such doctrines? If you will adopt the principles of liberty, adopt them altogether. Every argument which you can urge in support of your own claims, might be employed, with far greater justice, in favour of the emancipation of your bondsmen. When that

event shall have taken place, your demand will deserve consideration. At present, what you require under the name of freedom is nothing but unlimited power to oppress. It is the freedom of Nero.

‘But we will rebel!’ Who can refrain from thinking of Captain Lemuel Gulliver, who, while raised sixty feet from the ground on the hand of the King of Brobdignag, claps his hand on his sword and tells his Majesty that he knows how to defend himself? You will rebel! Bravely resolved, most magnanimous Grildrig? But remember the wise remark of Lord Beefington—‘Courage without power,’ said that illustrious exile, ‘is like a consumptive running footman.’ What are your means of resistance? Are there, in all the islands put together, ten thousand White men capable of bearing arms? Are not your forces, such as they are, divided into small portions which can never act in concert? But this is mere trifling. Are you, in point of fact, at this moment able to protect yourselves against your slaves, without our assistance? If you can still rise up and lie down in security—if you can still eat the bread of the fatherless, and grind the faces of the poor—if you can still hold your petty parliaments, and say your little speeches, and make your little motions—if you can still outrage and insult the Parliament and People of England, to what do you owe it? To nothing but to our contemptuous mercy. If we suspend our protection, if we recal our troops, in a week the knife is at your throats!

Look to it, that we do not take you at your word. What are you to *us*, that we should pamper and defend you? If the Atlantic Ocean should pass over you, and your place know you no more, what should *we* lose? Could we find no other cultivators to accept of our enormous bounties on sugar? no other pestilential region to which we might send our soldiers to catch the yellow-fever? no other community for which we might pour forth our blood and lavish our money, to purchase nothing but injuries and insults? What do we make by you? If England is no longer to be *the mistress* of her Colonies; if she is to be only the handmaid of their pleasures, or the accomplice of their crimes; she may at least venture to ask, as a handmaid, what are to be the wages of her service; as an accomplice, what is to be her portion of the spoil? If justice, and mercy, and liberty, and the law of God, and the happiness of man, be words without a meaning, we at least talk to the purpose when we talk of pounds, shillings, and pence.

Let us count our gains. Let us bring to the test the lofty phrases of Colonial declamation. ‘The West Indies,’ we are told, ‘are a source of vast wealth and revenue to the country. They are a nursery of seamen. They take great quantities of our manufactures. They add to our political importance. They are useful posts in time of war.’—These absurdities have been repeated, till they have begun to impose upon the impostors who invented them. Let us examine them briefly.

Our commercial connexion with the West Indies is simply this. We buy our sugar from them at a higher price than is given for it in any other part of the world. The surplus they export to the Continent, where the price is lower; and we pay them the difference out of our own pockets. Our trade with the West Indies is saddled with almost all the expense of their civil and military establishments; and with a

bounty of 1,200,000*l.* Let these be deducted from the profits of which we hear so much, and their amount will shrink indeed. Let us then deduct from the residue the advantages which we relinquish in order to obtain it—that is to say, the profits of a free sugar-trade all over the world—and then we shall be able to estimate the boasted gains of a connexion to which we have sacrificed the Negroes in one hemisphere, and the Hindoos in the other.

But the West Indians take great quantities of our manufactures!—They *can* take only a return for the commodities which they send us. And from whatever country we may import the same commodities, to that country must we send out the same returns. What is it that now limits the demands of our Eastern empire? Absolutely nothing but the want of an adequate return. From that immense market, from the custom of one hundred millions of consumers, our manufacturers are in a great measure excluded, by the protecting duties on East-Indian sugar.

But a great revenue is derived from the West-Indian trade!—Here, again, we have the same fallacy. As long as the present quantity of sugar is imported into England, no matter from what country, the revenue will not suffer, and, in proportion as the price of sugar is diminished, the consumption, and consequently the revenue, must increase.

But the West-Indian trade affords extensive employment to British shipping and seamen!—Why more than any equally extensive trade with any other part of the world? The more active our trade, the more demand there will be for shipping and seamen; and every one, who has learnt the alphabet of Political Economy, knows that trade is active in proportion only as it is free.

There are some who assert, that, in a military and political point of view, the West Indies are of great importance to this country. This is a common, but a monstrous, misrepresentation. We venture to say, that Colonial empire has been one of the greatest curses of modern Europe. What nation has it ever strengthened? What nation has it ever enriched? What have been its fruits? Wars of frequent occurrence and immense cost, fettered trade, lavish expenditure, clashing jurisdiction, corruption in governments, and indigence among the people. What have Mexico and Peru done for Spain; the Brazils, for Portugal; Batavia, for Holland? Or, if the experience of others is lost upon us, shall we not profit by our own? What have we not sacrificed to our infatuated passion for Transatlantic dominion? This it is that has so often led us to risk our own smiling gardens and dear fire-sides for some snowy desert or infectious morass on the other side of the globe. This inspired us with the project of conquering America in Germany. This induced us to resign all the advantages of our insular situation; to embroil ourselves in the intrigues and fight the battles of half the Continent; to form coalitions which were instantly broken, and to give subsidies which were never earned. This gave birth to the fratricidal war against American liberty, with all its disgraceful defeats, and all its barren victories, and all the massacres of the Indian hatchet, and all the bloody contracts of the Hessian slaughter-house. This it was which, in the war against the French Republic, induced us to send thousands and tens of thousands of our bravest troops to die

in West-Indian hospitals, while the armies of our enemies were pouring over the Rhine and the Alps. When a colonial acquisition has been in prospect, we have thought no expenditure extravagant, no interference perilous: gold has been to us as dust, and blood as water. Shall we never learn wisdom? Shall we never cease to prosecute a pursuit wilder than the wildest dream of alchymy, with all the credulity and all the profusion of Sir Epicure Mammon?

Those who maintain that settlements so remote conduce to the military or maritime power of nations, fly in the face of history. The Colonies of Spain were far more extensive and populous than ours. Has Spain, at any time within the last two centuries, been a match for England, either by land or by sea? Fifty years ago, our colonial dominions in America were far larger and more prosperous than those which we at present possess. Have we since that time experienced any decay in our political influence, in our opulence, or in our security? Or shall we say that Virginia was a less valuable possession than Jamaica, or Massachusetts than Barbadoes?

The fact is, that all the evils of our Colonial system are immensely aggravated in the West Indies, by the peculiar character of the state of slavery which exists there. Our other settlements we have to defend only against foreign invasion: these we must protect against the constant enmity of the miserable bondsmen, who are always waiting for the moment of deliverance, if not of revenge. With our other establishments we may form commercial relations advantageous to both parties: but these are in a state of absolute pauperism; for, what are bounties and forced prices but an enormous poor-rate in disguise?

These are the benefits for which we are to be thankful; these are the benefits, in return for which we are to suffer a handful of managers and attorneys to insult the King, Lords, and Commons of England, in the exercise of rights as old and sacred as any part of our Constitution. If the proudest potentate in Europe, if the King of France or the Emperor of all the Russias, had treated our government as these creatures of our own have dared to do, should we not have taken such satisfaction as would have made the ears of all who heard of it to tingle? Would not there have been a stately manifesto, and a warlike message to both Houses, and vehement speeches from all parties, and unanimous addresses abounding in offers of lives and fortunes? If any *English mob*, composed of the disciples of Paine and Carlile, should dare to pull down a place of religious worship, to drive the minister from his residence, to threaten with destruction any other who should dare to take his place, would not the yeomanry be called out? Would not Parliament be summoned before the appointed time? Would there not be sealed bags and secret committees, and suspensions of the Habeas Corpus Act? In Barbadoes, all this has been done. It has been done openly. It has not been punished. It is at this hour a theme of boasting and merriment. And what is the language of our rulers? 'We must not irritate them? We must try lenient measures. It is better that such unfortunate occurrences should not be brought before the Parliament!' Surely the mantle, or rather the cassock, of Sir Hugh Evans, has descended on these gentlemen:—'It

is not meet the council hear a riot. There is no fear of Got in a riot. The council, look you, shall desire to have the fear of Got, and not to hear a riot.' We have outdone all the most memorable examples of patience. The Job of Holy Writ, the Griselda of profane romance, were but types of our philosophy. Surely our endurance must be drawing to a close.

We do not wish that England should drive forth her prodigal offspring to wear the rags and feed on the husks which they have desired. The Colonists have deserved such a punishment. But for the sake of the slaves, at least, and such as with them might innocently suffer, we should grieve to see it inflicted. That the slaves, when no longer restrained by our troops, would, in no very long time, achieve their own liberation, cannot be doubted. As little do we doubt that such a revolution, violent as it would doubtless be, would be desirable, if it were the only possible means of subverting the present system. The horrors of a battle or a massacre force themselves upon our senses. The effects of protracted tyranny, the terror, the degradation, the blighted affections, the stunted intellects, the pining of the heart, the premature decay of the frame, are evils less obvious, but equally certain; and, when continued through successive generations, make up a greater sum of human misery than was ever inflicted in the paroxysm of any revolution. Still we cannot doubt that savages, rude in understanding, exasperated by injuries, intoxicated by recent freedom, would be much benefited by the wise and merciful controul of an enlightened people.

With respect to the West Indians in this country, we are convinced that there is not, in any quarter, a feeling unfriendly to them, or an indisposition to give a fair consideration to all the circumstances of their case. We call, therefore, for their support: they are our natural allies against the ruffians who wield the whip. The former class consists of men naturally solicitous to preserve the source from which they derive a part of their revenue: the latter is composed, in a great measure, of hungry adventurers, who are too poor to buy the pleasure of tyranny, and are therefore attached to the only system under which they can enjoy it gratis. The former wish to secure their possessions: the latter are mainly desirous to perpetuate the oppressive privileges of the White skin. Against those privileges we declare interminable war—war for ourselves, and for our children, and for our grand-children—war without peace—war without truce—war without quarter! But we respect the *just* rights of property as much as we detest the prerogatives of colour.

We entreat these persons to reflect on the precarious nature of the tenure by which they hold their property. Even if it were in their power to put a stop to this controversy—if the subject of slavery were no longer to occupy the attention of the British public—could they think themselves secure from ruin? Are no ominous signs visible in the political horizon? How is it that they do not discern this time? All the ancient fabrics of colonial empire are falling to pieces. The old equilibrium of power has been disturbed by the introduction of a crowd of new states into the system. Our West-India possessions

are not now surrounded, as they formerly were, by the oppressed and impoverished colonies of a superannuated monarchy, in the last stage of dotage and debility; but by young, and vigorous, and warlike republics. We have defended our colonies against Spain: does it therefore follow that we shall be able to defend them against Mexico or Hayti?

We are told that a pamphlet of Mr. Stephen, or a speech of Mr. Brougham, is enough to excite all the slaves in our colonies to rebel. What, then, would be the effect produced in Jamaica by the appearance of three or four black regiments, with thirty or forty thousand stands of arms? The colony would be lost. Would it ever be recovered? Would England engage in a contest for that object, at so vast a distance, and in so deadly a climate? Would she not take warning by the fate of that mighty expedition which perished in St. Domingo? Let us suppose, however, that a force were sent, and that, in the field, it were successful. Have we forgotten how long a few Maroons defended the central mountains of the island against all the efforts of disciplined valour? A similar contest on a larger scale might be protracted for half a century, keeping our forces in continual employment, and depriving property of all its security. The country might spend fifty millions of pounds, and bury fifty thousand men, before the contest could be terminated. Nor is this all. In a servile war, the master *must* be the loser—for his enemies are his chattels. Whether the slave conquer or fall, he is alike lost to the owner. In the mean time, the soil lies uncultivated; the machinery is destroyed; and when the possessions of the planter are restored to him, they have been changed into a desert.

Our policy is clear. If we wish to keep the Colonies, we must take prompt and effectual measures for raising the condition of the slaves. We must give them institutions which they may have no temptation to change. This is the only safeguard. You may renew all the atrocities of Barbadoes and Demerara. You may inflict all the most hateful punishments authorized by the insular codes. You may massacre by the thousand, and hang by the score. You may even once more roast your captives on slow fires, and starve them in iron cages, or flay them alive with the cart-whip. You will only hasten the day of retribution. Therefore we say, 'Let them go forth from the house of bondage. For wo unto you, if you wait for the plagues and the signs, the wonders and the war, the mighty hand and the out-stretched arm!'

If the great West-Indian proprietors shall persist in a different line of conduct, and ally themselves with the petty tyrants of the Antilles, it matters little. We should gladly accept of their assistance: but we feel assured that their opposition cannot affect, or now materially retard, the ultimate result of the controversy. It is not to any particular party in the church or in the state; it is not to the right or to the left hand of the Speaker; it is not to the cathedral or to the meeting, that we look exclusively for support. We believe that on this subject the hearts of the English people burn within them.

They hate slavery. They have hated it for ages. It has, indeed, hidden itself for a time in a remote nook of their dominions; but it is now discovered and dragged to light. That is sufficient. Its sentence is pronounced; and it never can escape! Never, though all the efforts of its supporters should be redoubled—never, though sophistry, and falsehood, and slander, and the jests of the pot-house, the ribaldry of the brothel, and the slang of the ring or fives' court, should do their utmost in its defence—never, though fresh insurrections should be got up to frighten the people out of their judgment, and fresh companies to bubble them out of their money—never, though it should find in the highest ranks of the peerage, or on the steps* of the throne itself, the purveyors of its slander, and the mercenaries of its defence!

III.—FROM THE WESTMINSTER REVIEW FOR OCTOBER 1829.

HISTORY tells of an individual, who believed he had travelled for seven years in foreign countries and there done many notable acts, when the truth was that he had dipped his head into a pail of water and taken it out again. Very much like this is the history of that metaphorical personage, the type of all that is foolish and deceivable in nations, in whom under one bestial appellation is concentrated the description of the ignorance and *gullibility* of the British community. Puffed up with the idea that he was something and somebody, he winked and ran his head quietly into the endurance of such frauds as could never have befallen any body that was in the habit of walking with his eyes open, or was humble enough to conceive that he might possibly be made a dupe.

Not that the man positively would not take his fingers out of the fire when they were burning. On the contrary, nobody made more turmoil when he knew that he was hurt. But his coat might be taken off his back, by any body that would tell him a long story. He was a man of *one* idea, or at most of *two*; but it was only necessary to go as far as *three*, to leave him in utter bewilderment. For example, he knew well enough, that he did not like to be robbed and murdered himself. This was idea number one; and it is supposed that he had as clear a comprehension of it, as mathematicians have of Euclid. He had a glimmering too, that it was not for his interest, that people should be robbed and murdered somewhere else; provided it was in a neighbouring parish, or at all events in some parish where he apprehended a distant possibility that he might be murdered himself. But if it was further off than this, the question was too much for him. It was the triple idea, which he could never comprehend, that he could have any thing to do with felony where he never intended to adventure his own person. If an injury was done to himself, or to

* This, we trust, is only matter now of past history. After the bright examples recently given to us of devotion to the cause of liberty by the illustrious House of Brunswick, we are unwilling to believe that any member of it should ever disgrace himself by becoming the advocate of Slavery or the Slave-trade.

any person within the degree of third cousin, there was nobody that made a more exemplary bawling for the constable. When a woman in his own neighbourhood had 'whipt two female 'prentices to death, and hid them in the coal-hole,' he thought hanging was too good for her; and there he stood, when the miserable wretch was brought out to just and necessary punishment, trying to overwhelm her sinful soul with more than dying horror, by adding at that fearful moment the expression of his unforgiveness and his hate. But when the same thing was done in a parish a little further off—and that not by accident, but as part and parcel of a system which the whole parish, with their overseers at their head, had risen up to defend—he quietly went home, and *paid a tax to enable the like to be done again*. He grumbled much of the hardness of times, and the difficulty an honest man had to live; but not one word did he say against the imposition of a poll-tax to enable the Esther Hibners* of the West Indies to ride, not in a cart, but in their coaches. On the contrary, he went home, and called his wife and children, and after asking if they had said their prayers, he said to them, 'I have seen a woman hanged this morning. I was never so pleased in my life. And now send for some sugar for breakfast; and when you pay eleven-pence for the sugar, take care that you pay the penny for the West Indians.' It never occurred to him or his gaping brood—though, to say the truth, they were well-intentioned persons enough in their way—that *their* representatives and every body's representatives, were taxing them and every body, not for any benefit that was to arise to them or the community, but simply that the proceeds of this taxation might find their way into the pockets of such persons as, in their own parish, they thought hanging was too good for. It was quite certain that these persons, and all the mischief and misery attendant on their system, existed solely because the people of Great Britain were taxed to pay for it, and could not exist without it. They were as clearly raised, supported, and kept in existence, by a rate laid upon the people of Great Britain, as a poor-house or a county hospital. They could not pay for their whip-leather, unless an extra tax was laid on the produce of other British possessions, for the purpose of obliging the British consumer to put the difference into the pockets of the West Indians. The people of Great Britain, in fact—the same people who give themselves airs when they get into foreign parts, by reason of their freedom—pay a poll-tax for the support of slavery and slave-owners in the West Indies. But all this, the simple man and his brood would never have found out to their dying day. He would have been shocked if he had been asked to contribute to the maintenance of a receiver of stolen goods in his own street. If the parish-officer had come to intimate to him, that his wife and daughters were to be rated, to rebuild the houses of ill fame that were lately burnt at Temple Bar, all his reverence for the authorities would not have prevented him from knocking him down. But when he was to pay for the same kind of thing by instalments upon every piece of sugar

* See Anti-Slavery Reporter, vol. iii p. 9.

the same wife and daughters put into their mouths, it was quite beyond him to find out, of his own pure brain, that there was any thing degrading in the affair. In short, he would have paid for a fire to roast his own father, and salt to eat him with, if it had only been put to him in the shape of a duty on faggots, or an exciseman in the salt-box.

There is not one word of jest or exaggeration in all this. It is a plain unadorned statement of what is taking place with every Englishman at every hour. The English people, high and low, hate slavery and injustice as much as any body does. They have had their hours of struggle, which have taught them *why* they hate them; and the issue of the contest has left them, in many respects, the foremost of the world in the general march of liberty and civilization. But they pay a poll-tax for no reason on earth but that the abettors of slavery in their Colonies may have whips instead of no whips. They suffer themselves to be basely bullied—or, more properly, past ministries, from inward affection to the bad cause, have suffered themselves to be basely bullied as their representatives—by men whom they are at the very moment paying to support. They allow the slave-drivers in the West Indies to shake their hardened fists in every British face; and their agents in this country to cover with ribald abuse every honest man and woman who raises a voice in opposition: and all the while they are positively paying a penny in the shilling on all the sugar they eat, for no reason on earth but that the thing they hate may be carried on, and because it could not be carried on without it. If the West-Indian islands, with all their abominations, were to sink into the sea to-morrow, the British people, instead of being losers, would be immense gainers. They would be the gainers of all they now pay in the shape of taxation for their support; which only goes to keep coaches for the agents of the injustice, and buy boroughs to enable them to support their cause in parliament. The whole ‘West-Indian body,’ as they call themselves, is nothing but one large fraud. Every thing is a fraud which supports one set of men upon the earnings of another. It is a robbery on a large scale upon the people of England; who are plundered of the earnings of their labour, and in return have the pleasure of seeing the ‘West-Indian body’ living upon their money. That this is true, is proved by the fact, that the whole West-Indian system together cannot be carried on without being supported by a tax. Whip as he will, the slave-driver does not make both ends meet, till the people of England are taxed to pay the difference. They must be made to pay ten shillings a cwt. more for sugar than it can be got for in the East Indies or other places; and then ten shillings find their way into the West-Indian’s pocket. It is clearly all a cheat, as much as ring-dropping. Out of nothing, nothing can come and where men cannot get rich unless the people of England raise it for them by subscription, it is mere trick and legerdemain to point to their riches as increasing wealth. If part of the money finds its way into the hands of Government in the shape of further taxation, the real nature of the transaction is only like a government’s proposing to get rich by levying a contribution on the gains of highwaymen. The tax and the unjust gain of which it is a part, can only be taken from some honest man to begin

with ; which can make no gain in the aggregate. If ships and sailors are employed in the dishonest trade, they would also be employed in the honest trade as much. There would be just as much shipping employed in bringing home honest sugar, as sugar which the people is robbed to pay for. No man denies, or pretends to deny, the truth of all this. No man, with common regard for his own cause, will put down an assertion to the contrary on paper, which shall give an opportunity of displaying its fallacy piecemeal.

The colonists are in the habit of blustering about their "property," and their "vested rights." It were difficult to say what term of possession may give these men a right to a sanguinary wrong. But fortunately we have a much nearer way to the solution of the question. Do the West Indians set up any claim to *our* property? Do they advance any right to make *us* subscribe for the flogging of women in Jamaica? Is the House of Commons bound to impose such taxes for the support of slavery, 'as the planters will sanction?*' If not, then the West Indians have overshot their mark. They have bullied and insulted an honest and a generous people; where their only chance for existence lay in conciliation and submission. They have talked loud of what they would do, and what they would not do; forgetting that all the time they hung by the mere thread of the volition of the English people, for doing any thing or being any thing. Ministers, too, have existed, mean enough to play into the hands of the originators of the fraud, and to speak as if there really was some difficulty in making the colonists accede to any terms the British government should intimate; knowing all the time that they exist but by the fiat of the government operating in the shape of exactions on the people. If the West Indians are unmanageable, *stop their rations*. If they can keep themselves, let them take their own way, like other people that can keep themselves. But if they cannot, then let them, like other paupers, submit to the directions of those that pay for them; and do not let *us* be troubled with the insolence and bad propensities of the great poor-house in the Antilles. If Helen Moss is to be supported by a rate upon the parish, Helen Moss shall be quiet, and have neither slaves nor apprentices to flog; or else* Helen Moss shall be put on low diet, till she finds the difference between rubbing pepper into girls' eyes in the West Indies, and being insolent to honest men in England who are paying for her keep †.

* 'With regard to the Sugar Colonies, settle the slave question in such a manner as the planters will sanction.'—*Blackwood's Ed. Mag. July 1829*, p. 115.

† See *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, vol. ii. p. 462. See also *Extract from the Speech of Sir James Macintosh in the House of Commons, June 3, 1829*: from the *Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter for June 1829*.—'The Hon. Member [Mr. H. Gurney] had had recourse to a species of argument respecting the case of the Mosses, which he remembered was used at the beginning of the debates on the proposed abolition of the slave trade. A great West-India proprietor said, on the occasion to which he had alluded, that the House might as well judge of the morals of England by the records of the Old Bailey, as judge of the character of the West-India planters from a few occurrences selected for the purpose of making an unfavourable impression on the public. To this Mr. Fox replied—"I do not wonder that the slave trade should remind the Hon. Gentleman of the Old Bailey. No-

The pretext might have done for the days of ignorance ; but no minister in the present time would risk his credit, by intimating the existence of a difficulty in bringing the West Indians to any terms which the government, acting on behalf of the British community, should be pleased to propose. A minister who should do so now, would be hooted down—out of the House, if not in the House—as a man that had voluntarily come forward with a fraud in his hand and a falsehood in his mouth. If any minister has a reason to offer why the people of England should continue to pay a duty of 10s. a hundred-weight on sugar from their East-Indian colonies in order that slavery may be paid for in the West, let him produce it ; but if he loves his credit for common penetration and ordinary prudence, let him not risk the assertion that there is any difficulty in the removal of the slavery.

What a minister desirous to do justice to the people of England would manifestly do, would be to remove the extra duties in favour of West-Indian sugar, by a prospective act, to take effect six months after date ; and then intimate to the blustering paupers of the West Indies, that when the Colonial legislatures had enacted, and effectually put

thing can be so congenial as the two subjects. Nevertheless I will point out to the Hon. Gentleman a contrast between them. At the Old Bailey we hear of crimes which shock our moral feelings ; but we are consoled by the punishment of the criminals. We read of crimes as atrocious in the West-India islands, but our moral feelings are shocked at hearing not only of the impunity of the criminals, but of their triumph.” In adverting to the case of the Mosses, the Hon. Member had, most unfortunately for his argument, alluded to the case of Mrs. Hibner. The contrast which these cases presented between the moral feeling of the Bahamas and the moral feeling of this country was much more striking than the contrast to which Mr. Fox had formerly called the attention of the House. The offenders in the Bahamas having not only committed a murder, but committed it in the most barbarous manner possible, had been condemned to five months’ imprisonment. What followed? A memorial had been presented to the Colonial Secretary, signed by what were called the most respectable persons in the colony, attesting that the character of these cruel murderers was generally one of great humanity, and praying for a remission of their punishment. That was the manner in which this atrocious crime was viewed in an island, the inhabitants of which were in no other way demoralized than as the possession of unbounded and irresponsible power always corrupted the heart of man. Nay more, a public dinner, as a matter of triumph, was actually given, by the chief persons in the colony, to the criminals who had barely escaped the most condign punishment for their offences. What was, on the other hand, the case in London, when a criminal of the lowest order, this same Mrs. Hibner, whose crime was not aggravated by the consideration that she was possessed of information which ought to have taught her better, committed a similar offence? He was not the apologist of the vindictive feeling exhibited by the populace on the occasion ; but it was well known that they departed from the humanity which they usually exhibited towards the unfortunate persons who underwent the last sentence of the law. They could not conceal their horror at a crime, which, however, was far less atrocious than that which had been committed by the *respectable* Mosses ; and even rent the air with shouts of triumph when they witnessed the payment of the dreadful penalty. In justice, however, to the people of London, he must observe, that he remembered only three instances in which they had thus deviated from their usual feelings of commiseration for suffering criminals ; and those were all cases in which the punishment of death had been inflicted for the crime of murder, accompanied with circumstances of peculiar cruelty. Thus, even in their errors, the generosity which belonged to their general character was strongly evinced.’

into execution, every jot and tittle of what should be intimated to them from the government at home, the government at home would consider how far they would propose to the people of England the taking them again upon the pauper's list, and what portion of the labour of Englishmen should, upon sincere repentance and most abject and unreserved submission for past misconduct, be permitted to dribble into the pockets of the penitents. This is what every minister knows to be common sense and common honour; and there is nothing in the constitution of the present leaders of the country, to make it probable that they have any disinclination to act upon the knowledge.

In the present state of public information, it would be absurd for a minister to attempt to put forward the occupation of the West-Indian islands as a source of national wealth, when it is notorious that the whole establishment is maintained only by an impost on the public. There may have been a time when the wealth, the glories, the military and naval power, which make their appearance on certain points in consequence of the retention of the West Indies, might have been advanced, and nobody have found out that they were all paid for by a greater diminution of wealth and power somewhere else. But '*the people are over-educated*' for such an imposition now. The friends of slavery in the House of Commons should have stopped the progress of *A, B, C*, long ago; and as they did not, they must take the consequences. The West Indians have sometimes threatened to transfer their allegiance to America. If the Americans would take them on such terms, it would be policy for Great Britain to offer the Americans a million sterling a-year to consent to the arrangement, and she would be a great gainer by the bargain after all. A collection of paupers who should utter a threat that they would quit the parish, would not be half so welcome to put their threats in execution. The people of England are tired of the West Indians. They are tired, in the first place, of keeping them by public contribution; and they are tired of the insolence with which their misplaced charity has been returned.

Suppose the owner of a beast of burden were to disgust the public by the exhibition of base and malignant cruelty—as, for instance, that he were seen beating it to death, and rubbing pepper into its eyes, as the ladies who are kept out of our money in the West Indies do to their slaves;—and that, on being interfered with by the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, or by any body else, he should harangue upon his right of property, and turn upon the interferers with injury and insult;—and suppose that after all it should be found out, that the very people whom he was bespattering were subscribing to find him the means by which he possessed himself of the animal in question; that, in fact, he had not the means of livelihood, except by the contributions of the people he was insulting. How small would be the chance of such a ruffian, for the continuation of his nuisance; and how crawling and utterly contemptible would be the advisers, who should suggest the slightest difficulty in putting down his malpractices. Perhaps such a man might threaten, that if he was interfered with, he would starve his victim altogether. Try him. Depend upon it there will be no danger. He will be as supple as a glove. The

moment he is touched on the right place—the instant he perceives that he is understood and over-matched—his subserviency will be equal to his former violence. He will be your poor industrious jackass-driver—he will turn Methodist, go to week-day prayers, sing psalms till his voice cracks, do any thing that he thinks will tend to effect the prolongation of his pittance. Be assured that he will be the most pathetic and obliging personage in the creation: his ass shall eat with him, sleep with him, if the gentlemen will be so kind as to think about continuing his half-a-crown a week. Just such will be the conduct of the people who have insulted us in the West Indies, if we can only pluck up heart to say a word about the stoppage of the parish pay. They will send a deputation to make an apology to every honest man that has been insulted by their hired press, and to give every honest woman a shaddock and a mamee-apple for her little boys, the moment they find themselves threatened with the stoppage of the allowance. Why are the people of England to support men they dislike, and be insulted in return? Why is every man and woman in this country to pay a poll-tax, amounting in the whole, in bounties and protecting duties, to not less than a million and a half a-year; with no earthly return but the pleasure of reading the advertisements in the West-Indian gazettes, and now and then the murder of a missionary by way of *sauce piquante*?

If the slave-owners pretend to deny the character of their system, there would be just as much chance for Esther Hibner to have persuaded the public of the non-entity of her crimes. Putting all individual testimony on one side, their own public acts afford a mass of evidence, which nobody that is not hired pretends to misunderstand. If there has been any softening in their practice, it is only as it has been forced upon them by the humanity of the British community: and the same humanity will force them to an end. If they have abandoned any particular cruelty, they grinned and scowled like Smithfield drovers forbidden to strike below the hock; and when a British minister proposed the abolition of the indecent whipping of women upon the field, they rose with one consent to say that *this* was their birth-right, and they would die by it;—they could have submitted to any moderate interference from British tyranny, but *this* was a necessary of life, which if Englishmen would not pay for, the allegiance of the West Indies must be at an end, and ‘Old England’ take the risk of ‘doing without Barbadoes!’ It is as clear as the day, that their system altogether is one which every Englishman, in his own person, knows it would be honour and glory to demolish by the bayonet. Every Englishman knows that the right of resistance to personal slavery is as clear and distinct a right, as that of resistance to the wild beasts of the forest. If this is not law, there is no law,—it is time for every man to take his musquet if he has one, and be a law unto himself. It is not men meeting together with certain forms, and calling themselves the Honourable *this*, or the Worshipful *that*,—that can legalize what in its own nature is contrary to the purposes for which human society is formed. It is true enough that the tiger may make laws, and define what punishments he will execute on those who shall resist him and

fail. But it is not the less true that he and his laws are the enemies of the human race; and that no man is bound to obey them longer than he finds himself beneath the paw. If the West Indians were omnipotent in England to-morrow, they could not make one Englishman acknowledge that their rule, when applied to himself, was to be endured an hour longer than a bayonet could be got to point in opposition to it. If every man in England could be made hypocrite enough to deny this truth in words, he would not the less believe it in his heart. All honest men, in spirit, drink the great moralist's toast every day of their existence; and if every member of the House of Commons could be induced to exclaim against the impropriety, they would not do it less. Not a soldier or officer is sent to the colonies who does not know, that the only way of reconciling his service with the duty of an honest man or the honour of a gentleman, is by considering himself as the guardian of the great acts of justice which must speedily take place. In any other light, he might as well be invited to patrol Hounslow in aid of the knights of the road, or form a cordon round the houses of the Marrs and the Williamsons, while the man with a hammer did his office inside. There is no use in a government, or any portion of the members of a government, setting themselves up against the acknowledged rules of justice and right on which all the submission of the community to them is dependent. The only consequence is, that so far as they succeed in impressing the public with this opinion of their acts, so far do they lose the benefit of every principle of obedience but fear. It may be *necessary* to obey a government that supports slavery by law; but it can never be *desirable*, longer than it is necessary. There is not one rule of right for a man here, and another somewhere else. The robbery that is detestable at Hounslow, does not become sanctified by degrees of west longitude. And so long as it is authorized any where, the direct inference is, that if men in other places are not subjected to the same treatment, it is only because their own physical force stands between them and the infliction. A government where the people can be taxed to support slavery abroad, and a part of the plunder expended in buying rotten boroughs to support the iniquity at home, is clearly one that needs a root-and-branch reformation, on the naked principle of self-defence in the community. If governments do not like root-and-branch reformations, they should cut off the gratuitous iniquities which induce the danger; and not give food to the cry for radical reform, for the sake of a dinner to ministers from the 'West-Indian body.'

The Colonists have tried to frighten the Government and the country, by holding out the necessity that, in the event of the emancipation of their slaves, they should be paid for them; and some of the friends of emancipation have been weak enough to shew an inclination to admit the principle. Suppose now, that an Irish pauper, in the days when Irishmen worked their horses by the tails, had been interfered with by the parish officers with a view to put an end to his barbarous practice, and had answered, 'If your honours stop my allowance till I give over working my horse by the tail, I hope you mean to pay me what I gave for him, *and allow me to work him in harness besides.*' This is a fair

statement of the West-Indian proposition. Every body knows, that what they demand to be paid for, is the mere pleasure of working by the tail; it is simply the gratification of those evil lusts and passions, which can be gratified under a system of slavery, and cannot be gratified so well under a system of free labour. What we pay a poll-tax for, is simply that the West Indians may have the luxury of the whip. We pay for the pleasurable titillation excited in colonial nerves by the exercise of the constitutional right of the flogging of women. And if we decline paying for this, we are invited, as a point of justice, to lay down the sum that was given for the thing flogged; upon the principle, apparently, that, if not flogged, the use intended from it is at an end. The people of England are undeniably very weak upon some points; but it is to be hoped they will never be so weak, as to think of paying for the horse, as the price of working him in harness instead of by the tail.

The claim for payment being demonstrably a fraud, it is plain that an honest minister would have nothing to do but to stop the disgraceful tax endured by the people of this country, till the West-Indian governments comply in the fullest manner with every intimation that should be made to them. Nobody is afraid of ministers going too far: the only difficulty is in raising a force of opinion to make them go far enough. And nobody doubts the desirableness of the alterations being made by the Colonial governments, or their superior aptitude for executing them. When, therefore, they have emancipated, or put in a direct course of emancipation within such period as the Government should suggest, the whole of their Negro population, it would be quite time enough to think of returning to the poll-tax. By all means let them do it with the deliberation they shall find necessary. Let them reflect well upon the difficulties that are in the way, and do nothing hastily, rashly, or unadvisedly; but, in the mean time, let the people of England be free from the poll-tax.

It would be an insult at this time of day to ask the English people whether slavery is an evil or not; they might just as well be asked the question, of house-breaking. Even the poor peasant and manufacturer, who are trodden down by the effect of bad laws till their actual mess of pottage is of smaller dimensions than that of the slave in the West Indies, are capable of appreciating the injury of the plea, which tells them that their condition would be improved if they and their children were made saleable like beasts. This is what *would* be done, if their own physical force did not prevent it; so far, at least, as depends on those who support the remoter evil. The same hired press that takes the side of slavery in the Colonies, would take the side of reducing the working population of England to the same slavery, if any body saw chance enough of effecting the object to make it worth while to pay. Esther Hibner might have had it on her side, if she could have taken two hundred copies of a Sunday paper weekly. As it is, the slave-owners are content with levying about two shillings annually from every individual of the starving labourer's family. A good meal once a quarter, is taken from the haggard wife and the starving child; because, without it, there would be no possibility of carrying on the

flogging of women in the Colonies. The object is not to debate whether this is an evil, but to excite men to union and perseverance in abating the nuisance. When suffering men are taxed, the ordinary assumption is, that it is for some benefit that is to arise to the community. But here the object is simply and solely, that bad men may riot in the pleasures of injustice, and that the sixpences abstracted quarterly from the industrious and the poor may be clubbed together, in the shape of carriages and good dinners, for the owners of slaves in the West Indies.

There *must* be an end of the system of robbing one man to keep another; and in no place can it so properly begin, as where, in addition to the simple robbery, the whole thing supported is hateful in itself. The time is past when men could be deterred from pursuing such an object, by the apprehension of insult from the defenders of the wrong. Such insults are honours; and there is no individual so mean, as to be unable to aspire to a portion of the credit. The poorest man in England can raise a voice somewhere, against the system which taxes his family by the head, in support of the injustice he has learnt from his forefathers to hate. The pith and marrow of the whole system lie in the convenience of the higher classes taking the work of the lower without paying for it. The higher classes find it the pleasantest thing in the world, to be worked for and not to pay, or to pay only as much as they choose; and the poor man is to be taxed in his basket and in his store, that what cannot be wrung from the Black slave abroad, may be made up by the White one at home.

The people of the West Indies seem to labour under an utter ignorance of the light in which their system altogether is viewed in England. When West-Indian magistrates apply the term 'wretch' to a Negro who is put to death for having failed in an attempt at resistance, the people of England do not consider him as a 'wretch,' but as a good and gallant man, dying in the best of causes,—the resistance to oppression, by which themselves hold all the good that they enjoy. They consider him as a soldier fallen in the advance-guard of that combat, which is only kept from themselves, because somebody else is exposed to it further off. If the murdered Negro is a 'wretch,' then an Englishman is a 'wretch,' for not bowing his head to slavery whenever it invites him. The same reason that makes the white Englishman's resistance virtuous and honourable, makes the black one's too;—it is only a regiment with different facings, fighting in the same cause. Will these men never know the ground on which they stand? Can nothing make them find out, that the universal British people would stand by and cheer on their dusky brethren to the assault, if it was not for the solitary hope that the end may be obtained more effectually by other means? It is not true that the people of England believe that any set of men, here or any where, can by any act of theirs alter the nature of slavery, or make that not robbery which was robbery before. They can make it robbery according to law—the more is the pity that the power of law-making should be in such hands; but this is the only inference. All moral respect for such laws—all submission of the mind, as to a rule which it is desirable to obey and honourable to

support—is as much out of the question, as if a freebooter were to lay down a scale of punishment for those who should be found guilty of having lifted a hand against his power.

When the question, with what the West Indians have to answer, has been so long and amply debated by the press in various forms, it would be superfluous to enter into an examination of all the arguments which have been advanced to shew that Englishmen with dark faces should be slaves. The principal ones now insisted on, are two; First, that all the opponents to slavery are hypocrites; and, Secondly, that the produce of the other distant possessions of Great Britain (as, for instance, East-Indian sugar) is equally raised by the labour of slaves.

Now supposing it were actually true, that every man who takes a prominent part in opposition to the continuance of slavery in the West Indies was a hypocrite at heart;—that it was the real and veritable fact, that every such man had a colony of his own, where he was only waiting for the abolition of slavery in the West Indies, to see the “removal of many objections to that system” in his own peculiar establishment;—*in what manner would that make it desirable that Englishmen should pay a poll-tax for the support of slavery in the West Indies?* And suppose, again, it was actually true—which it is not—that the produce of the East Indies was raised by the labour of slaves, as well as of the West;—*in what manner would that make it desirable that the people of England should pay a poll-tax to support the produce of the West?* Supposing they were both villanies alike, what reason would there be for the people of England paying a poll-tax for the sake of supporting one villany in preference to another villany? There is nothing like this at the Old Bailey. Nobody pays a poll-tax in order that the receiver of stolen goods in the Minories may flourish in preference to him of Houndsditch. The arguments are no arguments, even when the facts assumed are admitted in their fullest extent; still less when they are utterly false and unfounded. Nobody believes that the dislike to keeping a carriage for Esther Hibner proceeds from hypocrisy. Nobody believes that cultivation is carried on by slaves in the East, as it is in the West. If so, where are the slave-laws, and where are the advertisements in the gazettes? The natives of India, in their own extraordinary English, advertise every thing else that can possibly be bought or sold: how is it that they never advertise slaves? There is not a common soldier that arrives from India, that is not capable of bearing testimony to the flagrant falsehood of the assertion that India is cultivated by slaves. If it was, *the East-India Company would not hold possession long enough to send a despatch to the Governor-General.* It is true, that among the innumerable tribes and castes that compose the immense population of India, vestiges of slavery may be found. The writer of this has been eight years in India, and *once saw a girl*, who was said to have been sold by her parents in her infancy, as the means of escaping from famine. But there was *no law* that enforced any results from such a fact. To have gone before a British magistrate with any plea founded on such a claim, would have been as absurd in India, as it would six

years afterwards, when the same girl was in England. This is what the West Indians trust to. It would not be much trouble to the governors of India at home, to send out five lines in a despatch, disavowing all recognition of the state of personal slavery throughout their vast domains; and they have as manifest an interest in doing it, as in sending to inquire the price of cotton.

After these, come the counsellors, who advise the postponing of the attempt to remove the West-Indian nuisance, till it can be clearly proved that there are no nuisances elsewhere; being, in point of wisdom and excellent judgment, on a par with him who should recommend the *not* killing a flea in Grosvenor Square, till it can be ascertained that there are none in Monmouth Street. It may be quite true, that the people of England are suffering in countless ways; that no man can look out of his window without seeing urgent calls for his interference and his charity;—*but how does this make it desirable that the West Indians should be supported by a poll-tax?* Has any body demonstrated what balance there is between the community's being oppressed (for instance) by the Corn Laws, and being indulged with the privilege of supporting the West-Indian body? how one tends to remedy the other; or why, if *one* cannot be got rid of for the present, *the other* should not, if it can? Men never make such arguments as this for nothing. Some portion of the plunder drains into their mouths; or they live in hope that it may drain hereafter. They are the wariest confederates in the fraud; not bold enough to be put forward as the prime agents themselves, but anxious to deserve well of their community by exerting their small talents to confound the right.

The upshot and conclusion is, to call upon men of all classes to lay aside for a moment their differences in politics and in religion, and join in removing from us and ours this foul disgrace upon a nation calling itself free. To-morrow, tug at each other's throats, if it must be so; but to-day let there be a 'truce of God,'—a suspension of arms, like that under which the besiegers and besieged meet, to remove the carcase that is spreading plague on both. There are certain things on which, it would appear, mankind were made to differ; but there are also certain things on which, it is sure, that they were made to agree. In such a cause, let the Church-of-England-man follow his bishops, and the Sectary remember only the murder of his missionary in Demerara. Let the emancipated Catholic reflect, how closely allied have been the principles of the present question and of his own, and well consider the sound policy there would be in driving his enemies from the position they have occupied beyond. All creatures of ill omen—every odious and foul bird, that has threatened any body or tormented any body—take roost and harbour in the question of West-Indian slavery, and sit there in readiness to pounce on the first exposed member of liberty at home. All that is good and distinguished in the country, is against them; and waits only to be joined by the *momentum* of a united community, to give the one cheer more, which will be the last. Never mind a little obloquy: nobody cares for the reviling of the individuals on whom society is putting force, nor of those who back them. It is part of their unhappy state and

condition: you would not be an honest man, if they had nothing to say against you. Reject with utter scorn all requests that you will abstain from letting the sufferers know what you think of their oppressors. You are not part of the plot; you are on the other side: there is no fairness in telling you, that you must hold your tongue, or else your adversaries will be 'exceedingly uncomfortable.' Say boldly, that you act with the express design to spread the information, that you and your countrymen are in motion on the other side of the Atlantic. All these things, in one way or another, go to your suffering comrades in Jamaica in the end; and tend to increase the pressure which will finally remove your wrong and theirs. There is not an old woman that gives sixpence to the cause of Negro freedom in England, that does not make the heart of a slave-owner sink within him. If the slave-owners can be kept upon old women's sixpences, they can be pulled down by old women's sixpences. The contributions of the people are never despised, except when they are to be made an honest use of. Omit no means, however trivial, that may evince your sense of wrong, and tend to multiply it. When a comedian makes a lucky hit, his grotesque figure in cheap clay displays itself on the chimney-piece of half the working men in England. Make a figure of a Negro woman, and write under it, "We still pay a poll-tax to support the flogging of women in Jamaica." And when you can add to it the date of the removal of the evil, leave it to your posterity, as a proof that their fathers, though humble, were not mean; that, though poor, they were much too good to be worked in their own country, for the sake of enabling the rich to work slaves in another.

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I.—PROTECTORS OF SLAVES' REPORTS, viz. from, 1. *Berbice*; 2. *Trinidad*; 3. *St. Lucia*; 4. *Cape of Good Hope*; 5. *Demerara*.

II.—PRO-SLAVERY WRITINGS—JAMAICA.

I.—PROTECTORS OF SLAVES' REPORTS.

SUCH is the title of a volume which was laid on the table of the House of Commons in the last session of parliament. It bears the date of June 12th, 1829, and is numbered 335.

When, in the year 1825, a return was first made of the judicial proceedings of the Fiscal of *Berbice*, in cases of complaint between master and slave, we hailed it as admitting the public, too long deluded by colonial misrepresentation, into the interior, the very penetralia of the slave system, which was there exhibited in all its deformity. (Vol. i. No. 5, p. 33.) When called, soon after, to review the Fiscal's defence and vindication of his memorable return, as well as some further proceedings of the judicial authorities of *Berbice*, and to remark on their peculiar atrocity, we ventured to inquire whether, after all, the state of slavery, as there exhibited, "differed from that of our slave colonies generally, except in our having happily obtained, from *Berbice*, those details which had been carefully withheld from us in almost every other instance?" "Let us only obtain," we added, "similar details from the other colonies, and we shall then witness the same state of legal oppression, the same accumulation of actual suffering, as exists in *Berbice*, and also in the *Mauritius*." (Vol. i. No. 16, and Vol. ii. No. 46, p. 441.)

We further took occasion, after detailing the recent cruelties exhibited in the *Bahamas* by Mr. and Mrs. Moss, to remark, "that if we would duly estimate the unexampled wretchedness of slavery, 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, and the picture of slavery in the *Mauritius*; and then we must supply all that we can presume to have occurred contemporaneously in the rest of our slave colonies similarly circumstanced, governed by similar laws, and characterized by similar manners, habits, and feelings; but, from which we have had *no* returns, either because no records have been kept, or if they have been kept, they have been studiously withheld from us; bearing always in mind that this accumulated mass of suffering has been inflicted, and is now inflicting under British authority, and

that we, as a nation, are answerable for all its guilt before Him who claims the prerogative of being the avenger of the oppressed." (Vol. ii. No. 47, p. 468, and Vol. iii. No. 50, p. 29.)

The papers we are now about to analyze, will be found very remarkably to confirm this anticipation. They drag from their obscurity some further details of the iniquities of colonial slavery, not only in Berbice, (a part of which had been already revealed,) but from Trinidad, St. Lucia, the Cape of Good Hope, and Demerara. We will first dispose of Berbice.

1. BERBICE.

The report from this colony, contained in the present volume, commences with one of those hoaxes by which the planters, in combination with the public functionaries of the West Indies, have so often succeeded in blinding and deceiving the good people of England. The Deputy Protector of Slaves, Mr. Bird, who seems a well-meaning man, but strangely ignorant of the whole economy of West Indian plantations, (Mr. Power, the Protector, had he been present, would have known better,) appears to have learned, for the first time, in December, 1827, that slaves, in the time of crop, were made to work during the night as well as during the day. He is informed, he says, that on a plantation, called *Canefield*, the process of boiling sugar had been going on during the night, and he immediately sets on foot a laborious inquiry, and places the result before the King's Advocate, and Mr. Bennet the Fiscal, formally requiring from them, and they formally delivering, opinions upon it, as if the case of *Canefield* were peculiar, and as if the practice which so alarms Mr. Bird did not regularly prevail on every plantation throughout the colony. Nay, the Fiscal himself, Mr. Bennet, in his capacity of a sugar planter, and every other sugar and coffee planter in the colony, knew well, and could not but know, that their slaves are in the constant habit of working, in crop time, for a considerable portion of the night, as well as during the whole of the day; and yet he, and the King's Advocate unite, not in frankly saying that the practice in question is universal, but in transmitting to the Colonial Office, through the Governor, a set of documents, the effect of which, on all in this country who are ignorant of local circumstances, will probably be, to produce an impression that it was only on one solitary estate in Berbice that, through the caprice of a manager, night-work, (the common practice, during crop, not only in Berbice, but in all the sugar colonies,) had been exacted. It would be endless to expose the mystification of the statements on this subject.

Mr. Bird's half-yearly report, from 1st September, 1827, to 1st March, 1828, gives a return of sixty-one persons, six of them civil magistrates, who have either failed to make any return whatever of punishments inflicted by them on their slaves, or whose returns are informal, or who have exceeded the limit of the law, in the punishments they inflicted. It is not said whether any and what penalties have been imposed on these defaulters.—Two marriages of slaves are reported to have taken place, and forty-one manumissions. The deposits in the Savings' Bank amount to 2106 guilders, chiefly by negroes belonging to the crown.

A second report from Mr. Power, the Protector, embraces the half year, from 1st March to 31st August, 1828. It appears from it that the Colonial Council had actually consumed nearly twelve months in endeavouring to frame a law, in conformity with the repeated desire of the Secretary of state, to enable slaves, cheaply and expeditiously, to recover small debts due to them; and at the end of that period the Council request still further time to consider the subject. This is perfectly ludicrous.

Mr. Power's report contains a return of the number of offences for which slaves were punished in the colony of Berbice, from the 1st of July, 1827, to the 30th of June, 1828. It amounts to the extraordinary sum of 9,112; 5,939 of the offenders being males, and 3,173 females. Now the whole slave population of Berbice, including all ages, does not exceed 21,500. If we suppose a third or fourth part of these to be too old or too young to be the subjects of such regular punishment, as would be made matter of *record*, we have the extraordinary spectacle exhibited to us of considerably more than every second individual in the community, becoming the subjects of punishment, in the course of a single year, and that year, the year 1827—1828. But, even this is too favourable a view of the case, for there is no record of punishments, nor any return made of them to the Protector, except where the proprietor is possessed of six slaves or upwards. The number thus excluded from the purview of the Protector must greatly raise the proportion borne by the persons punished to the whole population, so that the 9,112 punishments are distributed among a number of slaves, not exceeding, probably, from 13,000 to 14,000 in all. This is quite frightful. But as we shall have occasion to recur to this subject when we come to speak of Demerara, we will confine ourselves at present to quoting a remark of Mr. Power's, which will be found to throw no small light on the slave system.—The offences of the slaves are, he says, in "great proportion, to be attributed to their condition, and are almost inseparable from that system of coerced labour which slavery was introduced to sustain." He might have added that the punishments for those offences are inflicted without trial, by the hand, or at least at the bidding, of any ruffian who may be employed to direct slave labour.

The average price of slaves sold in Berbice, during the year ending August 3, 1828, was about £98 sterling.—The manumissions in the half year preceding that date were twenty, the marriages five; the deposits, 2668 guilders, chiefly as before, by the slaves of the crown.

Among the judicial proceedings we observe, that one planter is fined 500 guilders, about £36 sterling, for not clothing his slaves. If his slaves are numerous, the fine will prove a gain, instead of a loss, unless the law obliges him to repair his omission, which is not stated to be the case.

We are happy to perceive that the Court of Justice has awarded freedom to an alleged slave, merely on proof that his mother was an Indian.

In the course of the trial of a complaint by a woman, named Julia, a slave of Plantation Augsburgh, belonging to the Lutheran Church—that the manager oppressed her with labour, though she was six months

gone with child—it came out that this poor creature had been born on the estate of this religious body, but had received no religious instruction whatsoever, nor had ever been in church; and, it further appeared, that this was the case with the slaves in general attached to a plantation, the sole property of the Lutheran Consistory. Mr. Power feelingly remarks, that “it will scarcely be believed, out of the range of this colony, that such a state of things could exist, as a christian community, having a minister and a schoolmaster, with a vestry controlling both, and both receiving salaries out of funds supplied by the toil of the negroes, neither imparting spiritual instruction, nor the most simple elementary exercise of their intellectual powers to those unhappy beings who hold such strong obligations on their justice and humanity. Is it to be wondered at,” he exclaims, “that our punishment records exhibit such a tissue of violence, intoxication, and all that degrading class of vices which are inseparable from uneducated mortality?”

Renewing his complaint of the continued want of a law to recover, summarily and cheaply, small debts due to slaves, Mr. Power remarks on the hopelessness of seeing even the emancipated negro industrious, unless he has a “certainty of being paid for his labour,” while he is well assured, that if “the certainty of remuneration is secured, the supply of free labour will be always commensurate with the demand.” This opinion he illustrates by a reference to facts that had passed, and were passing under his own observation. (p. 30.)

2. TRINIDAD.

In the half year ending the 24th of June, 1828, the manumissions amounted to sixty-eight, of which twenty-five were voluntary and gratuitous, and forty-three were purchased for the sum of £2814 sterling, or at an average of about £70. The prices paid, in some cases, were enormously high. One young woman, of twenty-three years of age, is made to pay, to Messrs. Protheroe, £108 sterling; another woman, of the age of forty-four, the same price, to Mr. Edward Jackson; two other women pay, one £130, and the other £141,—and a girl twenty-three years of age, sold by Messrs. Rucker and Co., is made to pay the enormous sum of £216. 13s.—One poor woman fails to obtain her freedom, because the excessive amount of her appraisalment, £173. 6s. 8d. sterling, is beyond her means.

One woman, Eliza Jane, laid claim to her freedom, on the ground of having been a liberated and apprenticed African. Her claim was rejected on the alleged ground, that she had been legally imported into Trinidad by Mr. Reed, a baker, of Port of Spain, in March, 1827. Now, by what possibility this poor creature could have been *legally* imported in 1827, in direct violation of the Abolition Act of 1825, it will be for the guardian of slaves to explain to the Secretary of state, who, we cannot doubt, will cause an immediate investigation to take place respecting this barefaced infraction of the law of the land. But, even if the very date of her importation had not been decisive of the criminality of the transaction, yet, surely it became the Protector of slaves to have taken measures for ascertaining the truth of the statement as to her having been one of the liberated Africans, and consequently as much entitled

to her liberty as the Protector himself. How was it possible for this wretched female, placed as she was under the constraint of slavery, to procure, from Barbadoes, the evidence necessary to establish her claim? It surely was the Protector's clear and imperative duty to have done this, and the failure to do so seems not only to call for an investigation of the facts of this particular case, but for a careful retrospect into the conduct of Protectors generally, in the high and responsible office they hold.

3. ST. LUCIA.

The returns from this colony embrace the period of one year, from the 30th of June 1826, to the 30th of June 1827.

The number of punishments inflicted during that period, as extracted from the returns made to the Protector, was 2876; the whole population, of all ages, being only about 14,000. The number of marriages was three, and the number of manumissions sixty-three, thirty-two being gratuitous, and thirty-one by purchase, besides nine children baptized free, on payment of the usual sum for each.

4. CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

So strong an impression had been produced in the public mind in favour of the lenity of the system of slavery prevailing at the Cape of Good Hope, that its real state, until very recently, had scarcely been made a subject of serious inquiry. This unfounded impression we apprehend, was to be attributed, in a great measure, to the hasty and incorrect statements of Mr. Barrow, in the account he published of his visit to that colony, and currency and added weight were afterwards given to it by the *Quarterly Review*. This misconception necessarily had the mischievous effect of comparatively withdrawing the regards of the philanthropist from that portion of our dominions, as if it were a colony where humanity had much to rejoice in and little to regret.

As respected the native inhabitants, the Hottentots, Caffres, &c. the fatal illusion thus created was completely dispelled by the publication of Dr. Philip's *Researches in South Africa*, a work to which we may ascribe that eminent act of justice, on the part of the present Colonial Secretary of state, Sir George Murray, by which the long-oppressed, and illegally enslaved, and cruelly wasted natives of that region were, by one sweeping and conclusive decree, restored to the plenitude of those civil rights of which they had been iniquitously deprived, and invested with the privileges and immunities of British subjects. (See No. 50, pp. 30, 31.)

On the condition of the Cape slaves also, the invaluable work of Dr. Philip threw considerable light, and the notices given of it by Mr. Pringle, in a distinguished periodical work, as well as in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, vol. i. No. 20, and vol. ii. No. 32, served to shew that slavery must of necessity be the same cruel system wherever it is suffered to prevail, and can not be divested of its savage, ferocious, and demoralizing nature, either by changing its parallel of latitude, or by varying the objects of its gainful culture. The brutalizing influence both on master and slave may be equally witnessed in the corn-fields

of the Cape as in the sugar plantations of Jamaica, or in the rice-grounds of South Carolina.

Owing chiefly to the circumstances to which we have alluded, little official information respecting the slavery of the Cape has hitherto been called for. That which is now before us is the first which has been laid before Parliament, and contains a report of the proceedings of the Registrar and Guardian of slaves, Mr. C. J. Rogers, from the 1st of August 1826, to the 24th of June 1827.

Only one marriage of slaves is stated to have taken place in that time.

The number of manumissions is stated to have been 210, being four times as many as the previous average. The increase is attributed by Mr. Rogers to the abolition of the tax on manumission, and the discontinuance of the bond formerly required to guarantee the public against being burdened by the emancipated slave. Of those now emancipated, about one half appear to have been redeemed at an average cost of about £50. sterling; the rest have been voluntarily and gratuitously manumitted by their masters.

The Return of prosecutions, for and against slaves, exhibits a most unusual severity of infliction on some offenders of the servile class. For thefts and burglaries, in the case even of women, we find punishments awarded of scourging, and branding, and working in irons, for periods extending to five, ten, and even fifteen years. But, besides this, we perceive, that in the case of complaints preferred by slaves against their masters, not only are the complaints generally dismissed as frivolous, but severe punishments are frequently awarded to the complainants, (without even the form of a trial) because they have failed to prove their allegations.* This monstrous injustice, we are sorry to perceive that Mr. Huskisson, in the comments he makes on the report in his despatches to the Governor of the Cape, has overlooked, although it is directly in the teeth of the principles he himself has repeatedly laid down on the subject, that "no slave should 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." (Vol. ii. No. 43, p. 369.) Indeed only one such charge appears to have been preferred, and the result affords a further illustration of the severity with which the delinquencies of slaves are visited at the Cape. The convicted slave is condemned to receive 125 lashes, and to work in irons for two months. Mr. Huskisson justly complains that the nature of the calumny thus severely punished is not stated. "I desire therefore," he says, "to have a full explanation of the particulars of this transaction."

* The following are specimens of these iniquitous proceedings, differing in no respect from numerous cases of a similar description. In one case, "the charges not having been sufficiently proved, the plaintiff" (the slave) "was condemned to receive twenty-five lashes," (p. 146.) In another, "The court condemned the plaintiff" (a female slave) "for her groundless complaints, to work in irons for three months," (p. 142.) In a third, a complaint that his wife had been driven from him, by his mistress, being found "groundless," "the plaintiff was sentenced to receive thirty-nine lashes," (p. 140.) &c. &c. &c.

The portion of the Protector's report, however, which shews the administration of justice, in this colony, in its least favourable light, is that which contains "a return of complaints, and applications for freedom, and of the proceedings and results." Of the persons so complaining, upwards of thirty affirm that they were either clandestinely imported, contrary to law, or were Africans, liberated by courts of admiralty, and entitled to their freedom under the abolition acts. Many of them appear to be cases of excessive hardship, especially as the burden of proof seems most unjustly to be thrown on the claimants of freedom, and that under circumstances which make it most obviously incumbent on those who hold them in slavery to establish their proprietary title. The Protector of slaves seems not to have dreamt that it belonged to him to call on the parties charged with retaining their fellow-men in illegal bondage for any proof of their right, even according to colonial law, to hold them as their slaves. Mr. Huskisson adverts to this neglect in his despatch of the 28th of September 1827. "It is taken for granted," he observes, "that the legal presumption is in favour of slavery, and that a black man claiming to be free must sustain the whole burden of proof. The policy of the law is manifestly questionable, because it tends to perpetuate the state of slavery; and not consistent with justice, because it throws the burden of proof on the weaker and more ignorant party, and requires him to prove the negative, that neither he nor any of his maternal ancestors were ever lawfully reduced into slavery. Of such a fact it might, in the nature of things, be scarcely possible to adduce proper evidence. This principle is peculiarly dangerous in a continental colony, within the limits of which the natives may be continually entering." In a subsequent despatch, (22d of April 1828,) he repeats the same just and important observation; "It seems," he says, "to be assumed, as a settled principle of law, that a person held in slavery, but claiming to be free, must sustain the whole burden of proving the validity of the asserted right to freedom. Such an assumption is open to very serious objections, &c." And yet, with an obvious inconsistency, he, almost in the same breath, recognises "the difficulty of admitting a contrary assumption in favour of freedom." Mr. Huskisson, could not have recollected that one of the principles of the measure of registration, that favourite measure of British policy, is, that the burden of proof should be thrown, not on the asserted slave, but on the claimant of a property in his person; and that this principle has been adopted in its full extent by the legislature even of one of our chartered slave colonies, Grenada.

But we have to complain, not only of the monstrous perversion of justice in throwing the burden of proof on the helpless and unfriended slave, who is debarred, by the illegal act which holds him in bondage, from pursuing the means necessary for vindicating his liberty; but we have to complain also of the intolerable delays which appear to impede the course of law and justice in cases of this kind. Nearly a hundred individuals have had their claims for freedom in suspense for upwards of a year, without any apparent approach to a decision; some for a much longer time; and a whole family, (Amilie and others, p. 131,) are still in slavery, who, on the 11th of March 1821, were declared by the sentence of the court of justice to be entitled to their freedom. We trust that the

next report received from this officer will shew that he has attained a more correct view of his duties as Protector of slaves.

5.—DEMERARA.

Perhaps there is no British colony from whence it has been so difficult to obtain clear information, respecting the state of slavery as from Demerara. It would almost seem as if a regular compact had been entered into between the planters and the public functionaries of this colony, to throw an impenetrable veil over every transaction judicial or otherwise, which could serve to elucidate the real condition of its slave population; and to withhold every document which might serve to prove the truth or to expose the falsehood of their own highly favourable statements on the subject. Not only the planters generally, but the constituted guardians of the slaves of Demerara, we mean the Fiscals, and even some Governors, have shewn themselves, from an early period, preeminently hostile, we need not say to the religious instruction of the slaves, that being a fact too notorious to be questioned, but to all inquiry into their temporal condition, and to any interference with the despotic power of the master. One of the Fiscals of Demerara, (Mr. Jennings,) the very persons to whom the law commits the delicate and important task of protecting the slave from the oppression of the master, took it upon him, so long ago as November, 1815, to publish, in the Colonial Gazette, an address to the planters, which was hailed by them with general acclamation, and which contained, among much of the same tenor, the following remarkable passages. "I will venture to state it as my humble opinion, that the authority of the master over his negroes, being constantly employed in minute details, and being in its nature prompt and of hourly application, *is not to be encumbered with official formalities.* The sudden exercise of it is indispensably necessary to keep them to obedience and their duty." "It is a power to be exercised by the proprietor as *sole* chief and magistrate." "It would become utterly impracticable to check and restrain the disorders which would ripen into serious evils, if masters were not armed with a powerful coercive force *suddenly* to apply the remedy. *His power cannot without danger be brought into doubt or discussion.* It should NEVER be opposed or thwarted by any intermediate authority." He then goes on to deprecate, in the strongest terms, the interference of public functionaries between master and slave, declaring that the *honour* of the planter is a sufficient security for the wellbeing of the slave.

Be it remembered, that it was the Fiscal, the criminal judge of the colony, who penned these lines; the very man to whom the protection of the slaves from the master's oppression was specially and officially committed by his Majesty's Government. And if the appointed guardian of the slaves dared thus to express himself, in a deliberate address to a community of slave owners, which was received by them too with the most unequivocal marks of approbation, what might we not reasonably expect to be the views and feelings of the mass of those whose more immediate business it is to coerce the slaves;—the masters, managers, and overseers of the colony?

The mantle of Mr. Jennings appears to have fallen on the shoulders of his successors in office. Accordingly, when, in the Session of 1823,

Parliament called for "a copy of the record of the proceedings of the Fiscals of Demerara in their capacity of guardians and protectors of slaves, with their decisions in all cases of complaint of masters and slaves respectively against each other, and the punishments inflicted or redress given in consequence of such complaints, from the first of January, 1814, to this time;" Mr. Herbert, then the first Fiscal, coolly replied, "There is no record of such proceedings at this office." Nay, "Until the month of April, 1824, there does not appear," he adds, "to have been even a memorandum of the proceedings held before the Fiscal as a magistrate." (House of Commons, papers of 1825, No. 66, p. 17.)

Such was the miserably unprotected condition of nearly 80,000 of his Majesty's subjects prior to the year 1824. Such too was the lamentable state of ignorance in which his Majesty's Government had allowed itself to remain, all that time, as to the manner in which justice was administered to this wretched and defenceless population.

It does not appear that, for the years 1824 and 1825, any return of judicial proceedings on complaints of slaves was made from Demerara, except for a period of three months, namely, "from June 16 to Sept. 18, 1824." But even that return, meagre and defective as it was, served to excite very strong suspicions of the harsh and oppressive manner in which the slave laws were administered in this colony. In fourteen cases out of seventeen where negroes had complained to the Fiscal of severe treatment, (in seven of the cases the whole gangs seem to have joined in the complaint) not only had the complainants no redress, but they were punished for having failed to prove their allegations. No particulars are given either of the nature and extent of these summary and most irregular punishments, or of the evidence on which they were inflicted. Had we had the same details in these cases, which were given us in his report by the less cautious Fiscal of Berbice, we should probably have had similar discoveries of injustice, oppression, and cruelty to those which his returns so remarkably exhibited.

In 1826 the new Order in Council was promulgated in Demerara, and Colonel Young was appointed Protector of slaves. We had hoped that from that period we might have been able to date a marked improvement in the condition of the slaves of this colony; our disappointment, however, proved unspeakably great, when Colonel Young's first reports of his proceedings made their appearance. From the brief abstract of those reports which is given in our second volume, No. 43, pp. 355—359, it will be seen that this gentleman, from whom certainly much had been expected, has shewn himself to be as deeply imbued, with some of the worst of those colonial prejudices which it was the declared and special object of his appointment to counteract, as the planters themselves. Our reasons for this serious imputation will be found at the pages of a former Number which have just been referred to; and they are very considerably strengthened by those subsequent Reports of his, which we are now called more particularly to examine.

The first point to which we shall advert is a General Return, which he has transmitted, "of offences committed by male and female plantation slaves in the colony of Demerara and Essequibo, made up from

the returns of punishments, forwarded to the Protector of slaves by the assistant Protectors." This general return embraces the period of a year, from the 1st of July, 1827, to the 30th of June, 1828. It is confined to *plantation* slaves, as the *personal* slaves, amounting, we presume, to about ten or eleven thousand, are, it appears, wholly excluded from the purview of the Protector. The number of *plantation* slaves returned, amounted in the first half year to 61,453, and in the second to 62,352; many personal slaves probably having in the interim been absorbed into the plantation gangs. The average is 61,852. Among this population the number of offences recorded as punished, in the course of the year, amounts to the enormous sum of 20,567; of which 12,106 were committed by men, and 8,461 by women, forming one-third of the whole mass of plantation slaves, and probably nearly one-half of the whole of the labouring part of them, excluding all who were either too young or too old to be likely to incur regular punishment. Now let us only contemplate a community in which, as in that of Demerara and Berbice, every second or third individual has been subjected to punishment in the course of a single year, and then let us ask ourselves what estimate we should form of the man specially delegated by his Sovereign to protect this community from oppression and wrong, who should close his report, to that Sovereign, of this mass of crime and infliction, with the following sentence:—"The Protector cannot refrain from remarking on the contented appearance of the negroes, and, from opportunities of judging, thinks that GENERALLY THEY HAVE EVERY REASON TO BE SO!" Such is the testimony borne on *oath* by Aretas William Young, to the happy and enviable condition of this coerced and driven and punished population!

"Contented!" and "generally having every reason to be so!" What explanation can possibly be given of so extraordinary an estimate of the materials of content and comfort, except that either the subjects of these 20,000 inflictions are reduced, by their cruel bondage, to the very level of the brute, or that the Protector (who we believe, is himself a creole, and habituated to negro slavery from his infancy) has come at length to forget that the negro is a fellow being, endowed with every attribute of humanity of which he himself is possessed!

A list is given of forty-five establishments (the greater part task and wood cutting gangs) on which no punishment had been inflicted during the year. But the whole number of slaves on these forty-five establishments is only 1038, or less than a seventieth part of the whole slave population, each establishment averaging about twenty-three slaves. Task and wood-cutting establishments are less subject to the driving system than plantation slaves generally, and in this respect are placed in more favourable circumstances. We observe too that more than three-fourths of the gangs, which have enjoyed this extraordinary immunity from punishment, are superintended by their proprietors and not by managers.

But let us look for a moment at the nature of the crimes which have drawn down these 20,000 inflictions in the course of the year. Of such offences as in this country we should regard as crimes, including murder, rape, burglary, assaults, killing stock, &c., and attempts at these various

crimes, the number is about 200; and of petty thefts about 1000. The remaining 19,000 cases are made up of such *heinous* offences as the following, viz. insubordination, refusing to work, mutinous and seditious conduct to manager or driver, refractory behaviour and neglect of duty, not doing the day's work, absenting from work, not coming to work in time, bad work, laziness and idleness, absconding, abusive and contemptuous language, disobedience, &c. These constitute a mass of 17,500 crimes and punishments. Then come fighting and quarrelling and rioting, about 700; drunkenness and some kindred vices, about 450; lying 60; sins of impurity 25; eating clay 1; false complaints 4; Obeah 1; riding horses at night 8, &c. &c. &c. So that we have here from 17,000 to 18,000 recorded punishments, in a single year, among these 61,000 plantation slaves, all more or less arising out of that horrid system of compulsory labour by which the health is broken, and the frame worn down, and the life extinguished, in order to extract from these miserable victims of oppression the means of swelling the income and ministering to the enjoyments of their owners. And yet, says Colonel Young, the appointed Protector and Guardian of these unhappy beings—

“ I CANNOT REFRAIN FROM REMARKING ON THEIR CONTENTED APPEARANCE, AND THINK THAT GENERALLY THEY HAVE EVERY REASON TO BE SO.”

Colonel Young informs the Secretary of state that the rate of wages to slaves, for picking coffee on Sundays, remains as first established by the Protector, there appearing no reason to alter the same. We do not know whether this is intended as a return to the call made by the House of Commons in the last session, for the grounds on which he had fixed the *Sunday's* task for the slaves, who pick coffee at 60 pounds weight, being double the ordinary task of an able negro; but if it be, it certainly is any thing but satisfactory. We have already shewn, (Vol. ii. No. 43, p. 358) that Colonel Young, in assigning such a task to the negro, became his oppressor instead of his protector, and it will therefore be necessary for him to assign some more substantial reason for his regulation than he has yet given.

Two slaves are reported as understanding the nature and obligations of an oath in the half year ending in June, 1828.

The marriages of slaves from Nov. 13, 1827, to June 29, 1828, are 93, viz. 22 by ministers of the Church of England; 40 by a Roman Catholic priest, and 31 by Wesleyan missionaries.

The manumissions reported to have taken place gratuitously between May 1 and Oct. 31, 1828, are 149, being chiefly the wives or children of the parties manumitting them. Besides these, 36 more were purchased by themselves between Jan. 1, 1826 and Oct. 31, 1828, at a cost of 43,548 guilders, or 1210 guilders or about £86. 10s. sterling each.

Is it necessary to add one word to these details? They refer, be it remembered, not to the chartered, but to the Crown Colonies, where the British Government is the sole Legislator, and alone appoints the public functionaries. What then may we expect in colonies where the sole legislators are planters, and where planters also are the sole administrators of

the law? Surely, surely, Great Britain will not suffer this system of cruelty and crime to proceed much longer.

II.—PRO-SLAVERY WRITINGS—JAMAICA MORTALITY.

1. The periodical advocates of slavery have been busily employed during the past month in tearing to tatters, as a forgery, a letter from Jamaica, dated in May last, first published in the *Dublin Evening Mail*, and afterwards in some English Journals, in which the writer paints the slavery of that Island in true, but certainly in very revolting colours; in colours however which, we believe, are quite as applicable to its present as to its past state; being the colours in which it has been exhibited by recent as well as remote writers on both sides of the question, during a period of forty years. The extraordinary whoop raised about this unfortunate letter has led to inquiries which we should not otherwise have thought of making, and the result is a complete conviction of its genuineness.

2. "A Jamaica Proprietor" has just addressed a letter to the Duke of Wellington, the object of which (besides abusing the Anti-Slavery Society and the Westminster Review,) is to assert the indisputable right of himself and his brother planters to perpetuate the crime of slavery, while, at the same time, he admits it to be in principle indefensible.—He has, however, wholly overlooked two points, very essential to a due appreciation of this claim of his. The first is, that the planters have not only refused to listen to the resolutions of their own co-proprietors, Lord Seaford in 1797, and Mr. Pallmer in 1816, urging reform upon them; but that they have insolently and contumaciously rejected the strongest recommendations of the Government and Parliament to the same effect, for the last six years. The other essential point overlooked by this Jamaica Proprietor, is the frightful waste of human life, which is, at this moment, proceeding among the slaves, even on the best regulated sugar estates in Jamaica, and that at a rate which must end in killing off the race. Will the letter writer deny this? If he does, we shall have only to confront him with the annual returns of the managers of those estates.—We have already stated the progress of population among Lord Seaford's slaves, (No. 40, p. 296). Most of the other sugar estates in the island, we venture to affirm, will be found to exhibit an equal or even still more appalling decrease of their overdriven bondmen and bondwomen; while the free blacks and people of colour, as well as the Maroons around them, are increasing rapidly. Our limits will not now admit of full details; but we will give as many as we can find room for in this page, by way of sample, and in order to shew, in defiance of the deceptive statements of the Jamaica Proprietor and the whole pro-slavery press, with Mr. Barclay at their head, that the malignant effects of slavery are not materially diminished in Jamaica.

PROPRIETORS' NAMES.	Return of Slaves, March, 1824.	Return of Slaves, March, 1826.	Apparent de- crease in two years.	Apparent rate of de- crease in two years.
John G. Campbell .	1118	1059	59	5 $\frac{1}{3}$ per cent.
John Wedderburn .	1795	1767	28	1 $\frac{5}{9}$ ———
J. F. Barham .	763	739	24	3 $\frac{1}{5}$ ———
Sir S. H. Clark, Bart.	2320	2246	74	3 $\frac{1}{5}$ ———
John Fuller .	223	204	19	9 ———
Sir Rose Price, Bart.	487	469	18	3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ———
Marquis of Sligo .	237	227	10	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ———
James Dawkins .	1759	1696	63	3 $\frac{2}{3}$ ———
C. N. Bailey .	1060	1013	47	4 $\frac{1}{3}$ ———
Joseph Marryat .	218	207	11	5 ———
Fortunatus Dwarris .	221	215	6	2 $\frac{2}{3}$ ———

The Names we have selected will be allowed to be of the first respectability, and on the Estates of all of them the number of women is equal to, or more than, that of the men.

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- I. HAYTI;—MR. MACKENZIE'S ACCOUNT OF IT, AS TO POPULATION; COMPULSORY LABOUR; GOVERNMENT; MARRIAGE; TRADE; AND CIVILIZATION.
 - II. RECENT NEWS FROM JAMAICA;—VIZ. 1. THE WATCHMAN AND FREE PRESS; 2. DEFENCE OF MISSIONARIES; 3. COLONIAL REFORM; 4. TRANSFER OF ALLEGIANCE TO UNITED STATES; 5. INSTANCES OF JUDICIAL PARTIALITY; 6. MENDICANT SLAVES.

I.—HAYTI.

WE have too long delayed to notice a paper laid on the table of the House of Commons in the last session of Parliament, entitled "Communications received at the Foreign Office, relative to Hayti." The whole of these communications have come from Consul-general Mackenzie. They were ordered to be printed on the 17th of February, 1829, and are numbered 18.

For many years the British Government, under the powerful spell of colonial influence, refused to recognize the rising republic of Hayti, nor was the slightest political relation formed with her until the year 1826, when a British consul was sent thither to watch over our commercial interests. One of the objects of Mr. Canning, in this appointment, we may presume to have been to procure authentic and impartial information respecting the state of society and the progress of civilization in this new and interesting community of emancipated negroes. And yet, with a view to that object, his choice of a consul for Hayti appears to have been far from judicious.

The gentleman selected for this mission, however high may be his pretensions in other respects, is the son of a West India planter, deeply interested, of course, in the perpetuation of colonial bondage. The consul's prepossessions, therefore, were likely to be in favour of slavery and against freedom. Besides which, he appears to have imbibed some of those preposterous views promulgated by Major Moody, on what he calls the "Philosophy of Labour," but which we believe are now fast sinking into merited oblivion.

Mr. Mackenzie entered upon the discharge of his official duties at Port-au-Prince in the month of April or May 1826. The period of his actual stay in Hayti must have been about fifteen months, as his last letter thence bears date in July 1827, and before the end of the year he appears to have returned to London. Fifteen months, however, to a diligent, accurate, and unbiassed inquirer, might have afforded the means of obtaining much useful information. He might have given the

fruits of his own personal observation. He might have communicated important facts, with the authorities on which they rested; and he might have collected all the authentic public documents that were calculated to throw light on the history and circumstances of Hayti. Some of these documents are to be found in the present volume, although the series is very incomplete. They are important, however, in many points of view; and, among others, as affording a test for appreciating the correctness of the consul's general statements. As for the facts he has brought forward on the testimony of others, he has given us no means whatever of judging of their probable value. He has scarcely, in any case, disclosed the source of his information; and if his chief associates at Port-au-Prince, and consequently his informants, were like himself, persons previously connected with the English slave islands, we may conjecture in what degree the facts were liable to be discoloured in passing through such a medium.

But whether we are right or not in tracing Mr. Mackenzie's second-hand information to this source, we can have no doubt as to the unfair bias of his own mind, shewn in his official correspondence. He appears to have approached Hayti with a disposition to find little to commend, and much to blame, in the odious spectacle of a community consisting almost entirely of emancipated negroes, governed by themselves, and subsisting in comfort by their own free labour, without the compelling power of the cart-whip; the sole spring, according to "the Philosophy of Labour," which can be relied on for promoting the *steady* industry of blacks, in tropical climates.

The first proof we shall give of this unfair bias in the mind of the consul-general, shall be taken from his official communications respecting the progress of population in Hayti.

1.—Population.

Mr. Mackenzie was doubtless well aware of the important inferences in favour of freedom, which might be drawn from a rapid increase in the black population of Hayti, as contrasted with its rapid decrease in the neighbouring slave islands, and in Hayti itself while still enslaved. It might have been expected therefore, in a colonial partizan, that his efforts would be employed to deprive the enemies of slavery of the advantage arising to them from this contrast; which could not fail to be regarded as a decisive test of the comparative comfort of the two conditions of society—negro slavery and negro freedom.

Let us see how Mr. Mackenzie has treated this important subject.

All the authorities seem to be agreed, that about the year 1804, when Dessalines became Emperor of Hayti, the population of the island had been reduced by the previous civil commotions, and by the exterminating warfare waged by the armies of Buonaparte, to about 400,000 persons of all descriptions. Mr. Mackenzie concurs expressly in admitting this to be a fair estimate of the population of that period. He goes on, however, to remark, that the *present* (he speaks in 1826) amount of the population of the whole island "is very differently estimated by different persons. It is consequently impossible to do more than attain an approximation to the truth. By the *official* statements furnished by the

government (of Hayti) it is raised to 930,000 souls. By some it is estimated at nearly 700,000; while others assert, with confidence, that the entire population amounts only to 423,042 persons of all ages and classes. Of these, the *best informed* people calculate one-tenth to be white and coloured people, and that 351,819 are in French, and 71,223 in Spanish St. Domingo. It is stated," he adds, "that at the commencement of the revolution in Hayti, the population amounted to about 534,500 souls in the French, and 108,500 in the Spanish part of the island, making a total of about 643,000. The decrease, according to this statement," (he seems to assume this lowest estimate to be the true one,) "in thirty-three years," (from 1793 to 1826,) "has been very nearly one-third of the whole population of 1793." (p. 22.)

This state of the case Mr. Mackenzie evidently wishes to impress on the mind of Mr. Canning as the most correct, and he even reasons upon it, as if it had been proved to be so. In a subsequent part of his correspondence (p. 86,) the "fact" "of the very small amount of population, 423,000," (this is in 1827,) is brought forward to prove that it is "scarcely possible for the import or export trade of Hayti to increase very much."

Now it is somewhat singular, that although Mr. Mackenzie must have had before him the official returns of the Haytian government, (giving a detailed enumeration of the population of the thirty-three arrondissements into which the entire island of Hayti is divided,) which profess to be the result of an actual census, instituted in 1824, only two years before, and which fix the total amount of the Haytian population at 935,335,* he should assume as probable, but without stating his reasons for so doing, that the whole population amounted only to 423,042, being considerably less than one half of the amount specified in the official returns. The curious precision too with which the enumeration is given, would seem to indicate that it was not a conjectural but an actual census, unless, indeed, it was brought out by the short arbitrary process of de-

* The following is a copy of the general census of the population of the different arrondissements and districts of the republic of Hayti, taken in 1824.

Arrondissements.	No. of Inhabitants.	Arrondissements.	No. of Inhabitants.
Port-au-Prince - - -	89,164	Limbé - - - -	33,475
Cap Haïtien - - -	38,566	Grande Rivière - - -	35,372
Cayes - - - -	63,536	Marmelade - - -	32,852
Santo Domingo - - -	20,076	Saint Iago - - -	10,419
Jérémie - - - -	37,652	Borgne - - - -	29,162
Aquin - - - -	58,587	Samana - - - -	2,209
Gonaïves - - - -	33,542	Neybe - - - -	2,581
Tiburon - - - -	37,927	Azua - - - -	3,500
Port de Paix - - -	26,058	Saint Jean - - -	2,745
Saint Marc - - -	37,628	Lamatte - - - -	1,026
Porte Plate - - -	10,622	Arcahaie - - - -	4,805
Jacmel - - - -	99,108	Croix des Bouquets - - -	13,833
Nipper - - - -	44,478	Grands Bois - - -	6,199
Fort Liberté - - -	21,530	La Véga - - - -	6,178
Léogane - - - -	55,662	Le Trou - - - -	3,932
Monte Christ - - -	2,112		
Môle - - - -	17,150		
Mirebalais - - -	53,649	Total - - - -	935,335

ducting about a third from 643,000, the estimated enumeration of 1793. If it were an actual census, by whom was it taken? If it were not, on what data has it been framed, and by what authority supported, so as to justify this public functionary in giving it as the most probable estimate, and thus affixing to the government of Hayti the imputation of deliberately publishing, as the result of an actual census, a number considerably more than double the real population of the island. This imputation appears to us to be wholly unwarranted. At least it is not supported by the slightest shadow of proof; and would seem therefore to originate in a desire to throw discredit on a fact which, if true, would militate very powerfully against colonial partialities and preconceptions. The official returns may be incorrect, but certainly Mr. Mackenzie has not given one reason for his having represented them in that light.

Mr. Mackenzie, however, at the very time he is thus discrediting the official returns of 1824, makes an incidental statement, the effect of which, as far as it goes, is rather to indicate their general correctness. In the last letter which he addressed to Mr. Canning, (p. 89,) he takes occasion to correct a mistake, he says he had fallen into, respecting the population of the Spanish part of St. Domingo, and which he had in a former letter represented as decreasing; whereas he now finds it to be increasing at a ratio even exceeding all ordinary proportions. "Thus," he says, "in the district of St. Iago, where the whole population does not exceed 12,000 souls, on an average of the last five years, the deaths have been below 100 per annum, while the births have exceeded 500." This is quite an incredible statement. That, for five years, there should be only one annual death, in each 120 of a population, is of the nature of a miracle, and would require a far stronger voucher than Mr. Mackenzie's assertion. And yet, it is singular, that even in relating this incredible fact, he should have given something of confirmation to the accuracy of those returns of the Haytian population in 1824, which he had so unceremoniously laboured to falsify.

In the official census of 1824, the population of the arrondissement of St. Iago, stands enumerated at 10,419. In 1827, from three to four years later, Mr. Mackenzie states it to be 12,000, very nearly the number to which we should expect to find that it had grown at the rate of progression, which it is not improbable may have prevailed, throughout Hayti generally, during the twenty years preceding the census of 1824. In the case of the arrondissement of St. Iago, therefore, if we are safe in admitting Mr. Mackenzie's own testimony, there is evidently no exaggeration in the *official* return of its population. And yet, what ground had he for supposing, that although, in this individual case, it proved, on inquiry, to have been correct, in the case of any or all of the other arrondissements it was so monstrously exaggerated, as he would represent it to have been; differing from the real population, according to his estimate, in the proportion of ninety-three to forty-two.

It is certainly somewhat curious, and not a little instructive to observe, in this instance, (whatever be the real value of the Haytian returns,) how rash and prejudiced witnesses are often led to supply an antidote to the malignant influence of their own mistatements. Be the

fact what it may with respect to the accuracy of the Haytian returns, certainly Mr. Mackenzie has wholly failed in his attempt to convict them of dishonesty, and has even contributed to strengthen the presumption of their truth.

If, in the absence of any proof except the vague and unsupported insinuations of Mr. Mackenzie, we assume the accuracy of the census of 1824, we shall find it to exhibit an increase, of the Haytian population, during the preceding twenty years, almost unexampled in the rapidity of its progression. In 1804, it is estimated not to have exceeded 400,000 (p. 18). In 1824, the official census raises its number to 935,335. Had the population of Jamaica proceeded at the same rate, during the same period, it would now have approached to something of a like amount. The actual amount, at the present moment, does not exceed 325,000, a little more than one-third of what, as in the case of Hayti, it might have attained, but for the curse of slavery, by which the very principle of animal life has been withered and blasted among its unhappy victims.

2.—Compulsory Labour.

In the month of September 1826, certain queries were addressed to Mr. Mackenzie, from the Foreign Office, his answers to which will afford us a farther opportunity of estimating the reliance that may be placed on his official reports. Three of them were to the following effect:—

1. "Whether in Hayti labour be voluntary or compulsory?"
2. "If the latter, whether the whip be used to compel labour?"
3. "And whether, if it be employed, females are equally subject to it?"

Mr. Mackenzie's answers to these questions are as follows:—

1. "Most distinctly compulsory, as will be seen by the tenor of the accompanying copy of the Code Rural."

2. "By the law, the use of the whip has been long abolished, but military men have the privilege of using a thick stick; and, as *all* are military proprietors, I apprehend that at present, as it was certainly the case under Toussaint, Dessalines, and Christophe, corporal punishment of that kind is very often inflicted, though in opposition to the law; an opposition of practice to theory not very uncommon in Hayti."

3. "I have no evidence that women are ever punished with a whip; but, were I to judge from the general conduct of the men to the women, I should be inclined to infer that the latter may suffer from the same violation of law with the men to which I have just adverted." (p. 81.)

Can any thing be conceived more vague, flippant, and unsatisfactory?

He tells us further, (p. 17) that Toussaint's enactments, affecting agricultural industry, were *decidedly coercive*. So he says were those of Dessalines, (p. 18). Again, under Christophe, "the law regulating agriculture was as rigorous as those which preceded it," (p. 19). "He (Christophe,) even enforced labour as rigidly as under the French proprietors," (p. 20.) The provisions also of Boyer's Code Rural, Mr. Mackenzie describes to be "as despotic as those of any slave system that can be conceived." Nay, he even ventures to affirm, that the laws of Toussaint were "a mere modification of the old colonial laws of France;" and that the Code Rural of 1826, is "but a modification of the

old French regulations, sanctioned by the Code Noir, with *additional restrictions*,"* (p. 22.) With respect to the affirmation that labour in Hayti is compulsory according to the tenor of the Code Rural, and that the provisions of that code are as despotic as those of any slavè system that can be conceived, we say distinctly that it is most completely falsified by the code itself. (See Reporter, No. 23.) On the Haytian, no punishment can be inflicted but by due course of law, of a law which he knows; and he is liable to no one for labour which he has not voluntarily contracted to give at a stipulated price. He is no more compelled to labour than the Spitalfields weaver is compelled to finish the web which he has contracted to weave; or the servant whom the farmer hires for a year is forced, on pain of fine and imprisonment, to fulfil his engagement; or the idle and vagrant are compelled in this country to have recourse to some mode of honest employment. If, however, we were at a loss for a full and direct refutation of all Mr. Mackenzie's insinuations on this point, we should find it under his own hand in the very volume before us.

For example, he tells us "The system of dividing the land into small allotments, *in every part that I have visited*, has certainly had the effect

* It is impossible to conceive any statement more untrue than this, and if it be not a wilful misrepresentation, which we are unwilling to term it, it is at least a proof of the most profound ignorance, on the part of Mr. Mackenzie, of the old colonial laws of France. The Code Noir is an ordinance imposing on the negro cultivators in the colonies of France the merciless yoke of slavery; depriving them expressly of all rights of property, and indeed of all civil rights whatever; excluding them from all offices; subjecting them to chains and stripes at the will of the master or manager; punishing even the slightest assault upon either of these, though in self defence, with death; and reducing the whole race from the rank of men to that of chattels, of brutes that perish.—Now look at the Haytian laws, even as Mr. Mackenzie has described them. They abolish slavery, (p. 17). They proscribe the use of the whip, (p. 18). They give to the whole body of the people the same equal rights; and to the meanest cultivator a direct interest in the produce of the soil he cultivates, and the entire property in the fruits of his own industry or skill. Compare with the Code Noir or any of the old colonial laws of France the following extracts from the Haytian Codes, as given by Mr. Mackenzie himself;—take that of Toussaint for an example, (p. 123):

"No slaves can exist in this territory. Slavery is therefore for ever abolished. There all men are born, live, and die, free."

"Every man, whatever be his colour, is admissible to all offices."

"The law is the same for all, whether it punish or protect."

The same principles formed the basis of the Code of Christophe, and of that also which now constitutes the actual and universal law of Hayti, the amended code of 1816. It thus speaks:

"Il ne peut exister d'esclaves sur le territoire de la republique. L'esclavage y est a jamais aboli." "La loi est la même pour tous, soit qu'elle protege, ou qu'elle punisse. La propriété est inviolable et sacrée. Toute personne a la libre disposition de ce qui est reconnu lui appartenir." "Tous les devoirs de l'homme et du citoyen derivent de ces deux principes: 'Ne faites pas a autrui ce que vous ne voudriez pas qu'on vous fit:' 'Faites constamment aux autres tout le bien que vous voudriez en recevoir.'" (p. 148)

And yet this public functionary, in his official communications, has been hardy enough to affirm to His Majesty's Secretary of State, that laws founded on such principles, and with which no part, even of the Code Rural is inconsistent, are but modifications of the Code Noir, and the old colonial laws of France! What misrepresentation could be more gross than this?

of rendering it exceedingly difficult to collect bodies of labourers, as each individual can either find or pretend to find abundant occupation at home." (p. 93.) How does Mr. Mackenzie reconcile this fact, of which he was himself the eye-witness, with the sweeping assertion that in Hayti, labour is not voluntary, but compulsory, (p. 81.) and that the labourer may be considered as "*adscriptus glebæ*."* (p. 22.) Again, "No measures of the government can induce the young creoles to labour. The whole body of proprietors constantly lament the total incapacity of the government to enforce labour." (p. 105.)—But does he not account for this, when he says they prefer cultivating their own allotments? We are not assuming this statement to be correct, because it is an unauthenticated statement of Mr. Mackenzie; but still, how does that gentleman reconcile it with the assertion that, the provisions of the Code Rural are as despotic as those of any slave system that can be conceived? No such difficulties of enforcing labour, as Mr. Mackenzie well knows, exist on estates, either in Jamaica, or Grenada, or Demerara.

"Provisions, however, he admits, (p. 105.) are cultivated, and poultry and cattle are reared for home use;" and as it would seem, without compulsion. But this, and every other form of industry, except what is bestowed in gangs, on the culture of sugar, is deemed of no moment by Mr. Mackenzie. "I shall confine," he says, "my statements to sugar, which is the most important of all." This, it must be allowed, is sufficiently preposterous, since sugar, according to him, is the article which is least attended to in Hayti.—But we need hardly pursue this part of the subject any farther. It is the happy fate of those who have to refute the absurd positions of such inveterate partisans and professors of the new philosophy of labour as Mr. Mackenzie, to find their work already done for them by their opponents. "The labour of the Haytians," he affirms, "is not voluntary, but compulsory;"—it is as despotic as the worst system of slavery. And yet his main efforts are employed to shew that the Haytians are idle; that they do not work at all; and that they raise little of that exportable produce for which compulsory measures are usually resorted to; these *silly* people thinking, it seems, "chiefly, of rearing provisions, poultry, and cattle for their own use;" (p. 105.) thinking, that is to say, in the first instance, of their own subsistence!

Now our Consul must make his election. He cannot maintain two contradictory propositions. He must either admit that labour in Hayti is voluntary, and not compulsory; or he must admit that his favourite cartwhip has so far lost its power in Hayti, as compared with Jamaica, that it cannot prevail with the Haytians to pass their weary days in digging cane holes, and their sleepless nights in manufacturing sugar. What, indeed, is the compulsion or the despotism good for, if it does not swell the exports?

* The only passage in the Code Rural which can give even a colour to this assertion is that which states, that all who shall not be able to shew that they possess some other means of subsistence, shall be bound to cultivate the earth; and that they shall not be relieved from this necessity until they have satisfied the magistrate that they possess such other means; surely a very salutary and even humane provision. (See Law, No. 1, article 3, and 4.)

But, now for the cartwhip itself, to which Mr. Mackenzie so fondly clings, and which he is so unwilling to admit to be no longer in use at Hayti; it is amusing to observe the pains he takes to prove that the Haytians are not wholly bereft of its blessings. He *apprehends* it is still inflicted on the men, as it certainly was, (who told him so?) under Toussaint, Dessalines, Christophe, &c. And, though he has no evidence, not even a second-hand rumour, to shew that women are ever punished with the whip, yet he is *inclined* (no doubt he is!) to infer that women *are flogged as well as men*; though even the flogging of the men is only something which he *apprehends*, may still be practised—flippantly remarking, that the common variance, in Hayti, of practice from theory is the ground of his apprehension. What wretched drivelling have we here, in the shape of a report, from a public functionary to his Government, on a grave and serious subject! And yet this very Report was produced, as evidence, before the Privy Council, during the examinations which took place respecting the manumission clause in the Order in Council for Berbice.

But besides the law, which, as will be seen below,* is quite decisive on the subject; this whimsically inconsistent functionary gives us the following counter evidence. A gentleman belonging to Jacmel tells the consul: “*All labour is voluntary*. Men are hired by the week; and on Saturday the labourers are paid. *Corporal punishments are abolished*, and are held in horror by the negroes, (sont en horreur aux nègres.) *Every blow struck, it signifies not on whom, either, is returned in kind*, or goes before the tribunal. Women are also in the habit of working; *but, no one can strike them with impunity, except their husbands*. Men and women labour together without distinction, but the

* The detailed code of agricultural regulations, first published as early as 1794, and which Mr. Mackenzie has inserted, (p. 111, &c.) contains the following decisive enactments:—“If a conductor (or foreman,) shall strike one of those under him, or place him, by his own authority, in the stocks, or in prison, he shall be deprived of his office, and declared incapable of commanding freemen. If wounds or injuries follow the blow, he shall be arrested, prosecuted, and punished according to the provisions of the criminal code.”—p. 114.

The words of the law of 1812, are, “except in the case of lawful defence, he who shall voluntarily wound, or even strike any one, shall be condemned to a fine of 100 dollars, and eight months’ imprisonment: and this penalty will be doubled where the assault has been committed on women, or aged persons above sixty, or children under fourteen, and even this will be increased if the violence has been committed by a master on his apprentices or hired labourer.”—Loi de Police, Titre premier, chapitre ii. articles 12 et 13.

We do not wonder that, with such severity of enactment, Mr. Mackenzie could only *apprehend* or conjecture as to the probable infliction of blows or stripes on men and women, and that he should know of no actual inflictions.

He is bolder, however, when he speaks of times more remote, and where detection is more difficult. In the times of Toussaint and Dessalines, he admits the cartwhip was abolished; but, then “thick sticks, &c., were used without scruple, and not unfrequently, the sabre, the musket, and even burying alive were resorted to as punishments for refractory gangs.” We could trace these words to the colonial newsmongers of 1800 to 1805. But, after all, what would be the punishment, in Jamaica, for a refractory gang? Would it not be that of rebellion—death? Let us remember, in this view, the sad stories of St. Mary’s and Hanover, and St. George’s in 1824. (See Reporter, No. 10.)

men in a greater proportion than the women, as the women are generally charged with the duties of the kitchen. All the large estates are generally let on lease, the proprietors receiving a certain share of the produce; but the lessee has always the largest share, it being a rare thing for a lessee to account for more than half of the produce, and from that half the proprietor receives his portion;" (p. 93.) the rest of the half, or rather, a fourth of the whole, going, as appears from other statements, to the labourers. (p. 93, 102, and the Code Rural *passim*.)

Mr. Mackenzie has given us the above statement on what he seems to regard as respectable authority. But if it be a true statement, how will he account for the glaring discrepancy between it and his own answers to Mr. Canning's questions? The former is the evidence of one whom he represents as a respectable witness; the latter the vague apprehensions, and the random conjectures, not only without evidence but against evidence, of the Consul-general himself.—And here again, let it be recollected, that the persons who had to prepare the evidence laid before the Privy Council on the Berbice petition, with the whole of Mr. Mackenzie's correspondence open before them, chose to give these vague apprehensions and random conjectures, as evidence to be relied on, while they withheld what alone was evidence, and which went to falsify all that the consul was adduced to prove. By such and such like proceedings, whether designed or inadvertent, are error and imposture propagated on this subject, with the apparent sanction of official authority, until the plainest principles of sound sense and humanity and justice are made to give way to the false statements and sophistical glosses of interested parties or of wildered economists.

It were endless to go through all the proofs which these papers exhibit of Mr. Mackenzie's determination to find slavery in Hayti. We will confine ourselves to a very few additional examples.

"The cultivators were compelled," he says, "under the same plantation regulations, to work as *before*," (By *before* does he mean under the old regime? Then they worked under the whip and without pay.) "with this difference, that, *instead of having every thing provided*, they received (*as I am told*) *nominally* a fourth of the produce of their labour, but in reality much less."* Not to advert again to the substantial contradiction already given to these most untrue and insidious statements,—by whom, we ask, has Mr. Mackenzie been told all this? And what evidence has he, or can he have, to shew that the whole body of the cultivators, who know they are entitled to a fourth of the produce, and who must also know how much they have themselves actually produced, will tamely submit to be thus defrauded? Are there no courts

* And yet the Code Rural, that cruelly compulsory and despotic code, not only provides that the workmen shall have a fourth of the produce, the proprietor or renter paying all the out-goings excepting labour; but that they shall have Saturday and Sunday entirely to themselves; and shall have garden grounds to cultivate on those days if they think proper to do so, besides being fed by provisions cultivated by the gang of the estate; and shall also have medical attendance and medicines gratis, the care of infant children being further provided for by the proprietor or renter. (See Law, No. ii. articles 36, 38, 39; Law, No. iii. art. 52, 62, 63, 66, 67, 68. Reporter, No. 23.)

or magistrates to apply to? Besides, he tells us of the difficulty of collecting labourers, which he himself witnessed, the people preferring to fix themselves on small allotments of land, where they can find more profitable occupation than that of working as hirelings, and where, of course, their time is at their own disposal, and the whole fruit of their labour is their own, (see p. 94.) And again, (p. 35,) he informs us, that the persons who formerly laboured in gangs, have been induced "to cultivate their own properties, upon which their first care will naturally be the articles of primary necessity; after that, whatever will bear the highest price in the market;" which is certainly neither the coffee nor the sugar of which he makes so great and almost exclusive an account.—Now, besides completely stultifying his own statement, what a view has Mr. Mackenzie here unconsciously conveyed, both of the progressive improvement of Haytian society, and of the good sense which guides the operations of individuals in leading them to prefer becoming independent proprietors and cultivators of their own allotments, rather than continuing to be labourers in gangs for hire. And even with respect to the labourers for hire, Mr. Mackenzie is forced to admit, that "*at present*," (according to the provisions of the Code Rural,) "they contract at so much a week, or for a certain proportion of the profits. *Formerly*" (does he mean under the old regime?) "labour was enforced by the severest discipline. *At present* fine and imprisonment are the legal" (he might have said the *only* legal) "punishments for offenders; though," he adds, with his characteristic hostility to free labour and attachment to the whip as the true spring of industry, that "*there is no doubt* that personal correction is sometimes employed," (p. 91). He might as well have said that there is no doubt that in England personal violence is sometimes employed by overseers of work towards the persons under them.—He cannot deny, however, that it is expressly provided, not only by Toussaint's agricultural code of 1798, signed by the Director Hedouville, but by all subsequent codes, that all disputes, occurring on plantations, shall be referred to the magistrate. And in the code of 1798 it is provided that, on the responsibility of the authorities, the whole of the regulations shall be read, once every month, to the assembled cultivators,

By way of shewing the despotism of the Code Rural of 1826, (equal in despotism, he says, to any slave system that can be conceived,) he affirms, that the labourer "is deemed a vagabond, and liable to punishment if he ventures to move from his dwelling or farm without leave;" and that "he is prohibited from keeping a shop." Now observe what the law actually is, which this functionary so represents. As in England, no man can open a gin-shop, or become a hawker or pedlar, without a licence, for which he pays a tax; so, in Hayti, no man can keep a shop of any kind, or indeed exercise any trade or profession, except that of agriculture, without obtaining a licence and paying the cost of it; and this is what *he* represents as being "prohibited from keeping a shop." It is true that shops are only licensed in towns or villages, (bourgades,) or parishes, (paroisses,) according to the law of patents, inserted in this volume, (pp. 6—16). But then this restriction, which seems to have a view merely to the security of the revenue, applies to

all classes as well as to agriculturists. There is nothing to prevent an agriculturist from setting up a shop in the next bourgade if he can pay the cost of a patent, and if he goes through the forms necessary for obtaining a passport to change his domicile. These forms are, that he shall make known his wish to the justice of the peace, both of the commune he is about to quit and of that into which he is about to remove, and shall satisfy them that he has the means of subsisting in his new situation. See Code Rural, Reporter No. 23, pp. 330, 331.

3. Trade of Hayti.

But we must turn to Mr. Mackenzie's statements on the subject of Haytian commerce. Here he sets out with complaining grievously of restrictions on foreign merchants, as being most oppressive, (p. 6.) We are enemies to all restrictions which are not called for by a regard to the safety of the state; but we see in those of Hayti nothing which will not find its example at least, if not its justification, in the course pursued by some of the most civilized nations in Europe, and which probably are called for, in the former, by the just jealousy entertained, by the negroes generally, respecting whites.

Mr. Mackenzie takes immense pains to depreciate the amount of the trade of Hayti. He affirms it to be diminishing; and as an example, tells us that the produce exported from Hayti in 1825, had "fallen *far short* of that of the preceding years." (p. 26.) But this statement is contradicted by the custom-house returns he afterwards inserts, (p. 41,) by which the export of 1825 is made to exceed that, both of 1822, and 1823; and is only surpassed by that of 1824. Then he labours through many a weary page, to reduce the amount of the actual imports and exports of Hayti; and he utters confident predictions of further diminutions, notwithstanding the despotic severity of the compulsory process attributed by him to the Code Rural. In short, the impression he is anxious to produce is, that the trade of Hayti is nearly valueless; and yet, by his own account, with only an ad valorem duty of 12 per cent., it seems to yield a revenue of about two millions of dollars annually.

But this is not all he gives in the way of self-refutation. He goes on to say, that so much are the strict fiscal regulations evaded, that "indeed, in no country that I know, is smuggling carried on with so much effrontery and success." (p. 37.) Now if this be true, the real trade of Hayti must be far beyond the amount indicated by the custom-house returns. Even smugglers will not bring goods to Hayti without being paid the full value both of their goods and of their risk; and for whatever is imported, at least, an equal value must be exported; so that by this single stroke of Mr. Mackenzie's pen, he has demolished the fabric of commercial poverty and wretchedness he had been at such pains to construct, and has raised to an undefined extent the commercial capabilities, and consequently the agricultural productions of Hayti. If the sum to be placed to this account be a mere fraction of the whole, Mr. Mackenzie would not be justified in saying, that "in no country that he knew, was smuggling carried on with so much effrontery and success."

What may be the real state and amount of Haytian commerce, we pretend not to know: but whatever they are, Mr. Mackenzie's labours are

so far from throwing light upon them, that they serve only to mistify and perplex the whole subject. His own observations as well as the various details he has given us, are vague, partial, and unsatisfactory; and certainly reflect no credit on the commercial skill of the Consul-general.

4. Government—Marriage.

In the same rash and contradictory manner does Mr. Mackenzie proceed throughout his correspondence. An example or two must suffice.

“The form of Government,” he says, “as well as the constitution of society in Hayti, render the country, in no slight degree, liable to civil convulsions.”—He assigns no one reason for this hazardous assertion. The form of government does not seem to us to differ from those of the United States, except in being somewhat less democratical than some of them; and as for the constitution of society, we know nothing very particular in it, except that there the Blacks, and not the Whites, are the dominant party.

Again, in speaking of the bad moral state of Hayti, which we doubt not is nearly as bad as that in our own islands, he adds, with his usual and characteristic hostility of exaggeration, “The firmest foundation of society, MARRIAGE, is scarcely thought of, and all the ties consequent on it, have not even the shadow of existence.” That is to say, there are in Hayti, neither conjugal nor parental ties: they have not there even the shadow of existence. Can this be true? It requires only to be announced, to prove it otherwise; but, as usual, he contradicts it himself. At p. 32, he tells us of *Marchandes*, who are high in credit, and fulfil their engagements with the most scrupulous integrity; and he then alludes to their *husbands*, as if the relation of husband were not quite unknown in Hayti. Nay, the law of patents, articles 19 and 28, (p. 7, 8.) give peculiar advantages to persons legally married. Besides, have the laws of Hayti overlooked and even repressed marriage, as, till recently, has been the case in our West Indian Colonies? The law of 1798, under Toussaint, already referred to, contains the following rules: “That the proprietors, renters, or managers shall engage the cultivators to form legitimate marriages, pointing out to them that it is the best means of ensuring to themselves the enjoyment of every social advantage;—of obtaining consolation from domestic care and assistance in their distresses and sickness;—of extending the reign of that purity of conduct, so essential to happiness and to health;—and of increasing the population, and extending the culture, and enlarging the produce of every estate. The parents who shall have the largest number of children, the offspring of legitimate marriages, shall be distinguished by the government, and shall have rewards, and even grants of land, and shall enjoy the other advantages promised to them by the proclamation of the 29th of August, 1793;” which proclamation Mr. Mackenzie has not given us.

Then we have also Toussaint’s amended code of 1801, containing the following law, (p. 124,) “As marriage tends to purity of manners, a married person who lives in the exercise of the conjugal virtues shall always be distinguished, and specially protected by the Government.”

“The rights of illegitimate children shall be so fixed as to diffuse and encourage the social virtues, and to cement domestic ties.”

Similar regulations are introduced into Christophe's code ; (p. 138,) and the amended code of 1816, the actual law of the Republic, repeats, in their identical words, Toussaint's regulations of 1801, just quoted. (p.149.)

And yet, says Mr. Mackenzie, in Hayti, "marriage, the firmest foundation of society, is scarcely thought of, and the ties consequent upon it have not even the shadow of existence." What would he say of our own colonies ?

In the same style are the whole of Mr. Mackenzie's observations from the beginning to the end of the volume before us, proving to their full amount all the charges we have ventured to fasten upon him, of rashness, vagueness, partiality, prejudice, inaccuracy, and contradiction. In these respects, the communications of this gentleman stand pre-eminent above the reach of rivalry. Instead of illustrating Hayti, he has rendered its state and circumstances more obscure than they were before, and has only proved, in fact, his own incompetency for the task.

5. *Progress of Civilization.*

One thing, however, it has not been in the power of Mr. Mackenzie to conceal from us, by any tortuousness of statement or hostility of feeling, and that is the actual advance made by this negro state, this community of emancipated slaves, in some of those improvements, both civil and political, which infallibly indicate great progress in civilization, but to which Mr. Mackenzie makes not the slightest reference as affording any such indication. In spite of all the disingenuous and depreciatory observations of our Consul, Hayti possesses, (and his own communications shew it,) a regular, and in the main, a good constitution of Government; a code of laws which are founded in good sense and justice; an administrative system of jurisprudence which seems well adapted to its purpose; a fiscal establishment and fiscal regulations, which appear calculated to ensure regularity and precision in matters of finance; an efficient and well disciplined military force; and a police, which may be presumed to give, to person and property, all the security which is, perhaps, attainable. Had Mr. Mackenzie had it in his power to controvert the existence of any one of these advantages, we may be assured he would not have omitted to do so.*

Then, in the laws and regulations which have created, and which guide the movements of these different institutions, we find little which is left vague and undetermined. The rights no less than the obligations of all, and the sanctions which secure the non-violation of the one, and the due performance of the other, are clearly and intelligibly expressed, and with a brevity and precision which render the knowledge of them accessible to the meanest capacity, to the least educated

* Mr. Mackenzie, anxious to deprive the Haytians of all merit in the construction of their laws, assigns those of Toussaint in 1801, (p. 17,) to certain French and Italian ecclesiastics. We do not believe there is one word of truth in this statement. It is merely the reverberation of a report, circulated from Jamaica at the time, to prevent, if possible, the impression in favour of the capacity of the blacks, which the appearance of this wise code produced. He admits the ability with which Christophe's code was framed, (p. 19,) although it is known that no ecclesiastics could have been concerned in it; and the same praise he cannot refuse to the present code, which is but an amended version of the former.

and most ignorant of the people. The constitution of this maligned republic, its laws, the regulations of its courts of justice and its police, the precise amount of its exaction in the way of revenue, and therefore the amount of contribution to the exigencies of the state to which every man is liable—all are printed and universally diffused. Not only, therefore, has every Haytian ample means of becoming acquainted, and that with very little labour, with all relating to his social, civil, and political state which it imports him to know, but the whole is open also to the examination and criticism of strangers, and especially of such hostile strangers as Mr. Mackenzie and his colonial associates.

We do not, of course, mean to defend every article in these various enactments. To some, objections may be *fairly* urged; but, thus much we will say, without hesitation, that we have met with no regulation, however objectionable it be, which may not find both its example, and its justification so far as what is in itself impolitic may be justified, in the institutions of one or more of the most civilized nations of the earth; and, taking the Haytian institutions as a whole, we believe it would be very difficult to name any other community whose institutions are less liable to just exception; or better adapted to their professed ends; or which bear stronger proofs of wisdom, and discrimination, and impartiality, than are exhibited in those of Hayti.

Nor, as far as Mr. Mackenzie has put it into our power to form an opinion, does it appear that it is only the framework, the theory as it were, of the internal policy of this negro republic, which has been judiciously constructed; but we cannot discover from him that it does not also work well. Mr. Mackenzie, it is true, does not give his testimony to this effect; that were more than could reasonably be expected from him; but eager, as he has shewn himself, to decry all that is Haytian, we may assume, in the absence of all *proof*—nay, of all assertion to the contrary, that in operation, its institutions are not found very palpably defective.

Let us take for an example, that very part of the Haytian institutions which was most likely to fall under the observation, and to require the interposition of the British Consul-general, and which is also more complicated than any other, we mean the fiscal, and particularly the custom-house regulations. Now, there are in Hayti various seaports, with a custom-house in each, where ships are entered and cleared, duties levied, and fees exacted, both on imports and exports, under rules which are definitely prescribed, and uniformly enforced. Now, in all these transactions, the functionaries charged with the execution of them, and who have to calculate, demand, and enforce the duties, and to watch over the violations of the law, and regularly to report their proceedings to the Government from day to day, are not whites, but native Haytians, black or brown, descended from the emancipated slaves of St. Domingo, if some of them be not the very emancipated slaves themselves.*

* Mr. Mackenzie represents education as being at a very low ebb in Hayti; and yet, we think his own volume furnishes rather a strong contradiction to this assertion also. The 25th article of the law of patents confines the employment of mercantile clerks to native Haytians, so that the number of them who

Now it does not appear, that, during Mr. Mackenzie's stay at Hayti, he had a single complaint of any undue exaction by the officers of the customs on British merchants, or of any deviation, to the injury of those merchants, from any of the custom-house regulations, which have been promulgated by the Government. In short, he says not one word to lead us to suppose, that this complicated department of the state is not conducted with as much regularity and efficiency as the custom-houses of London or Liverpool. The same test may be applied to all the other institutions of Hayti, of which we have from Mr. Mackenzie, no information whatever to shew that they do not very well answer their purpose; and considering the spirit which pervades this volume, a spirit as remote as possible from any candid or kindly feeling, this is no mean presumption in their favour.

Upon the whole, we have been greatly comforted by the appearance of this volume. The manifest hostility of our Consul, to Hayti and every thing Haytian; his ever-wakeful anxiety to discover grounds for depreciating her progress, and his reluctance to say one word which can redound to her credit, (whatever is really to her credit seeming to drop from him unconsciously of its bearing,) lead us to hope, that her advance in the arts of civilized life may be far greater than even we, with all our prepossessions in her favour, could venture to anticipate. Be that as it may, we think we have at least shewn, that no reliance is to be placed on the correctness of Mr. Mackenzie's communications respecting her condition. His tone and language are those of hatred and ill will; and their effect is aggravated, if possible, by the circumstance that he himself is of African origin, and has employed the education and consideration he has acquired from his European parentage, to prolong, by his representations, the misery and to aggravate the degradation of his whole maternal race.*

The fairest accounts we have seen of Hayti are contained in the French works of La Croix and Malenfant; in a History of St. Domingo, published by Constable, of Edinburgh, and Fenner, of London, in 1818; and in Sketches of Hayti, by W. W. Harvey, of Queen's College, Cambridge, published by Seeley in 1827. As for Franklin's

can write must be very considerable, independently of the number of persons who must be required to furnish all the returns, reports, and accounts, and to carry on the correspondence connected with these, which are rendered imperative by the laws, not only of trade and revenue, of agriculture and police, but of all their various civil and military institutions. Mr. Mackenzie, indeed, says the returns are still very defective, though more regular than formerly; but we have learnt not to confide very implicitly in his statements.

* It will be evident from the following article, which appeared in the Postscript to the Royal Gazette of Jamaica, of September 19, 1829, and which reached us after the above was written, that we have not incorrectly estimated the bias on Mr. Mackenzie's mind. It professes to be an extract of a letter from London, dated 4th July, 1829.

"The communications of Mr. Mackenzie, which have been laid before Parliament, have tended very considerably to this result," (viz. that of making the public better informed on the slave question.) "A paper, written by him with considerable care and some labour, for the purpose of shewing that the freedom of the negroes was absolutely inconsistent with the cultivation of the West Indies, and which was intended for publication in the Quarterly Review, has been refused to be inserted by the editor of that work."

work, it was prepared at the suggestion and paid for with the money of the West India Committee in London.

II.—RECENT NEWS FROM JAMAICA.

1. *The Watchman and Free Press.*

WE are happy to perceive that a newspaper has recently been established in this island, under the title of "The Watchman, and Jamaica Free Press." It has been set on foot and is conducted by free persons of colour. The main object of it, doubtless, is to afford them the means of repelling the slander by which the colonial writers have laboured to degrade them, and to vindicate before the public their full title to those civil and political rights of British subjects, of which they are at present unjustly deprived. It exhibits a fair portion of talent, and much good sense and moderation in those who edit it. It may be considered as the organ of the sentiments of a body of individuals in Jamaica, amounting to about 40,000, nearly three times the number of the whites, and probably holding in their hands property equal, if not superior, in its amount, to that possessed by the whites actually resident in the island. Until now, this large and growing body, increasing every day, not only in numbers, but in wealth, intelligence, industry, and general respectability, have had no channel by which to make their opinions and feelings known, either in their own island or in this country. They have now erected for this purpose an engine of immense power; and if they but know how to wield it with judgment, it cannot fail to produce the most beneficial results to them and their posterity.

2. *Defence of Missionaries.*

It is with satisfaction we perceive that some of the first efforts of the Watchman are consecrated to the support of religion and good morals. In the cultivation of these lies the real strength of the people of colour. And if they exhibit, in the consistency of their private conduct with their public professions, the influence of the principles their organ so unshrinkingly advocates, they will find, under the divine blessing, in the sympathy of every well regulated mind in the mother country, no less than in their growing prosperity as a body, the surest pledge of their own security and elevation, and of the gradual advancement to freedom and social happiness of the whole of that still more depressed class, to which they are so closely allied both by blood and by community of interest.

We beg our readers to look back to the observations in our 50th and 51st Nos. (p. 24 and 34.) on the conduct of the Jamaica Assembly and its Committee, with respect to the sectaries in that island. Let us now hear what the Jamaica Watchman says of it, in the very hearing of the agents in that discreditable transaction. "Let us see," he says, "the nature of the Report of the Committee. To maintain (as the Report does) that 'the principal object of the Missionaries in this island is to extort money from their congregations by every possible pretext,' would be as futile as to attempt to prevent the beams of the sun appearing on a cloudless day. This part of the Report is so re-

pugnant to common sense and ordinary observation, that we are at a loss to conceive why it was inserted in the minutes of the House; but there it is to be seen; and so long as the ink and paper last, will it be a stigma on the justice of the House. Evidence of the most reputable kind was, and can be readily produced to rebut the extraordinary and abominable charge of ‘the missionaries having had recourse to the most indecent expedients to extort money.’ But were money extorted, to what purpose is it applied? Nobody in his senses will say it is used for personal purposes: for this is flatly denied by the members of their several congregations. And if applied to personal purposes, where are the gay equipages, liveried servants, magnificent mansions, sumptuous tables, of the Missionaries? And how do they continue to erect the neat and spacious places of worship, which, besides their sacred use, serve to ornament this city and several towns in the island?

“The next egregious mis-statement in the Report is, that ‘the Missionaries teach and preach sedition, even from the pulpit; and, by misrepresentation and falsehood, endeavour to cast odium on all the public authorities of the island, not even excepting the representative of Majesty itself.’ The accusation is so ridiculously absurd, as to carry with it its own refutation. The writer of the Report is perfectly convinced that the charge is without foundation; and how could our legislature so far forget the dignity of their station, as to descend to countenance so shameful and contradictory a subterfuge—to charge men eminent for loyalty and circumspection, with falsehood and sedition, for the purpose of exciting popular clamour against these disinterested teachers of Christianity? The Committee must have known, that there are thousands of individuals, among whom are persons of the first respectability, who, had they been required, would cheerfully have appeared either at the bar of the House, or before ten thousand sectarian Committees, and by their testimony have fearlessly rebutted the unfounded, malicious, and despicable charges. To charge these persons with teaching and preaching sedition is easy; but where are the proofs to establish the charge? Assertion is not proof; and until it be produced, the Missionaries must be regarded as innocent, and the charge as a base and detestable fabrication. The reception Mr. Hibbert received from the Colonial Secretary,* shewed in what light that Report was regarded, and prevented that gentleman from tendering the examinations that accompanied it, examinations that stamped the whole proceeding with infamy. The shallow subterfuge, unwisely resorted to for imposing on the credulity of the public, did not take,” &c. &c.—*Watchman for Oct. 14, 1829.*

A correspondent in the same paper thus addresses the editor of the *Watchman*:—“I am pleased to find you occasionally advocating the cause of these persecuted men, who are so zealously engaged in endeavouring to improve the moral condition of our slave population. Is it not strange, that at this period of enlightenment there should be found individuals actually engaged in opposing the spread of gospel truth;—

* This piece of secret history is new to us.

but so it is. It is said, that in a certain northern parish, (the reverend rector of which, has never been proverbially humane,) persecution has covertly existed; and that an individual, a slave, is at this moment, and has been for a considerable time past, in limbo, for having attended, on the sabbath, the ministrations of one of those clergymen, whose only object seems to be the spiritual improvement of their hearers. As this case has already excited considerable interest, will you tell me if it is in the power of an attorney to send a negro to a workhouse in a parish distant from that to which he belongs, for no other offence than that of attending a dissenting place of worship: and if the negro become seriously ill, to remove him from one workhouse to another, without being brought to trial?" The reply of the editor is, that there is nothing in the existing law of Jamaica to prevent this: still he advises the attorney, who seems a person sufficiently known in the island, either to cease from this cruel persecution of the slave of an absent proprietor, or to resign the management of the estate; and he warns the rector of the parish, Saint Ann's, and who is alluded to as if he had been in some way accessory to the outrage, to beware of the precipice on which he stands. During the week after this allusion appears, Lord Belmore is stated, in the Royal Gazette, to have been on a visit to this rector. (P. S. to Royal Gazette of 12—19 Sept. 1829.)

3. *Colonial Reform.*

The Watchman is a strenuous advocate for the reforms proposed by His Majesty's Government in the law and practice of slavery. He argues on the extreme impolicy of continuing to reject recommendations sanctioned by the three estates of the empire, through absurd adherence to ancient prejudices. What, he says, must be the consequence of acting on unnatural prejudices, chimerical fears, and obstinate attachment to near-sighted and hollow prerogatives, but defeat, and compelled concession, instead of the grace of cheerful compliance and co-operation?—And there is a kind of intimation that, at least, the great body of the free coloured population will not be found among those who will resist the fiat of the Imperial Parliament on this point.

4. *Transfer of allegiance to the United States.*

On a third point, the Watchman is still more explicit, and that is, as to the absurd threat of the Jamaica whites to separate from the mother country, should she prosecute her plans of reform; and to seek the protection of the United States. He laughs this idea to merited scorn, and well he may; for what can be more quixotic, and impracticable than such an attempt in the actual circumstances of Jamaica? It is to suppose, that a handful of diseased and extenuated whites should be able, successfully, to set themselves in array, not only against the king's troops, but against the hardy and disciplined free blacks and people of colour, who are twice or thrice their own number, backed by the whole body of the slaves, and this for the purpose of transferring the allegiance of the island from Great Britain to America. The editors of the Watchman understand full as well as we do, (putting out of view their steady and loyal attachment to their king and country) that, from

an adherence to England alone, can the coloured class hope to attain their rank in the scale of being, and that a transfer beneath the yoke of the United States would at once crush every nascent hope, for them and for the slaves, of rising to their proper level. Let not Jamaica planters then, be so wild as to dream for a moment of success in any such project, considering the adverse feeling which it must encounter in the island, and that there are about a million of Haytians, only from twelve to fifteen hours sail to windward of them.

5. Instances of judicial partiality.

Some striking examples occur in the recent Jamaica newspapers, of the perversion of justice, arising from the distinctions of caste and colour, and particularly from the exclusion of the evidence of slaves in courts of justice.

1st. A white merchant in Kingston, Mr. Ivers, buys certain articles of a negro, for about an eighth part of their value. His mistress discovers the property in Mr. Ivers's premises, and proves the theft by the evidence of Mr. Ivers himself. The negro is flogged, and Mr. Ivers the receiver of the stolen goods and the person who had invited the negro to commit the crime, marches off with impunity. (*Watchman of Oct. 14, 1829.*)

2nd. The premises of a Mr. Edie are entered for burglarious purposes by two thieves. He desires his slave Thomas to take his loaded gun and scare them away. The slave fires, and kills one of them. He is tried for the act, found guilty of manslaughter, and sentenced to hard labour in the workhouse for twelve months, and to be flogged with thirty-nine lashes, at going in, and at coming out. The master who had ordered his own slave to take his loaded gun to scare the burglars away, is the witness whose evidence convicts him. It was quite dark when the shot was fired, and it seemed to have been fired at random, though it produced such fatal effects. "The court, before passing sentence took occasion to observe, that they considered the owner as much to blame in directing a slave to use a gun for the purpose of driving away others, on which account they would endeavour to make *him* suffer by the sentence to be pronounced on the slave." That is to say, the court punishes the master, by inflicting a year's hard labour in the workhouse on the slave; thus depriving him of the slave's services for that time; and also by lacerating the slave's flesh with the cart whip, so as to prolong the period of his unprofitableness to his master. Such are the notions of justice which prevail in this British Colony. (*Watchman of the 10th Oct. 1829.*)

3. The remaining instance appears in the postscript to the Royal Gazette of the 3rd of October 1829. In June 1827, a Mr. Graham had been found drowned in a small stream in the parish of St. George, and an inquest had brought in their verdict, "drowned himself in a fit of insanity." The man, however, it was lately discovered, had been murdered by his slaves, at the instigation of his own wife and some of her relations, who stood by and witnessed the deed of strangling him, and saw him afterwards thrown into the stream where he was found the next morning. These facts are said to have come out on the trial, and it is

added, that Mrs. Graham had repeatedly laboured to incite the negroes to murder her husband, their master, and, after much importunity, she had succeeded in inducing them to undertake the task. One of them, two years afterwards, stung with remorse, is said to have confessed the fact, and thus to have led to an investigation, which ended in the trial and execution of the four slaves who were regarded as the most active in the murder. They were all hanged at Buff Bay in St. George's, on the 24th of last September. Mrs. Graham and her relations who, it seems, are free persons of colour, have not been brought to trial, there being probably none but slaves who could testify against them. It was thought perhaps, as in the last instance, that by hanging four of her slaves, she would thus, at least, be punished by the loss of property. We conclude that in this instance the general practice of paying to the owner the value of his slaves that are hanged, was dispensed with.

6. *Mendicant Slaves.*

Our readers will probably recollect the persecution which a poor gentleman of the name of Phillips lately underwent in Antigua, for daring to relieve some mendicant slaves, and to report his having done so to a benevolent society in England, whose agent he was. (See Nos. 52 and 53, pp. 63 and 81.)

It will be some corroboration of Mr. Phillips's statements, that the Watchman of the 16th of September contains a communication headed "Diseased Mendicant Slaves," in which it is affirmed, and there appears no contradiction of the fact, that an increasing number of diseased mendicant slaves may be daily seen in the streets of Kingston; and that they more particularly infest the vicinity of places of worship on the Sabbath-day. He describes them as "loathsome beings, who, perhaps, after having spent their youth and strength faithfully in their humble situation, are now totally abandoned, and left to wander about as a corrupting pestilence;" some blind and lame, and some covered with the most infectious diseases. He calls on the magistrates of Kingston to enforce the laws, which he quotes as subjecting the owners in this case to severe penalties for their neglect, and as obliging them also to defray the expence of providing a refuge and subsistence for the wretched and abandoned outcasts.

We perceive, with very great satisfaction, that the character of the injured and oppressed Mr. Phillips, of Antigua, to whom we have just alluded, and who has suffered, and still suffers so much from his having administered relief to some perishing slaves in that island, has received, in the Antigua Weekly Register of September last, a full, complete, and most triumphant vindication, from all the foul, mendacious, and utterly unfounded charges, heaped upon him by Mr. Macqueen, in the Glasgow Courier, and copied thence into various English newspapers. The whole proves to be mere fiction from beginning to end.

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I.—RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE FROM THE WEST INDIES:

1.—*Society for the Conversion of Negro Slaves.*

2.—*Coddington Estates.*

II.—M'DONNELL'S ADDRESS ON THE WEST INDIA QUESTION.

III.—THE JAMAICA WATCHMAN.

I.—RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE FROM THE WEST INDIES.

HAVING entered so largely in our last volume, Nos. 41, 44, (supplement,) 45, 46, 47, and 48, into the question of the religious state of the slave population in the West Indies, and the existing hindrances to its improvement; and having thereby rendered ourselves obnoxious to no inconsiderable clamour and objurgation, which, however, we trust, we were not unsuccessful in calming; it may be expected that we should notice the Reports which have subsequently been published by the two societies with which at that time we were so unfortunate as to be brought into collision. We shall proceed to do so, as briefly as possible.

1. *Society for the Conversion and religious Instruction and Education of the Negro Slaves in the West Indies.*

Our readers will not have forgotten our review of this Society's Report for 1827. Some months ago, a fresh Report, namely for 1828, appeared, which we have been hitherto unable to notice. Its general tone, we are happy to perceive, is much more moderate and measured than that of the preceding year. Some of the subsidiary Reports, however, furnished from the West Indies, and which are of a date anterior to any possible knowledge of the intermediate controversy occurring in England, still partake of the imperfections we had ventured to charge on former statements of the same kind, and among which vagueness continues to be a prominent characteristic. This defect, we trust, will be obviated in another year; it being still exceedingly difficult, indeed almost impossible, to ascertain what is actually doing among the *slave* population, (whose case alone it is that we have meddled with,) in the way of education and religious instruction. We wish our readers here to bear in mind that it has never been our object, nor are we now disposed to blame the Society for not having done more good among the slaves, but for having raised our hopes higher than the circumstances of the case fairly warranted; and for not having more frankly told the public, in clear and distinct terms, the actual amount of what has been done or is doing for *the slave*, and what are the *real* obstacles to their own greater

efficiency. On these points we admit that the language of this Report is more explicit than the preceding; and we hail the improvement as a token for good. The Society's report of its progress in Jamaica, is to this effect.

"The Society perceives with *deep regret*, that the education and religious instruction of the negroes in the diocese of Jamaica, have *not* materially advanced in the course of the year 1828. The formation of a Branch Association for the parish of St. David, was announced by the Lord Bishop of the diocese in the spring of that year, and the prospect appeared encouraging; but subsequent accounts state that *there is no probability* of a catechist being employed on the estates in that part of the island, and *no other new association* has been established. The Bishop, in a recent communication, informs the Society, that *very little progress has been made by the negroes in reading, except in the principal towns*; and his Lordship further states, that the planters are *not disposed to permit more than oral instruction to be given to the slaves on their estates*. Even this," (that is, even oral instruction,) "it seems," say the Governors, "is still *far from general*. For the Bishop finds much difficulty in meeting with persons properly qualified for the office of catechists, and the planters are not willing to accept the services of those persons whom he has been enabled to engage." (Is it because they are not white, but coloured?) "His Lordship is, therefore, too often compelled to limit their employment to teaching in Sunday schools under the immediate eye of the parochial Clergyman."

The results of the Society's operations in the parish of St. Thomas in the East, are then adverted to as having "led the Society to expect an early and general extension of the system throughout the diocese of Jamaica."* And although these expectations *have not been realized*, it still sees, in the circumstances just mentioned, satisfactory proof that the undertaking, however difficult, is not impracticable. As long as catechists are not freely and generally admitted on estates, the instruction of the negroes is still to be commenced. But there is nothing in this undisputed fact to justify diminished exertion; on the contrary, since the obstacles are now clearly perceived, more active endeavours must be made to surmount them, until that which has been well begun in a *few* favoured spots, shall be gradually introduced into every plantation upon the island." (p. 3.) This sober statement gives us more satisfaction, as well as better hopes, than the early and sanguine reports of the Bishop.†

The obstacles, it is said, "are now clearly perceived." If so, we have still to complain that they are not clearly and distinctly pointed out to us by the framers of the Report. In Jamaica especially, Sunday continues, by law, a day of marketing. It is also for the slaves a day

* Certainly more has been done in St. Thomas in the East to instruct the slaves, than in all the other country parishes of the island together. Yet we are bound in truth to say, that the extent of the benefit there effected appears to us to have been greatly and injuriously exaggerated, while the formidable impediments, existing there as elsewhere, to the free course of education and instruction, have been studiously kept out of public view.

† See vol. i. No. 13, p. 189, and vol. ii. No. 30, p. 132.

of necessary labour in raising their provisions; for, though not followed in their own grounds by the driving-whip, as they are in the field, they must, nevertheless, until another day shall be given in lieu of Sunday, work on that day, or starve. We have, it is true, an occasional allusion in this Report to Sunday markets as an evil, but no distinct mention of the far more cruel and opprobrious necessity which, in most islands, is laid on the slaves, by the cupidity of the masters, to raise on that day the food required for themselves and their families. What can be the cause of the silence so systematically maintained on this point by a body of men, who at the same time manifest so laudable a zeal for the improvement of the poor degraded slaves? A few feeble and indistinct allusions to the subject occur indeed in the subsidiary Reports from the diocese of Barbadoes, but still in a way wholly inadequate to give a due impression of the extent and potency of this obstacle. The Report itself contains only a single incidental allusion, and that in the petty island of Bequia, (scarcely ever heard of before,) to Sunday labour in the provision grounds, as a prevailing practice; while in other places, expressions continue to be used, which are inconsistent with the known and admitted facts of the case.*

But we will not dwell at present on this very pregnant topic, of which so much was said in the closing numbers of our last volume, though hitherto with little effect, but advert to a second obstacle to the religious improvement of the slaves, which is wholly unnoticed in this Report. We mean that which is so clearly enounced in the circular despatch of Sir George Murray, of the 3d of September, 1829, viz. the entire absence in the West Indies, of any legislative provision for promoting the religious instruction of the slaves. (See No. 52, pp. 54, 55.) Without such provision, and especially when the absence of it is coupled with the prevailing want of a Sabbath for the slaves, it is obviously and utterly vain to hope for any material improvement in their moral and religious condition. The Report might have pointed at once, as the sufficient excuse and explanation of all those inefficiencies of its

* Of St. Kitt's, *e. g.* it is said, that Sunday markets "are *not completely* abolished," (p. 14.) The Report of 1827, had said something of the same extenuatory tendency, implying that the grievance arising from the want of a Sabbath was but trivial in St. Kitt's, where, in that respect, things had improved. We then felt it our duty to remark, (vol. ii. No. 41, p. 321.) that if the Society declined to contend for a Sabbath to the slaves, they ought not, at least, to impede that object by representing it as already effected when it was not effected. And we proceeded to shew, that by the law of St. Kitt's, which the Report spoke of as an improvement, "Sunday markets, instead of being abolished, had been continued, and," for the first time, "legalized; and that neither by that or by any other law of St. Kitt's was any time, no, not an hour in the week, given to the slave, for marketing, or to labouring *for himself*," (as it is unfairly and insidiously called,) "besides Sunday. In St. Kitt's the legislature, instead of recognising the sacredness of the Sabbath, have legalized its desecration!" They make it lawful to hold and continue Sunday markets till eleven in the forenoon, occupying thus nearly half of the day, even if we make no account of all the adjustments of bargains, the transfer and transport of purchases, and the journeying homewards of the sellers and buyers, which must follow this legal limit for keeping open the market-place. And this is the act which the Society exhibited as an improvement, and to which, we are sorry to say, they now again allude in a similar strain.

episcopal, clerical, and catechetical array, of which it so justly complains, to these two obstacles, and have added, in the words of one of its agents, "Until you amend these evils, all attempts to promote Christian knowledge will be vain and fruitless." And yet the Report, overlooking these, affirms that "the *chief* obstacle to religious instruction is to be found in the want of funds." p. 8.

Of the contents of that part of the present Report which respects the diocese of Barbadoes, we have already given a specimen in our last volume, No. 48, p. 473—475. On the whole, there appears to be more of activity, and, in some cases, less of prejudice and active resistance than in Jamaica; but it cannot be denied, that the operation of the obstacles to improvement to which we have already adverted, aided by the deep-rooted prejudices, and, may we not justly add, the cupidity of individuals, are not to be surmounted by any human means short of the direct interference of the British legislature. And to this point, the Society, and all who feel for either the temporal misery or the spiritual degradation of their negro brethren in the colonies, should direct their efforts and their prayers, as affording, under the divine blessing, the only rational hope of success.*

2. *The Coddington Estates.*

In a report of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, for the year 1828, are contained some scanty and unsatisfactory details respecting its slave plantations in Barbadoes. The greater part of these details consists of a kind of apologetical and somewhat egotistical retrospect of his labours, among the slaves belonging to them, by Mr. Pinder, their late chaplain. The account he now gives of his past pastoral labours, feelings, and experience, when read in connection with his former reports, and with what is known of the actual state of things on these estates, is not a little puzzling. It does not, indeed, profess to be a defence against the attacks levelled at the religious administration of the estates, but its whole structure shews it to have been framed for that particular purpose. If so, it is a lame and inadequate defence, and serves, when carefully examined, only to shew in stronger colours the great evils of the system in which this venerable Society has for so long a time been unhappily involved. We have, it is true, from Mr. Pinder, statements, that are almost dramatically impos-

* Let us not be supposed to bear too hard upon the planters in ascribing the difficulties experienced in the way of educating the slaves in part to their cupidity. Had we entertained any doubt on that point, the incidental notices contained in this report and its appendixes would have obviated them. We find that even in Antigua, standing above most of the colonies in the tolerant spirit it has shewn to missions and missionaries, many, nay, if we read aright, most of the planters refuse to the very children on their estates any time for instruction, during the week, but their own leisure time from twelve to two. "The children and such adults as please to devote their leisure time at noon to that purpose may then be instructed." (p. 53, &c.) So that the only time, from early dawn till night-fall, in which young or old can obtain instruction, during the week, seems to be the brief space allowed for repose and refreshment *after* seven hours toil in a tropical sun, and *before* renewing that toil for at least five hours more. In this point of view, the whole of the report from Antigua ought to be read with care. If many slaves obtain instruction under circumstances so adverse, who shall say one word in future of the inferiority of the negro character?

ing, both of his own efforts as a pastor, and of the moral influence of those efforts on the slaves. We hear of preaching and teaching, and pious speeches, and baptisms, and churchings, and confirmations, and fair professions, and participation in the sacrament, but in the midst of all this we hear of no marriage. All these partakers of baptism, of confirmation, of the Lord's Supper, seem to be living in the known and deliberate violation of the seventh commandment. Not one among them, young or old, not one even of the sixteen confirmed by the Bishop last year, appears to be an exception from this general and mournful description.

"Although," says Mr. Pinder, "the marriage of slaves was a point which I had at heart from the first, and formed one of the early regulations, still none could be prevailed on to marry, according to the rites of the church. No argument, no inducements were left untried." "This circumstance frequently occasioned me deep and heartfelt regret." And yet, in the very year of this reminiscence, 1824, we have in a statement published in 1829, by the Society, relative to Coddington College, (p. 19), an extract from one of its reports containing a communication, dated the very same year 1824, from the very same gentleman, which seems to us like a laboured apology for the non-existence of marriage among the slaves. But after what we have already written on this subject, (see our Second Volume, No. 45, p. 422, No. 47, p. 459, and No. 48, p. 479,) we need not now enlarge upon it. Only we must say that there is something incongruous in the circumstance, that a Society like this should publish a grave report of persons receiving baptism, confirmation, and the Lord's Supper, and professing all which those ceremonies imply, that is to say, professing to be christians, and spoken of as such; who, nevertheless, deliberately refuse to live in any other state than that of lawless and unchristian concubinage. We cannot comprehend what the standard is by which the claim to christianity is measured in Barbadoes, when those are received into its pale, and admitted and even invited to partake of its highest ordinances, who openly and deliberately set at nought its plainest injunctions. They will submit, it seems, to every mere rite or ceremony; they will repeat and assent to every article in the creed; they will utter any form of sound words, which is prescribed to them;—for these require no great sacrifice of any kind, not even the pains of understanding their meaning. But marriage seems, at least, to require some curb on sensuality, some restraint on animal appetite. And even this degree of restraint, to which the lowest heathens are found to submit, seems too much for these christians so called.

The Society itself, indeed, seem at length to have taken some such view of the subject. They say "they are sensible that it has ever (viz. since 1819,) formed a subject of urgent remonstrance with the Chaplain to point out the sin of continuing to form connexions without the sanction of matrimony, but they have observed with sorrow how little effect those remonstrances have produced either public or private. They have again entered on their journals a strong expression of their regret, that the efforts of the chaplain to promote marriage among the negroes have been attended with so little success; and, considering it

to be of the utmost importance, that no practicable method of effecting this desirable object should be spared, the Society have requested the Bishop of Barbadoes to consult with *the attorney of the estates*," (Mr. Clarke, see Vol. ii. No. 45, p. 420,) "as to the most efficient means of encouraging marriage among the negroes, assuring his Lordship of their readiness to co-operate with him to the very utmost of their means, even if it should be found necessary, at considerable pecuniary sacrifice in the prosecution of so pious and charitable a design." (p. 65.)—We are glad to witness even this step towards improvement; but the hope of its issuing in any material good proceeds, as it appears to us, on a misapprehension of the evil to be remedied. It is not the reluctance to marry, merely, which is to be overcome. The money of the Society, if they pay high enough, may effect marriages, such marriages, at least, as the laws of Barbadoes will alone sanction. It is the degraded, dehumanized, brutalized state of the animal, with whom they have to deal, which calls for a cure. It is the pressure of that yoke under which they hold him bowed down, which requires to be relieved. It is the law and the practice of slavery, that monstrous invasion of every divine and human right, which are in fault. And unless the Society set themselves, in the fear of God, to renounce their share in its guilt, they must not hope to succeed by such mere palliatives as these.

Mexico, in the last year, a year too for her of distress and difficulty, has issued a decree proclaiming every slave within her territory to be actually freed from bondage. This is an example worthy of the Society's imitation. Let them, therefore, in the same spirit, cleanse their hands from this stain. Let them say to these, their bondmen and bondwomen, "go forth from the house of your bondage;" and then may they confidently look for a blessing on their labours.

The Society details a new plan on which they are about to enter for enlarging their college in Barbadoes, for the theological education of an increased number of white students, the expense of which is to be defrayed from the produce of the labour of the black slaves. Now, would it not be a proceeding, both more just, and also more "lovely, and of good report," to provide first for the temporal and spiritual well-being of the blacks themselves, by delivering them from that state of bodily and mental degradation to which they are confessedly reduced, and in which they have been held by the Society for more than 120 years? The trust deed, if it stand in the way, can always be made to yield to an Act of Parliament.—No new measure is indicated in this Report for the improvement of the slaves, with the exception of the above resolution about marriage.

II.—MR. MACDONNELL'S PAMPHLET ON THE WEST INDIA QUESTION.

Mr. Alexander Macdonnell, formerly secretary of the committee of Demerara planters, and subsequently, we believe, of the West India Dock Company, has recently produced his periodical pamphlet on the West Indian question; which he addresses to the members of both Houses of Parliament. It does not appear to us to deserve any elaborate refutation, at least at our hands, because to the readers of our work it will carry with it its own refutation. The very prin-

ciple on which he sets out, and which is implied in the whole work, namely, that commercial gain is to be preferred to every other consideration, will scarcely find admission into any mind which places a due value on justice, mercy, and truth, even if our actual loss instead of gain, from the slave system, had not been proved beyond the possibility of reasonable question. (See Reports of the A. S. Society, 1 and 2, and A. S. Reporters, Vol. i. Nos. 17, 22, and 24.) We shall merely glance at a few of the subsidiary topics.

1. He opens again the question of free labour, after the mode, and according to the exploded theory, of Major Moody. In his discussion however, we can only find a single argument which does not stand fully refuted in the Edinburgh Review, and in the numbers of this Reporter, 27 and 31.

2. The single argument which is new is drawn from Mr. Mackenzie's official representation of the state of Hayti. Mr. Macdonnell's pamphlet, and our exposure of the great unfairness of that representation, (in our last number, No. 55.) were probably passing through the press at the same time. Had Mr. Macdonnell previously seen that exposure, he might not have been so forward in resting his case on so very weak and insufficient a proof. He relies upon it, however, as a veracious and irrefutable document. We have shewn it, we are bold to say, to be utterly unworthy of reliance. "It is impossible to doubt," says our author, "that this report of Mr. Mackenzie must produce a great sensation. *It touches upon all the contested points,*" (we had divined this to have been its object!) "and it is so *impartially and perspicuously drawn as to produce immediate conviction,*" p. 49.) The very slightest examination might have satisfied even Mr. Macdonnell of the absolute ridicule attaching to expressions of commendation so very wide of all resemblance, nay so ironically unlike.

3. We have next a proof (p. 21.) drawn from some statement of the late Lord Liverpool, (where to be found we know not) that it is calumnious to question the willingness, nay the zeal of the colonists to promote education and religious instruction among the slaves. The preceding pages of this number (167—172.) anticipate the answer to this extraordinary plea.

4. Then "the crime of slavery belongs to the mother country." Be it so;—then let the mother country forthwith cease from it, and make her children to cease from it also.

5. The object of all this stir about abolition on the part of the agitators, (it seems, is *patronage*. If this charge is intended to inform the Duke of Wellington, Sir George Murray, and the other administrators of places, employments, and pensions, they will know best how to value it. It is untrue, and if Mr. Macdonnell does not know that it is so, he must be wilfully ignorant.

6. Then comes a long discussion about compulsory manumission, being the pivot on which he seems to turn. (See Vol. i. No. 22, p. 323). We leave it to its native effect, without offering to disturb it.

7. As to all his lovely pictures of what Jamaica and the other colonies have done to make the slaves as happy as the day is long, we need only point to the abstracts of their statute books in our own pages. Almost every assertion he makes on the subject is substantially untrue.

8. He speaks of our slave colonies being *tyrannically governed* by the mother country, (p. 49.) This is really too ridiculous!

9. As for "spoliation of the rights of property," (p. 53.) Does the case of the West Indies differ from the case of the East Indies, or of the London Bridge?

10. Mr. Macdonnell further labours to prove that the feelings of proprietors resident in England and of the colonists are identical. So much the worse for the proprietors resident in England! We have always suspected it, notwithstanding their repeated disclaimers of any such identity.

11. He triumphs over the abolitionists for refusing to take part in the discussion before the Privy Council in 1827, on the compulsory manumission clause. He will find all he has said completely answered, by anticipation, in the Reporter, No. 31, p. 153, and No. 52, p. 59.

We shall no longer interrupt the passage of this work to its proper place.

III.—THE JAMAICA WATCHMAN.

A further series of this newspaper to the 14th of November has reached us, and it continues to maintain the novel ground, for a journal in a slave colony to

occupy, of free discussion. Among other things, it has made large extracts from Dr. Lushington's powerful exposition, in his unpublished letter to Mr. Courtney, of the iniquity of the proceedings of the Jamaica authorities, in the case of those oppressed individuals, Lecesne and Escoffery.*

The assembly of Jamaica had met, and had caught eagerly at an expression in the opening speech of Lord Belmore, in which they slyly assumed him to have taught them to expect, that His Majesty's Government would cease from further interference with their measures respecting the slave population. His Lordship's reply quickly dissipated this delusion. "I regret," he says, "that any expressions in my speech should have conveyed to your minds an expectation that His Majesty's Government had ceased any further interference in those measures which your local knowledge and experience may consider expedient for the improvement of the slave population. I should be wanting in candour to you and justice to myself, did I not distinctly disavow any such pledge."

The rejected slave bill of 1826 had again been introduced to the assembly, and notice had also been given, by Mr. Barrett, of a bill for enlarging the franchises of the free black and coloured population, which was supported by petitions from the whites in one or two parishes.

On the subject of the desecration of the Sabbath, there occur some spirited and judicious remarks. "This island," they say, "has been termed with emphasis a Christian country,"—but how, they ask, can this arrogated title be justified in the view of Kingston on a Sunday? Looking there, "the *boast* will vanish like the mist in a morning." Again, says a correspondent, "The Sabbath is in this country most awfully violated, I have witnessed its violation even from my youth in many ways, but more especially in the article of traffic." And then, arguing against those who maintain that their temporal interests would suffer, if by setting apart "Sunday as a day of religious instruction for the slaves," one day's labour were thus withdrawn "out of the general and accustomed aggregate of work;" he adds, that when he beholds *that* one day out of the seven, which should be set apart for higher objects, "so openly and *so legally* profaned;" when he beholds "the multitudes of subordinate individuals" (a periphery for slaves) "for whom we stand accountable at the awful day of reckoning, *debarred* of the means of grace and salvation, he confesses that he is tempted to doubt whether our legislature possess any religion at all."

We are glad to see, by a circular addressed by the Jamaica government to the senior magistrate of each parish, that Sir George Murray has conveyed "the commands of His Majesty that, in the colony of Jamaica, the presiding judge should take down in writing a complete note of all the proceedings at every criminal trial, (of slaves as well as persons of free condition,) and especially of all evidence given *viva voce* in open court;" and it is added, "I am now further to signify to you His Majesty's pleasure, that in every case of capital conviction, you do respite the execution of the sentence until you shall have received and perused the judge's notes; and whenever a capital sentence shall have been carried into effect, you will report the case to me, transmitting at the same time a copy of the judge's notes and report."

* It seems hardly necessary to apprise our readers, that these suffering and meritorious individuals, the objects of an unjust and inveterate persecution, have lately prosecuted to conviction, in the Court of King's Bench, the publisher of a false, foul, and infamous attack on their characters, contained in a work of the noted but *Reverend* G. W. Bridges, entitled the "Annals of Jamaica," and which the charge of Lord Tenterden and the verdict of a jury have pronounced to be a wicked and malicious libel.

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.

ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER.

No. 57.]

FOR FEBRUARY, 1830. [No. 9. Vol. iii.]

The "ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER" will be forwarded to 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, on application at the Society's office, No. 18, Aldermanbury. Single copies may be had of all booksellers and newsmen, at the rate of 1d. per half-sheet of eight pages.

- I. THE COST OF NEGRO SLAVERY.
- II. SLAVE TRADE IN THE WEST INDIES.
- III. DISLOYAL SPIRIT OF THE JAMAICA ASSEMBLY
- IV. TRADE OF HAYTI.

I.—THE COST OF NEGRO SLAVERY.

WE have thought it right, especially at the present season of financial pressure and national distress, to take a brief view of the *cost of Slavery*. We have adopted as our basis a statement which appeared about two years ago in the public newspapers, and which was then put into the hands of a leading Member of the Finance Committee. In now giving it a place in the Anti-Slavery Reporter, we have been at pains to correct and verify its details by an inspection of the parliamentary documents on which it professes to be founded; and have modified such of the proportional estimates as appeared to us to be erroneous. The result is a reduction on the whole of about £70,000, of the amount of the former estimate. We need not specify the particulars of this variation; since in order that the public may be able to judge of the fairness of the account as it now stands, we have assigned, in most cases, the grounds of our calculations. The precise time to which the statement more particularly refers, is the year 1827. What alterations may have since taken place we have no satisfactory means of knowing. It may, however, be assumed, that the expenditure of 1828 and 1829 cannot have varied very materially from that of 1827. On all those points, however, which are matter of mere calculation and inference, our readers will form their own conclusions. No one will deny, that at least the subject is one, at this time especially, which is well worthy of a more careful investigation than we have the means of bestowing upon it.

I.—ARMY.

One great difficulty which we have found in accurately ascertaining the expense incurred by this country on account of our Slave Colonies, has arisen from uncertainty respecting the exact amount of the military and naval force stationed there. We know of no official documents to which access can be had by the public, and which convey clear information as to the distribution of our land and sea forces. The facts of the case, must, therefore, often be collected from a variety of sources, and must often be matters of inference rather than of statement. The only intimation we

can find respecting the number of troops stationed in the West Indies, appears in a speech of Lord Palmerston, on the 7th of March, 1826, in which he thus states the distribution of our military force, viz.—83 regiments of the line, of which 9 were stationed in Great Britain, (exclusive of cavalry, the foot-guards, artillery, &c. &c.) 23 in Ireland, 31 on foreign stations, and 20 in the West Indian Colonies.

Assuming this statement to be correct, we may ascertain pretty nearly the military expense of these Colonies.—We learn from the estimates printed for the use of the House of Commons, on the 22d February, 1827, No. 58, that each regiment of the line costs, for *pay, daily allowance, clothing, and agency*, with certain small allowances to the *field-officers*, about £25,100 per annum.

Twenty regiments, at 25,100*l.* each, is 502,000*l.*;—making nearly two-elevenths of the whole expense of the army, under the above heads of pay, allowance, clothing, agency, and allowance to the field-officers; that whole expense being stated in the above estimates (p. 5) to be 2,794,000*l.* . . . £502,000

Certain other West Indian expenses, connected with the army, may be assumed to stand in the same relative proportion, viz.

The whole army pay of general officers was, by the estimates of 1826, 156,862*l.*; two-elevenths of this sum amounts to nearly 28,000

The whole expense of medicines by the same estimate, was 17,518*l.*, of which two-elevenths is 3,100

The whole expense of the general and hospital staff, by the same estimate, was 120,472*l.*, two-elevenths of which would be 21,904*l.* In this instance, however, we happen to have access to know what proportion of the sum is applicable to the West Indies. At page 16 of the army estimates for 1827, (No. 58) we have it thus stated, as drawn from the expenditure of previous years:—

Windward and Leeward Islands	18,181	11	3	
Bahamas and Bermuda	793	17	6	
Jamaica and Honduras	6729	13	9	
				25,765

This shews the moderation of our mode of estimation, this sum being more than a fifth of the whole expense under this head, instead of two-elevenths.

The next items to be noticed, are those which occur under the following heads, as taken from the estimates of 1826:—

The Royal Military College and Asylum	£38,700
Full-pay to retired officers, and half-pay	894,030
In and out-pensioners of Chelsea	1,334,837
Widows' pensions and Compassionate fund	322,837
Exchequer fees	33,000

Making a sum of £2,623,404

Now, although it is evident that of these different burdens the West Indies, considering their unhealthiness, ought to bear even more than the equal proportion of two-elevenths;

yet, as in time of war, the proportion of force in the West Indies, to the whole force, was not so great as now, we will take for the West Indies only an eighth of the whole; and we seem to be justified in taking not less than this proportion, by a consideration of the multitudes who die, leaving widows and children, or who irreparably ruin their health by West Indian service. Sir Henry Hardinge is reported to have stated that, of three regiments in Jamaica containing about 2700 men, a third part had died in one season; the very expense of replacing whom, independently of all the other effects of climate, disease, &c. could not be attended with a loss of less than from 50*l.* to 100*l.* per man.—Taking then an eighth of the above sum, we have an expenditure under this head of 327,925*l.*

The amount of miscellaneous charges for the whole army, including the recruiting service and various contingencies, as passage money, &c. is 361,570*l.* Of this sum, considering how largely West Indian sickness and mortality draw both on the recruiting service and on the charge for transporting officers and men, we may fairly take the same proportion of an eighth part, viz. 45,196*l.*

The expense of the various public departments connected with the army, stands in the estimate of 1826, at 115,523*l.* and the allowances for superannuation and retirement at 48,236*l.*, together 163,759*l.* Of this sum, however, we will charge to the West Indies only a twentieth part, say 8,188*l.*

But besides this, there is a large annual expense incurred under the head of army extraordinaries. We have, in a paper printed by the House of Commons on the 23d of Feb. 1827, (No. 87), a distinct account of the expense incurred under this head in the West Indies, in the year ending 5th January, 1825; and we may assume that year's expenditure not to differ materially from what may have been incurred in the succeeding years. It was as follows:

Bermuda	£5,938	
Bahama	4,688	
Jamaica and Honduras	34,891	
Windward and Leeward Islands	146,421	191,938
		<hr/>
		£1,132,112

2.—ORDNANCE.

It does not clearly appear how many companies of the artillery regiments were stationed in the West Indies. In 1824 there were four companies in Jamaica alone. We cannot, therefore, allow less in 1826 for the whole West Indies than ten companies. The expense of the entire regiment, consisting in all of seventy-two companies, for pay, clothing, allowances, agency, &c. is 284,154*l.* or 3,946*l.* per company, this for ten companies, is 39,460*l.*

The extraordinary ordnance expenses appear to be as follows, as stated in the paper, No. 87, of February 23, 1827, for Bermuda, Bahama, Jamaica, Honduras, and the Windward and Leeward Islands 100,674

The amount of superannuations, half-pay pensions, &c. belonging to this branch of service is 377,706*l.* In the case of the land forces we took only an eighth for the West Indies. Here we shall take only a tenth, a small part of the sum being for civil superannuations 37,770

The civil establishments at home, and the medical establishments, amount together to 65,655*l.* Of this we will only take one-twentieth 3,282

Besides the above, there is a charge for the repair and erection of barracks in the West Indies, and for the salaries of barrack-masters, (No. 49, of 9th February, 1827, page 43 to 46) amounting to 79,624

3.—COMMISSARIAT.

The whole expense of the commissariat department for Great Britain and Ireland, is (per No. 84, of 23rd February, 1827) 449,840*l.* Of this amount a sum of about 28,000*l.* is specifically West Indian, to which, if one tenth part of the half-pay and widows' pensions, 5,500*l.* be added, it will make in all 33,500

Total military expense £1,426,422

4.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Expense of colonial department, one fourth of 21,000 <i>l.</i>	£5250	
Civil establishments of Bahama and Bermuda . . .	7221	
Salaries to governors	2442	
Passages to the West Indies (No. 151 of March 9, 1827, page 10 and 11),	1655	
West Indian Commissioners	9472	
Major Moody and Clerk	911	
Mail boat, seals, &c.	750	
Crown negroes	2222	
Commission to Anguilla	400	
New churches	8000	
House rent for bishops, &c.	700	
		39,023

5.—NAVY.

There remains the *naval* expense of the West Indies. The whole expense of our navy in 1827 was 6,125,850*l.* (estimates of 1827, No. 47, p. 27). What part of this sum is chargeable to the West Indies, it is difficult to ascertain, chiefly from the want of correct data.—The force stationed there is no where given officially. On reference to Steel's navy list, it appears that there were about 4300 guns in com-

mission altogether at this period, and that about 450 of these were in the West Indies, making more than a tenth of the whole. This proportion, however, will apply only to a part of the navy estimates, viz. : 1st. the wages and victuals for the seamen amounting (p. 3), to £1,579,000

And 2d, the cost of army provisions and charges of transport 479,000

Making together 2,058,000

One tenth of this sum is 205,800

Of the half-pay and pensions, &c. a similar proportion will be taken, though in the case of the West Indies it ought to be more. The whole sum is 1,547,360*l.*, of which a tenth is 154,736

The expense of the public departments of the navy is 184,107*l.* We here take only one-fiftieth 3,682

The expense of the yards at home, of the labourers employed there, and of timber and stores for building and repairing ships is about 1,645,000*l.* Here we take only one twenty-fifth, though, considering the injurious effects of a West India climate on ships as well as men, it ought to be much more 65,800

Besides this, there are certain specific charges incurred in the West Indies, and paid for by this country, which are as follows :

Naval department for Bermuda, the Leeward Islands, and Jamaica, (see No. 87, of Feb. 23, 1827, p. 17, 21, and 23) 66,340

Naval Hospital Establishment for the West Indies, (see No. 47, of 8th of Feb. 1827, p. 19) 11,905

Victualling Establishment, Stores, Keepers, Clerks, &c. (see No. 47, of 8th of Feb. 1827, p. 14, 15, 16) 12,478

530,741

£1,996,186

Here then, if our estimate be correct, we have an actual outlay on the West Indian Colonies of nearly two millions chiefly for the support of slavery. But besides this, we have to add the expense of the Mauritius.—The Cape of Good Hope, indeed, is also a slave colony, but its circumstances and the sources of its expenditure are so peculiar, that we have thought it expedient to omit it entirely. With respect to the Mauritius, as far as we are enabled to judge, by an examination of parliamentary documents, and by a view of its comparative population, and other circumstances, we are disposed to think that its cost amounts to about one eighth part of that of the whole of the West Indies. But that we may not exceed the truth, we will estimate it at only a tenth part, or a farther sum of £199,618, making the actual

amount wrung in taxes from our distressed population for the direct maintenance of slavery £2,195,804.

Even that enormous amount, however, is but a part of what it costs to maintain this cruel and criminal system. On all sugar exported from this country, we are made, by our fiscal arrangements, to pay, under the name of drawback, what is, in fact, a bounty, to the extent of at least 5s. 3d. per cwt., or £5. 5s. a ton. The grounds of this estimate may be seen in our First Volume, No. 24, and we believe it to be below the truth, in consequence of the farther improvements which have been recently introduced into the process of sugar refining. The effect of this bounty, however, whatever be its precise amount, has been often shewn, and is now, indeed, universally admitted to be, an enhancement to the same extent of the price paid by the British consumers on all the sugar they consume, in short, a rise in the price of all sugar brought into this country from British possessions (all other sugar being excluded from home consumption) of five guineas a ton. Estimating the quantity so imported at 225,000 tons, (in 1829, it was no less than 236,000,) the enhancement of price thus produced would amount to no less a sum than £1,181,250, drawn annually from the pockets of our suffering population.

If the correctness of this calculation be questioned by the sugar planters, all we ask is a Committee to investigate the facts of the case. This has been repeatedly demanded in Parliament, and as often refused; the whole of the West Indian influence having always been exerted, and for very obvious reasons, to prevent such inquiry.

Here then, we appear to have an aggregate amount of £3,377,054, levied upon the people of this country, in the way either of direct tax, or of factitious enhancement of price, for the support of slavery. But even this is not all which they are forced to endure for the purpose of maintaining this system of crime and cruelty. Besides the bounty of five guineas a ton, and the consequent enhancement of price to that extent of all the sugar we consume, the sugars of the West Indies and the Mauritius are protected against the sugar of British India, indeed against that of all other British possessions, by an extra duty levied upon it of £10. a ton, being about 50 per cent. on the prime cost; and by a prohibitory duty on all foreign sugars. Nor is it sugar alone, grown by slaves, which is thus protected from the competition of free labour in our own dominions, but the duties on various other articles of general consumption, as coffee, cocoa, rum, cotton-wool, turmeric, dye-woods, mahogany, hides, &c., are so regulated as greatly to favour the slave-owner. (See Vol. I. No. 22, p. 318). To what extent these protecting duties may directly operate in advancing the price of the various slave-grown articles, which it is the policy of our Government to encourage in preference to the same articles when produced by free labour, it would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to determine; but no one will think that we estimate the whole at a very extravagant rate, when we estimate it at half a million of money, thus swelling the absolute drain on the resources of this country, for the purpose of supporting slavery, to £3,877,054 annually.

But even this enormous sum, of nearly four millions, exacted from the

people of this country for a purpose so odious, is probably not more injurious to the general interests of the British empire, than are the less direct effects of this most unwise and mischievous policy, which, at the same time, cramps the commerce of Great Britain, and paralyses the productive industry of the 90 or 100 millions of our Asiatic fellow-subjects. The heavy imposts laid on their raw products, (the only returns they can make for our exports,) are, to them, most unjust and oppressive; while they abridge our suffering manufacturers of a ready and extensive market, and thus contribute to keep them in their present state of depression and poverty. And for what is it that we thus sacrifice their comfort and happiness, and the just claims of our fellow-subjects in the East? Is it not to satisfy the cupidity of a few thousand rapacious slave-owners, and to indemnify them for the waste of human life which their exactions occasion? But we will not now dwell on the ruinous policy of such a system. We have already done so at great length, and our readers have only to refer to our second volume, No. 32, p. 176, for a list of the works which they may consult on the subject. We should be still more anxious, indeed, to press upon them the moral than even the financial and political evils, which are the result of the present system; but on this part of the subject also we have so often expatiated, that it seems superfluous to enlarge upon it now. Suffice it to remind our readers, that the colonial slavery, which we uphold at a cost so enormous, is a crime of the very deepest dye, of which we, the British nation, thus permit ourselves to be made the guilty participators. It is a crime too of which the miseries, while they only exist by our authority, are perpetuated and aggravated by the direct support and encouragement which slavery receives from our blind and infatuated policy, adopted and pursued in opposition to the clearest dictates of humanity and justice, and in the conscious infringement of every obligation which we owe both to God and man.

II.—SLAVE TRADE IN THE WEST INDIES.

AN active slave trade appears to have been carried on of late for supplying the enormous waste of negro life in Trinidad. The growing population of Barbadoes has supplied the victims of this nefarious and piratical traffic. On the 30th of November last, a Barbadian, of the name of Franklin, who had been detected in carrying it on, was brought to trial in Barbadoes, on an indictment for the felony. The law of the case was unquestionable. The evidence for the prosecution (we have seen an abstract of it), appeared decisive. But the Grand Jury, to whom it was submitted, refused to find the Bill of Indictment, and the accused has therefore been discharged. Some of the slaves, imported by him into Trinidad, had been prosecuted to conviction there by the officers of the customs, and condemned to the Crown, for the purpose of being set at liberty, the penalty of £100 sterling for each of the slaves so condemned, being inflicted on the importer, a fact, which, with many others, equally conclusive, was laid before the Grand Jury. The Grand Jury, nevertheless, ignored the Bill, thus refusing even to refer to judicial investigation, a case of such *prima facie* criminality. We

have reason to believe, that our Government have been made acquainted with this extraordinary transaction, and we conclude that they will order a strict inquiry to be instituted into all the particulars of it without delay. We abstain, therefore, in the mean time from any further details or comments, until the result of the inquiry shall be known. The conduct of the custom-house officers of Barbadoes appears to have been marked by culpable negligence in this instance, and, we trust, that it will be reviewed by their superiors.

III.—DISLOYAL SPIRIT OF THE JAMAICA ASSEMBLY.

IN a debate, which occurred in the Assembly of Jamaica, in the month of December last, on the subject of a dispute, which has arisen between them and the Secretary of State, respecting certain custom-house regulations, the most violent language was employed by some of the speakers, who even went so far as to threaten a disruption of their ties with Great Britain, intimating their persuasion that the United States of America would gladly take Jamaica under their protection. The Editor of the *Watchman*, (the paper of the people of colour,) in commenting on this line of argument, thus vehemently expresses himself,

“We can tell Mr. Barret, and every contumacious Member of the House of Assembly, that if America had ten times the population she possesses, she would find herself incapable of wresting this or any other of the colonies from the mighty grasp of the parent state.” “Jamaica would rise in mass.” “Before the tocsin of war is sounded, the House of Assembly would do well to commence the system of exterminating the coloured population, who are loyal to a man.”

“Is the Assembly of Jamaica aware,” he adds, “that if they dared to unfurl the flag of rebellion, every man of them would be hanged in twenty-four hours, without reference to judge or jury? England has a standing army in her loyal and devoted subjects of Jamaica, so that the puny threat of a seditious Assembly, excites only a return of ridicule and contempt.”

IV.—TRADE OF HAYTI.

IN a bulky parliamentary document of last Session, numbered 578, and entitled, “Papers relating to the American Tariff,” we have discovered the following facts respecting the trade of Hayti with the United States. The exports from the United States to Hayti appear to consist of fish, oil, naval stores, cheese, flour, lumber, carriages, hats, saddlery, beer, shoes, iron, copper and brass ware, gunpowder, &c.; and the paper to which we refer, (p. 178,) states, that in the last year, (1826,) “the export trade with Hayti, despised Hayti, in domestic products, amounted to 1,251,910 dollars, equal to the whole of our exports to Russia, Prussia, Sweden and Norway, Denmark, Spain and Portugal.” And yet this is but a portion of that Haytian trade which Mr. Mackenzie has laboured so assiduously to depreciate.

ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER.

No. 58.]

FOR MARCH, 1830.

[No. 10. Vol. iii.

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- I. NEW SLAVE CODE OF CROWN COLONIES, WITH OBSERVATIONS.
II. ANTI-SLAVERY ASSOCIATIONS—
1. YORKSHIRE PROTESTANT DISSENTERS. 2. HULL AND EAST RIDING.

I.—NEW SLAVE CODE OF CROWN COLONIES, WITH OBSERVATIONS.

SEVEN years have now elapsed since, on the motion of His Majesty's Ministers, Resolutions were unanimously adopted in Parliament for taking early, effectual, and decisive measures to raise the slave population of the British colonies to a participation in the rights of His Majesty's other subjects; in other words, for wholly abolishing the condition of slavery throughout the dominions of His Majesty. Our readers are aware that even at this late period, little, or rather nothing effectual or decisive has yet been done towards the promised end. If any fresh proof were required of this painful fact, in addition to those which the Anti-Slavery Reporter has furnished from month to month, it would be found in "An Order of the King in Council," laid before Parliament on the 8th of February last, "for consolidating the several laws for improving the condition of the slaves in His Majesty's Colonies of Trinidad, Berbice, Demerara, St. Lucia, the Cape of Good Hope, and Mauritius." When we first heard of this Order, we indulged a sanguine hope that at length, after seven years of patient expectation, and of protracted deliberation and discussion, the solemn pledges of the Government were about to be redeemed, at least as regarded those colonies where the Crown possessed the power of legislating without control. It would be difficult to express the feelings of disappointment with which we have perused it. Before we venture, however, to indulge in those reflections which the occasion seems to call for, we shall lay before our readers a faithful abstract of the Order, which, we may presume, embodies the latest and most matured views of His Majesty's Government on the subject of Colonial Reform. It is so obvious that an accurate knowledge of those views is necessary both to ascertain and to justify any new line of effort, which this crisis in the progress of our cause may require, that we need to offer no apology for the space we may allot to it. Without farther preface, therefore, we proceed to exhibit an accurate analysis of this important document.

SECTION 1 repeals all the laws for improving the condition of the slaves in the crown colonies of Trinidad, Berbice, Demerara, St. Lucia, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Mauritius, passed since March 1824.

§. 2—4 provide that his Majesty shall appoint in each of these colonies a protector of slaves, who shall take an oath faithfully to perform the duties of his office, without fear, favour, or partiality, and shall keep and preserve all records, books and papers connected with those duties.

§. 5 enacts that no protector of slaves shall himself be the owner of any slaves, nor have any share or interest in, or any mortgage or security upon any slave; nor be the proprietor of, nor have any interest in any land cultivated by slaves; nor be competent to act as manager, or agent of any plantation or estate in the colony to which he is appointed. And if he shall acquire or possess in his own or his wife's right, or as guardian, trustee, or executor of others, any slave or any land cultivated by slaves, or any share or interest in such land or slaves, or shall act as manager, agent, or attorney for such property, he shall thenceforth *de facto* cease to be such protector, and some other fit person shall be forthwith appointed in his place. The protector, however, may *hire* slaves for domestic purposes, provided he shall first make it appear to the satisfaction of the Governor that he cannot hire free persons to perform such services.

§. 6—8 empower the Governor to provide temporarily for the necessary absence from ill health, or for the removal, resignation, or death of the protector; and also to appoint assistant protectors in each district into which the colony may be divided, to aid under the protector's instructions in executing the duties of his office.

§. 9—11 prohibit protectors or their assistants from acting "as magistrates or otherwise," in deciding any complaint made by or against a slave, or in punishing any offence committed by or against a slave; and require that in the case of all prosecutions of slaves for capital or transportable offences, or of other persons for the murder of a slave, or for any offence against the person of a slave; and in the case of all suits affecting the freedom of any alleged slave, or the rights of property of any slave; the same notices shall be given to the protector or his assistant as by law are given to persons of free condition. It is further required that the protector or his assistant shall be present, on behalf of the slave, at the trial and other proceedings in such suits and prosecutions; and also that if any complaint is made to the protector or any of his assistants, of any injury done to a slave, or if the protector or his assistant shall know of such injury, it shall be their duty to inquire into the case, and, if he shall see it expedient so to do, to bring a civil action or institute a prosecution, as the case may be, and shall conduct such proceeding to its close by himself or by an advocate or solicitor.

§. 12—20 respect Sunday markets and Sunday labour. Sunday markets are henceforth abolished, and are absolutely to cease and determine, and persons holding such markets or exposing goods for sale on Sunday, shall be fined from five shillings to twenty. Another day in each week shall be appointed by the Governor for the market, on which day slaves shall be free from arrest on any civil process whatever.

No slave shall be liable to labour for the benefit of his owner or of any other person on a Sunday, and any one compelling, hiring or inducing him to do so may be fined from one to three pounds. From this prohibition are excepted domestic labour, and labour in tending cattle, and "works of necessity;" such "works of necessity" to be previously defined and regulated by the Governor's proclamation, and not to be required of the slave without previous notice to the protector or his assistant. If, however, the necessity be so urgent as not to admit of notice previously, it must be given within forty-eight hours after, otherwise the fine will be levied; it being always provided that the necessity shall be such as had been defined and specified beforehand in the Governor's proclamation.

§. 21 makes it "henceforth illegal" for any person "while superintending the labour of a slave or slaves in any agricultural or manufacturing operation, to carry any whip, cat, or other instrument usually employed in the punishment of slaves," or to "exhibit it as an emblem of authority," or to strike, beat, or scourge a slave with any such whip, &c., except for the punishment of some fault previously committed; and any person offending in any of these instances, or who shall direct, authorise, or procure, or assist in, the commission of such offence, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanour.

§. 22—24 prohibit entirely the flogging of females, except under ten years of age, and in the manner and degree in which children of that age are punished at school; and, leaving the infliction of severer punishments to competent courts, permit owners to flog males to the extent of twenty-five stripes for any offence and on the same day, provided no unhealed laceration from former punishment shall remain on the person of the slave, and provided also that one free person, or, if no free person can be procured, six adult slaves, be-

sides the person inflicting or authorising the punishment, shall be present to witness it. The violation of this clause is punishable as a misdemeanour.

§. 25 authorises the Governor by proclamation to prescribe, with all practicable precision, the mode in which offences of female slaves, heretofore punishable by whipping, shall thenceforward be punished, either by imprisonment or the stocks, or in such other mode as may be specially authorised in the proclamation, which shall also contain rules for preventing and punishing abuses in the infliction of such substituted modes of punishment.

§. 26—36 require masters and managers to keep, in a prescribed form, a regular record of all arbitrary punishments inflicted by them on slaves employed in any agricultural or manufacturing labour, and to make a half-yearly return of such record to the protector, in which every required particular shall be specified, the neglect or non-performance being punishable as a misdemeanour.

§. 37—41 regulate the marriages of slaves and require them to be recorded, and declare them, when solemnized, under the protector's licence, by any clergyman, or other religious teacher not carrying on any secular trade except that of schoolmaster, to be valid and effectual in law. A proviso is added that marriage shall not invest slaves or their progeny with any rights at variance with the legal title of the owners to the service of such slaves or their progeny, or with the duties slaves are bound to render to their owners.

§. 42—44 declare that no slave shall be incompetent to purchase, acquire, possess, enjoy, alienate, or bequeath property of any amount or description whatsoever (excepting slaves, boats or vessels, gunpowder and military weapons;) or to bring, prosecute and defend any action in any court of justice, in respect to such property, in the same manner as if he were free; it being provided, however, that no slave shall be liable to be taken in execution in any civil suit or process to which he is himself a party.

§. 45—51 prohibit the separation of husband and wife, parent and child under sixteen years of age, or such relations by repute, either by judicial sale, or by private contract, or by conveyance, or by will; and prescribe the measures to be taken, in doubtful cases, to ascertain the relationship by repute of husband and wife, parent and child. All sales whatever in violation of this law shall be null and void; it being provided, however, that if persons in the relation of parent and child shall fully and freely consent to a separation, and the protector is satisfied as to such consent, and also that the separation will not be injurious to the parties, then he may authorise such separation.

§. 52 abolishes all fees of office and all duties on acts of manumission, except a fee of twenty shillings, to be paid from the public revenue, for the enrolment of each of such acts.

§. 53—56. The manumission of slaves with the master's consent may be effected either by will or by deed at pleasure. When done gratuitously by deed, if the slave be under six or above fifty years of age, or infirm or diseased in mind or body, the owner shall enter into a bond for £200. to secure that such child shall be properly maintained till the age of fourteen, and such adult for life; but when done gratuitously by will, no bond shall be required, but instead thereof the testator's estate shall continue chargeable for maintenance as aforesaid. When owners are willing to contract with a slave for his freedom, at a price to be agreed upon between them through the agency of the protector, the protector is required to take certain measures, and to give certain public notices, in order to ascertain the right of the alleged owner to manumit the slave, and having done so, he shall proceed to prepare, and execute, and enrol the deed of manumission.

§. 57—69. When the owner or other person interested in a slave is unwilling, when applied to, to manumit him, or unable from mortgage, minority, idiocy, absence or other cause to do so; or when the slave seeking to be manumitted is the subject of a pending suit; or when a higher price is demanded for the slave's freedom than to the protector appears just; then and in all these cases, after certain prescribed notices, the protector and owner or manager shall be required by the chief civil judge to nominate each an appraiser, the judge himself nominating an umpire, and also the appraiser on behalf of the owner or manager if he shall refuse or omit to do so; and the persons so named, being duly sworn, shall make a fair and impartial appraisement of the slave within seven days, and

within seven days more shall certify the same to the chief judge ; and the award so made shall be conclusive ; it being provided, however, that should it be made to appear to the judge within one month that the valuation had been unjustly or fraudulently, or improperly made, then he may set it aside, and appoint new appraisers and a new umpire, and so on *toties quoties*, while there remains any just ground to complain of injustice or fraud ; and it being also provided that if the price of the slave to be manumitted is not paid within three months after enrolment, the enrolment shall be cancelled, and no proceedings for the manumission of the same slave shall be again instituted till after twelve months. When the enrolment shall have been made and the money paid into the hands of the treasurer of the colony, the slave shall be declared and adjudged free, and the money shall either remain in the hands of the treasurer, bearing an interest of 5 per cent. or be laid out in purchasing another slave, or be invested in the public funds of Great Britain, subject to all the uses, trusts and claims to which the manumitted slave was liable. The Governor shall frame a moderate table of fees on these proceedings, to be paid in certain specified cases by the slave, and in certain others by the owner ; and the chief judge shall make rules for the due exercise of his jurisdiction in these matters.—The following three rules are prescribed in the Order itself. 1. The appraisers shall consider the qualities of the slave proposed to be manumitted, and his skill in domestic service or in other labour whatsoever, with any other facts or circumstances which ought to influence their judgment as to the price to be paid by such slave. 2nd. If it shall be alleged by or on behalf of the master, that the money to be paid for the freedom of a slave, or any part of it has been acquired, by such slave, by means of a donation *inter vivos* made to enable such slave to purchase freedom, the chief judge may stay the enrolment till he shall have inquired into the truth of the allegation, and if found true, then the judge shall stay further proceedings, but without prejudice to the future renewal of them ; but if not proved, the chief judge shall proceed to record the slave's freedom. 3d. If the owner or manager of a slave proposed to be manumitted, shall allege that such slave had, within the five preceding years, committed any robbery or theft, and the allegation be proved, the judge is required to order all further proceedings, with a view to the manumission of the slave, to be stayed till the expiration of five years from the date of such theft or robbery.

§. 70 enacts that no person shall henceforth be deemed incompetent to give evidence in any civil or criminal court, or in any proceeding whatever, by reason that such person is in a state of slavery ; but that the evidence of slaves shall, in all courts and for all purposes, be received in the same manner as the evidence of free persons ; Provided that this shall not prevent any court or jury, judge or magistrate, from adverting to the servile condition of any witness, or to the relation in which he may stand to any other person, in estimating the credit due to his testimony.

§. 71. If any person shall be convicted, of having inflicted or authorised an illegal and cruel punishment, or of any cruelty towards his slave, it shall be in the discretion of the court to declare the interest of the person so convicted in such slave forfeited to His Majesty, in addition to any other punishment that may be pronounced on the offender ; it being provided that no other person than the party offending shall be deprived of any right or interest he may have in such slave.

§. 72. No slave shall be liable to be punished for preferring, and failing to establish, any complaint against his owner or manager, unless such complaint shall have originated in some malevolent or culpable motive ; and in any such case, such slave shall be liable to be punished, under the authority of any court or magistrate, upon proof being made in a summary way before such court or magistrate, that the complaint was without foundation, and originated in a malevolent and culpable motive.

§. 73. Erasures, interlineations, falsifications, or the destruction of books or records connected with this Order, are punishable as misdemeanours.

§. 74. Misdemeanours are punishable by fine of from £10 to £500, or by imprisonment from one to twelve months, or by both fine and imprisonment.

§. 75. Perjuries are punishable as other perjuries are punishable by the laws of the particular colony.

§. 76. The protector is to prosecute for fines and forfeitures, one third of which shall go to himself, and two thirds to His Majesty.

§. 77. The courts, judges, and magistrates, who are to have jurisdiction in the matters contained in this Order; and the manner in which penalties shall be sued for, and the protector shall execute the duties of his office; shall be pointed out in a proclamation of the Governor conformably to the laws and usages existing in the colonies respectively.

§. 78. The fines, &c., shall be taken to be sterling money.

§. 79. All proclamations of Governors, and all rules of court, authorised by this Order, shall be consistent with and not repugnant to it, and, till disallowed by His Majesty, shall have the force of law.

§. 80. The protectors are, on the first Mondays after the 24th of June and 25th of December in each year, to make a written report, on oath, to the Governor, of the manner in which their various duties have been performed, and then and not before shall be paid their salary; such report to be transmitted to the Colonial Secretary of State by the first opportunity.

§. 81. Explains the meaning to be affixed to various terms in this Order.

§. 82. The Governor of each colony shall make known this Order, by proclamation, within one month after it shall be received by him; and it shall be in force in fourteen days after the date of such proclamation, and not before.

We shall now proceed to review the different provisions of this enactment in the order in which they stand, concluding the whole with some general observations.

1. *Protectors and Assistant Protectors.* § 2—4.

By the former Order for Trinidad, a Protector was debarred from possessing, or being interested in, plantations cultivated by slaves, in the particular colony to which he was appointed; but he might there possess any number of slaves not attached to plantations, and might also possess plantations worked by slaves in any other colony. He is now prohibited from holding a slave himself, or being in any way interested in slaves, as property; he may not even hire slaves as domestics, unless driven by necessity to do so.—This is unquestionably a great practical improvement. It recognises also a principle of the very highest importance—the total unfitness, in the view of unprejudiced men, of the owners of slaves to be intrusted with the task of either legislating for them, or of administering the laws for their protection. And yet this principle is strangely violated in the case of the Assistant Protectors. These may possess plantations and slaves, whether domestic or predial, in any number, and to any extent. They may be not only the owners, but the managers and overseers, of plantations worked by slaves; and yet to them is confided the delicate and difficult task, which of all others must be the most alien to their interests, prejudices, and feelings, the task of asserting and vindicating the rights of the slave, from the oppressions and exactions of their own privileged class, the slave owners. This evil is the more serious when we consider, that in these six colonies many important duties of the Protector's office must, of necessity, devolve on the Assistant Protectors. The injustice of this arrangement we have frequently pointed out, and it may seem superfluous to repeat our former observations; and yet we are unwilling, on the present occasion and on a point so vital, to trust to the vague recollections of the reader. The account given by Mr. Commissioner Dwarris, himself a West Indian planter, in one of his reports, of the working of a similar arrangement in the island of Grenada, called "the Guardian

Act," is of universal application. "That act," says the Attorney General of that island, "is not a dead letter, but the misfortune is, that proper persons cannot be found to carry it into effect. *They are those who may be liable to it themselves who are the guardians.* Perhaps a man may be a guardian one year, and his neighbour the next, which would prevent his acting strictly according to the act." The Governor of Grenada testifies to the same effect. "*There are no persons to be found to fill the situation of guardian, such as must have been contemplated by the act, who are, as they ought to be, independent. They are chiefly overseers or managers. Can THEY be expected to say, that the clothing or food furnished by their employers is insufficient? Or if they do, may they not be afraid of the charge being retaliated?*"

And is this state of things to continue? Is it impossible to apply a remedy? In the immense list of naval and military officers, on half pay, might easily be found the requisite number of highly respectable and meritorious men, who, at a small annual cost, might be most beneficially employed in filling the important office of Assistant Protector in these colonies, and whose remuneration might be made to depend, as in the case of the Protector, on the regularity of their returns, and the punctual performance of their duties. Lord Bathurst, in a despatch addressed to Sir R. Woodford, on the 25th March, 1824, makes the following just observations on this subject:—"Much," he says, "will unquestionably depend on the degree of co-operation which the Commandants of Districts" (who had been appointed Assistant Protectors) "may give to the Protectors of slaves; and in order to give you facility in procuring individuals willing to perform this duty, I am to authorize you to annex a salary of £150. a year to each" of the Assistant Protectors. Now, instead of thus paying planters for the discharge of duties, which it is morally impossible they should adequately perform, it would obviously be a much wiser plan to employ functionaries of a different description, and wholly free from colonial interests and prepossessions. The Protector himself may not indeed be subject to these; but still, as things are now ordered, he must see through the eyes, and hear through the ears, of those who *are* subject to them.

2. *Sunday Markets and Sunday Labour.* § 12—20.

In the regulations on this subject there are some most material defects. Sunday markets, it is true, are wholly and absolutely prohibited; and on the market day to be substituted for Sunday, slaves are protected from arrest on account of their master's debts. So far well: and yet from this arrangement the slave may derive no benefit whatever. It is not provided, that the day appointed for the market shall be secured to the slave. If the master chooses to keep him at work in the field during that day, from dawn to dusk, there is nothing in this Order to prevent his doing so. He is not required to leave his slave at liberty to attend the market on that day, or to exempt him on that day from any part of his daily task.

But the new Order is not only defective in this respect, but it fails in a point which is far more essential. It prohibits the master to compel

his slave to labour for him on the Sunday, and yet it appropriates no time, in lieu of Sunday, for the purposes to which Sunday has hitherto been devoted. The indispensable necessity of such an arrangement has been often demonstrated, and has been fully and explicitly acknowledged by every successive Secretary of State for the colonies. Still the arrangement has not been adopted; so that it is impossible to imagine a more direct contrariety of principle to practice, than the Despatches of these Right Honourable persons exhibit when compared with this Order. The point is of such vital importance, that we shall deem no apology necessary for going at some length into the subject.

Sunday, it is well known, has hitherto been the day on which, chiefly, in most of the colonies, the slaves raise 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 colonies. "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;" (in what chapter of constitutional law is this title to be found?)—"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 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.*

* See Anti-Slavery Reporter, Vol. ii. Supplement to No. 37, p. 253, &c. for a full and authentic exposition of the facts of this case.

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, actually enacted their continuance for an indefinite period, and gave to them, for the first time, a legal sanction. It prohibited, undoubtedly, all compulsory labour on the Sunday, and forbade the hiring of slaves to work on that day, except in certain prescribed cases. It nevertheless gave to the slave no time, in lieu of Sunday, either for cultivating his grounds or for going to market. Sunday labour was, indeed, prohibited, but nothing was done to make that prohibition effectual or even practicable. Accordingly, Sir Ralph Woodford, in his latest despatches, informed the Secretary of State, that the prohibition of Sunday labour had not been carried into effect; (indeed, how was it possible?) and he added, 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 legislation adopted on this subject? If equivalent time be not secured to the slave in lieu of Sunday, he must of necessity cultivate his provisions on that day or starve. A law, prohibitory of Sunday labour, under such circumstances, is a mere mockery; and in this most opprobrious state are things left, even by the present Order, which it was hoped would have corrected the glaring defects repeatedly pointed out in the former Orders. (See *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, Vol. I. No. xi. p. 134; Vol. II. No. xxx. p. 131; No. xxxiv. p. 187; and No. xl. p. 315, &c. &c.)

Nothing, indeed, can meet the bare justice of the case, or prevent the condition of the slaves from being permanently deteriorated by the provisions even of the new 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 grant of a day in the week, 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 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 the seven 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, in Trinidad for example, the rate of decrease among the slaves is so enormous, while the free negroes around them are rapidly increasing. (*Anti-Slavery Reporter*, Vol. II. No. 31, p. 155).

“In legislating,” observes Sir G. Murray, in his despatch of the 15th of September, 1829, “for the observance of Sunday, the principle which it will be essential to keep in view, is, that the labour of the six days shall not be so exclusively and rigidly allotted to the master’s profit, as to leave the seventh day alone for the slave to labour for himself. *The object is, that Sunday shall be a day wholly clear both from the demands of the master and from the necessities of the slave.* The property of a master in his slave is a property, qualified, of course, by many conditions, amongst which is the obligation of fully maintaining him; and if, instead of his maintenance being provided for out of the labour of six days (which is all that, in any Christian country, a master can claim on the score of law, and of recognised property), that maintenance is to be provided for out of the labour of the seventh day, then the master, in effect, escapes from the performance of the condition, upon which alone society has permitted him to hold the slave as property.*

“It is in vain to say that the slave is not *compelled* to labour on the Sunday, if, without the Sunday’s labour, the necessary support and reasonable comforts of his situation must be wanting to him. If the slave, when left a free agent on Sunday, shall choose to occupy a part of that day, after its proper duties shall have been performed, in agricultural or in other business, for his own benefit and that of his family, in order to procure for himself or them such additional comforts as his master would not be bound to provide, that occupation, of course, will not fall within the description of labour which my despatch of the 3rd instant purposes to exclude.”

But the object of Sir G. Murray in this recommendation that “the Sunday shall be a day wholly clear, both from the demands of the master, and the necessities of the slaves,” it is obvious, is unattainable, unless, out of the other six days, the law shall expressly allot, to the slave, time equivalent to the Sunday which it is thus proposed to abstract from all necessity of labour;—shall assign to him, that is to say, another day in the week, in lieu of Sunday, and in addition to the time *now* allowed him. Nothing short of this will fulfil the pledge of the Government to Parliament and the public on this subject, or even carry into effect the views of Sir G. Murray himself.

The despatch just quoted is addressed to the Governors of the chartered colonies; but we would suggest, that it is vain to hope even for a qualified compliance, on the part of the chartered colonies, with such recommendations, while so defective an example is set them in the latest, matured, and deliberate enactment of Government on the subject, in the case of the colonies for which the crown alone legislates.

Take, for an example, the case of Trinidad. By the existing law of Trinidad, a part only of 26 days in the year, besides Sunday, and four holidays, is given to the slave for the purpose of main-

* Certainly if this were, indeed, the object of the Government, that object has been strangely missed in the present Order.—By quoting Sir G. Murray’s despatch, we shall not be considered as for one moment concurring in his view of the relative rights of master and slave. We deem them to be altogether unfounded and unjust. Slavery is at war with every maxim of constitutional law.

taining 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 the whole amount of time 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 his master takes from him for his own profit.

Can any thing be more oppressive than such a state of law, especially when contrasted with the Spanish law, which gives to the slaves eighty-two days in the year, exclusive of Sundays.

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 so long as no other time is allowed him, he will be 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.*

And even in the cases where the slaves, instead of subsisting themselves and their children, by cultivating provision-grounds, are fed by an allowance from the master, it cannot be affirmed, that the present Order has made any approximation to that principle so clearly enounced by Sir George Murray, that "the Sunday should be wholly clear from the demands of the master; and the necessities of the slaves," for not a single day or hour is allowed, by law, to the slave, in the week, for any purpose whatsoever, whether for marketing, or for his garden, or for his grounds, or for repairing his cabin, or for obtaining and conveying home, from the provision-grounds to his house, the bulky articles, whether plantains, or yams, or eddoes, which are required for the week's supply for himself and family, whether these articles be supplied from his own provision-grounds, or from those of his master. All these operations must be crowded into the Sunday, in addition to a variety of other domestic matters necessary to be attended to; since even this new Order does not assign him one hour except Sunday, for any of these purposes.

Again we ask, can it be supposed that the chartered colonies will be induced to comply with the recommendations made to them on this subject, while such is the example of legislation set by the crown itself;

* In Trinidad, Jamaica, and the other colonies, where the slaves are fed from their own provision grounds, the children, till of an age to labour for themselves, depend for food on the parent.

and while the slaves of the crown colonies have not their Sunday clear from all demands of their masters, and from their own necessities, having no other time secured to them in lieu of it?

By the former Trinidad Order (see proclamation of the 29th of October, 1824) as well as by the orders issued in other crown colonies, it was made an indispensable condition of the exaction of the labour of slaves on a Sunday, even in cases of alleged necessity, both that the slave should engage voluntarily in such work, and that for the labour he might perform, he should be paid wages at a rate to be previously fixed and publicly notified by the Protector, and which should be the lowest rate at which such labour should be remunerated. In the present order, however, no option is left to the slave as to Sunday labour in certain cases. Whatever be his conscientious scruples, or however urgent his own avocations, masters, if the necessity be alleged, are not forbidden to compel him to work on the Sunday, whether he be willing or reluctant. Besides this, the new Order is totally silent on the subject of wages being paid to the slaves in such cases, though this was made in the former Order an indispensable condition of Sunday labour, when required of slaves. Here, then, is a positive deterioration of the condition of the slave, enacted by the very Order which His Majesty in Council has issued as an improvement of it.

There is nothing more extraordinary and inexplicable in the conduct of his Majesty's Government, with respect to colonial reform, than the course they have pursued with respect to Sunday. That the West Indian legislatures and West Indian planters, while professing, in deference to public opinion, to desire the religious instruction of the slaves, should nevertheless deprive them of Sunday, and thus shut them out effectually from the means of Christian instruction, is precisely what was to be expected. But believing as we do, that Lord Bathurst, Mr. Huskisson, and Sir George Murray, are sincere in their wishes for the improvement of the slaves, it is a matter of perfect astonishment to see them apparently insensible, in their practice, to the indispensable importance, with a view to this end, of securing time to the slave in lieu of Sunday, equally "free from the demands of his master and his own necessities." We can account for it in no way which is creditable to their consistency but by supposing that they have acted under the influence of the misrepresentations of interested parties, who dread nothing so much as that allotment of adequate time, in lieu of Sunday, to the slave, which, besides its many other advantages, would give to him his only certain means of effective improvement. We shall have to recur to this subject again before we close our observations.

3. *The Driving Whip.* § 21.

We might appear fastidious were we to find fault with the terms of this enactment. We could have wished, however, that it had varied less than it does from the terms of the corresponding clause, in the former Order for Trinidad. That Order forbade the use of "any whip, cat, or other instrument of the like nature," "for the purpose of impelling or coercing any slave to perform labour of any kind or nature whatever." The new Order omits entirely this last stringent clause,

(why we cannot imagine,) and it substitutes for the words, “other instruments of the like nature,”—“other instrument usually employed in the punishment of slaves.” These variations may be immaterial, but we dread the ingenuity of colonial special pleading, in the case of a prohibitory law which stands so opposed to their prejudices and habits, and which therefore requires to be most anxiously guarded from evasion or abuse. Is it not possible, for example, that an instrument may be contrived for coercing labour, *not* usually employed in the punishment of slaves?

4. *Arbitrary Punishments by flogging.* § 22—24.

An important provision of the old Order is here omitted, which prohibited masters or managers from inflicting any punishment on a slave, until twenty-four hours, at the least, should have elapsed from the time of committing the offence for which the punishment was inflicted. Now, when the violent and impetuous habits of some owners and managers are adverted to,—nay, when the effect even of ordinary excitement, or of intoxication, on the members of a community not distinguished for gentleness and temperance, is duly considered, it will be admitted that Lord Bathurst did not require any undue forbearance on the part of slave owners, in obliging them to suspend, for twenty-four hours, the execution of their arbitrary powers of punishment; and we fear that Sir George Murray, in removing this curb on the impetuosity of these wilful and irritable persons may have judged of them too much by the blandness of his own placid and kindly temperament.

Another omission in the present Order is that clause, numbered 21 in the former Order for Trinidad, which, in order to escape conviction, threw on an owner or manager the *onus probandi*, when a slave, exhibiting in open court recent lacerations of his person, and making a consistent and probable statement of his sufferings, charged that owner or manager with having illegally or cruelly punished him. The omission is probably to be ascribed to the great improvement introduced by the present Order into the law of slave evidence.

But is it possible not to feel, in reading this part of the Order, which regulates arbitrary punishment by the master or manager, that dreadful must that state of things be which can be considered as ameliorated by such regulations as these? Is it not humiliating to the last degree, to contemplate the Government of this great and *Christian* country reduced, or rather voluntarily submitting, to the abject necessity of assigning the number of lacerations of the cart-whip which, not by any judicial sentence, but by private passion, vindictiveness, or caprice, may be inflicted on the bared bodies of human beings like themselves, and that without even defining or specifying the offence for which such shocking punishment may be inflicted. It may be for any offence, or for no offence; for a word, a look, construed by pride, or anger, or intoxication, to indicate insolence, or even disrespect. Is it right and fitting, is it consistent with British law or Christian charity, that the King of England and his Council should authorise such punishment, such torture in fact, to be inflicted on any of the King's subjects, except for a defined crime, and by a judicial sentence? According to this

ameliorated law, this edict of mitigation and mercy, twenty-five lashes of the cart-whip may be inflicted by any owner or manager, in the six colonies for which the Crown alone legislates, merely as an expression of that owner's or manager's dissatisfaction with his slave.—Twenty-five lashes! Let only the weight of the whip, the length of the lever which it forms, and the strength of the arm which wields it, be increased, and what degree of laceration may not twenty-five lashes of a cart-whip be made to produce? Every stroke may leave its deep incision, and its ineffaceable trace. Ought any system to be permitted by a British Parliament to exist for a day, which can require that such a tremendous discretion should be placed in the hands of any individual, who is himself at the same time accuser, jury, judge, and, if he will, executioner also? And this is the ameliorated law of the Crown colonies! What must be the state of things in the chartered colonies, which have resisted even so low a measure of amelioration? Let this be kept in mind; and if Parliament shall continue to endure such iniquity, it is quite impossible that the public voice should not be roused, ere long, to active and energetic interference.

5. *Record of Punishments.* § 26—36.

In the former Orders, no record was required of punishment exceeding three lashes at a time; an exception which might have led to great abuses. In the present Order there is no such exception. All punishments, even of a single stripe, must be recorded. This is doubtless an improvement.—The necessity, however, of keeping and returning any record of punishments at all, is still confined to the case of slaves employed in agricultural or manufacturing labour. But what is the ground of this arbitrary limitation? Why is the owner of mechanics, boatmen, fishermen, or domestics, to be exempted from the obligation to record and report the punishments he may inflict? Are the numerous slaves of these classes to be abandoned to the tender mercies of their owners, although they are more under the eye, and more exposed to the excesses of passion and caprice, than even the slaves of plantations? At least, if owners of these classes of slaves are not required to record and report their inflictions, the power of punishment should be taken out of their hands, and placed in that of the magistrates. A very large proportion of the slaves in some colonies are of these descriptions, and by this exemption of their owner from the necessity of keeping and returning a record of his punishments, they are in fact deprived of the protection which this salutary regulation was intended and calculated to afford them. Is this just?

6. *Marriages of Slaves.* § 37—41.

To the satisfactory enactments of the former Trinidad Order on this subject, is superadded a proviso which bears the impress, not merely of deference to colonial prejudice, but of the sinister suggestion of colonial influence, and which, in conformity with the rooted antipathy which has been always evinced among the colonists to the introduction of valid marriages among their slaves, seems calculated, and was perhaps meant, by the dextrous suggester of it, to deprive that sacred institution

of much of its beneficial efficacy, and to abridge it of its proper and legitimate rights and sanctions, by the vague and sweeping abrogation of all rights "at variance with the legal title of the owners of such slaves" as may be married, "to their services, or that of their progeny, or with the duties which they and their progeny are bound to render to their owners or managers." This looks almost like an artful attempt, by a sort of side wind, to give a perpetuity, from generation to generation, to that condition of slavery which the unanimous resolutions of the British Parliament have marked for extinction, and which we confidently believe that neither the Parliament nor the people of England will permit to exist even for a single generation more.

7. *Rights of Property.* § 42—44.

The terms of this clause seem to be sufficiently comprehensive to include the right of acquiring every species of property, both real and personal; yet *land* is not specifically named as in the former Trinidad Order. Considering the inveterate prejudice entertained, in some colonies, against granting to slaves the right of holding land, it is impossible to feel quite at ease on seeing the term *land* omitted, though we trust the omission is immaterial.

The present Order repeals, in order to consolidate, all former Orders on the same subject issued since March, 1824. But from the correspondence which took place between Earl Bathurst and the Colonial Authorities subsequently to that period, it is clear that there exist colonial laws, yet unrepealed, which may contract, if not greatly frustrate, this apparently unexceptionable provision. On the 26th of May, 1824, Sir R. Woodford thus wrote to his Lordship, "By the 24th clause, slaves are allowed to acquire land; but by the *colonial* law, a slave cannot plant any of the staple commodities." "And it having been asked of me if the colonial law was to be considered as repealed, I have stated, that such was not, as I believed, your Lordship's intention." The reply of Earl Bathurst, dated the 14th of July, 1824, was to the following effect:—"It appears to be doubted whether the permission conveyed to slaves, by the Order in Council, to purchase and hold land, does not indirectly revoke the existing law of Trinidad, whereby slaves are prohibited from cultivating, for their own profit, any of the staple commodities of the island. In granting to the slaves the power of acquiring land, the Order does not, of course, exempt them from any existing restrictions as to the mode in which land might be cultivated by persons of their class and condition."

Now, as a similar law exists in all the slave colonies, as well as in Trinidad, of which the following is a specimen from the statute book of Demerara, it is obvious that the slave's apparently extensive rights of property must be confined, within narrow limits indeed, by such a restriction. The law of Demerara, substantially agreeing with that of the other slave colonies, is—"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 per-

mitted 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.”

It is obviously a farce to parade about rights of property, while all efforts of voluntary industry, and all means of accumulation, on the part of the slave, are thus paralysed. The concession of rights of property under such circumstances becomes nearly valueless, however it may tend to throw dust in the eyes of the people of England. And then, while no time is given to the slave in lieu of Sunday, what means has he, but in toiling through the whole of that day, to raise in his grounds even the bare food required for himself and his family? The Sunday will still, of sheer necessity, be devoted to labour, for only on that day can he, not to say acquire and look after property, but procure the food to keep him and his children from starving.

But it is not only the want of time, in lieu of Sunday, by which the slave is shut out from all possibility of acquiring property, except by the entire appropriation of that day to labour, in contravention of all the professed intentions of the Government; but there is a further defect in this consolidated Order, which has, if possible, a still more important bearing on the power of *acquiring* property, namely, 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 limit affixed to them by the law of Jamaica, still they extend to 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 consumed in 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 slaves in these colonies, might be shewn from the most unquestionable colonial evidence. In an important paper printed by the House of Commons, in 1827, No. 479, we have the testimony of Mr. Mitchell, a sugar planter, who had resided in Trinidad for twenty-seven years, and who 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.) Similar testimony will be found in the official correspondence with the authorities in Berbice, St. Lucia, and other colonies, and this testimony is fully confirmed by the slave code of Jamaica. Mr. Huskisson, in his despatch of the 22nd of September, 1827, 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 to 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?

This system of excessive exaction, with scarce a breathing time during eighteen hours of the twenty-four, and without the intervention of a day of rest, joined to all the other disadvantages which have been adverted to, sufficiently accounts, indeed, for the continued decrease of the slave population; but the purpose for which it is now adduced, is rather to shew how perfectly nominal their rights of property must be under such circumstances. No slave so situated can, without a miracle, acquire and accumulate property, or if he has acquired, be assured of being able to retain and preserve it. It is obviously in the power of a master or manager so to engross his time, and harass him with labour, as to render attention to his property impossible;—he may sell his slave, or permit him to be levied on for debt or taxes—he may drive him by severity to run away—he may take from him his provision-grounds, or may kill his stock if found trespassing; and for all these things no redress is provided by this Order.

Let the powerful operation of all the disadvantages we have enumerated, as attaching to the slave in respect to property, be fairly weighed, and the reader will then see how little, even such a clause as this, so plausible and promising in its terms, can do for him. Slavery must be extinguished before the unhappy victim of it can be invested with available rights of this description. There will be, without doubt, numerous exceptions, but still such must be the general effect resulting from the harsh and oppressive system under which he is placed.

8. *Non-separation of Families by Sale.* § 45—51.

The provisions under this head are a considerable improvement on the former Orders, which had confined the prohibition to separate husband and wife, parent and child, whether by repute, or otherwise, to judicial sales alone, whereas it is now extended to transfers of every

description. Still no measures are taken for ascertaining and recording *reputed* relationships.

If we forbear making any remarks on the revolting nature of such regulations, for the sale and transfer of human beings, and on the outrageous violation of all sound moral and political principles which they involve, it is merely because we are persuaded we shall have credit for all we feel and have often expressed on that subject, without occupying the time of our readers with the repetition of the same obvious truths. Can anything be more opprobrious to us as a Christian nation, than that, at this period of the world, and with our high pretensions to religious, moral and intellectual superiority, our Government should be assuming credit for the humanity of enactments which regulate the sale of men, women, and children, subjects of the British Crown?

9. *Manumission of Slaves.* § 52—69.

The present Order has substantially adopted, and extended to all the Crown Colonies, the provisions of the former Order in Council for Trinidad, respecting both the voluntary and the compulsory manumission of slaves. How far these fall below the provisions of the Spanish law, which, with respect to Trinidad at least, the Government seem bound to follow, has often been demonstrated, and may be clearly seen by a reference to the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, Vol. II. pp. 254—258, (Supplement to No. 37). Still considering the extension of the compulsory clause to five other colonies, we should have less ground of complaint on that score, were it not for three new provisos which have now, for the first time, been superadded to the former enactment. (See above p. 4).

The first of these provisos might have been spared, but for the deference which seems to have been thought due to the prejudices of slave owners. In the slave market, while men, women, and children, subjects of the British crown, shall continue to be objects of barter and sale, under the sanction of the King of Great Britain and his Council, no fear need be entertained that both the vendor and the purchaser will not much better know, than any law can instruct them, how to appreciate the qualities and the skill of the human cattle that are exposed to sale. Those

“ Who drive this loathsome traffic, guage and span,
And buy the muscles and the bones of man,”

are too well acquainted with their trade to be the dupes of mere words; and the King in Council might safely have left them to their own devices in calculating the profit to be gained by the purchase or the sale. It would seem as if when one of the parties has in view, not sordid profit, but the attainment of the blessing of liberty, means of enhancing the costliness of the purchase may be resorted to, against which independent parties meeting in open market and pursuing their gain merely, are protected. It is humiliating to witness such proofs of our subjection to slave holders.

The second and third provisos are still more opprobrious, and betray a disposition in the structure of them, which we by no means impute to their official framers, but which seems to us to be utterly detestable. The redemption of captives has long been deemed, in the Christian world, one of the highest descriptions of that charity which is the glory of the

Gospel; but here we have the King in Council induced, by some means or other, to stamp the mark of his reprobation on this exercise of Christian benevolence. If a man, anxious to emancipate a fellow-creature and fellow-subject from a cruel and hopeless bondage, shall spontaneously aid him with a donation, not only shall his liberality be, by this odious and cold-blooded enactment, rendered fruitless, but the object of that liberality shall have his bondage prolonged, and his fetters more closely rivetted, because his claims for commiseration and sympathy have found a response in some Christian breast. This unjust and cruel clause cannot fail to excite the universal indignation of the country, as one which stamps disgrace on the national character, and which, for its iniquity, should alarm every man who fears God, and loves his brother.

And then, what comes next? If a slave, seeking to be manumitted, shall be alleged to have "committed" a robbery or a theft during the five preceding years, his manumission shall be stayed till he shall have undergone an ordeal of five years more. Can such an enactment be possible? If he shall have "*committed* a robbery or a theft!"—not shall have been *convicted* of it in a Court of Justice, the verdict recorded, and the sentence pronounced, (though it would be sufficiently hard, even in that case to superadd so severe a punishment to that which the law had already inflicted),—but shall have *committed* it, he shall be condemned to five long years of bondage. And what may be the construction of this most loose and unprecedented enactment? A slave may have, the year before, after toiling all night in the sugar-mill, or the boiling-house, or the still-house, taken home with him a pound or two of the sugar, or a quart or two of the rum, which he had been employed in manipulating; or, pinched with hunger, he may have appropriated to himself some of the food which he had been exhausting his strength to produce; the fact is proved: he has *committed* a theft on his master; and he is doomed for this to pass five years more under stripes and chains! What can any language, however strong, add to the palpable injustice and cruelty of such a law? We knew that West Indians had proposed such a principle of legislation, but that the King of England and his Council should have been led to adopt it, was certainly not within the reach of our anticipations.

10. *Admissibility of Slave Testimony.* § 70.

We should have had nothing but unqualified commendation to bestow on this clause, but for the concluding proviso of it. Could the King in Council feel it to be necessary to give a sanction to the deep-rooted prejudices of slave owners, by reminding them of what is never absent from their thoughts—"the servile condition of the witness, and the relation in which he stands to other parties," as affecting the credit of his testimony? Is not this one of the rules which affect the credit of all witnesses, whether slave or free, and which is fully comprehended in the preceding part of the clause? Surely then, as the tendency, is already sufficiently strong in white courts and white juries to undervalue negro testimony, there needed not this gratuitous aggravation of the evil.

11. *Complaining Slaves.* § 72.

There remains only one more clause of the new Order on which we shall offer any comment. It very properly prohibits the punishing of a slave, for merely failing to establish by evidence the truth of any complaint he may bring against his master or manager. But then if it shall be proved to have originated in some malevolent or *culpable* motive, the slave shall be liable to be punished, under the authority of any court, or *any magistrate*, on proof, *in a summary way*, before such court or magistrate, that the complaint was without foundation, and originated in a malevolent, or *culpable* motive.

Now, in the first place, we have here no limit assigned to the punishment which any court, or any magistrate may inflict, for this new species of constructive crime. Shall it be death, or transportation, or chains for life; or a thousand, or a hundred, or any other number of lashes of the cart-whip?

Again: what is meant by proof *in a summary way*? Does it mean that the magistrate, before whom the complaint is made, shall proceed, on dismissing the complaint, to arraign and try the complainant, without any previous notice of the charge against him, without time to prepare his defence and his witnesses, and without any of those preparatory steps which are deemed indispensable in the case of free persons who are charged with offences? Then we hesitate not to say, that this would be the very grossest injustice, under the colour of law.

Then a single magistrate, it would appear, is made quite competent to the exercise of this tremendous jurisdiction. Let us only consider, for a single moment, the fellow feeling existing among slave owners, of which class magistrates generally consist, and how deeply interested they all are in discouraging troublesome complainants, and how essential it may be, with a view to their own future immunity, to set an example of favour towards those who may have to judge their own delinquencies in turn,—and we shall be able to form some faint conception of the atrocities to which such a regulation may give birth.

The crime too thus created is of the loosest description. It is not merely a *malevolent* motive of complaint which may be brought under the cognizance of this one magistrate, and punished; but a *culpable* motive of complaint. What may be the definition of this novel crime of *culpability*, which shall protect any slave who may fail in proving his complaint, from coming under the lash of this harsh statute, we know not.

But how inconsistent, after all, is such a clause, in its spirit and tendency, not only with the fundamental principles of British law, but with the sentiments which have already proceeded from his Majesty's Government! What is the language they have repeatedly used on this subject? It is to this effect:—"It will be necessary to provide that no slave shall 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." Letter of Mr. Huskisson to Sir L. Cole, of 19th March, 1828. See also Lord Bathurst's Letter to the

Governor of St. Vincent's, of 3d April, 1827; and Mr. Huskisson's to the Governor of Jamaica, of 22d Sept. 1827.

In the course of our review of the provisions of this new Order, we have incidentally touched upon some defects with which it is chargeable. There is in it one great defect to which we have not yet adverted. The Trinidad Order in Council, of March, 1824, was termed an Order "for promoting the Religious Instruction of the Slaves," as well as for improving their temporal condition. It did not, however, contain a single clause which had for its object to secure or to promote the education or religious instruction of slaves, whether young or old. In the present Order, indeed, the barren profession of its being intended to promote religious instruction, is not retained to reproach the inconsistency of its framers: but it is equally guiltless as the former Order of any attempt to legislate on this supremely important point. It contains no provision whatever on the subject either of education or of religious instruction. We were the more surprised at this omission, because in the circular despatches of Sir George Murray, of September, 1828, of which so full an account has already been given, (No. 52.) that right honourable gentleman, in calling the attention of the colonial authorities to the principles "which must form the basis of all wise legislation, and which reason and humanity equally recommend," specifies as the first and principal object of attainment, "the gradual elevation of the moral character of the slave population." In this view, what he represents as the point of primary importance, is "the religious instruction of the slaves." "Independently," he observes, "of the sacredness of the obligation, which requires that no impediments should be placed in the way of their acquiring a knowledge of the great truths of religion, there is no more certain mode of advancing their civilization, without detriment or danger to society, than by religious instruction. It is important, however, that this important object should not be intrusted solely to individuals; but that provision should likewise be made for it by law, in order to guard against the injury which society would sustain by the want, in any one, of a just sense of its importance."

Perfectly concurring with Sir George Murray in every word he has here uttered on the subject, and admiring the force with which he presses on the Legislatures of the Chartered Colonies their obligations respecting it; we, nevertheless, must be allowed to deplore, that in the model of legislation which he has himself now held up to their imitation, not a single provision is introduced with a view to this paramount object. We deny, indeed, that religious instruction is a *necessary* preliminary to emancipation, as many maintain. On the contrary, we hold most firmly that emancipation is the proper prelude to effective religious instruction. We, nevertheless, concur with Sir G. Murray, as to the absolute and imperative obligation of the legislatures of the chartered colonies, (and in the crown colonies of the King in council) to provide for the education and religious instruction of the servile population. Such indeed has been the *professed* view of the Government, as well as of the colonial proprietors in Parliament, from the year 1823, to the present hour. And yet, does it not almost seem as if both had put forth

this profession of their high value for preliminary religious instruction, and of their zeal to promote the moral culture of the slave as a preliminary to civilization and ultimate emancipation, rather as a ground for delay, in effecting that object, than as a sure and necessary means of accomplishing it? For what is the fact? At the end of seven years, not a single colonial legislature has adopted a single measure for securing to the slaves either education or religious instruction. And the government itself, when, at the end of the same period, it has to illustrate its own recommendations by a practical example of legislation, wholly omits all allusion to the subject. After seven years of deliberation and discussion, of recommendation and remonstrance, of profession and promise; after zealously, and importunately urging on the colonists their obligations in this respect as Christians, they wind up the whole with an act embodying their views of legislative reform, which passes over this supremely important object of legislation, this indispensable preliminary to improvement, in absolute silence.

Again, we say, what ground can the Government have to reproach the chartered colonies with supineness and indifference on this subject, when they themselves have thus acted, when their own practice has thus violated their professed principles, and their example is in direct contradiction of their recommendations?

And if such be the progress (the downward progress shall we call it?) of reform in the colonies directly subject to the legislation of the Crown, is it necessary to dwell at any length on its state and progress in those colonies, whose legislatures are composed of the owners of slaves? For besides the evils common to both, such as the want of any legal provision for education or religious instruction; or of time, in lieu of Sunday; or of any due limit to the duration or intensity of labour; or such as the prohibition to cultivate or possess any staple productions; the subjection to severe arbitrary punishment, &c. &c.; scarcely one of those regulations which have been introduced into the crown colonies, with the view of mitigating the condition of slavery, has been adopted in the chartered colonies. There, Sunday markets, with two exceptions, still prevail; there, the stimulus of the driving-whip maintains its undiminished potency; there, females, as well as males, are still subjected to the indecent and torturing inflictions of the lash, at the will of master or manager; while no records are kept, or returns made, of these arbitrary punishments. There also, the dearest ties of kindred may still be torn asunder by sales; while the slaves are denied all power of self-redemption. There, with one exception, they are still incompetent to give evidence; their marriages are still without any adequate sanction; and their property without its requisite safe-guards. We need not occupy farther time in proving the undiminished prevalence of these various evils. This has been done, over and over again, in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*; we will confine ourselves to the elucidation of a single point, the last we have mentioned,—the slaves' rights of property.

On this point it is impossible to refer to any more decisive testimony than that of Mr. Dwaris, himself a West Indian Proprietor, in his official reports to the Government as a Commissioner of Legal Enquiry

in the West Indies. (See his First Report, pp. 67, 90, 222, 223. Second Report, 250, 251, 252. Third Report, pp. 13, 87.) He there tells us, that neither in Barbadoes, Grenada, Tobago, St. Vincent, Dominica, Antigua, St. Christopher, Nevis, or Tortola, the nine islands he visited, can slaves acquire any property by law, except for the benefit of their masters, nor claim any redress for injuries of this kind done 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.

Here then, let us pause, and take a review of the whole of our progress, during the seven years that we have been in possession of the solemn pledges of Government on this subject. That, at the time those pledges were given, no delay was contemplated in carrying the whole of their measures into immediate and contemporaneous effect, is manifest both from their having been forthwith embodied into an Order for Trinidad, and from the tenor of Lord Bathurst's despatches to the governors of the different slave colonies as early as the 9th July, 1823.—"I have most earnestly to impress upon you," says his lordship, in his circular letter of that date, "the NECESSITY of proceeding to carry these improvements into effect, not only WITH ALL POSSIBLE DISPATCH, but in the spirit of perfect and cordial co-operation with the efforts of His Majesty's Government." "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 for their consideration such measures as it may be fit to adopt in consequence." . . .

Nor was the language of Mr. Canning less clear and unambiguous. "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."

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 four 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, and little even in the Crown Colonies, is plain from the foregoing statement.

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 we trust will supply them, without an hour's delay; and it can also render the laws effectual by such sanctions, and by such a selection of functionaries, and by such reforms in the administration of justice, as shall ensure their due execution.

With the Chartered Colonies Parliament alone can deal effectually. Surely the time has at length arrived, when Government may, according to its pledges, come to Parliament for fresh powers to execute its purposes. If not, in what circumstances, short of actual rebellion, can parliamentary interference ever be justified?

But it has been argued, that such interference would be inexpedient in any circumstances, as nothing is to be accomplished in the way of reform in the slave colonies, except with the concurrence of the colonists.

But if this view of the subject were correct, how has it happened that Government should have deemed it expedient to impose an entire slave code on six of these colonies, not only without requiring or waiting for the concurrence of the colonists, but even against their open and declared opinions; and that Parliament should approve and sanction such a course? What are the peculiar circumstances which make it wise and beneficial in the Government to legislate for Trinidad, or Demerara, without the consent, and even in opposition to the will of their inhabitants, which would make it unwise and injurious 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 ex-

exercise of the power of the Government in the other? Or are the proposed enactments less necessary in the one case than in the other? Are there not in all the colonies great and admitted evils to be redressed, which their legislatures have 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? But what rational hope is there that the legislatures of Jamaica or Barbadoes, or of the other colonies, will pass such laws as shall enable 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 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 with the assent 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; in the very provisions of the new Order in Council, however incomplete; in the recommendations of His Majesty's Government during the last six years; and still more clearly, if possible, in the resistance of the colonies to their removal.

If there is to be any legislation at all for the purpose of removing the existing 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 legislatures, or by the Imperial Parliament.

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 from the Crown, and responsible to it 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 as juries must still be composed of men imbued with colonial prejudices, they will contrive to frustrate the operation of every law that may 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 now contended for 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, it has been further argued, 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, when sanctioned by 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.

It is 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 the memorable words of Mr. Canning, in 1799, be kept in remem-

brance:—"Trust not 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 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 then now remains to us, but to act on the wise and salutary counsel given to us so long ago as 1799; and our past neglect of which has entailed so many evils on the wretched African race?

But even all the proposed measures, if carried into full effect, could only be regarded as steps in the progress towards the final extinction of slavery throughout the British dominions, and as it is only as such that we have ever pressed, or continue to press them. By what further means this consummation shall be attained; whether by fixing a period after which no British slaves shall be born;—or by redeeming all female slaves from slavery;—or by measures still more prompt and immediate, the time seems now to have arrived for determining. Certain it is that, from the steady pursuit of emancipation, the people of this country will not be diverted by any mere alleviations of the condition of the slave. Having become acquainted with the real nature of the slave system, they regard it as so incurably vicious; so radically criminal; so repugnant to the obligations of humanity and justice; such a deliberate violation of the principles and precepts of our holy religion, that it ought not to be tolerated for a single day beyond the absolute necessity of the case. They feel a growing conviction that to continue to uphold it by law, as well as by our naval and military forces; and still more to foster and encourage it by bounties and protecting duties, is to involve the nation in the awful responsibility of deep and conscious guilt. Some, it is true, are disposed to regard with alarm any reference whatever to an emancipation of the slaves. It will be well for such to recollect that in the year 1792, Mr. Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville, at that very time a Minister of the Crown, and who, throughout the whole of his political life, was recognized as the zealous friend and advocate of West Indian interests, did not hesitate formally to propose to Parliament a series of resolutions, one of which was that from and after the 1st of January 1800, no slaves should be born within the dominions of his Majesty. No one has ever thought of imputing to that distinguished individual either enthu-

siasm or precipitation in his views of reform, or any excess of philanthropic zeal; and yet, had his resolutions been adopted, British slavery would now have been extinct.

II.—ASSOCIATIONS FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

1. *Yorkshire Protestant Dissenters.*

It is with sincere pleasure we lay before our readers the following resolutions, unanimously adopted at a meeting held in Leeds on the 28th of September last—JOHN CLAPHAM, Esq. in the Chair.

“That slavery is an evil of fearful magnitude, directly opposed to the well-being and happiness of man, the law of God, and the religion of Christ,—the existence of which, especially in any part of the British dominions, we, as Christians, do most seriously deplore, and the entire extinction of which we feel ourselves called upon most strenuously to seek and promote, by all those means which the providence of God, and the laws and constitution of our own favoured and happy country have put into our power.

“That to us it does appear, that the various religious denominations of this country, with, perhaps, one exception, have not yet applied themselves to the destruction of this great evil, in that determined manner, and with those systematic and energetic measures, which the magnitude of the evil itself, and of the powers banded together for its continuance, obviously and most imperatively demand.

“That, for the most part, the question of negro slavery has been approached as a political one, and assailed by arguments drawn from policy and mere expediency, and not opposed with those stronger and less equivocal principles and arguments which are to be derived from the word of God, and the supreme and immutable laws of revealed religion.

“That, too long have we, in common with the friends of humanity around us, wasted our time and efforts in vain attempts to ameliorate the condition of our fellow-creatures who are in bondage, with a view to their gradual emancipation;—but deeply feeling, that to maintain such a system, under any modifications whatever, is to oppose and counteract the spirit and principles of our holy religion, we pledge ourselves henceforth to seek, in every legitimate and practicable way, and by our united and strenuous exertions, its immediate and entire destruction, and to remove from ourselves, and from our beloved country, the guilt of fostering this flagrant injustice, or even permitting its continuance, for any period, however limited, beyond the time that may be absolutely requisite to pass the act for its complete abolition, and to frame and apply those provisional regulations and restraints, which shall establish the authority of law in the British colonies.

“That while we unequivocally maintain the right of the slaves to the full participation of freedom, without any compensation on their parts to the persons who hold them in bondage, we have no wish to prejudice those claims which the planters may have upon the government of our country to a fair and equitable indemnification against such losses as may be necessarily consequent upon the change of system; and we declare our readiness to bear our full proportion of the burdens which the legislature, in its wisdom, may find it requisite to impose, for the accomplishment of this great measure.

“That a Society be now formed, to consist of Protestant Dissenting Ministers, and the members of their respective congregations, whose object shall be the immediate and total abolition of slavery, and that it be called “The Yorkshire Protestant Dissenters’ Association for the Abolition of Slavery.”

“That a committee be formed, to consist of the minister and two or more members of each Protestant Dissenting congregation in the county, which shall unite itself with this association.”

We trust this example will be followed by every county in the kingdom.

2. *Hull and East Riding Association.*

A meeting of this Association was held on the 2d of February last—D. SYKES, Esq. M. P. in the Chair. We subjoin a few extracts from the very able address, printed and circulated by it.

“Seven long years having now elapsed since both Houses of Parliament pledged the national faith that the condition of the slave should be revised and amended in various important particulars; and that, finally, slavery should be abolished; and when it is seen that in the legislating colonies little or nothing has been done to effect this purpose, and that the improvement in the crown colonies is imperfect and inadequate to the professed object, it is to be feared that there is some obstacle in the way, which nothing but the temperate, yet firm and united voice of the people, can remove.”

“The time, however, now seems to be arrived when something must be done, if those to whom the longest life appears to be promised, expect to witness the consummation of their wishes.” “When it is seen that in the chartered colonies all the prominent evils of slavery still exist; that the negroes are still driven to and at their daily task by the whip; that they are, male and female, liable to arbitrary, cruel, and indecent punishments; that they are bought and sold like beasts of burden; that the pleasures and duties of social life are withheld, and almost unknown; that religious instruction is most scantily communicated; and that the term of their natural life is shortened, by excessive compulsory labour; and that all this is justified by a claim of property by man in his fellow-man;—it would seem that not an instant should be lost in calling on the proper authorities to carry into effect their own purpose, and to put an end to this mass of cruelty and injustice. And the more so when all attempts by the parent Government, to induce the colonial legislatures to amend these evils by their own acts, have been met only by contumacious resistance, or illusory compliance.”

“In the last session of Parliament, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, whose honour it is impossible to doubt, and on whose good principles the friends of humanity may rely, gave a promise that he would in this, introduce a bill for the admission of the evidence of slaves in all causes civil or criminal. Though the incapacity of being a witness is by no means the most prominent evil of slavery, yet, as it is part and parcel of the brutish condition in which these poor creatures are held, the prospect of its removal must be hailed with joy. It therefore, seemed prudent to wait for the Right Hon. Secretary’s redemption of his pledge, not doubting that it would be followed by the introduction of other bills for carrying into effect the whole Parliamentary resolutions of 1823.” “Should, however, any disappointment take place, and should Government, under that baleful influence, which for more than twenty years frustrated the benevolence of our venerated townsman, in stopping, as far as Britain is concerned, the African slave trade, depart from its pledge or relax its efforts, it cannot be doubted, that the same national spirit will be roused in favour of the extinction of British slavery, and that Mr. Wilberforce will live to see the complete execution of all his plans, for the happiness of this degraded race, whose only crime is the colour of their skin.”

In the mean time the Committee urge all who wish to be informed on the law and practice of negro slavery, to read the *Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter*, in which not only its evils are delineated, and the arguments in favour of it confuted, but the folly and injustice of giving large bounties and protecting duties in favour of slave-grown produce, are fully exposed: the manifest evils and glaring absurdity of which system have also been pointedly set forth in the *Westminster Review*.

The Committee close their address by adverting to the useful labours of the *Ladies’ Association*, through whose active exertions a large quantity of information has been distributed, and after paying all expenses, seventy pounds had been remitted to the Parent Society; by gratefully acknowledging the services of the Society of Friends; and by expressing a confident hope, that their joint labours will ultimately be crowned with complete success.

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FOR APRIL, 1830.

[No. 11. Vol. iii.

- I. AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT OF SIERRA LEONE, WITH REASONS FOR NOT ABANDONING IT.
- II. WEST INDIA COMMITTEE.
- III. GENERAL MEETING OF ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

I.—AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT OF SIERRA LEONE.

THE colony of Sierra Leone, since the hour of its commencement, has experienced no small degree of hostility from a certain party in this country. Had it been founded with a view to commercial advantages merely, it would, probably, have been permitted to proceed with as little opposition as any other of our foreign establishments; but, unfortunately for its tranquil progress, the founders of it professed to have higher purposes in prospect. They professed to hate the slave trade and slavery. They professed to believe, that the oppressed and degraded African was a human being, a member of the same great family with themselves, and a fellow-heir of the same blessings of redemption. They professed to believe, that he was capable of being elevated from the brutal condition to which he had been reduced, and of exhibiting to the world the same mental and moral endowments which were to be found in his enslavers. And they not only professed to believe all these offensive doctrines, but they had the courage, in the face of slander and contumely, to attempt to act upon them. They aimed, both by exertions and by sacrifices, to promote the civilization and moral improvement of the African race.

Such an attempt to counteract the evils of the slave trade, and to repair, in any measure, the disastrous effects it had produced on the character and well-being of this unfortunate part of our species, we might have hoped, would, at least, have been treated with indulgence, if not with respect, however unfortunate may have been its issue. So far from it, it appears to have been this very circumstance of its philanthropic motive which has served to imbitter hostility, to sharpen every arrow of detraction, and to give increased weight to every malignant suggestion, and to every false representation respecting this colony. And even, at this moment, after so many sinister predictions of its enemies have been falsified; after it has surmounted its early dangers and difficulties, aggravated by a bitterness of enmity peculiar to itself; after it has gone on for years, notwithstanding very great mismanagement, increasing in prosperity, while not a slave breathes on its soil, and while it has been made the instrument of imparting to thousands of Africans, raised from the lowest depths of misery and debasement, the blessings of British freedom, and of christian light;—there are still to be found men whose delight seems to consist in reiterating, with fresh exaggerations, the often refuted calumnies against it, and in labouring

not only to bring it into discredit with the public, but to sweep it, if it were possible, from the face of the earth.

We will not stop to investigate the causes which have led to this exclusive selection of Sierra Leone, from among the multitude of our colonial possessions, as the object of that uniform, persevering, and almost infuriated hostility, on the part of a certain class of persons, which has marked its progress from the year 1791 to the present hour. They are sufficiently obvious to all who have paid any attention to the great controversy which has been carrying on, during that period, between the enemies and the friends of slavery;—between those who thrive by the violation, in the person of the kidnapped or enslaved African, of every divine and human obligation; and those who feel that the very existence of slavery within the British dominions is a national crime of the deepest dye, and that it ought to be, and must be, extinguished root and branch.

These reflections have been, in some measure, drawn from us by a volume which has just come to our hands, bearing the following title, “ Papers relating to the Colony of Sierra Leone, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 17th February, 1830,” and numbered 57. We shall best illustrate the preceding observations, as well as best satisfy our readers, by proceeding at once to lay before them the substance of this important document.

The first part of it consists of the correspondence of the local Government with the Colonial Office, from the 25th January, 1826, to the month of September, 1829, respecting the liberated Africans, settled in the colony of Sierra Leone.

The following statement, taken from a despatch of General Turner, dated January 25, 1826, will afford some, though still an inadequate, idea, both of the importance of the subject, and of the improvident, and absurd system which had, till that time, with the best intentions we admit, been pursued by the predecessors of that officer.

“ Amongst the many objects which in this colony lay claim to my attention, there are very few which require to be considered more than that which is called the ‘ Liberated African Department.’ However adequate the arrangements might have been to the early state of this establishment, it is very evident that they have not been so for some time past; and equally evident, that from the numbers of captured slaves brought into the colony, they become every day less so. There have been more than 20,000 slaves landed in this colony; and during the last year alone upwards of 2,400 have been emancipated: should the trade in slaves continue to increase in the manner in which it has done for the last two years, there is no doubt, from the activity of our cruisers, that the numbers brought in here will increase also, and will very shortly become a very large and unwieldy mass of people—indeed they are so already, and it becomes a matter of very serious consideration how they are to be disposed of, or how they are to maintain themselves. Under the arrangements *hitherto* prevailing they have been distributed amongst the villages, where *they have been for years supported in idleness by the government*; but the villages, and the poor land of the mountains where they are situated, already begin to refuse

to them a scanty subsistence, and they have begun to wander in search of better soil and easier sustenance; and the evident tendency of this is, that they will retrograde in the woods into a state of nature and barbarism, or become vagrants about Freetown and the more populous villages. I in some degree meet this evil at present, by employing them on the public works, carrying bricks and other materials, giving them food, lodging, and some clothing, at the public expense; and I have given them in small numbers, and under registry, to respectable people to cultivate land, and for domestic purposes; and it is found, *under this system of putting them to easy and regular labour, such as they have been used to*, on their landing from the slave ships, that *they become very orderly good labourers*; but in the cases where they have been located in the villages, and have received *gratuitous maintenance*, they can with difficulty be induced to give a day's labour even for good wages. The expense of this establishment has been very great; I believe that the regulations under which I have reduced it during the last year, to the amount shown in the accompanying schedule of five years, may be safely persevered in, and a still greater reduction made; but as the whole system is defective, I cannot persuade myself that I can do more than alleviate the evil.

“ It would but lead to disappointment to imagine, that a large mass of poor ignorant people, without capital, skill or industry, could be brought to maintain themselves, and to raise articles of export, without the assistance of labour-wages. Could such a system succeed even in England, the poor's rates might soon be abolished.

“ There are twelve villages established for the purpose of civilizing, instructing and keeping together these people, and with establishments apparently very suitable, although practically very inefficient: a clergyman, a school-master, and a superintendent to each village, has the appearance of meeting every possible purpose; but unfortunately the untowardness of the climate, the privations, and fatigues, the uncongeniality of the situations with the former habits of the people who hold them, and the absence of personal interest or hope of progressive advancement, soon cause a decrease of numbers. At present there are in the colony but *one* church missionary (Mr. Raban) and *three* Lutheran clergymen, *five* schoolmasters, and *four* superintendents; amongst these there is not one person who has the slightest knowledge of agriculture, nor can I learn that there ever has been any person employed in the colony who had any acquaintance either with European or Tropical agriculture. Under such disadvantages it is not to be wondered that cultivation has not made much progress.”

Soon after this letter was written, General Turner fell a victim to the combined influence of the climate, and of excessive personal exertion in prosecuting his plans of African improvement. The reforms projected by that able and zealous functionary were resumed and carried forward by his successor, Sir Neil Campbell, powerfully seconded by Lieut.-Colonel Denham, so well known by his successful expedition, along with Captain Clapperton, into the interior of Africa.

The following extracts from their communications will give a clear

view of the nature and the effect of those judicious changes which these two officers had concurred to introduce.

On the 19th of January, 1827, Sir Neil Campbell thus writes :—

“ I have the honour to acquaint your Lordship, that Lieut.-Col. Denham, General Superintendent of liberated Africans, arrived here in His Majesty's ship *Cadmus*, on the 9th instant, which will be a great aid to me in this very important duty.

“ I think that by the system which commenced upon the 1st of this month, and which I trust will meet with your Lordship's approval, the duties which will devolve upon Lieut.-Col. Denham will not be very arduous; but I have no doubt that if they were much more so, he possesses talent, zeal, and good will to fulfil my directions, and to discharge them well.”

“ I soon discovered that the whole system of *issuing rations*, which had hitherto been followed, was decidedly bad, and should be put an end to. From the 1st January 1827, no *rations* are to be issued to liberated Africans, either in Freetown or in the villages, but instead thereof the sum of 3*d.* per day” (this sum has since been reduced to 2*d.* for adults and 1½*d.* for children) “ is to be paid into their own hands upon the spot, or if they have not been sufficiently long in the colony for this confidence, it will be paid in their own presence, and in that of the superintendents, who are furnished with regular forms of monthly pay lists, with the names of every man or woman, and the sum paid to each. The period of being upon rations is now greatly reduced; the adults will be adopted and taken care of by some of the most respectable of the pensioners or liberated Africans in the villages, without any pay. The women who are marriageable will receive pay for three months, the men for six months. Although the latter are limited to this period, which is the very *shortest*, yet there will be many instances where from weakly constitutions, injured by the bad treatment on board of ship, and the tedious voyage from leeward, this pay must necessarily be continued for even twelve months. But these liberated Africans shall not be idle, and will be employed in improving roads and making new ones, in building their own houses, and in cultivating their lots of ground.”

The following is an extract from Sir Neil Campbell's instructions, dated 1st Dec. 1826 :—

“ Where liberated Africans were formerly upon rations, the sum of 3*d.* sterling per day will in future be paid to each person by His Majesty's Government, through the managers, who will receive this from the superintendent, and pay it weekly in advance.

“ This arrangement will save the trouble and expense of purchasing stores at Freetown and sending them to the villages, while at the same time it will be more satisfactory to the working parties, and will circulate cash in the interior, with a ready purchase of the food on the spot, which will encourage the industrious settlers. Forms of pay-lists will be given.

“ This allowance will be paid on the spot to the old settlers who have taken charge of the new ones, from their disembarkation until

they provide for themselves by the settlements which they have formed. The period for women is three months, and for men six, unless in extraordinary cases approved of by the superintendent.

“All boys and girls under fifteen, and who may until after that age be considered unable to clear and settle a piece of land, will be distributed to old settlers appointed by the managers, until they attain the above age; they will then be released from the charge of their adopted parent; a lot of land will be given them, and the allowance will cease to be paid.”

The clothing and utensils to be distributed to them for the first year, having then been specified, the instructions proceed:—

“It is desirable to acquaint the public, that the road from Freetown to Wellington is perfectly safe for carriages, and for horses from that to Hastings and to Waterloo through the new village of Allentown, which is half way between Wellington and Hastings, and the same distance from Charlotte.

“In the course of next week there will be hotels in the villages of Wellington, Hastings, and Waterloo, under the direction of the superintendents, to insure accommodation; and a table of fixed charges will be established by them to prevent imposition, a list of which, with their signatures, will be affixed in the dining-hall.

“The school at Hastings will be immediately re-established, and a teacher appointed from one of the monitors of any other school, by Mr. M’Foy.

“A committee will assemble as soon as convenient, for the members to examine into the operations of Mr. Cailla, appointed to the situation of Experimental Agriculturist, and they will have the goodness to frame a short report, in writing, as to the success generally of Mr. Cailla’s practice, with any improvements which may occur to the members.

“The Governor expects, that when he makes the tour of the villages he will find a register in each, with the names of every liberated African, and the period of his arrival, so that no *man* will be kept on rations, or pay from Government, who has been *six months* in the colony; no *woman* who has been *three months*, and no boy or girl above fifteen years of age; all this to be clearly shewn by the register, and what became of every liberated African no longer in the village.

“Mr. Pyne, the Crown Surveyor, will shortly proceed to the liberated African villages, to fulfil the following very important duties, in order to give the liberated Africans *an inducement to cultivate fixed portions of land, and to inspire them with security of property; points which have been hitherto totally neglected, but which are indispensable in order to give them due encouragement, and fair scope to their individual exertions.**

“First, to survey a lot of land for every liberated African in each village.

“Second, to survey a lot for every manager and sub-manager.

“The managers will communicate to the sub-managers, that the

* Can any one wonder that in this colony agriculture had hitherto languished?

following hours are to be strictly adhered to for field labours and for school instruction, by those liberated Africans who are under his instruction.

“Hours for *instruction* for those *above fifteen years of age*: on week-days from eleven o'clock until twelve, and from one till three.

“Considering their age, it is useless to appropriate to *them* a greater number of hours, as they are composed either of persons who *arrive at an early age*, and only require to keep up the recollection of their instruction at school; or those *who have arrived at a much later period of life*, and to whom the additional instruction could be of very little use. With either class compulsion is of no avail.

“Hours for *instruction* for those *under fifteen years of age*: on week days from nine o'clock until twelve, and from one until three o'clock in the afternoon.

“No mention has been made in these instructions, of any particular hours of labour for the immense majority of liberated Africans, who arrived in the colony at a mature age, who do not speak one word of English, and have not attended school. COERCION HAS NEVER BEEN EMPLOYED IN THIS COLONY *; and it is expected, from the security (alluding to the grants of property in land) now given them, which they never enjoyed before, that it will be less necessary than ever.”

In a subsequent letter dated 14th July 1827, Sir Neil Campbell vindicates his plan from some objections which Lord Bathurst had not unreasonably urged against it in the first instance, he says:—

“The system of giving money to those adults in the villages who have been recently landed, and to the scholars, is, in my opinion as well as in that of the chief superintendent, greatly superior to giving rations. It is more satisfactory to the Africans themselves. The money is of great benefit in the villages, instead of rice, &c., supplied by merchants in Freetown, and sent to them, and provisions issued by the managers (chiefly missionaries), on the quantity and price of which it was impossible for the governor or chief superintendent to exercise a correct control; the proof of which is, the great decrease in this branch of expenditure since money was issued. There cannot be any abuse or irregularity in paying *money* to the *adults*, as each of them know the sum due to them; it is issued weekly (in presence of pensioners, constables and others, who would expose it) by the manager; and his nominal list is paid to him every month by the chief superintendent. With respect to *scholars*, the money is issued in the same manner by the chief superintendent; and the manager buys provisions for them in the villages, which are cooked and distributed under his immediate superintendence, as they are too young to receive it, and must be lodged and fed by him as formerly. The only difference with the *scholars* is, that no part of their allowance is provided by contract, but is paid entirely in money to the manager, so that all the provisions are purchased in the village.

“The expenses in the Liberated African Department (not including

* What a flat contradiction does this statement give to all the calumnious assertions of Mr. M'Queen and his party?

the salaries for the chief superintendent and others in Freetown) for 1826, amounted to £14,862. 16s. 2½d.

“A return *estimated* upon the expenses from 1st January to 30th June 1827, amounts to £7,897. 10s. 6d.

“The saving per year will be £6,965. 5s. 8½d.”

And in another letter dated on the 7th March 1827, he says—

“I think I may venture, without being too sanguine, to do myself the honour of assuring your Lordship, that this colony possesses within itself very considerable resources, which time will developé gradually, and which are now in a progress, much more rapid, I hope, than they have been hitherto.”

Colonel Denham's first report after he had been five months in the colony is highly interesting, and serves to disprove innumerable calumnies invented by malignity and propagated with a zeal and assiduity worthy of a better cause. It is dated May 21, 1827.

“I fear, from the very short period during which I have had the charge of the liberated Africans, I shall not be enabled to state that progress which I trust, after *the very important and long-called-for alterations that have been made in every branch of this department* since the arrival of the present Governor, Sir Neil Campbell, will be apparent from the reports which I shall have the honour to lay before your Lordship at some future though not very distant period.

“What this colony or rather the liberated Africans have felt the most want of, is instruction, capital and example. *With the very little they have had of either conveyed in a manner likely to benefit them generally,* IT IS TO ME DAILY AN INCREASING SUBJECT OF ASTONISHMENT *that the liberated Africans settled here have done so much for themselves as they have.*

“Since the gentlemen of the Church Missionary Society have ceased to have the superintendence of the villages intrusted to them, except as far as the religious duties were concerned, industrious habits have been very successfully encouraged.

“*The propensities of the people located in the different settlements, are very generally in favour of agriculture.*”

“I have not observed any disinclination for voluntary labour; it appears to be a system perfectly understood and practised by the liberated Africans here, and strengthens with their strength, as they become more sensible of the sweets of labour, by enjoying the profits of it, and the comforts those profits enable them to purchase. Indeed to the many hundreds of liberated Africans that have been employed as labourers on the different Government works, as well as on the buildings erected by private individuals during the last few years, may in some measure be attributed the comparatively small number of agricultural labourers in the villages. Labourers wages have varied from one shilling to sixpence per day, yet has there never been a deficiency of liberated Africans who were willing to labour for hire. On the naval stores now erecting by contract on King Tom's Point, are nearly two hundred liberated African labourers, who work well and steadily at twenty shillings per month, one half paid in money and the remainder in goods taken from the stores of the merchants who have the contract.

“ The period of labour also forms a longer portion of the day here than even in the south of Europe, where for several hours when the sun has most power, a general cessation of labour, or indeed employment, takes place. Labourers in this colony work from six in the morning till five in the afternoon constantly, with the exception of the hour from nine till ten which they are allowed for breakfast.

“ Husbandry and practical agriculture should be encouraged by every possible means ; but yet I am inclined to think, the kind of labour in which so many of the liberated Africans have been and still are employed, has been upon the whole beneficial to them ; they must acquire intelligence, habits of regularity and steady labour, with much general knowledge, by being employed with artificers, and watching the progress of the public buildings from the foundation to the roof, the roof to be finished whole, as in the case of the extensive barracks and a very handsome building intended for the naval stores, which are both nearly completed.

“ *They are already sensible of the rewards of industry, by being in possession of the profits ; and the advantage of property is becoming daily an increased object of interest.*

“ Already thirty of the liberated Africans who have been employed on these and other public and private works, and who were never located, have applied to me for lots of ground at Campbell Town on the Calmont Creek, where the soil is most fertile, ‘ to sit down quiet ’ as they say. These men have all saved (for them) considerable sums of money, and will build more perfect houses, be enabled to purchase necessaries and even some luxuries, and thereby set an example to their brethren, who were located there immediately on their arrival in this colony only a few months ago.

“ *An anxious desire to obtain and enjoy the luxuries of life, is apparent in every village, from the oldest settler to the liberated African of yesterday. European articles of dress are the first objects of their desire, and for the means of acquiring these, both sexes will cheerfully labour ; and a gradual improvement has taken place in their dwellings, as they became possessed of the necessary means for that purpose.*

“ *Of the practicability of introducing free labour amongst the liberated Africans settled here I have not the slightest doubt ; nor do I believe they would work half as well in any other way, UNLESS THE GREATEST CRUELTY SHOULD BE EXERCISED TOWARDS THEM.*

“ My opinion on this subject, is formed from facts collected during an actual residence in each of the settlements of liberated Africans, of from one to three weeks ; and I shall merely state those facts, as I consider them better than any reasoning.

“ The number of frame houses with stone foundations, and also stone houses, has increased in all the villages, particularly the mountain ones of Gloucester and Regent, three sold during the last three years. At Wellington, there are seven stone houses nearly finished, all begun during the last two years. The owners of these habitations, which cost them from one hundred to two hundred dollars, have all acquired the means of so permanently establishing themselves by *free labour*

and industry. They were all, with the exception of a few discharged soldiers from the fourth West India regiment, landed from the ships here after capture, and merely given a lot of ground and rations for a time, and they became masons, carpenters, coopers, smiths and farmers. One liberated African, who has an excellent stone house at Wellington, made, by [selling] ochroes, (a vegetable much esteemed here, and very scarce in the drys,) nearly twenty pounds, and the following year as much. Another is indebted, for his improved habitation, to successful crops of Indian corn; and another to a laborious though profitable speculation in lime burning.

“Regent and Wellington are the most populous and the richest of any of the settlements. Regent consists entirely of liberated Africans, no discharged soldiers ever having been located there. Mr. Johnston, the manager, pointed out to me, after church one Sunday morning, nearly thirty people who possessed upwards of a hundred pounds each. The population of Regent exceeds thirteen hundred, and they have from three to four hundred communicants; the congregations are well conducted, and particularly neatly dressed in the European fashion.

“The markets at Freetown are supplied with fruit and vegetables almost exclusively by the mountain villages; and from eighty to a hundred men, women, boys and girls are to be seen daily on the hill leading to Gloucester town, with the produce of their farms and gardens. This is also entirely the reward of their own industry and perseverance, for not the least instruction on this important branch of labour have they ever received.

“In the low lands to the eastward along the sides of the Bunce River, and the different creeks from Allen’s Town to Waterloo, and from thence to the Calmont Creek, rice might be grown in any quantity, had the inhabitants capital and a certain market for their produce. The cultivation of rice in any quantity requires continual attention and labour; a few of the most productive rice grounds that I have seen, the best of them upon a very small scale, were generally partnership farms.

“African rice has been considered the best in the world: the consumption here is enormous, probably exceeding six hundred tons annually. The profits arising from this, are obtained by the traders from Mandingo, Sherbro’, Rio Pongos and Porto Logo, which the merchant at Freetown finds wonderfully profitable, as they carry off the greater part of the value in all kinds of merchandize from their stores.

“Cotton might also be cultivated with less labour than rice: it grows wild, of three kinds, white, brown and pink; the first is excellent.

“Indigo cannot be kept under without difficulty; it grows spontaneously and in great quantities; the quality is proverbially good.

“Ginger has been tried with great success, and large crops may next year be expected; it yields about sixty for one, and is particularly fine and highly flavoured, but for want of instruction they have not yet acquired the art of peeling and preparing it for European markets. All these articles might with encouragement be raised by liberated Africans, to any extent.

“I trust it will appear to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury,

that by measures now in operation, the advantages arising from which cannot yet be fully developed, a very considerable decrease will be found in the expenses of the Africans liberated on this coast; while at the same time their comforts and general improvement will be in the inverse ratio. By substituting money instead of rations, according to a plan adopted by the present Governor, by which every liberated African above the age of fifteen receives threepence per day in money, a circulation of specie will be created in the villages, which never before existed, and which must be very beneficial to the inhabitants, and excite competition by encouraging industry.

“The Government allowance, however, is never to be extended beyond six months, except in very particular cases of sickness or inability to labour.

“Rewards are intended to be given to the different managers or other cultivators, who shall produce at the ensuing crop-gathering the largest quantity of coffee or ginger of good quality; and minor rewards will also be given for the best crop of articles in more general cultivation.

“Markets are established in every village; and the schoolmasters and managers attend with the liberated Africans on government allowance, when their purchases are made of the smaller cultivators, whose wives attend with the several productions of their farms, and receive payment on the spot in money, when it afterwards circulates in the village, where there is generally from one to four shops. Formerly all the necessaries were supplied by some merchants in Freetown, and often by those who were not merchants, who collected their stock from small farmers, and paid for it in goods and merchandize; they then sold to the liberated African department wholesale, with a considerable profit, and the money paid in Freetown in a government bill or otherwise was sent out of the colony.

“Specie during the last year was scarcely ever seen in circulation in liberated African villages; now it is abundant, and a regular medium for the exchange of property.”

Again, says Col. Denham, writing, on the 15th Nov. 1827, from the village of Kent:—

“I write this from Kent, our western settlement on Cape Shilling, where I have been, and at the Banana Islands, for the last twenty days.

“The western villages have always laboured under considerable disadvantages, from their distance from Freetown, hitherto the only market where they could find purchasers for their produce; they have therefore grown little more than was requisite for their own support. But by trading with the Sherbro’, and by the money circulated during the erection of the Government buildings, they have nevertheless acquired the means of purchasing clothing and other comforts, which enable them to make a very creditable appearance. During the time I remained at Kent, we had an abundance of every thing at a small expense, milk, eggs, fowls, fish and mutton daily; and a wild bullock from the Bananas gave us the finest beef imaginable. Yams, sweet potatoes, ochroes and cocoa roots are in abundance, and it is difficult to say what the people located here are in want of. I never saw any

village in either Spain or Portugal where every requisite for an Englishman's comfort could be so easily obtained.

“George's Town of which I laid the foundation stone, or rather clay, when I first visited Cape Shilling, is rising fast.

“The people appeared highly pleased at the prospect of a regular communication with Waterloo by land; and in two months I expect the road from Kent to that now bustling town of business, will be open and passable for horses, which it never yet has been. The Kent people promise to supply the market there with goats, sheep and dried fish; articles the Waterloo people procure from Freetown at a high price. This road will, with a wooden bridge twenty-eight feet wide, be made entirely by liberated Africans, receiving Government allowance, and be no additional expense to the public.

“The produce of the Banana Islands has much increased this year, the north side is covered with rice farms nearly fit to cut; and it is estimated that from twenty to twenty-five ton will be housed after the harvest. Dublin, at present the only village, is on the south side of the largest island. At the extreme west is a small and very fertile island with many palm trees growing thereon; it has two very safe bays, and good anchorage for canoes and boats or even small vessels. On the north side of this island is the best fishing all along the coast; and here I found a few Sherbro' people who were in the habit of visiting it, and after remaining sufficient time to catch and dry as much fish as their canoes would hold, of starting for Freetown to sell their cargoes. A Frenchman of the name of 'Mieux' it seems, resided for three years on this island, but finding he had no chance of prosecuting his trade in slaves, he suddenly departed with his few followers, not one of whom ever suffered a day's illness, and his goats have become a formidable flock and enjoy the whole range of the island. Here I have determined on making a settlement with forty liberated Africans and six discharged soldiers, with one serjeant, and I have no doubt it will prosper; their trade in dried fish, palm and nut oil, will the first year furnish them with sufficient to stock their farms. The Carolina rice, after three years' growth, has yielded seven or eight to one; in these islands the quality is superior to any thing I can purchase in Freetown, and as my principal food is rice, I may be allowed some judgment in estimating its value. Carolina rice is not now to be procured in the colony, and if two or three ton could be sent here, it would be very acceptable as seed. This island is divided from the larger one by a deep channel, through which vessels of two hundred tons can at all times pass; and, with your permission, I have named it '*Hay's Island.*'”

“It is difficult at the present moment, to form any opinion of the expectation of His Majesty's Government with respect to this colony; the produce of the soil, however encumbered it may be with rock, will certainly furnish the present population with an abundance of food, and as they increase in intelligence they will improve the quality as well as the quantity of their crops. This, time will effect, as it is natural they should cultivate those articles they find out by experience to be the most profitable. The population of the peninsula will, in addition to the trade

with the interior, always cause a very great demand for English goods, and all articles of general merchandize.

“ I know nothing of what may be the capabilities of the negro vassal, but I am sure the free negro, either in his own country or in any other where bondage has never existed, is as sensible of rights and privileges and as ready to defend them as any white man in existence, and I defy any man to show any instance among negroes in this state, of that natural dislike to whites which has been reported and acknowledged as a fact by theorists and West Indians; on the contrary, the white man is always looked up to as their superior, their protector and their friend, whenever he will allow himself to be so considered.

“ These settlements were, from what cause it is difficult to imagine, always considered unhealthy, and the quarterly visit often neglected, or when performed, hurried over in forty-eight hours. By setting the example, and by taking clerks with me, sending a few articles of furniture and cool light eatables and drinkables to the managers' houses, I now always find my table as full as I wish it, one or two days during my stay. Soldiers and senators from Freetown now visit the mountains with great pleasure, and will put up with a mattrass at the hotel, in order to enjoy the cool breeze for twenty-four hours.”

In another letter to Mr. Hay, dated from Charlotte, in the Mountain District, December 3, 1827, Colonel Denham thus writes :

“ I have now taken up my abode here, for a few days, in order to see what improvement we have in the crops, which are fast ripening, in consequence of the additional number of acres which were cleared and settled on in the spring of last year during my stay in these mountains. The persons there located have all their houses built, and their lots fenced in, with a farm sufficiently stocked with vegetables to support themselves; and in very few instances has the Government allowance of threepence per day been continued beyond the six months from the day of their arrival. The old settlers have considerably improved the appearance of their habitations as well as the value of their farms; and the money circulated in the villages, in consequence of the Government allowance being paid on the spot, as well as the money allowed for the support of the schools, has done infinite good; more than two hundred persons attended the market, on Saturday, at Regent; both beef and mutton were to be bought, and almost every necessary article of consumption for a decent family in any country.

“ By the means now pursued the inhabitants will, in time, acquire capital, which I conceive they would readily embark in any plausible speculation; and they would now be more inclined to make trial of agriculture, from the losses many of them (particularly the discharged soldiers) have met with in attempting to trade with the natives at Port Loko and other places on the rivers.

“ The whole of the mountain district is particularly adapted for coffee plantations. We have, probably, within two miles of where I am now writing, in small plantations, four thousand plants, two thousand of which bear coffee.

“ Notwithstanding the belief among the Maroons and settlers, that

Great Britain was about to abandon the colony, many applications have been made to me for advice as to the purchase of the different parcels of land and houses which were offered for sale ; and three of the most monied Maroons in the colony wished to make a trial of preparing indigo, could sufficient information have been collected from the men employed by Mr. Giles, whose indigo was exceedingly good, as to the mode of preparing it. It would bring here from the merchants five shillings per pound, so good an opinion have they of the quality of that which Mr. Giles produced as a sample.

“ The attendance of free children born here (a most interesting part of the population) at daily instruction, has of late greatly increased. The very striking superiority of intellect possessed by the children born in the colony, when compared with those landed from the slave ships, is as unaccountable as it is manifest to every the most common observer on entering a school. The parents are for the most part from the same country ; and it can only be explained by the advantages enjoyed by the former in having received something of that early instruction, both moral and religious, which is so necessary to predispose the mind to profit by a more extended education. Trifling indeed as that instruction has been, the happy results are clearly to be observed. This class of children are daily increasing in numbers and in age, many having also reached their tenth year, and with proper cultivation may be reckoned on as likely to become useful members of society ; for we must not forget that the infants of the present race will be the workmen of the next.

“ A plan of instruction has been commenced by the Reverend Mr. Davy, a very respectable, unaffected and benevolent servant of the Church Missionary Society, which is, I think, particularly adapted to the nature of African dispositions. I have remained in his school during the hours of instruction, with infinite satisfaction ; and the progress he has made with the free children in the settlement where he resides, (Bathurst,) in less than three months, is really surprising. So much do I approve of the system, and so indefatigable is Mr. Davy in all works of usefulness, that I have placed the two senior classes of the schools of Regent and Charlotte, neither of them more than one mile distant, under his charge ; and I should be very much pleased if *six sets of the apparatus for instructing children on the plan of Mr. Wilkirspin*, which is now practised in the infant schools in London and its neighbourhood, could be sent out here with as little delay as possible. No better plan could, in my opinion, be devised for the improvement and comfort of the rising generation, in this as well as others of His Majesty's colonies, than teaching generally upon this principle. I am from observation convinced, that children, after they can speak, are never too young to learn. Vice will fructify early in the infant mind, and it is not too much to expect virtue will do the same.

“ This system of education would be so particularly acceptable to the tastes of African children, combining as it does amusement with instruction, that with, or even without a few respectable English teachers, I have no doubt it's adoption here would considerably lessen the number of those lamented cases of early depravity which have of late appeared in this colony.”

Again, on the 31st December, 1827, he says :—

“ I hope there is as little doubt of our improved state, as there is of the very great diminution in our expense. Underneath you will see the annual expenditure for liberated Africans since the beginning of the year 1824, and the number landed in each year from the prizes :—

Number Landed.	Expenditure.
1824 :—1,530 - - - -	£.31,179 18 -
1825 :—2,337 - - - -	18,201 12 6
1826 :—2,727 - - - -	17,755 16 5
1827 :—2,857 - - - -	10,983 7 -

“ The accompanying letter from Mr. Campbell, manager of the western district, will make you acquainted with the increase of produce this year on the Banana Islands.”

Colonel Denham’s latest communication is dated 14th May, 1828. He had just then returned from a visit to the Gold Coast and Fernando Po, where he appears to have caught the disease which cut him off in the midst of his benevolent and useful career.

“ It is my intention, that the inhabitants of every village shall have a town and country lot of their own, granted to them by the end of next spring, upon the same plan that has been pursued at York and the Bananas. This work has been completed by Mr. Pyne and Mr. White, during my absence, in consequence of directions left by me with the former gentleman previous to my departure.”

“ Numbers of the liberated Africans have been hitherto, and probably will always remain, labourers, and although not the least useful members of the community, yet their land remains neglected and uncleared, probably encircled by well-cultivated, productive plantations, whilst they are residing in Freetown or working at the timber factories in the river. This is an evil which I shall find it difficult to remedy, for a time, as these men have already received the land in perpetuity. Our present mode of proceeding is, to grant country lots according to the following scale :—three acres to a single man, four and a half for a married man, and half an acre additional for each child above two years of age. And these grants are only to be made to such of the inhabitants of the different villages, as have already built habitations on their town lots, where they also reside ; and as a mark of distinction, the persons on the list of communicants, obtained from the resident missionary clergyman, are to be first put in possession of land, henceforth to be considered as their own. You will please to observe, that all the comforts of the liberated African’s cottage, (and his shelves give proof of a desire for them,) are only to be obtained by the sale of his yams, cassada, cocoa root, sugar-cane, and such articles as his farm will produce ; he has as yet no idea of manuring the land, or in any way improving the soil, beyond turning over the straw of his produce and letting it lie fallow, when the crops fail him, for a while.

“ On my first visiting their locations, I found the industrious African, a creature not so rare as you may have been led to imagine, with two and sometimes three pieces of land, of from two to three acres, cleared by himself, in the immediate neighbourhood of his village, which he

cultivated alternately. This I did not discourage; but, with a caution that such land could only be held by him on sufferance, promised the temporary occupation of any portion that he might clear of the bush. The number of acres that have been cleared by this means in the immediate neighbourhood of Freetown, and some other of the nearest villages, has, I have no doubt, contributed greatly to the improvement in the general health of the inhabitants during the last twelve months."

After the death of Colonel Denham, the task of reporting, on the state of the liberated Africans, devolved first on Mr. Smart, and subsequently on Major Ricketts. Mr. Smart on the 10th September 1828, speaks of those recently landed as "well taken care of," and that they "seem to work cheerfully and willingly," and on the 11th October 1828, adds "I do feel confident that if the measures adopted by the late Colonel Denham were strictly followed up, great advancement in the grand objects of the government would be the result; as nothing can be done without strict adherence to his suggestions as to making the liberated Africans feel the benefits to be derived from industry and labour in clearing and cultivating land." In these views Major Ricketts concurs. On the 27th March 1829 the Major thus addresses Mr. Hay:—

"—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th November last, which I received while on a visit of inspection of the distant villages where I had gone for a few weeks, in order to encourage and instruct the liberated Africans in the culture of exportable produce, and to endeavour to impress upon them the advantages that would result from it; and I have great hopes, from the disposition already evinced, that a large quantity will be brought to market this year by those who have it in their power to procure seeds and plants.

"The liberated Africans at the different villages appear happy; Wellington and Waterloo are improving fast in respectability. At the former place, they are building by subscription among the inhabitants, a good sized church and market-house of stone, and a number of private stone buildings are springing up. Waterloo and Hastings labour under great disadvantages, from the bridges on the road to Freetown having been carried away by the last rains. This, however, must be remedied, if possible, in some manner, before the ensuing rains, for the safety of the lives of the passengers, many of whom are strangers from the interior of the country trading to the colony. The manager at Hastings is endeavouring to erect new bridges, with the workmen and others of the village, who give labour and furnish materials gratis: but this object cannot be accomplished without some little expense to government for the necessary iron work and nails.

"I have not long returned from York and the Bananas. At the former place, a few stone houses have been completed, and others in progress of building by the disbanded soldiers located there. I am at a loss to imagine why the Bananas, the finest land in this part of Africa, should have been so long overlooked. I have located 150 liberated Africans on them, and intend to settle there as many more."

Again on the 30th June 1829, he thus writes:—

"As the liberated Africans are delivered over to the department by the Mixed Commission Courts, the boys and girls above a certain age

are apprenticed out, and the men are sent to the different villages and located on the sides of the road; each man receiving a chain and a half in front and about seven in the rear. He is first instructed in the method of building his house, and afterwards in preparing and cultivating the ground, so that he may be provided with sufficient sustenance at the period when the allowance granted by government ceases. The system which is now pursued, of requiring the newly imported Africans to combine and assist each other, during the time they are supported, in completing their houses and cultivating the grounds, is conducive to much good, as they are enabled more speedily to provide for themselves; and thus the two pence *per diem*" (it was at first three pence a day but appears to have been reduced to two pence) "for six months, with the clothing, cooking utensils and agricultural implements, given to them when first located, are found as yet quite adequate to their wants, and no further pecuniary assistance is afterwards required by them from government.

"The country on each side of the road between the villages, by its being cleared and cultivated as before described, assumes a cheerful appearance and affords means of judging of the improvements the people are making in habits of industry.

"The difficulty which has presented itself in augmenting the population of some of the old established villages, owing to the sterility of the lands in their immediate vicinity, has induced me to make a selection of two pieces of unoccupied ground near Cape Sierra Leone, and about three miles distant from Freetown, where I have formed two villages capable of settling eight hundred families. Their situation being so contiguous to the capital, and consequently within range of frequent inspection, I have reason to hope, from the means afforded the new settlers by the capabilities of the soil, and the advantage which they possess of fishing in two deep bays on each side of the points of land upon which the villages are formed, that great progress will be made by them in industry. Although these places have been but recently formed, *and the individuals composing the inhabitants rescued from the holds of slave ships but a few months back*, many of them are in the possession of goats, pigs, and poultry, and on Sundays appear cleanly attired.

"In those villages where the disbanded soldiers of the West India regiments and Royal African corps are settled, the inhabitants generally derive eminent benefit from the pensions being paid on the spot, and by the constant circulation of money: several have established shops for retailing merchandize, and others who have been provident have built comfortable stone and frame houses. This disposition and spirit for improvement is most apparent at Wellington, York, Hastings and Waterloo.

"Several of the liberated Africans, who have obtained lots of land in Freetown, have built, and are now in progress of building, good houses. These are principally mechanics and hawkers of merchandize. Many of the liberated Africans and disbanded soldiers employ themselves in the burning of lime, sawing of boards, cutting shingles and clap boards, all of which are carried for miles from the spot where they are prepared

to their villages, and from thence either brought to Freetown by land, or by water in canoes which are kept and hired out, for that purpose, by the liberated Africans residing in the villages situated on the banks of the river, or on the sea coast. In return for these articles they generally receive cash which is not kept dormant, for with that they purchase cattle from the natives trading to the colony, and taking them to the country villages where there is excellent pasture, they are fattened and afterwards sent to the market, and a profit of nearly one hundred per cent is realized by this species of industry. Pigs and poultry are raised in the villages, and the market of Freetown receives from them an ample supply daily of this kind of stock, as well as of eggs and country vegetables, consisting of ochra, yavas, spinnage and cocoa-tops, also yams, cassada, cocoa, Indian-corn, ground-nuts, pine-apples, sugar-cane, fire wood, salt, grass, &c.; the value of these articles may be estimated by the well-known fact, that a labouring man can go into the market and purchase as much food for a penny halfpenny as will suffice for two meals. Some of the persons supplying the market are known to travel from Waterloo and Hastings, the former being twenty-two and the latter sixteen miles from Freetown, carrying their produce in baskets on their heads; this kind of industry clearly manifests the desire the liberated Africans have to labour voluntarily, to enable them, by honest means, to become possessed of those luxuries which they see their more wealthy brethren enjoying.

“The police of the villages is administered by the liberated Africans, each settlement being allowed from eight to ten special constables and two constables paid by the government. The managers, and the gentlemen attached to the Church Missionary society perform the duties of magistrate, commissioner of the court for the recovery of small debts, and coroner, and one day in the week is set apart for hearing of cases of a trifling nature; those of serious consequence are investigated immediately on their coming to the knowledge of the individuals authorized to take cognizance of them.

“*The liberated Africans have given evident proof of their affection for the laws as they are administered, by the interest they shew in implicitly obeying them; and when it has been found requisite to adopt local regulations particularly affecting them, they have cheerfully conformed to them.* By an act for keeping in repair the roads and bridges, every adult male in the colony is bound to give six days labour gratuitously, and the provisions of the said act are enforced about the latter end of November, when the liberated Africans come forward, leaving probably their daily work, at the risk of incurring their employer's displeasure, to give the assistance which they are called upon for.

“The numerous factories established by the merchants up this and the adjacent rivers, for the purchase of the teak timber cut by the natives, are partly worked by the liberated Africans apprenticed to those persons; and so very useful are they found in the rafting and cutting the timber, and sawing boards and scantling, that many of them are receiving from four to five dollars per month with food and clothing. At the expiration of the period of their apprenticeship (three years) they are delivered over to the department and settled, without any expense to

government, in the villages ; but many prefer remaining at the factories to labour for wages.

“ In the large villages, *where the liberated Africans have the advantage of a resident clergyman, the beneficial influence of the Christian religion has been eminently displayed, and by the exertion and assiduity of the Church missionaries, numbers of unfortunate beings, labouring under the grossest ignorance and barbarism when landed in this colony, have been converted to Christianity, and are now rendered comfortable and happy in the circumstances in which they are placed.*”

“ The schools for the admission of children born in the colony are still progressively improving, and the parents evince an anxious desire to avail themselves of the opportunity afforded them of obtaining useful instruction for their children.

“ The whole of the newly imported Africans (males) above the age of fourteen years, are supplied with the following articles from the stores of the department, on their being located.”

Then after enumerating the articles, the cost of which is about thirty shillings, he adds,

“ The above estimated amount, with the six months or one hundred and eighty days allowance of twopence per diem, includes, at the present time, the entire expense each male adult is to His Majesty's Government; making, altogether, the sum of two pounds nineteen shillings and tenpence farthing. It has not been found requisite, since I assumed the government, to extend the allowance to men beyond the period before mentioned, except in a few instances where the individuals have been either from age or infirmity incapable of maintaining themselves.”

The number of invalids in all the villages who received 2*d.* per day, at the time of this last despatch, (June 30, 1829,) was only fifty-three, being, for the most part, persons blinded by ophthalmia on board the slave ships from which they had been rescued. In the various hospitals were seventy-three sick, receiving 3*d.* per day. About 800 adults, recently landed, were receiving 2*d.* a day each, till the period of six months in the case of men, and three months in the case of women, should expire ; and for 500 children at school, 1½*d.* per day was paid.

But if such be a fair representation of the willing industry of the liberated Africans at Sierra Leone, it may be asked whence has the impression arisen of their inaptitude to voluntary labour, and of the necessity of introducing among them some compulsory process for enforcing industry ? The question admits of an easy and satisfactory answer. It has arisen partly from the gross misrepresentations of hostile partizans, and partly from a somewhat unfair report, on this particular point, of the Commissioners appointed in 1825, to inquire into the state of the liberated captives at Sierra Leone. In this report (printed for the House of Commons 7th May, 1827, No. 312,) an opinion is expressed by the Commissioners in favour of “ a mild and well regulated system of *coerced* labour,” as being the most effectual mode of inducing among the liberated Africans steady habits of industry in agricultural pursuits,” (p. 55,) and they add, (p. 56,) that, “ without some such system, it is much to

be feared that it will be found impracticable to induce any considerable number of the adult liberated Africans, by the cultivation of the soil, to improve their condition beyond what they are at present led to do by their own idea of comfort, which *includes little more than an abundance of food and sufficient shelter from the weather.* Even if the habits or inclinations of this class were such as to incite them to more extensive cultivation, it should be remembered that, for this purpose, some capital is requisite, and this they have had no means of acquiring."

It is hardly necessary to point out the extreme unfairness of such a statement. The Commissioners assume that the liberated Africans require coercion; and yet they admit, that without such coercion, they have already fulfilled their own ideas of comfort in the abundance of food, and in shelter from the weather, including, we presume, a comfortable dwelling and adequate clothing. Now, supposing that it could be truly affirmed of the peasantry of England, that by their labour, they were in the regular enjoyment of abundance of food and of shelter from the weather, what should we say to the statesman who should recommend as a measure of just, humane, and warrantable policy, that they should be placed under a system of *coercion* in order both "to induce artificial wants," and "to stimulate them to that degree of agricultural industry which may supply the means of gratifying such wants by the production of articles having exchangeable value in other countries?" (p. 56). What, we ask, would be said to such a proposal? Should we not revolt from it as utterly repugnant to every principle of just and politic legislation; nay, as a cruel and unjustifiable interference with the rights of private judgment and individual conduct; as no better than a slightly modified system of actual slavery? What, all the members of any community "having food," nay "abundance" of food and "raiment," and shelter too, may they not be allowed "therewith to be content"? In Europe, nay, in England, we should say, that if this could be truly predicated of our peasantry, their lot would be an enviable one. But this will not do for Sierra Leone. The inhabitants of the former, however, are white, of the latter, unfortunately, black. These last must not be tried by the same standard of prosperity and comfort as the labouring classes in Europe, with whom the political economist is satisfied, if they feed and clothe themselves by their labour. No, the negroes must be *driven* to do more: they must be *coerced*, first, that they may feel wants, and then that they may gratify wants thus artificially and compulsorily created, in order to consume more of our manufactures. They are happy, it is true, and contented with their present lot; they have enough to satisfy every craving of nature, without compulsion. But for the disciples of the new "philosophy of labour" this is not sufficient: they must be taught, by *coercion*, the luxury of digging cane-holes, of manufacturing sugar, of pulping coffee, in order to arrive at that true point of felicity, which is known only by the genuine subjects of coerced labour, the whip-galled slaves of our plantations.

It is hardly necessary to dwell on the utter absurdity, as well as the unreasonableness and gross partiality of such views, as they appear in this report. And they are the more reprehensible, because the Commissioners admit that the effect of the ordinary inducements to voluntary

exertion had not been fairly tried with the liberated Africans at Sierra Leone. A single fact, mentioned by them at p. 71, is sufficient to account for the absence of any material efforts of agricultural industry among the liberated Africans, and throws the blame of that absence wholly on the Government. Down to the year 1825, only six grants of land for cultivation had been made to the liberated Africans. They had been permitted, it is true, to cultivate unoccupied land, but beyond the grants to these six individuals, not an acre of land, in 1825, had yet been put into the possession, as his property, of any liberated African. "In no instance," it is further stated, at p. 28, "does it appear that lands have been allotted to them as farms." What inducement could there have been therefore for these poor creatures to expend time in cultivation, beyond the necessities of the moment, under such a wretched and improvident system of administration, as allowed to them no property in the soil, no specific location, nor any tenure beyond the present moment of occupancy?

But this was not all. Not only were no lands located to them until 1827, but they were absolutely deprived of all motive to exertion, if we may believe the statement of General Turner, by the improvidence and profusion of the Government. He tells us, that they had been receiving, in most cases, "a *gratuitous* maintenance," that "they had been for years supported in *idleness* by the Government."—Only imagine such a course as this to have been pursued with the civilized peasantry of this country, and what might we expect to be its general effect? Would it not be the absence of all exertion? And is it reasonable to expect a different result in the case of the African just liberated from the hold of a slave-ship, and whose new state of enjoyment into which he has been suddenly transferred, is as a paradise when compared with the charnel-house from which he has been rescued.

Take the account of their state as given by two medical officers to the Commissioners. One says,

"The principal contagious diseases slaves bring with them is, small-pox and craw craw, an inveterate itch, and not long ago a vessel arrived here with a very bad ophthalmia among the slaves, which had some appearance of a contagious character, consequently the establishment of a lazaretto for the reception of such cases would be exceedingly beneficial."

"In such of the slave vessels as I have visited, the unfortunate slaves were so crowded they had not space to lie down, nor any sort of bedding or covering whatsoever; the height betwixt decks was barely sufficient to allow a very moderate sized man to sit erect; they would appear to be embarked in the proportion of four or five (adults and children) to every ton the vessel registers; from their exposure to all sorts of weather, their crowded condition, scanty fare, bad water, and confined air, diseases make great inroads among them, particularly bowel complaints and a hectic marasmus."

Another states,

"During the years 1822 and 1823, prior to the appointment of an officer for that particular duty, I visited most of the slave vessels on their arrival, and found the slaves in general in a most miserable condi-

tion, in a very crowded state, and from unavoidable circumstances badly supplied with provisions and water, particularly as the voyage from leeward generally exceeded six weeks. The average of the sick might be about one in five, but the whole of them much emaciated and unfit for immediate employment;—the diseases, bowel complaints and afflictions of the lungs;—in the children, irremediable debility attended with general anasarca. Occasionally the small pox has made its appearance during the voyage; the scene in those instances becomes too horrible for description. I cannot however pass over without notice, the kindness with which these poor wretches have been invariably treated by the naval officers in charge, whose attention to them, as far as their means would allow, has been unremitting under the most appalling circumstances." Papers of 1830, No. 57, p. 87 and 67.

To this testimony the Commissioners add with much feeling, "It is, indeed, truly gratifying to witness the joy sometimes manifested by the Africans upon meeting with an officer under whose charge they had been brought to the colony." Report, p. 22.

Now such are the wretched materials, out of which the colony of Sierra Leone has been constructed; nor does the description which has been given, horrifying as it is, convey an adequate impression of one half of the disadvantages under which they labour. They arrive not only debilitated, diseased, and emaciated, but desponding, dejected, and destitute, naked with not even a rag to cover them, wholly ignorant of the English language, and without power or inclination for exertion. And yet of these wretched beings, what is the report which is given us in the official documents from which we have made such copious extracts? The change passed upon them would require the strongest language duly to depict. It is like a resurrection from the dead; a translation from chains and darkness to light and liberty; from a depth of wretchedness of which those whose eyes have not witnessed it can form no adequate conception, to a state of comparative ease and enjoyment, of comfort and happiness; and from barbarism and degradation the most complete, to civilization and christian improvement. Nor is it only Colonel Denham and Major Ricketts who bear their unequivocal testimony to this gratifying change; the Commissioners themselves afford their reluctant suffrage to the same general results, although the system under which the liberated Africans had been previously placed was peculiarly wasteful and defective, and they were, therefore, seen by those Commissioners, under very unfavourable circumstances.

But notwithstanding the extent and consolatory nature of this change, which the Commissioners could not but acknowledge, they were still dissatisfied. They seem to have expected and required of these poor creatures absolute impossibilities. They seem to have looked for the fruits of industry, intelligence, and capital, from men who brought nothing with them into the colony but their unnerved and tottering limbs; and their naked and emaciated bodies; and their depressed and abject spirits;—and not finding those fruits, they pronounce the cruel sentence, that for them "some mild coercive power is necessary." (p. 55.) And in the very breath in which they enunciate this monstrous proposition, and condemn these rescued captives to the experimental process, recom-

mended by the stern and unnatural dogmas of the founders of the new school of "The Philosophy of Labour," we are calmly told, that the more natural and rational inducement of wages had not even yet been tried to excite their industry. The words of the Commissioners are that, perhaps, "the necessity of this coercion might, however, in some degree, be avoided, by giving to the negroes daily wages, even of a trifling amount!"—In this way may the happiness of millions of our fellow-men be sacrificed to some hard-hearted abstraction; and of such stuff are Commissioners sometimes made! But let us return from this digression to their Report.

The Commissioners admit that there is much good soil in the valleys of the Peninsula, though the more sterile land of the mountains had been injudiciously selected for the liberated African villages, thus subjecting these poor people to additional and unnecessary difficulties. p. 6, &c.

They admit also, that the harbour of Sierra Leone is of the most secure and commodious description, and "gives to Freetown a great facility for trade, possessed by few situations upon the coast, and probably by none, in an equal degree," (p. 7.); and that "Freetown, as well as the rest of the Peninsula, enjoys an advantage which *none* of the other settlements possess, in a constant and plentiful supply of excellent water," (p. 105,) and has, besides, "some important advantages over the other settlements." (p. 108.)

They farther admit a very visible improvement in various classes of the negro population.

"The general appearance," they observe, "of the Nova Scotian settlers, differs but little from that of the free people of colour in the West Indies. On Sundays their dress is neat and clean, and their general deportment very respectable. This remark is equally applicable to all the other coloured classes which compose the resident population of Freetown, where great external respect is paid to the Sabbath." *ib.* p. 13.

Again:—

"From their previous habits and manner of life, it was not to be expected that the Maroons" (exiled from Jamaica, and in 1800 brought to Sierra Leone,) "would bring with them to the colony a knowledge of the arts of civilized society, or a taste for pursuits requiring industry and application. To religion they seem to have been utter strangers, and polygamy was prevalent amongst them.* Under these circumstances it is not surprising that their accession should have been looked forward to with considerable doubt and apprehension; but these feelings towards them soon subsided, as they happened to arrive at a time when their services were much required to repel a hostile attack, on which occasion they appear to have conducted themselves well; and they have since maintained, pretty generally, the good opinion then formed of them.

"The laws, under the restraint of which they found themselves

* This is still the state of their fellow Maroons who remain in Jamaica. No stronger proof of the improvement which has been proceeding at Sierra Leone can be given, than to compare the actual state of those now resident in that colony with those whom they have left behind in Jamaica. The latter are not even now allowed to give evidence in courts of justice against other free persons.

placed, must in some cases have been irksome to them. To that by which polygamy was abolished they seem to have submitted quietly, but many of them opposed a decided resistance to the colonial militia laws, which led to the temporary removal of some of them from their homes. Although the attempt to introduce a taste for agricultural pursuits would seem entirely to have failed, still in the occupations to which they applied themselves, they have shown an aptness which gives them the first place in the colony as tradesmen; and in point of industry they are equal, if not superior, to any other class of the population." Report, p. 14.

"But although they have as yet made little progress in agriculture, it may be hoped that eventually their example will be productive of good. Several of the Maroons have been successful in trade, by which they have acquired a comfortable livelihood; and a few of them who are more extensively engaged in mercantile transactions, are supposed to have attained to considerable affluence, at the same time that they have maintained a character of great respectability.

"It has been already stated, that the Maroons were without religion when they arrived in the colony. At present, they are almost universally sectarians; for the most part Wesleyan Methodists.

"From the character and circumstances of these people, they must be expected hereafter to maintain a leading influence in this part of Africa; and although it may excite surprise that few, if any of them, have been induced to become members of the Established Church of that nation to which they owe the enjoyment of present, and the prospect of future advantages, it would seem unjust to deny to the respectable sectarians, whose zeal and assiduity are best attested by their success, the praise which on that account they are entitled to claim.

"The dress and general appearance of the Maroons is very respectable, particularly on Sunday, when a peculiar neatness is observable; and their deportment not only in chapel, but, as far as opportunities have offered of observing it elsewhere during that day, is very creditable.

"It will be seen by the Document, No. 2. (A.) that of 636 Maroons, 368 are youths of both sexes. Many of these display at school considerable aptitude for acquirement, and hold out the promise of becoming one day useful auxiliaries in the advancement of civilization, if by a more extended scale of education the talents which they possess be cultivated, so as to enable them gradually to rise to situations of trust in the colony." Report, p. 15.

The next accession to the colony (independent of the liberated Africans,) consisted of eighty-five slaves, banished from Barbadoes on account of an insurrection in that island. They were employed in public works for two or three years.

"At the expiration of this time they were permitted to employ themselves for their own benefit; and their conduct since has proved that this lenity was not ill judged, for, since the restrictions were removed, they have in general shown themselves to be industrious and useful.

"It is understood that after their dismissal from the public works, the great majority of them settled in or about Freetown. Many being tradesmen readily found employment, and those who had a knowledge

of tropical agriculture have latterly been sought after by merchants and other individuals, who have small farms or gardens for their amusement in the vicinity. In some of these the Barbadoes negroes have a few liberated Africans under their instruction, and thus occupied for their own benefit, render themselves really useful to the colony."* *ibid.* p. 15.

Another accession to the colony at this time consisted of about 1,000 black soldiers of the African corps, disbanded in the colony, and settled there with their families, some in Freetown, some on farms.

"Many of them appear industrious." "They have generally maintained a respectable character, and have, by their own exertions, (aided by some liberal residents) and under the zealous superintendence of the Reverend Mr. Raban, erected a chapel in the distant part of the town, where they reside. That gentleman officiates there two days in the week to a congregation, averaging, perhaps, one hundred persons, whose appearance and deportment are very creditable." *ibid.* p. 16.

Now with respect to the liberated Africans, what is their report?

"Many liberated Africans reside in Freetown, where they are intermixed with the other inhabitants; and no means exist of ascertaining the particulars of their condition as a separate class.

"A small proportion are understood to be engaged in petty trade, on their own account, or employed in the shops of the more wealthy classes; but the great majority of them are mechanics, labourers, and domestics.

"The mechanics are chiefly those who had been instructed in trades by the engineer department in Freetown, or by the African department in the villages. The former have generally resided for a considerable time in Freetown, and many of them have so far improved their condition as to possess houses much superior to those usually occupied by the villagers. Several of them are of stone, and in some instances, of a description much above the circumstances of the proprietors. But their situation as mechanics afforded facilities, and the wages which they formerly obtained as such, far exceeded the very limited expenditure for their clothing and food." *ib.* p. 32.

"Independently of Freetown, but including the Isles de Los and Bananas, the number of settlements which have at different times been made is fourteen." *ib.* p. 33.

The Commissioners then proceed to describe the different villages in terms of mixed blame and praise; but as their statements have been superseded by subsequent reports, we need not at this late hour enter upon them. Speaking of the schools, after some length of detail in shewing their very varying progress, the incompetency of many of the teachers, and the immense difficulties to be surmounted in teaching these ignorant savages, the Commissioners observe as follows:

"The most serious of these difficulties are, the uncertainty as to the

* These were the men whom the authorities of Barbadoes had hunted like wild beasts, and massacred by hundreds, till their course was stayed by the interference of Sir James Leith; and of whom about 130 were afterwards deported under circumstances of cruelty which destroyed more than a third of their number. The survivors, after two years' confinement on shipboard, were landed at Sierra Leone in 1829.

number of children to be provided for in any given period, the wretched state of many of them when received, their entire ignorance of the language through the medium of which they are to be instructed, and, for a long time, the want of all incitement to exertions, the motives for which they cannot sufficiently comprehend. If to these considerations be added the very limited number and frequent sickness or change of the European teachers, and the incompetency of the native assistants, they will account, in some measure, for the little progress that has hitherto been made.

“ In the three liberated African schools which were found to be so superior to the others, the teachers, besides possessing zeal and ability, enjoyed comparatively good health, and were thereby enabled to continue in charge for several successive years.”

“ The great increase of Freetown, and the circumstances of its inhabitants, seem to require the establishment of a seminary where a limited number of youth might receive a more liberal education than is at present afforded. A few of the more wealthy persons of colour have already sent their children to Europe for instruction.* It may therefore be inferred that such individuals would readily contribute to the maintenance of a school which should render so expensive a measure unnecessary, and would be joined by others whose circumstances place an European education beyond their reach.” Report, p. 70.

“ The trial by jury is a part of the law which seems to be duly appreciated in the colony, and is stated to have been advantageous in practice.” “ We did not, while resident in Freetown, see a single jurymen objected to, although we attended all the courts that were held during that time.”

“ The coloured men whom we have had opportunities of observing on juries, may be stated as being the most respectable of their class. They appeared attentive, and anxious to ascertain the merits of the case, and, as far as we could judge from their verdict, seemed to be possessed of sufficient intelligence to insure the ends of justice; though a subtle advocate might no doubt occasionally perplex them by technicalities, to which they are at present unaccustomed. It is true, that the number which there were opportunities of seeing in the capacity of jurors was not considerable, as two pannels only attended the sessions. These tried the cases alternately; and, generally speaking, the same individuals acted in jury cases at the court of the recorder. They are selected principally from the older settlers, (Nova Scotians and Maroons), and, in some few instances, from the liberated Africans.”—*Ibid.* p. 92.

“ The coroner of Freetown is stated, by the chief justice, to have been sometimes appointed by the governor, and sometimes elected by the freeholders. The individual at present holding the situation is a Maroon.

* The Commissioners in this and other places, use the term “ persons of colour,” “ coloured men” inaccurately. They include under it the Blacks, who form the great bulk of the population, and who, in fact, are the persons who chiefly send their children to England for education, and who sit on juries. The Nova Scotians, Maroons, Barbadians, discharged Soldiers, and liberated Africans, with few exceptions, are Black.

“ Neither of the two individuals practising as solicitors and attornies, has been professionally educated. One is a European, who acts also as King’s advocate and registrar of the Vice Admiralty Court ; the other, a person of colour, born and educated in England, and actually engaged in mercantile pursuits.

“ Of the seven justices in the commission of the peace for the colony, one is a military officer, and the other six hold civil situations under the government.

“ The mayor and aldermen of Freetown are appointed by the governor and council. The present mayor is one of the early Nova Scotian settlers ; the senior alderman, one of the early Maroon settlers ; the second, a person of colour, born in the West Indies ; and the third, a young European, clerk in a mercantile house.

“ Of the commissioners of requests, three are magistrates, and five are engaged in trade ; and of these, two are persons of colour.” *ibid.* p. 95.

If any thing farther were necessary to elucidate this subject, a reference might be made to a great variety of high and unexceptionable testimonies ;—to the records of the African Institution, and to those of the Church Missionary Society ; to official reports of Naval Officers, both British and American, (particularly to those of the late Sir George Collier, and of Captain Trenchard of the United States Navy) ; and to various intelligent and disinterested travellers, of whose evidence a condensed view may be found in a pamphlet, by the late Mr. Kenneth Macaulay, published for Hatchard in 1827, entitled “ The Colony of Sierra Leone Vindicated.” See, particularly, pages 23, 32, 38, 39, 61, 92, &c., and 121—127.

We must abstain however from farther details, and even from alluding to the growing trade of the colony, which, with some other matters, we must reserve for another occasion.—In the mean time, we would ask, what there is in the circumstances of this particular colony which renders it so peculiarly the subject of obloquy, condemnation, and abandonment ? It has been seriously proposed that Government should abandon it. Is this possible ? And if possible, is it consistent with good faith or with the dictates of the commonest justice and humanity ? The great mass of the individuals who compose the colony are Africans liberated by our cruizers from the holds of slave ships. Putting out of view the strong claims of some other classes of the colonists this country has incurred an obligation to the liberated Africans, as solemn and imperious as it is possible for a nation to contract ; an obligation as binding as that which insures the payment of his dividend to the fundholder, or of his pension to the wounded and disabled soldier. The abolition of the slave-trade, both British and Foreign, is a national, not a colonial concern. On this subject, we have contracted engagements, and incurred responsibilities, in the face of Europe and of the world, from which, by no sophistry however ingenious, nor by any considerations of economy however rigid and unfeeling, can we escape. Are the wretched beings, whom our humane and Christian policy has led us to rescue from chains and death, to be thrown into the sea, or to be cast ashore again on the barbarous coast from which they had been torn ? Or, if landed at some given point, as Sierra Leone, are they to

be left to the risk of again becoming the prey of the ferocious kidnapper, and of again undergoing all the horrors of the middle passage? Are they to be abandoned to brutal ignorance, to misrule, to treachery, to lawless violence, without protection, without the benign control of civil government, without instruction, without Christian sympathy, or Christian light? It is utterly impossible that such a violation of every just principle, of every moral obligation, which ought to guide the conduct of nations as of individuals, can be seriously contemplated by any man of reflection, imbued with one spark of humanity.

But independently of all this, on the 26th of June 1829, the Under-Secretary of State, Mr. Hay, addressed a letter to Major Ricketts in the following terms:—"I have had much pleasure in receiving your letter of the 27th March. The disposition to build, which is manifesting itself in the villages, affords a strong proof of the improving habits of the people; and *and it will be wise to afford every encouragement to that disposition*, which, as it springs from a due appreciation of the comforts of civilized life, must operate as an incentive to industry." Abandonment after such a despatch! The thing, we repeat, is absolutely impossible, at least without either such a flagrant breach of good faith as would be in the highest degree opprobrious; or such an overwhelming necessity as would dispense with the observance of all ordinary rules of moral conduct; or such an expenditure in the way of indemnity for all the labour and all the capital which such a despatch may have incited individuals to lay out at Sierra Leone, as would far exceed any pecuniary sacrifice the nation can now be reasonably required to make, in conformity to its plain obligations, for the maintenance of that colony.

And what is to compensate us for this gross violation of our duties? A saving of expense, we shall be told. Now, no man can fairly object to our fulfilling our clear obligations, at the smallest cost which is called for by the circumstances of the case. We freely and fully admit that the expenditure at Sierra Leone was, for a time, of a very lavish description. It has been such as not only improvidently to waste the public money, but needlessly to injure, it seems, by its unseasonable and reckless profusion, the very persons for whose benefit it was issued. All this we admit; and we admit also, that the case called for the strictest investigation, and the most rigid control;—that the whole system required a thorough revision;—that in place of the confusion, disorder, and vacillation; the absence of established regulations; and the uncertain and changeful plans which, till a recent period, had marked the conduct of this settlement, since it was transferred, in 1808, by the Sierra Leone Company to the Crown; it became incumbent on Parliament to see that an effective remedy was applied to these evils, and that by clear, precise, and judicious rules steadily enforced, the national bounty should not only not be squandered, but should be rendered effective to the civilization, improvement, and comfort of the population who are its objects.

But looking at the statements contained in the official documents now submitted to Parliament, where, we confidently ask, could the same results be produced at so cheap a rate as at Sierra Leone? If we examinè

the present scale of expense for the maintenance of the liberated Africans, we shall find it difficult to specify a single spot, on either side of the Atlantic, where similar advantages could be enjoyed by them, and where similar benefits could be conferred upon them, for more than double the expense that is now incurred.

But we shall be told of the deadliness of the climate, of the dreadful waste of human life which it causes, and of the still more dreadful waste which it must hereafter occasion.—Now we have no hesitation to admit, that as respects Europeans, and more especially European troops, this objection would have a force which could not be resisted, if the mortality which it justly depicts were necessary and unavoidable, instead of being as it is, so uncalled for and gratuitous, as actually to involve a cruel and wanton sacrifice of human life. We maintain that there does not now exist, and that there never did exist, any satisfactory reason for exposing the lives of British soldiers, and especially soldiers of the description selected for Sierra Leone, to the risks of a climate where intemperance is to such a sure warrant of death, and where black soldiers would have been both infinitely more safe and infinitely more serviceable than whites.

The bad character of those soldiers may be inferred from the following communication of Mr. Hay, the Under-Secretary of State to Mr. Sullivan of the War-Office, respecting the reduction of the African corps, dated 23d January 1829.

“No difficulty, it is conceived, can exist in disposing of the native men: they may be located among the liberated Africans. But Sir George Murray is not enabled to suggest what measures should be taken for disposing of those European soldiers who are serving in the corps on terms of commuted punishment, for offences of the nature of which the Secretary of State has not been apprised. From all the information, however, which has from time to time been received at this department, respecting the general bad conduct of the European soldiers of the Royal African Corps, Sir George Murray is compelled to think that it would be inexpedient and even dangerous to set them at large; and if they cannot be drafted into West India regiments, or it should not be deemed convenient to bring them home, there would seem to be no alternative but to continue them embodied in the two companies of the African corps which it is proposed to retain, and to supply the casualties among them by Africans.”

In other words, they are such bad subjects that they must be allowed to remain in that deathful climate as the shortest and cheapest way of getting rid of them.—And yet these are the men with whose presence and example Sierra Leone has been afflicted, and of the effect of whose crimes, and of whose profligate habits that colony must bear the reproach. On this subject let the official documents before us speak.

“These soldiers,” says Mr. Surgeon Bell, “were of the worst description; men who drank to the greatest excess; and, when in town, it was a very common occurrence, of a morning, to find half a dozen of white soldiers lying about the streets beastly intoxicated.

“It is an undoubted fact, in my own mind, that drunkenness more

strongly predisposes the constitutions of people in this country to fevers, (and I may say excites them) than almost any other habits." Papers of 1830, p. 31.

Mr. Ferguson, Surgeon of the Royal African Corps, states as follows:—

"The climate of Sierra Leone shews little or no morbid peculiarity of effect on persons born in Africa." "On Europeans it is productive of fevers of the intermittent, bilious, remittent and continued types, of dysentery and diarrhœa, and of the numerous train of complaints called organic visceral diseases and visceral obstructions, which last are rarely found idiopathic, and generally occur as the sequelæ of febrile diseases." (ibid. p. 77.) He then enters into a detail of mortality among the European troops, and closes it with "remarking, that from the very dissolute lives led by the soldiers, they do not afford the surest criterion for judging of the influence of the climate on European constitutions, as I am convinced that a great part of the foregoing melancholy detail may be directly ascribed to causes which were entirely within their own control." (ibid. p. 79.)

We add the testimony of Dr. Sweeney, Surgeon to the forces:—

"The colony of Sierra Leone has some important advantages over the other settlements; a greater extent of cleared country, a steady range of temperature, and a plentiful supply of excellent water. The Gambia has not that regularity of temperature, and the water is bad; and at Cape Coast the water is not only bad, but deficient in supply, and a great source of guinea worm, at least such was the case the year I was there."

"Bad as the climate is, and though it is too frequent that the local causes are not under one's control, still there are many of the exciting that are; and from a disregard of them, disease and death are often brought on by the thoughtless Europeans; such as the heedless exposure to the sun, night dews, cold and wet, and intemperance. Nothing is more common than for the troops to be so intoxicated that many cannot walk home to their barracks; they sleep among the grass all night, and, very likely, when they awake they find themselves drenched to the skin with rain. Others who may have reached their quarters, after being a short time in bed get heated from the stimulus of the liquor; they then turn out for the cool air, perhaps with their bodies covered with perspiration; here the damp of the night will give a sudden check to perspiration; and what is more likely than fever to follow? Notwithstanding the generality of the men are of loose moral characters, I think many of their irregularities proceed from the forlorn state they are placed in, removed for ever from their country, families, and friends, and possibly their own earthly existence short. To dispel such distressing reflections they generally fly to the rum bottle for relief, as their usual expression is, 'A short life and a merry one.' The present ration is not adequate to keep up health; the beef is always bad, and almost destitute of nourishment; a return to the small rations they had last year would contribute both to their health and comfort." (ibid. pp. 83 and 84.)

Will it be credited, that without the fair ground of any necessity, nay, with a vast preponderance of evil over good, we should have continued

to send European officers and soldiers in such numbers to the African coast? It was an inconsiderate and wanton expenditure of British life for purposes which would have been infinitely better answered by native troops; than whom no troops have proved themselves more worthy of confidence; and on whom, as Mr. Ferguson observes, the "climate of Sierra Leone shews no morbid peculiarity of effect." Why indeed might not these troops be also officered by individuals of the black or coloured classes? Nay, why might not all (or nearly all) the civil offices of the colony be filled from the same classes?

This objection to retaining Sierra Leone, therefore, has no foundation, except in the infatuation, for in this light we must regard it, which permitted such a needless sacrifice of European life.

But after all, this objection comes with an ill grace from those who, with their eyes open to the facts of the case, have clamoured incessantly respecting the sacrifice of European life at Sierra Leone, and have maintained an uniform and studied silence respecting the far more costly sacrifice of such life, which our West Indian Colonies entail upon us. That incurred for Africa has been transient and of short duration, and we trust has ceased for ever, at least when the requisite casualties for sweeping off the existing number shall have taken effect. But the sacrifice incurred for the West Indies is very far more extensive; it has endured for generations; and it is now proceeding, and promises, if Parliament do not interfere, to be permanent.—We have long wished to see exhibited to the British public the dreadful roll of disease and death, which, since the year 1790, the military annals of the West Indies would unfold to view. It would sicken them still more of the slavery which this mortality has been incurred to uphold. The account has often been called for, but as often refused by those who best know the ghastly character of the suppressed record. In the last session of parliament, (2d of June 1829,) a motion to that effect was made and actually assented to by the House of Commons, as appears by the following entry in the votes of that house. "West Indies' mortality in the navy and army. Return *ordered*, 'shewing the number of troops stationed in the different colonies of the West Indies, and the number of deaths which have occurred in each year since June 1810, distinguishing European from colonial corps.'" &c.

Now, not only has this return, though *ordered*, not been produced, but the Secretary at War, we understand, actually refuses to produce it, and the reason we believe to be that the account is too horrifying for the public eye. We trust, however, that the House of Commons will feel it to be their duty to enforce a compliance with so just and reasonable and necessary a requisition. Let us, at least, know what we pay for the crime of slavery, not only in treasure, but in blood.

We will add no more, at present, except to state, as a proof that Sierra Leone is not unfavourable to the health of the black and coloured classes, that the Maroons have increased there, and that in 1828, the births among the liberated Africans, in the villages, are stated to have been 461, viz. 234 males and 227 females; and the deaths, 390, viz. 213 males and 177 females. The whole population of the liberated Africans, in the villages, in that year, exclusive of 2562 persons resident

in Freetown, or at the timber factories, or elsewhere employed, was as follows :—

Males—above fourteen years of age	. 6294	
under that age	. . . 2813	
	9107	
Females—above fourteen years of age	. 3702	
under that age	. . . 2195	
	5897	
		15004

What makes this result the more remarkable is, that in the course of the preceding year, 2458 liberated captives, in a state of disease and emaciation such as has been already described, had been added to the population; and that the proportion of adult males to females is nearly two to one.

After the above sheets had passed through the press, we met with the *West Indian Reporter*, No. XXVIII, which professes to give a view of the present state of Sierra Leone. It will be found curiously to illustrate the observations with which we commenced the present article. It has received, however, unconsciously to us, so full and complete an answer in the preceding pages, as to render one additional word, for the purpose of refutation, unnecessary.

By way of set-off to our statement of the cost of slavery, (No. 57), the Editors have given us what they call “an *unpublished official document*,” made up to the end of 1826, of the cost of Sierra Leone. This “unpublished official document,” we believe to be nothing more than such a modification of those mendacious statements of Blackwood, which have been already so effectually exposed, as they think the public will swallow. If the document they speak of be in existence, why do they not produce it? We do not believe that any such document exists. Indeed it bears on its front the characters of forgery. And yet it is issued as an *official* document, under the sanction of the West India Committee. A farther presumption of the fabricated character of this pretended document may be drawn from the last number of the *Quarterly Review*, (No. LXXXIV, p. 524) a work which has shewn itself almost as bitterly hostile to Sierra Leone as Mr. Macqueen himself. Its words are, “The whole sum expended upon it *at present*, is ridiculously small, compared with the statements which have been put forth on the subject.” Quere by Mr. Macqueen and the *West India Reporter*?

One word more: the authors of the *West Indian Reporter* wish it to be understood, that the original founders of Sierra Leone have continued to conduct it since it was transferred to the Crown in 1808, and that it is their plans which have been followed by the colonial minister. Now the fact is, and it is well known to each successive colonial minister, that since the year 1808, their advice, respecting the colony, has never been asked, nor have their suggestions respecting it been attended to, when given unasked; and moreover, that since then no appointment has taken place to the offices of governor or judge on their recommendation: nor has any individual been appointed to those

offices who was even personally known to them beforehand. They are perfectly guiltless, therefore, either of the success or the failure which, during the last twenty years, may have attended the progress of the colony.

II.—WEST INDIA COMMITTEE.

At a meeting of this body on the 24th of February last, the Marquis of Chandos in the chair, it was resolved, "That this body, *identified in interest with the colonial legislatures*, and *placing implicit confidence in their proceedings*, recognize in those measures, which they have adopted for the improvement of the slave population, that *humane disposition*, as well as that local experience and practical observation, without which any plans of amelioration would be no less injurious to the slaves themselves than to the proprietors.

"That the West India body repeat the declaration, that they have never directly or indirectly authorized or concurred in any measure, having for its object compulsory manumission of the slaves in the West India colonies; and they continue of opinion that such a measure would be highly inexpedient, and that it is even inconsistent with the resolutions of Parliament of 1823, being in their opinion opposed both to the civilization and welfare of the slaves, and to the interests and rights of property of the colonists.

"That by the policy which has been unhappily pursued towards the West India colonies, the tenure by which those possessions, with all their advantages, political and commercial, are held by the mother country, is becoming more and more precarious; and it is therefore essential that measures should be adopted by this body, both collectively and individually, to bring the real situation of the West India colonies before members of the legislature and the country at large, in order to prevent the loss or destruction of so valuable a portion of the empire, which a longer perseverance in a mistaken policy must inevitably occasion."

To these resolutions they subjoin an abstract of the existing slave codes, in order to make known what has been *actually done* by the colonial legislatures towards the amelioration of slavery.

We undertake to shew, in a future Number, that this abstract, though thus sanctioned, is a gross imposition on the public.

III.—ANTI-SLAVERY GENERAL MEETING.

A GENERAL MEETING of the SOCIETY FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY THROUGHOUT THE BRITISH DOMINIONS, will be held at FREEMASONS' HALL, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, on SATURDAY the FIFTEENTH of MAY 1830.

The doors will be opened at Twelve o'clock, and the Chair taken at One *precisely*.

THOMAS PRINGLE, *Sec.*

Tickets of admission may be had on application after the 1st of May, at the Society's Office, 18, Aldermanbury; Messrs. Hatchard and Sons, 187, Piccadilly; Mr. Nisbet's, 21, Berner's Street; Messrs. Seeley's, Fleet Street; and Messrs. Arch's, 61, Cornhill.

ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER.

No. 60.]

FOR MAY, 1830.

[No. 12. Vol. iii.]

The "ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER" will be forwarded to 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, on application at the Society's office, No. 18, Aldermanbury. Single Copies may be had of all booksellers and newsmen, at the rate of 1*d.* per half-sheet of eight pages.

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- I. ANTI-SLAVERY GENERAL MEETING; ITS OBJECT.
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 - IV. JAMAICA WATCHMAN AND PEOPLE OF COLOUR.
 - V. ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN MEXICO.

I. ANTI-SLAVERY GENERAL MEETING; ITS OBJECT.

A General Meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society and its Friends will be held at Freemasons' Hall, Great Queen Street, Lincoln's-Inn Fields, on Saturday the 15th Instant. The doors will be opened at Twelve, and the Chair will be taken by William Wilberforce, Esq., at One o'clock precisely. Tickets of admission may be had at the Society's Office, 18, Aldermanbury; Messrs. Hatchard and Son, 187, Piccadilly; Mr. Nisbet, 21, Berner's Street; Messrs. Seeley's, Fleet Street; and Messrs. Arch, 61, Cornhill.

The main object for which this meeting has been called by the Committee, is to announce to their constituents that, at the end of seven years of vain and illusory expectation, they have reluctantly come to the conclusion, that the only hope of success which now remains to them must proceed, under the blessing of God, from the earnest, concurrent, and persevering efforts of the British nation, to induce the Government and Parliament to carry at length into effect their solemn pledge, given in 1823, for the extinction of slavery throughout the dominions of His Majesty.

In the successive numbers of the Monthly Anti-Slavery Reporter, the circumstances which have led to this conclusion have been fully detailed; but a condensed view of them will be found in that for March last, (No. 58,) and in the following pages of the present number. To these sources of information we beg to refer the friends of our cause.

II. WEST INDIA COMMITTEE; ITS AVOWED HOSTILITY TO REFORM, AND ITS MISREPRESENTATIONS.

In our last number (p. 188) we inserted the resolutions adopted, on the 24th February, by the committee of the West India body, the Marquis of Chandos in the chair. In these they boldly avow the identity of their own interests and feelings with those of the colonial legislatures, in whom they profess to place "implicit confidence," and in whose

recent measures of amelioration they recognise the combined influence of humanity and practical wisdom. The Committee disclaim, at the same time, having ever authorized, or concurred in, any proposition for what is called "compulsory manumission," in other words, for giving to the slave a right to purchase his own freedom or that of his offspring at a fair appraisement. They disclaim, that is to say, any measure however slow and progressive, which can afford the feeblest hope of terminating slavery at a period however distant.

Such is the unqualified avowal in 1830 of the existing Committee of the West India planters and merchants in London.

In the face, however, of this declaration, we are enabled to quote the repeated affirmations of Earl Bathurst, that the measures which, in his circular despatch of the 9th of July, 1823, he recommended to the adoption of the colonial legislatures, and afterwards embodied in the Trinidad order in council, (of which measures compulsory manumission formed a prominent part,) "*had received the concurrence and approbation of the majority of the individuals in England most deeply interested in the prosperity of the West Indies.*"* In the conference also to which on the 6th of July, 1829, a large deputation from the West India body, with the Marquis of Chandos at their head, was admitted by the Duke of Wellington, his Grace is stated to have reminded them that the measures of colonial reform recommended by Government in 1823, "had had the concurrence of a considerable portion of the West India body, including most of those he saw around him." This, we understand, was not denied by the deputation. They admitted that a majority of the standing committee of that period had, at the late Mr. Canning's request, agreed to furnish him with an enumeration of the particular measures of amelioration to which they could, without danger, consent, being those afterwards brought forward by him in the House of Commons on the 15th of May, 1823.† This statement derives ample confirmation from other circumstances.

When on the 15th of May, 1823, Mr. Canning explained to the House of Commons the intentions of Government on the subject of colonial reform, (prompted, as it now appears, by the West Indian Committee,) the whole of the West Indian gentlemen who spoke on that occasion expressed their concurrence. Mr. Ellis, now Lord Seaforth, declared that to many of the proposed regulations, and particularly to the abolition of the driving-whip, of the flogging of females, of Sunday markets, and of Sunday labour; and to the allotment of equivalent time to the slaves in lieu of Sunday; as well as to the grant to them of legal rights of property, "*no objection would be offered on the part of the planters in the West Indies.*"‡ Mr. Marryat, at that time

* See official despatches of Lord Bathurst, of July 23d, 1824, to the Governor of Berbice; of July 24th, 1824, to the Governor of St. Lucia; and of 22d August, 1825, to the Governor of Tobago; contained in the papers laid by His Majesty's command before Parliament, viz. Papers for 1825, p. 229, and 254, and Papers for 1826, p. 99.

† We state this on the authority of letters said to be from members of the deputation, which have appeared in colonial newspapers.

‡ And yet to this hour, as we shall presently see, these measures are still rejected by the wisdom and humanity of the colonial legislatures, notwith-

the great champion of West Indian interests, expressed his approbation of Mr. Canning's proposals, in still more unqualified terms. "I am bound," he said, "to express *my most hearty concurrence* in the resolutions of the right honourable gentleman." (See substance of debate of 15th of May, 1823, printed for Hatchard, pp. 55 and 82.)

On a subsequent occasion, namely, on the 16th of March, 1824, when Mr. Canning laid on the table of the House of Commons a copy of the order in council for Trinidad, and explained at some length its leading provisions, and among them that for compulsory manumission, adding, that the Government held out this order as the model according to which they expected the colonial legislatures to frame their slave codes; Mr. Ellis alone, (now Lord Seaford) of all the West Indians then in the house, expressed any doubt as to the expediency of the manumission clause. By every other West Indian, who took part in that discussion, an unqualified approbation of the whole plan of the Government, without one specified exception, was either implied or distinctly expressed. Mr. Watson Taylor declared, "that the propositions of Mr. Canning had his most hearty concurrence: he concurred in the large and liberal views taken by Government." Mr. Manning thought "that the views of the Government were temperate and moderate. He was most anxious that the House should give effect to them." Mr. Thomas Wilson was of opinion that "the measures proposed by His Majesty's ministers were the best that could be devised to meet all difficulties." Mr. Baring also approved of them. (See the Times newspaper of the 17th of March, 1824.)*

It invalidates in no degree the effect of these statements, that the abolitionists should always have regarded the Trinidad order in council as essentially defective in its provisions. (See No. 58.)

But notwithstanding this general acquiescence of the West India body in England in the propriety of the reforms recommended by the Government, the colonial legislatures have, as if with one consent, and with scarcely an exception, rejected them. They have refused to adopt not the manumission clause alone, but almost every other meliorating provision of the Trinidad order, though thus unequivocally sanctioned at the time by the majority of the West India planters resident in this country.—They have made no legal provision for the education and religious instruction of the slave population by obliging masters to grant the requisite time and means for that purpose. With two exceptions, (Grenada and Tobago,) they have not prohibited Sunday mar-

standing this unhesitating promise of ready compliance given by the then Chairman of the West India Committee.

* If farther proof were necessary, it might be found in the fact, that the West India committee of 1826 adopted, on their list of publications for general circulation, two works which had it in view to vindicate the provisions of the Trinidad order from the objections of anti-slavery writers; one by Major Moody, entitled, "Considerations in defence of the Order in Council for the melioration of Slaves in Trinidad," being a series of letters which appeared in the Star newspaper, under the signature of Vindex; the other, a pamphlet professing the same general object, by Mr. Wilmot Horton, entitled, "The West India Question practically Considered."

kets, and even in these two excepted cases, the prohibition has been rendered nugatory by the refusal, (common to them with all the other colonial legislatures), to grant equivalent time to the slave during the week, in lieu of Sunday, either for the purpose of marketing, or for that of raising, for themselves and their families, the necessary food which they are now compelled to employ the Sunday in cultivating. Only by one of the legislatures (Grenada) has the testimony of slaves been admitted without restrictions which render the admission nugatory. By none has the marriage of slaves been duly facilitated and legalized, or the separation of families by sale been effectually prohibited, or their legal rights of property been adequately secured. By none has a proper record and return been required of those arbitrary punishments, whether by the cart-whip, the cat, or the stocks, which the master is still permitted by law to retain the tremendous power of inflicting, without revision or responsibility, for any offence, or for no offence. By none has the flogging of females, or the brutifying practice of driving the slaves to their work in the field been prohibited. By none have independent protectors of the slaves been appointed; and by none but one has the iniquitous law been altered by which black or coloured persons are presumed to be slaves, and, under the penalty of being reduced to slavery, may be put to the perilous proof of their freedom.

To the justice and expediency of these various measures of reform, the West India body at home had, from the year 1823 to the year 1826, either by their organs in Parliament, or by their standing committee, professed their assent. The colonial legislatures, however, have to this hour steadily refused, with a few rare exceptions, to adopt them. And yet, in 1830, the standing committee of this body have come forward to announce to the public their identity in interest and feeling with those very legislatures; to avow implicit confidence in their purposes and proceedings; and to laud the wisdom and the humanity which have guided their deliberations.

How is this singular inconsistency, on the part of the noblemen and gentlemen composing the standing Committee of the West India body, to be accounted for? Its composition may have somewhat varied. Lord Seaford has relinquished the chair to the Marquis of Chandos, and some names have been added to the Committee. Still it is difficult to understand the grounds of this complete revolution in the system of colonial tactics—this complete departure in 1830 from the pledges and assurances of 1823, 1824, and 1826,—this complete stultification of the professed views of the old Committee, by the recent annunciations and resolutions of the new.

It is in the view doubtless of obviating this objection, that the standing Committee have annexed to their resolutions, "An Abstract of the British West India Statutes for the Protection and Government of Slaves," which have been enacted subsequently to the resolutions of May 1823, and which they say, will shew "what the Colonial Legislatures have *actually done* towards the amelioration of slavery." p. v.

We hail the appearance of this abstract, thus lauded and thus authenticated; and we now proceed to shew, according to the pledge given in our last number, that it is "a gross imposition on the public;" a

most unfair though feeble attempt to pass off as genuine the spurious reforms of colonial legislation.

The Committee rest their cause first on the Jamaica Slave Code of 1826, which they represent as a greatly improved version of that of 1816. This last, they affirm, had "received unqualified approbation from many of His Majesty's Ministers." And the plain inference therefore is, that the Act of 1826 would have obtained still higher approbation in the same quarter but for "certain clauses limiting the operations of sectarian preachers," on account of which it was "disallowed by His Majesty's Government." *Abstract*. p. 1.

Now surely this, in the very outset, is a most unwarrantable representation of the facts of the case. So far was the Act of 1826, though affirmed to be an improved version of that of 1816, from obtaining, independently of its persecuting clauses, the unqualified approbation of His Majesty's Ministers, that, as the Committee are well aware, a great part of Mr. Huskisson's despatch, of the 22d September, 1827, is occupied in pointing out the gross and palpable defects of its most material provisions. Almost every sentence in that long and able despatch conveys a censure on the legislature of Jamaica, and convicts them of dispositions the very reverse of those for which the West India Committee are now giving them credit; nor can the force of that censure be weakened, or its point blunted, by a few complimentary phrases Mr. Huskisson may have used in the hope of allaying the irritation which the general tenor of his communication could not fail to produce.

"The following Abstract," say the standing Committee of the West India body, "of the *ameliorating* clauses of the act, as passed in 1826, sufficiently evinces the disposition of the Assembly of Jamaica to enlarge the privileges and to protect the persons of their slaves."—*Abstract*, p. 2.

Now, in opposition to this statement, we undertake to shew that this act might be more truly characterised by the injustice and inhumanity of many of its provisions, and by the designed inefficiency and inoperativeness of its pretended ameliorations; while nearly all the clauses of which Mr. Huskisson inadvertently praises the humane tendency are transcripts from old statutes, without any additional sanctions to render them operative, or to make them cease to be, what it is notorious they had ever been, a mere dead letter. But let us come to particulars. We shall first take in their order the six clauses which the Committee have classed under the head of "*Religious Observances*."

1st: "§. 3, Provides that the clergyman of each parish shall, on application, without fee or reward, baptize all slaves who can be made sensible of a duty to God and the Christian faith, in the which owners are to instruct them." *Abstract*, p. 2.

The clause of which this is the abstract, enacts as follows, "That all owners, &c., and in their absence overseers of slaves shall, as much as in them lies, endeavour the instruction of their slaves, in the principles of the Christian religion, whereby to facilitate their conversion, and shall do their utmost endeavour to fit them for baptism, and, as soon as conveniently can be, cause to be baptized all such as they can make sensible of the duty to God and the Christian faith, which ceremony the

clergymen of the respective parishes are to perform, when required, without fee or reward." Act of 1826, §. 3.

Any one who reads this clause in connection with the Committee's prefatory comment, would naturally suppose it to be one of the ameliorating measures by which the privileges of the slaves had been enlarged in compliance with the resolutions of May 1823. Instead of this, it is nearly a transcript of a clause in the slave law of 1696, which has been copied, with slight verbal variations, into every subsequent consolidated slave act, from that time to the present. See Act of 1696, §. 45; of 1788, §. 5; of 1816, §. 2; and of 1826, §. 3; the only material difference in all these versions of the clause being the addition, in the case of the last, of the words, "without fee or reward."

This clause therefore of the Act of 1826, for the framers of which the West India Committee would claim the credit of wisdom and humanity, has actually stood a dead letter in the Jamaica statute book for one hundred and thirty years. But by what magic power a clause which for so long a period had been wholly inoperative was to be endowed with efficiency on being re-enacted *totidem verbis* in 1826, they have not told us. They ought at least to have had to shew that in transferring the hitherto dead letter of this enactment from the old to the new statute, the legislature had evinced their humane purpose of amelioration by adopting some means for at length giving it vitality. But this was not their object. The clause was re-enacted with a view to its effect not in Jamaica but in Great Britain. Consequently not a single penalty was annexed to the neglect of its provisions, nor were any means prescribed, or any periods allotted, for their execution.—During the inquiry before the Privy Council in 1789, this clause was adverted to as standing on the Jamaica statute book; but the living witnesses who were questioned on the subject, namely the council of the island, Mr. Fuller the agent, Mr. Long, and Mr. Chisholm, all admitted that it had led to no results, and that no institutions whatever existed in that island by law for the instruction of the slaves. And to this very hour, the law remains in the same miserably defective state. It has provided no means for *securing* to the slave either education or religious instruction; the matter, though admitted in terms to be of the highest importance, being still left wholly to the hostile discretion of owners or overseers.

In his circular despatch of the 3d September 1828, Sir George Murray pointedly refers to this unsatisfactory state of things, and presses upon the colonial legislatures the NECESSITY of a change in that respect. It is, he says, "*necessary* that this important object should not be intrusted solely to individuals," (as is done in the above clause) "but that provision should likewise be made for it by law." No such provision however has yet been made in Jamaica, or indeed in any of our slave colonies. To exhibit such a clause as this therefore as fulfilling the obligations of the colonial legislatures, in respect to education and religious instruction,—what is it but "an imposition on the public?"

We have dwelt at greater length on this clause, in order fully to develop the studied delusion which will be found too often to characterise colonial legislation, especially in what relates to slavery. Even the grave and solemn enactment before us is so contrived as to delude

the ignorant into a belief of the humane and pious purposes of its framers. And yet *they* must have been conscious at the time that it could not but prove utterly inoperative, being left in its state of naked abstraction, without a single executory provision or a single sanction of any description.—In order to form a just estimate of the *humane* dispositions of colonial legislators, and of the encomiums lavished upon them by the standing committee of the West India body, we ought to contrast with the feebleness and inefficiency of their *ameliorating* enactments, the tremendous penal sanctions, and the prompt and energetic executory provisions, which await the delinquencies of the slave.

2d. "§4, That the said clergyman shall also, without fee, marry, with their owner's consent, any slaves who have been baptized and are desirous of contracting matrimony, if such clergyman shall, upon examination of the parties, consider them to have a proper and adequate knowledge of the obligation of such a contract." *Abstract*, p. 2.

Such is the substance of the tardy and reluctant enactment which the legislature of Jamaica condescended, for the first time, in 1826, to frame in respect to the marriage of slaves. Mr. Huskisson in his despatch of the 22d of September 1827, justly remarks upon it, 1st, that it provides no remedy against the capricious refusal of the owner's consent; 2d. that by confining the power of celebrating marriages to the clergy of the established church, every other class of religious teachers are deprived of the means of exercising a salutary influence on the minds of their disciples, and Roman Catholic priests of a right they enjoy by the common law; 3d, that the *necessity* of undergoing an examination by a clergyman as to their sense of the nature and obligations of the marriage contract is *not apparent*, and might prove a serious impediment to the formation of such connections, while the range of such an inquiry, embracing a large variety of considerations, can with difficulty be limited; and 4th, that no provision is made for any registry of slave marriages, or for a periodical return of them.

But even these objections of Mr. Huskisson to this illusory enactment are not all which may fairly be made to it.

What shall we say of the absurd and unprecedented provision which makes baptism a necessary preliminary to marriage? This is not required even in England. The marriages of Quakers, of the unbaptized children of Baptists, of Jews, &c. are as valid as any other. And why not? Or is it the *humane* and *moral* purpose of the Jamaica legislature that all who are not baptized shall be compelled to live in lawless concubinage; and that no marriages shall be valid but those of Church of England Christians?

Again, the legislature of Jamaica have entirely omitted that part of the recommendation of the Secretary of State which proposes to give legal validity to the marriages of slaves. The words of the Trinidad order are, that such marriages "shall to all intents and purposes be binding, valid, and effectual in the law." These words are omitted in the Jamaica act, and no words of equivalent force are substituted for them.

Mr. Huskisson, in his despatch, seems to assume that the Jamaica Assembly had really and honestly intended to facilitate, and to render legally valid, the marriages of slaves, but that they had blundered as to

the means of carrying their intentions into effect. But when all the circumstances of the case are attentively considered, it seems impossible to give them credit for any such intention. Whatever may be the *professed* aim of the clause, its *real* aim seems to have been not to encourage marriage, but to throw impediments in its way, and certainly in that aim it has succeeded: it has made the impediments sufficiently formidable. Another aim was doubtless to lead the English public to suppose that the colonists were at length disposed to give due encouragement and legal validity to slave marriages. We trust that what we have now said will dissipate this delusion.

3d. "§ 6. *Abolishes Sunday markets and shops after eleven in the morning, excepting druggists and a few other cases in conformity with the practice of England relative to the Sabbath.*" Abstract, p. 3.

This statement appears to us to involve another gross attempt to impose on the credulity of the public. The real effect of the clause, instead of being to *abolish* Sunday markets and shops, is in truth to *establish* and *legalize* them for nearly half the day. It actually constitutes and selects Sunday as the market day for the slaves, it being the only day allowed them by law for that purpose. And this, in West India phrase, is called *abolishing* Sunday markets! And this immoral and unchristian enactment is said, with a singular disregard of truth, to be "*in conformity with the practice of England relative to the sabbath.*" Its sanctity we admit, is too often violated; but surely it cannot be said that it is either the law or the practice of England that Smithfield or any other market, with all the shops around it, should be not only open on Sunday for all transactions of buying and selling, but that Sunday should be selected and specially fixed for that object, and should be the only day on which, from the state of the law, the bulk of the population possess the power of attending a market at all. And yet this is done by the *ameliorated* law of the Jamaica legislature, here held up to our admiration as a proof both of their humanity and of their wisdom.—The view we have taken of the subject seems in strict accordance with that of Mr. Huskisson. He says, in the despatch already referred to, "In the provisions for the due observance of Sunday, I remark, that the continuance of the market on that day till the hour of eleven, is contemplated as a permanent regulation. It is impossible, however, to sanction *this systematic violation of the law prevailing in every other Christian country.*" Yet such, we repeat, is the *ameliorating* provision which the *humane* dispositions of the Jamaica legislature have led them to enact, and which the *Christian* feelings of the standing committee of the West India body have led them to applaud.

4th. "§ 7. *Prohibits levies on slaves on Saturdays, in order to enable them to attend religious duties on Sundays.*" Abstract, p. 3.

These words convey a strange, and apparently deliberate mystification and perversion of the facts of the case. To understand it properly, the reader ought to be aware that previous to 1824, on all days but Sunday, by the law of Jamaica, the slave, if found beyond the enclosures of his master's estate, might be seized and sold in execution for

the debts of his master—(another proof of the humanity of colonial legislation!) but the law since that time has been so far modified, that the exemption from arrest, formerly confined to Sunday, is now extended to Saturday also. This would, without doubt, have been both a necessary and a salutary measure, if the Saturday had been substituted for the Sunday as the market day; and if the law had secured the use and enjoyment of that day as a market day to the slave. But this has not been done. The exemption of the slave, therefore, from arrest on the Saturday, is no benefit to him, but solely to the insolvent master, so long as Sunday and not Saturday stands fixed by law as the market day; and so long as the master is under no legal obligation whatever to allot that day to the slave, but is left at full liberty to continue, as before, to compel him to labour in the field on that day as on other days, under the lash, from five in the morning till seven at night.

Here then we have another example of that studied and systematic deceptiveness in the work of legislation with which we have ventured to charge the colonial assemblies. This enactment, while it is attended with no inconvenience to the master, but may be productive of considerable benefit to him, enlarging at least *his* privileges though not those of the slave, may also serve the great object of all such pretended improvements, that of misleading the English public by its apparently beneficial tendency, and furnishing a topic of laudatory remark to the standing committee of the West India body. But it is perfectly obvious that, without further legislative provisions, it can yield no benefit to the slave, for whose advantage we are untruly told that it was designed. It was framed, say the West India committee, “in order to enable the slaves to attend religious duties on Sundays.” Undoubtedly, if besides exempting them from arrest on Saturday, that day had been *given* to them, and had been also selected and fixed by law as the market day, such would have been its effect. But, like almost all the other pretended ameliorations of colonial law on the subject of slavery, it stops short at that point where the deception of the English public may be made compatible with the absence of all real improvement as respects the slave.

5th. “§ 9. Prohibits persons from employing the slaves of others on negro days or Sundays.” *Abstract*, p. 3.

This prohibition, so far from being an ameliorating measure, inflicts a cruel hardship on the slave, preventing him from occupying his spare time in the service of such as will pay for it. It is a plan for enabling the owner to engross the time of the slave wholly for his own use, by putting it out of his power to carry his labour, his only possession, during the time nominally his own, to the best market. That it proceeds from no regard for the sanctity of the sabbath, and from no humane disposition to relieve the slave, will appear when we come to consider the next head of pretended amelioration.

6th. “§ 10. Directs that slaves shall not be compelled to work on Sundays even in crop time, and prohibits the mill being put about between 7 P. M., on Saturday, and 5 P. M. on Monday.” *Abstract*, p. 3.

This is another gross misrepresentation of the clause of which the Committee profess to give an abstract. The clause is as follows:

“ And be it enacted, that during the crop, not only shall the slaves, as *heretofore*, be exempted from *the labour of the estate or plantation* on Sundays, but that no mills shall be put about or worked between the hours of seven on Saturday night and five on Monday morning, under the penalty of twenty pounds.” Act of 1826, § 10.

This, in the first place, is no *new* law, but a literal transcript of the 5th clause of the Act of 1816, and therefore cannot be considered as enlarging the privileges, or adding any further protection to the person of the slave.

The committee incorrectly represent the clause as prohibiting all compulsory labour on Sundays; whereas the prohibition extends only to the labour of *the estate or plantation*. In other words, the slaves are not to be compelled to perform field or plantation labour on that day. The noble and honourable members of the standing committee of the West India body, however, attempt to convey to the British public the unfair impression that this clause secures to the slave a complete exemption from compulsory labour of every kind on the Sunday, an impression, if it should be produced, which would be most unfounded. The Sunday is necessarily consumed by the slaves, in most of the colonies, in raising for themselves and their families the food with which the master, but for this cruel necessity which he imposes on the slaves, would be forced to supply them. The Sunday, therefore, is generally employed by the slaves in their provision grounds, and must, of necessity, be so employed if they would escape starvation. The proof of this fact will be found amply detailed in a note at p. 315 of our 2d volume, (No. 41,)—but for the sake of those who may not have ready access to that publication, we shall here extract one or two passages which will place the point beyond all legitimate doubt. We will not dwell on the testimony of persons unfavourable to the cause of slavery, such as the Rev. Mr. Bickell, the Rev. Mr. Cooper, and the Rev. Richard Watson in his admirable defence of the Methodist Missions.* We will refer to authorities wholly and properly West Indian.

Dr. Williamson resided fourteen years in Jamaica, a part of the time on an estate of Lord Harewood's, and shews himself, in his work on that island, a strenuous advocate for slavery; and yet, he there tells us, over and over again, that in Jamaica, Sunday is “a day of marketing and labour for the slaves, and of excess and brutal debauchery for the whites.” See Vol. i. pp. 42, 108, and 331, and Vol. ii, pp. 235, and 287. Dr. Williamson returned to Jamaica, on the Medical Staff, in 1823, and in a letter of his now before us, written shortly before his death, in 1824, he confirms his former testimony respecting the Sunday as equally applicable to the latter period.

* “ Sunday,” say the missionaries, “ 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*.” “ On the sabbath,” they add, “ 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, published by Blanshard, pp. 59, 60. But even this testimony, decisive and unexceptionable as it is, we do not insist upon.

Mr. Stewart quitted Jamaica in 1821, after a residence of twenty years. He is the author of a "View of the past and present state of Jamaica," a work quoted as of authority by the colonists whose cause he zealously supports. In that work he thus apologises for the alleged inattention of the Jamaica clergy to the religious instruction of the slaves. "The truth 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.*" p. 157.

The Hon. James Stewart, Member for Trelawney, the Father of the Jamaica Assembly, and himself a planter, is represented, in the Royal Gazette of that island, of the 3rd of June 1826, as thus addressing his constituents. "In respect to the instruction of the negroes in religion, it is not sufficient to build extra chapels for their accommodation. It is 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 allowed the negro *for the cultivation of his land, and the sale of his provisions.*"

The only other witnesses we shall now adduce consist of the noblemen and gentlemen composing the standing West India Committee in London, from 1823 to 1828. They not only assented to the measures of putting an end to marketing and labouring in their grounds on the Sunday, and of giving equivalent time to the slaves on other days for that purpose; but they themselves, in 1823, actually proposed these measures to the Government as fit to be adopted; and in recommending them to the colonial legislatures, Mr. Canning and Lord Bathurst professed to follow, and did, in fact, follow their suggestions. And yet, in 1830, the same Committee, with the Marquis of Chandos as their chairman in the room of Lord Seaford; seven years having passed without one effective effort on the part of the colonial legislatures to apply a remedy to the admitted evil; are now found conspiring with those refractory legislatures to delude the people of England into a belief that their humanity had really accomplished its cure. The people of England, however, will now see, that notwithstanding this disingenuous attempt, to give it no harsher name, the slaves of these very persons, the Noble, and Honourable, and Right Honourable Members of the West India Committee, are still left by law without a Sabbath, no equivalent time being get given to them in lieu of it; are still left, after a week of forced labour in the cane piece under the cart-whip, to toil, throughout the whole of that sacred day, in raising for themselves and their families the food which the masters ought to supply, or in carrying the surplus produce so raised to the next market.

Have we not, we confidently ask, in these statements, established an aggravated case of "imposition on the public," against this body of slaveholders?

We have now gone through the whole of the alleged ameliorations in Jamaica, which are classed under the head of "Religious Observances;" and we think we must have satisfied every candid man who has accom-

panied us thus far, that we have made good our charge. The reader will see, by turning to a preceding page, (190,) that there were certain proposed reforms, to which Lord Seaforth pledged himself that "no objection would be offered, on the part of the planters in the West Indies." Of some of these, namely, the abolition of Sunday markets and Sunday labour, and the grant to the slave of additional time for these purposes in lieu of Sunday, the fate has been already seen. Three others remain to be noticed, namely, 1st, the abolition of the cruel and indecent practice of arbitrarily flogging females; 2nd, the disuse of the driving whip in the field; and 3rd, the granting to the slaves legal rights of property. Let us inquire whether, on the shewing of the Committee itself, the Noble Lord's pledge as to each of these measures has been redeemed.

1st. As to the abolition of female flogging, nothing has been done, nor do the West India Committee state that any thing has been done, by the legislature of Jamaica. A proposal, indeed, was made in the House of Assembly, to introduce a clause into the Act of 1826, not for prohibiting the flogging of women, that would have been too daring a proposition, but that in flogging them there should be no *indecent* exposure; but even this was rejected by a large majority of 28 to 12.*

2nd. The disuse of the driving-whip in the field was a measure too bold to be even proposed to the Jamaica Assembly in 1826. The utmost length to which the most sensitive humanity dared to go, was to move that the cat should be substituted for the cart-whip, both in the coercion of labour in the field, and in the infliction of regular punishments. But even this motion, by a similar majority to that last mentioned was rejected. "If we adopt such an innovation," said one Member, "on the established usages of the colony, the slaves will imagine that our conduct has been disapproved of by the King, and that we have been compelled to relinquish the cart-whip, and with it every means of punishment and restraint." To this it was replied by Mr. Barrett, whose speech excited much indignant clamour in the House, "You are told, that to abolish the cart-whip is an innovation. It is, indeed, an innovation; so was the abolition of the rack and the thumb screw, and such like instruments, the fellows of the cart-whip. But I have yet to learn that these innovations have undermined the civil institutions of Europe. I do not hesitate to declare, that the cart-whip is a base, cruel, debasing instrument of torture, a horrible, detestable instrument, when used for the punishment of slaves. I do say that *thirty-nine* lashes with this horrid instrument can be made more grievous than *five hundred* lashes with the cat." Again, "You say that a greater number of lashes are inflicted by the cat in the army than are allowed to be given by the cart-whip. But how are the former inflicted?"

* The flogging of females has been prohibited by none of the colonial legislatures. In three or four of the colonies their *indecent* exposure, when undergoing punishment, is forbidden; but what *indecent* exposure may mean, in the vocabulary of negro drivers, it may be difficult to say. The account given by the West India Committee of the Barbadoes law is as follows. "Female slaves to be punished in a private and decent manner, and when pregnant to be punished by confinement only," in the stocks we presume. The idea of subjecting pregnant females to plantation discipline is quite peculiar, we presume, to slave colonies.

Not at the caprice, at the will, at the passion or rage of an individual; but after a solemn trial by a court-martial, where the members with calmness deliberate on the charge brought against the offender. But the punishment of the cart-whip is inflicted at the pleasure of an individual, at his sole command, as caprice or passion dictates. Sometimes one slave inflicts it upon another. Sometimes it is ordered by the bookkeeper, or overseer, or proprietor of the lowest order, men too frequently most unfit to apportion punishment."

This striking extract refers more immediately to the use of the cart whip as an instrument of punishment than as used to stimulate labour in the field. Still even in this latter capacity it is a tremendous instrument of torture, tending also completely to debase the human gang to the level of the brute team.*

3d. We now come to the last point on which Lord Seaford ventured to assure parliament that no objection would be offered by the planters in the West Indies, namely granting to the slaves legal rights of property. On this point the attempts of the West Indian committee to delude the public are at least as remarkable as any we have yet specified. Their statement as respects Jamaica is in the following terms.

"§ 15. (it ought to be § 16) Recognizes the right of slaves to *personal property*, and gives to it a *farther* protection than that of free persons, by inflicting a penalty of 10*l.* on the person trespassing on it, in addition to the value to be summarily recovered."—*Abstract*, p. 4.

To understand all the deliberate unfairness of this pretended abstract, it will be necessary to quote the clause as it stands in the act. It is as follows :—

"§ 16. And whereas by the usage of this island, slaves have always been permitted to possess personal property, and it is expedient that such laudable custom should be established by law, be it therefore enacted that if any owner, possessor, or any other person whatsoever, shall wilfully or unlawfully take away from any slave or slaves, or in any way deprive or cause to be deprived, any slave or slaves of any species of personal property by him, her, or them lawfully possessed, such person or persons shall forfeit and pay the sum of ten pounds over and

* Some of the evasive enactments of the smaller colonies on the subject of the driving whip would be amusing, if the subject were not of so serious a description; and yet the West India Committee holds them out as proofs of the humanity of the colonial legislatures. For example, Nevis, St. Kitts, Dominica, and St. Vincent prohibit only the cart whip in the field, but allow the use of the cat or any other instrument. Grenada prohibits it only in the hand of a slave, leaving it free to be used by all who are not slaves. The conduct of the Barbadoes legislature is at least more open and manly. On the 23d of October 1826, they informed the Governor, Sir Henry Warde, that "they found they could not yield to Lord Bathurst's recommendation to prohibit the punishment of women by flogging and the use of the whip in the field." The former, they say, "would in the judgment of the Assembly, be productive of the most injurious consequences"—and "considerations not less powerful have prevailed with them respecting the disuse of the whip in the field," which they add, "is considered by them to be inseparable from a state of slavery."—On the conduct of Barbadoes in this respect the Committee say nothing. The gross evasions in the other colonies are actually brought forward as proofs of the humane dispositions of their legislatures.

above the value of such property taken away as aforesaid, the same to be recovered under the hands and seals of any three justices of the peace before whom the complaint shall be laid and the facts proved."

In Great Britain theft and robbery are *crimes* in the eye of the law, and are punished either as larceny or felony, as the case may be. The law of Great Britain on this point is also the law of Jamaica in what respects free persons. If *they* are plundered of their property the perpetrator of the theft or robbery is criminally prosecuted, and, if found guilty, is visited with an infamous punishment. But this clause, while it falsely pretends to recognise a right of property in slaves, and to grant even *further* protection to their property than is allowed to that of free persons, does in fact deprive them of their only sure protection by converting the infamous punishment with which theft or robbery is visited in all other cases, into a trifling pecuniary mulct of six or seven pounds sterling. By this insidious clause therefore we have a revolution effected in the laws of theft and robbery as they respect the slave's property, which would be utterly fatal to the security of his rights, if he possessed any. But he possesses none, and this clause, we affirm, gives him none. The preamble indeed is sufficiently imposing. It recognizes the *laudable custom* of *permitting* slaves to possess *one* species of property, and admits the expediency of establishing such custom by law. And what is the lame and impotent enactment which follows? Not, as was recommended by Lord Bathurst, and prescribed in the Orders of Council for the Crown Colonies, that "slaves shall be competent to purchase, acquire, enjoy, alienate, or bequeath property to any amount, or of any description, (except slaves, boats, arms and ammunition) or to bring, prosecute, or defend any action in any court of justice, in respect to such property, in the same manner as if he were free." No! Nothing of this kind follows. The legal right of property which the legislature profess to deem it expedient to confer on the slave is not given to him. It is said to be expedient to give it—but still it is not given. The only enactment which follows this imposing and deceptive preamble, is one affixing a small pecuniary penalty to the infamous and criminal act of robbing a slave of his property. But then it must be property which a slave *lawfully* possesses. But how is a slave to be *lawfully* possessed of property? The report recently made by Mr. Henry and Mr. Coneys, on the state of the law in Jamaica (dated June 29, 1827,) tells us that "slaves are not entitled to sue or subject to be sued in any civil action"—and that in case of a proprietor interfering with the property of a slave, "the slave has no legal remedy"—"a sufficient reason," observes the attorney-general of the island, "for sanctioning *by law* his undisturbed possession," p. 82. The evidence of Mr. Dwaris as respects the other islands is to the same effect, (see vol. ii. p. 242, No. 37,) namely, that a slave possesses no property in the eye of the law, nor any rights connected with property. Now certainly the clause before us confers no such rights upon him. Therefore the qualification here introduced, that the property to which the penalty is to attach must be property *lawfully* possessed, is only another illustration of the worthlessness of these pretended ameliorations, as well as a proof of the care taken by their framers to render

them worthless. It is not at all shewn what it is for a slave to be lawfully possessed of property, or how he is to prove this preliminary condition. No means of suit are given him, even in the case against which alone the clause pretends to provide, or for the recovery of debts owing to him; and he is debarred, be it remembered too, in Jamaica by this very act, from giving evidence in any *civil* matters whatever. In short the whole provision is worse than nugatory; it is a mere mockery, a fraud on the poor slave, and a gross imposition on the British public. And such seems to have been the clear opinion of Mr. Huskisson in his letter of 22d September 1827. "The property of slaves," he says, "is left by this law 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 is withheld. The slave could not under this law recover a debt, nor obtain damages for the breach of a contract. The mode of proceeding for penalties before three justices of the peace, is a remedy to which hardly any one would resort, for the act does not give the amount of the penalty, if recovered, to the injured party; and the slave himself 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 by the terms of this law from acquiring any interest in land; a restriction which would appear at once impolitic and unnecessary."

Again, the committee tell the public that clause 16 (it ought to be 17) of this act "Recognises the *right* of slaves to receive bequests of personal property," *Abstract*, p. 5. It would have been but common honesty to have added the proviso annexed to the clause, and which goes to nullify this pretended right. The words are, "Provided always that nothing herein contained shall be deemed to authorise the institution of any action or suit at law or in equity, for the recovery of such legacy, or to render it necessary to make any slave a defendant in a suit of equity."*

Having now disposed of the various particulars of Lord Seaforth's abortive pledge on behalf of the planters in the West Indies, we shall advert to one or two other clauses in this imposing abstract, which are exhibited by the committee as ameliorating provisions, and which will farther assist the public in judging of the views and feelings of that body.

"§ 26. (it stands 27 in the Act) Slaves to have half an hour for breakfast, and two hours for dinner; nor to be compelled to field labour before five in the morning, or after seven at night, except during crop, under penalty of £50." *Abstract*, p. 3.

This clause, as it stands in the Act of 1826, is a literal transcript of the 20th clause of the Act of 1816, and of the 18th clause of the Act of 1788; so that in this important point of the extent and continuity of

* The same general remarks which have been suggested by the Jamaica clause, on the subject of property, will be found to apply with slight variations to the enactments of almost all the other Colonial legislatures.

labour, there has no alteration been made in favour of the slave during upwards of forty years, though the West India committee would exhibit it as the fruit of the humanity of the actual colonial legislatures; as a proof, to use their own words, of their disposition to expunge all harsh and unnecessary "enactments, which the policy of an earlier period rendered imperative," and "to enlarge the privileges and protect the person of the slave." And yet the law of 1826 exacts from the slave the same continuity of toil which was exacted from him in 1788.

Of this vaunted meliorating provision, however, which the committee untruly tells us had, among others, received the unqualified approbation of many of His Majesty's ministers, Mr. Huskisson finds himself compelled, on the 22d September, 1827, thus to write:—

"The provisions for the *prevention of excessive labour*," (the words seem almost ironical!) "contemplate the working of 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 this 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 exertion 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.*"

But Mr. Huskisson, though he wrote under an impression of the very great severity of this enactment, evidently did not know the whole of the case, or he would hardly have expressed himself so feebly respecting its enormity. To these eleven hours and a half of daily labour in the field, under a tropical sun, and the lash of the driver, which so justly shocked the Secretary of State, is to be added half the night for from four to six months of the year during crop. There is also to be added the time required for preparing for the field in the morning; for going thither and returning thence at noon; for going again in the afternoon and returning home at night; and for the different domestic offices which, of necessity, are daily recurring, such as preparing and cooking food, collecting fuel, care of children, washing, &c. &c. Besides all this, on most of the plantations, after the field labour is over, the slaves, before they can repair to their own homes, have to undergo the heavy and oppressive task of collecting a large bundle of fodder for the cattle or horses, and waiting with it at the pen or stables 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, materially injuring their health, and giving occasion to frequent punishments. So that in the time of crop, upwards of eighteen hours, and, on the average of the year, not less than from fifteen to sixteen hours a day are necessarily consumed either in the master's immediate service, or in necessary labour connected with it. And this excessive continuity of labour which is exacted alike from the women as from the men, we have proved, and are again ready to prove, from unquestionable official documents, to be the prevailing practice in the British sugar colonies. (See vol. ii. pp. 157 and 212, and No. 58, p. 143 and 144.)

Under such a system of oppressive exaction, can we wonder at the continued waste of the slave population which is taking place in our sugar colonies; so that while the free blacks and people of colour, and among them the Maroons of Jamaica, are rapidly increasing; while in the United States the very slaves double their numbers in less than thirty years, and the free blacks of Hayti in a considerably shorter period; among the British slaves employed in growing sugar, there should not only be no increase, but on the contrary, a very considerable annual diminution. Nor ought the misery thus occasioned, to be measured merely by the excess of deaths over births, but by the constant pressure on the animal frame, arising not only from the intensity of the labour exacted, under a tropical sun, by the stimulating power of the cartwhip, but from its continuity for a number of hours in each day which in no climate could be endured without suffering and exhaustion, disease and death. But neither on this grand source of mortality, nor on another scarcely less fatal, the scantiness of the supply of food, can we, at present, enlarge. We must hasten to another topic.

The West India Committee produce, as a further proof of the humanity of the colonial legislatures, a clause, which they number 36, (instead of 37,) and which they have thus abstracted.

“Slaves not to receive more than ten lashes, except in presence of owner or overseer, &c., nor in such presence more than thirty-nine, nor until recovered from former punishment, under penalty of £20.” *Abstract*, p. 5.

But let us give the clause as it appears in the Act of 1826, being in no respect different from the corresponding clauses in the Acts of 1788 and 1816: “§. 37. 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, punish 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 *humane* and *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*, or any quasi 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 of the CART-WHIP, on the bare posteriors of any and every slave, man, woman, or child he has charge of, 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 so framed as to protect him effectually against all responsibility for so doing. And yet, in mockery, as it were, the object of this clause is said to be to RESTRAIN ARBITRARY PUNISHMENTS!

Let the reader now turn to Mr. Barrett's description of the horrid cart-whip, as given above, (p. 200,) and then learn to do homage to the humanity which dictated to the legislators of Jamaica the re-enactment of such a clause; and to the Marquis of Chandos, and his associates of the West Indian Committee, their approbation of it as "salutary and humane," as calculated "to enlarge the privileges and to protect the persons of their slaves." *Abstract*, p. 1 and 2.

We shall not think it necessary to tire our readers by going further into an analysis of this Abstract at present. If circumstances should require it, we shall not shrink from the task of resuming it, and we pledge ourselves before hand, that if we should be compelled to do so, we shall find no more difficulty in exposing the illusory and deceptive nature of all the other alleged ameliorations, than we have had in the case of those which, on this occasion, we have been led more particularly to notice; for with respect to the whole of this Abstract, though promulgated and sanctioned by such high authority, we repeat, unhesitatingly and confidently, that it is "a gross imposition on the public."

We could have wished, before we closed this article, to have adverted to the persecuting clauses of the Act of 1826, which, we understand, have been re-enacted, with aggravations, in a new edition of it which has recently received the sanction of the Governor of Jamaica; as well as to the cruel persecutions, which, during the last two years, the Missionaries, especially those of the Wesleyan Methodists, have been enduring in that island. But we must defer to another opportunity this pregnant topic, a topic not inferior in interest even to the case of the martyred Smith. But a time is coming when these deeds of darkness will be dragged into light, and assist in more firmly fixing the public determination to put a final period to a system so fruitful of crime, so alien from the genius of our constitution, and so utterly repugnant to the benign spirit of the Religion of Christ, as that which now unhappily prevails in the slave colonies of Great Britain.

"In conclusion, let us remember," as we ventured to observe on a former occasion, "that the laws of which we have been giving an account, are not obsolete statutes, the relics of a barbarous age, but they are laws recently framed by men calling themselves Britons, and who, instead of feeling that such laws outrage every principle of justice and every feeling of humanity, actually hold them forth as instances of enlightened and beneficent legislation. And if the laws themselves be, as they are, a CRIME, what must be their administration in the hands of the men who framed them, and who do not blush to boast of them."

How long shall such abominations be endured by a nation calling itself Christian?

III. HAYTI AND MR. MACKENZIE.

Mr. Consul General Mackenzie has published two volumes of NOTES ON HAYTI, made during his residence in that Republic; and he has prefaced them by a vehement attack on the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 55, against which he brings very heavy charges, such as, "coarse vulgarity and impudent falsity," "dishonesty," "flagrant misrepresentations of facts," "garbled quotations," "much passion and little reason,"—calling forth alternately, his "pity and contempt," and evincing the "sordid mendacity" of "the skulking libeller" that framed it, who shews himself superior "to all sense of shame," and on whom "refutation on refutation would be perfectly unavailing." He declines, therefore, under such circumstances, to engage in a contest with "an anonymous assailant," fearing also, as he says he does, lest, "by the warmth into which he might be betrayed in repelling ungentlemanly impertinence," he should expose himself to be suspected of being a partisan.

To this refined, modest, calm, gentlemanly, and pertinent vindication, all we have now to say in reply is, that having carefully perused his "Notes on Hayti," we can find nothing in them which requires that we should retract a single syllable of the remarks on his official report, in our 55th number, which have roused the ire of Mr. Mackenzie. On the contrary, we find those remarks confirmed and substantiated by his more recent communication, as we may take an early opportunity of shewing. In the mean time we would merely observe, that Mr. Mackenzie has adopted a very *prudent* and *safe* method of repelling what he calls our imputations. After ransacking the English vocabulary for vituperative expressions which prove nothing except his "much passion and little reason," he omits to specify a single point in which we have misrepresented either his statements or his opinions. From this necessity, it is true, he endeavours to release himself by pleading that the imputations are anonymous. But though the imputations are anonymous, yet the testimony on which they rest is not anonymous. Their whole force depends on that testimony, and could not have been either strengthened or weakened by the name of the collator of it. Now to that testimony Mr. Mackenzie, at least, is bound to defer; for it is the testimony of Mr. Mackenzie himself. It is from his own communications alone, accurately quoted, that the statements are drawn which appear to us to convict him of unfairness, prejudice, and inconsistency; and though he may not condescend to reply to the anonymous commentator on those statements, he may, at least, without any sacrifice of consular dignity, condescend to reconcile, if they can be reconciled, his own apparent contradictions, and the extraordinary discrepancies occasionally existing between his own premises and his own conclusions. This is the task to which we challenge him. It is one which he owes it to his own fame not to decline, and from the necessity of which no vehemence of unsupported accusation, which he may employ, can possibly exempt him, however it may enhance that necessity. We decline to contend with Mr. Mackenzie in the war of abusive epithets, but shall there leave him to enjoy his superiority. If,

however, he will point out any one instance of misrepresentation, either of the facts he has stated, or of the opinions he has hazarded, of which he thinks he has reason to complain, we pledge ourselves that it shall be either vindicated or retracted. One thing, indeed, we will not promise, and that is, to part with the conviction which his Report first forced upon us, and which his Notes have since abundantly confirmed, that he is the cordial and determined enemy of Haytian, or to speak more properly, of negro freedom.*

IV.—THE JAMAICA WATCHMAN.

THE recent conduct of the Jamaica Legislature, respecting the claims of the free coloured classes in that island, will serve to illustrate the governing principle which dictates all their measures of professed reform, namely, to find the minimum of real and effective concession which can be made compatible with an apparent deference to public opinion in this country. On this principle they have passed an Act, which professes, that “it is expedient to grant additional privileges to coloured and black persons of free condition.” The Act commences with granting the elective franchise to all of these classes who shall possess freeholds in towns of the annual value of £100. or out of towns of the annual value of £50., or a rent charge of £100. a year, and shall also pay taxes to the amount of £10. a year; and those who become entitled, by such a qualification, to the elective franchise, shall enjoy the rights and privileges of whites. It is provided, however, that no such coloured or black persons shall be capable of filling offices for which they were before incapacitated, unless thus qualified to vote at elections; and that none of them shall have “any power, capacity, or ability, of sitting or voting either in the Council or the Assembly of the island.” The hardship of this Act consists in not merely this last exclusion of all free

* The above is only one of several attacks on the Anti-Slavery Reporter, which the last month has produced. It would be endless to notice them all; but another, entitled, “A Letter to the Marquis of Chandos, by a West India Planter,” deserves to be distinguished for the ludicrous variety of its topics, and the recklessness of its misrepresentations. It ranges through a controversy of forty years duration, and in the space of 70 or 80 pages touches on almost every subject which, in that time, has had the remotest connexion with it. But like Mr. Mackenzie, he wisely avoids, in his statements, all tangible specification. At p. 30, for example, he accuses the Anti-Slavery Reporter of the unprincipled artifice of promulgating stories of great cruelty and atrocity, which *nine times out of ten*, turn out to be mere fabrications of its conductors, who, when detected, care not for the exposure, but only proceed to get up other stories equally false and fabricated. He might at least have named from the mass, some one story, or some one page of the Anti-Slavery Reporter, in support of this vague statement. We can discover no stories to have been promulgated there which do not rest either on official or West Indian authority. If there be, let them be pointed out, and the chapter and verse be given.—This writer also carefully withholds from his readers the means of ascertaining the fidelity of his quotations. We can find, for example, no such words in Mr. Mackenzie’s Report as he has formally professed to quote from it in a note at p. 19; and there is, throughout the pamphlet, the same defect, so as to bid defiance to all attempt at examination, or collation.

coloured and black persons, whatever be their property and their capacities in other respects, but the requiring of them a qualification of ten times the amount which is required of white persons, (the freehold qualification of a white being £10. a year), and also the excluding them from a variety of civil offices and ordinary employments, unless they possess this high qualification. They exclude, that is to say, from offices and employments, the very persons who stand most in need of them.

The people for whose benefit this Act professes to be passed, exclaim loudly against its injustice. They complain of it as insidiously and deceptively affecting liberality, while, in fact, it involves the same principle of exclusion and degradation which has hitherto characterised the treatment of their class by the dominant party. The following extracts from the *Watchman* will shew the feelings with which it has been received by them.

“The people of colour,” they say, “have too long been made the dupes of an inhuman policy. Their expectations have been raised merely, it would appear, to afford the gratification of disappointing them, and they have been taunted, tantalized, and insulted into a spirit which, if not met by measures of a different kind, must produce serious consequences.” “If the Jamaica legislature is determined to perpetuate their bondage, let them” (the people of colour,) “come forward at once and give the pledge,” (meaning a pledge to aid the British Ministry and nation in their views respecting the extinction of slavery,) “and thus the question of *their disabilities* will not only be for ever set at rest, but a period be decided upon when the odious and brutalizing system of slavery shall also be brought to a close. It is to this they” (the people of colour,) “must come at last, and the man who would refuse to purchase the privileges of a Briton at so cheap a rate, is unworthy of the name, and undeserving of the immunities he now claims.” *Watchman* of 10th Feb. 1830.

Again :—

“The system of slavery is a deplorable one. It debases, demoralizes, and sinks man to a level with the brute. The abject wretchedness of the unfortunate slave is only contrasted by the petulant tyranny of his master ;—this petulance and this tyranny he fancies himself entitled to manifest to, and exercise over, every man whose complexion is not *white*. Accustomed as he is to lord it with a high hand over his black and coloured slaves, he considers himself equally entitled to domineer over the black and the coloured freemen ; hence, has arisen the contempt and contumely with which they have been, and will continue to be treated, so long as slavery exists.

“The people of colour, then, if they really wish to rise in the scale of society, must lend their assistance to the British Ministry and Nation, in putting an end to this crying evil. To the Legislature” (of Jamaica) “they need not look ; a thousand instances of political treachery on their part must, ere this, have satisfied the most sceptical on this head. Do the people of colour generally, or any portion of them, consider the recent measures as having originated from a conviction of the justness of their claims, or from an opinion that they are deserving of the immunities nominally said to be extended to them ? We know they do not.

They are, every one of them, aware that *expediency* alone has induced the *appearance* of liberality; and that they have only *pretended* to give; in order to prevent its being granted more freely and fully by another and a higher power. Is not the gross and disgusting abuse, heaped upon them by some of the very men who pretended to advocate their claims, a strong proof that although, for a time, their prejudices were compelled to yield to necessity, still, like oil, it floated upon the surface, whilst every sentence uttered to shew the necessity of such a measure, was accompanied by another indicative of their dislike and mortification.

“ We are aware that the expression of sentiments such as these will draw down upon us the envy, hatred, and malice of the greater portion of the Jamaica *aristocracy*. It is too well known that to entertain, but particularly to express, liberal sentiments, or to denounce, however mildly, the abominable system to which we have alluded, is considered, by the generality of the white inhabitants, as a crime never to be forgiven either here or hereafter. But we care not what opinion such men entertain. Our object is to do justly and act uprightly, determined to judge every man, not by his complexion or by his creed, but by his conduct! ‘ By his fruit ye shall know him,’ is the declaration of one who was too wise to err; and by this touchstone shall be tried every one with whom we may have to do.

“ That every good man is entitled to a participation in civil rights, is a dogma few will dispute; that any man, on account of complexional or religious differences, ought to be excluded from those rights, none but the most narrow-minded and illiberal will contend; nor can we ever hope to become thoroughly united and happy till every good subject enjoys equal civil privileges, without any regard to complexion or religious opinions. If a man be a peaceable, industrious, moral and religious person, and an obedient subject to the Civil Government under which he lives, let his religious views of things be what they may, he seems to have a just claim to the enjoyment of every office, privilege, and emolument of that government; and, till this is the case, there never can be a settled state of things. *There will be an eternal enmity between the governing and the governed, an everlasting struggle for superiority.* But when every member of the State enjoys equal privileges with its other members, the bone of contention is removed, and there is nothing for which they should any longer be at enmity.”

“ The conduct of the Legislature with regard to the coloured Bill has been of a piece with their usual short-sighted policy, and is perfectly well understood by the persons of colour generally.”—“ They perceive that while the Bill *nominally* extends to them every franchise, it *actually* gives them none; and under that conviction they have determined to petition His Majesty to withhold his sanction from an Act which, if brought into operation, could only be viewed as calculated to add insult to injury.” *Watchman* of 17th July, 1830.

In the succeeding *Watchman*, that of the 20th February, “ a coloured slaveholder” addresses his fellow-slaveholders in the following energetic terms.

“ We are called upon by the Government and united people of a mighty nation—by the voice of justice and humanity—by the *Law of*

God! to raise our dependants from a level with the brute to the station of men—to dissipate, by the stimulating influence of hope, the gloomy, half-despairing recklessness which characterises the reflecting portion of the class, and to induce them to employ, in pursuits beneficial to themselves and society, talents and energies which, in their present moral and political condition, are, like sharp weapons in unskilful hands, injurious to themselves and dangerous to those about them.

“Remember that upon your present conduct depends the security of your property and the safety of your families! Obtain, then, the good opinion of Government; express your willingness to join in measures, which may emanate from them, having for their object the welfare of the island. Place your dependance on the British Parliament, and rest assured that you will not be disappointed, and that you will have no cause to regret having done so. Prove, by your readiness to meet the views of Ministers, that loyalty the most undeviating, and attachment the most sincere, to the illustrious House of Hanover is not, within the pale of his Majesty’s dominions, to be found so predominant as in the bosom of the coloured slaveholder.”

We will extract only one more passage. It is taken from a newspaper, published at Montego Bay, called *The Struggler*, which, it also appears, is conducted by persons of colour.

“It has been intimated to us, that a meeting of the Coloured Freeholders of this parish will be convened for Monday next, to take into their consideration the expediency of petitioning the King in Council, to withhold the Royal Assent from the ‘Brown Privilege Bill,’ as well as to consider of the propriety of giving a distinct pledge of their willingness to promote the views of His Majesty’s Ministers, in the adoption of some system for the gradual abolition of slavery, as the best mode of obtaining the confidence and support of the British Government, and securing their admission to the rights of British subjects.

“We understand that several of the *wisacres* of this parish ridiculed the intention we adverted to on Tuesday, as entertained by the free persons of colour, through the medium of county meetings, to make known their grievances to the government of the mother country, and to petition His Majesty in council against giving the royal assent to the ‘Privilege Bill,’ which now has received the sanction of his representative in Jamaica. Will they admit they have been deceived in the disposition of the people they would continue to legislate for and oppress? Or will the meeting, held, on Tuesday last, in Kingston, and those about to be convened in this and other parishes, satisfy them of the abrogation of all confidence in the justice of the Colonial Government in the minds of the people of colour? Or will they need further manifestations to convince them and all those who have hitherto disputed it, that the seeming inertness of this numerous class of the population, was but the precursor of a more determined resistance to aggressive exclusion? The reiterated goadings of the people of colour—the disappointments heaped upon them, from time to time, by their oppressors, *may* at last induce them to reflect, that when ‘the hereditary bondsman would be free, it is he himself must strike the blow;’—may lead them to compare their own condition, and that of their Haytian and Colombian fellows;

and once too often ask of themselves, if they possess less moral courage, or are curtailed of those requisites, by which the coloured population of Hayti and Colombia burst the yoke that at one time bore as heavily upon them, as it now miserably enthrals the persons of colour in Jamaica."

Without pretending to justify the fervour of some of these expressions, we nevertheless give them, as clearly marking the *signs of the times*.*

V.—ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN MEXICO.

We are happy to be able to make known to our readers the following decree of the President of the Mexican United States, abolishing slavery in the whole extent of that Republic, which has recently been promulgated, viz.

"His Excellency the President of the Mexican United States to the inhabitants of the Republic, greeting,

"Desiring to signalise, in the year 1829, the anniversary of our Independence, by an act of national justice and beneficence that may turn to the benefit and support of such a valuable good—that may consolidate more and more public tranquillity—that may co-operate to the aggrandisement of the Republic, and return to an unfortunate portion of its inhabitants those rights which they hold from Nature, and that the people be protected by wise and equitable laws, in conformity with the 30th Article of the Constitutive Act—

"Making use of the extraordinary faculties which have been granted to the Executive, I thus decree:—

"1. Slavery is for ever abolished in the Republic.

"2. Consequently all those individuals who, until this day, looked upon themselves as slaves, are free.

"3. When the financial situation of the Republic admits, the proprietors of slaves shall be indemnified, and the indemnification regulated by a law.

"4. And, in order that the present Decree may have its full and entire execution, I order it to be printed, published, and circulated to all those whose obligation it is to have it fulfilled.

"Given in the Federal Palace of Mexico, on the 15th of September 1829.

"VICENTO GUERRERO.

"LAURENCE DE ZAVALA."

* In one place, alluding to the threat of the whites of Jamaica, to transfer their allegiance to the United States, the *Watchman* intimates that in such a case the free coloured and black population would resist. But supposing Jamaica to cease to be British, then, it is asked, whether "with Colombia on the one side, St. Domingo, (at whose name the Colonists shudder,) on the other, and Cuba, which, but for the interference of Great Britain, would have been as Colombia now is, it can be supposed that Jamaica would be long in following their example." *Watchman* of 6th February, 1830.

* * In a few days it is intended to publish, as a supplement to the present number, the proceedings of a recent general meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society of Dublin, as well as those of some friends of our cause in Yorkshire.

SUPPLEMENT

TO THE

ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER,

For May, 1830, No. 60.

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- I. ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING AT DUBLIN.
 - II. ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING AT SOUTHAMPTON.
 - III. MEETINGS AT BRADFORD, STROUD, &c. &c.
 - IV. MR. GODWIN'S LECTURES ON SLAVERY.
 - V. LIEUTENANT SMITH, OF JAMAICA.
 - VI. JAMAICA ADVERTISEMENTS.
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I.—ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING AT DUBLIN.

THE Dublin Anti-Slavery Society held its third annual meeting on Thursday evening, the 8th of April last, in the great room of the Rotunda. The admission was regulated by tickets, and notwithstanding that about 2000 were issued, such was the number of applicants, that even treble that quantity would have proved, apparently, scarcely sufficient to gratify the desire of all the individuals who evinced an eager anxiety to be present at the proceedings. In the absence of the Lord Mayor, who was to have presided, but was prevented from attending by official business, Joseph Robinson Pim, Esq., was unanimously called to the chair.

The Annual Report, of which the following are brief specimens, was read by the secretary:—

“The committee of the Dublin Anti-Slavery Society, in returning the trust reposed in their hands for the past year, cannot reflect, without indignation and disappointment, on the failure of those hopes which they had reason to expect would be realised by those to whom they naturally looked for justice to their enslaved brethren of the African race; but they are cheered by the conviction, that the people generally are beginning to perceive the absolute necessity of individual exertion in purifying our country from the pollution of this deep and deadly sin, and of bringing to a close this determined opposition to the ordinances of God and the claims of humanity, by detaining in bondage those who owe to England no tribute or service, either by the laws of war or peace—whose rights have been wrested from them by the power of the strongest, and whose personal liberty is still basely bartered for gain.

“We need not unveil to you the features of slavery: who is now ignorant of them? We need not depict to you our brethren of the African race, deprived of their liberty, of their conjugal rights—driven to market in herds by the cart-whip, and sold without any regard to the ties of relationship, at the will of their owners; debarred from religious instruction; dismissed without redress when they apply for justice; and if they venture to raise their voices in remonstrance, subjected to tremendous punishment. Need we remind you of the thousands slaughtered by the sword of jealous authority? of the multitudes doomed to suffer the infliction of torturing and lingering cruelties, and their mangled remains gibbeted in chains, to appease the blind terrors or glut the savage rage of brutified avarice? It is time that the details of West Indian jurisprudence should be dragged to the light; it is time that the ramparts of falsehood, ‘the refuges of lies,’ behind which the West Indian body has entrenched itself, should be overthrown; it is time that things should be called by their proper names; that the taking that which does not belong to us should be called *robbery*; that the destruction of our fellow-men, by unjust-

tifiable means, should be called *murder*; and that nothing should be permitted in the British colonies, which is punishable by English law.”

After illustrating the character of Colonial Slavery, by details from the flagrant case of the Mosses and other recent enormities, the Report concluded as follows:—

“ But the hour of deception has passed away. Let the universal British people demand the rights of the slave, which will be securing their own rights; let them echo the assurance of our own patriotic sovereign, that he holds his crown for the good of his people. Let them reject with indignation the reasoning which maintains, that an Act of Parliament can enable men to buy and sell, and deprive of their personal rights, British subjects, living under British protection. Let them abstain from the consumption of every thing which has been produced by slave labour, and by so doing they will, in the like proportion, lower the price of the same articles from Asia. But, more than all, let them remember the just vengeance of Him who walketh amidst the whirlwind, and treadeth upon the storm, who maketh the clouds his chariot, and walketh upon the wings of the wind, who ruleth in the dominions of heaven, and giveth the kingdoms of this earth to whomsoever he will, who hath swept from the face of this globe every empire which hath founded its policy upon the principle that men may do evil that good may come.”

The Rev. WM. URWICK rose to propose the adoption by the meeting of the Report which had just been read. After some introductory remarks, he proceeded to argue on the irreligious tendency of slavery, and its brutalizing effects on the human mind. He denied that sacred writ sanctioned the principle of the debasement of any class of human beings—or the possession of a right of property in those who were, by the ordinance of their common Creator, born their fellow-creatures; and demanded why it was that the Legislature of Great Britain did not imitate the Jewish law, by which it was laid down, that “ he that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.” By what principle, he would ask, of right—he would not put it even upon the principle of humanity—had any individual in the world a privilege to sell those beings around him, who possessed equally with himself all the attributes of mind, of intellect, and of person, with, perhaps, the adventitious difference of the colour of the skin? Why should there not be on the statutes of the British law, a law denouncing, if not the penalty set forth in the text above quoted, the severest penalty short of that, against a man buying and selling his neighbour? As a minister of religion he stood there in the proper exercise of his duty, the advocate for liberty—and he denounced the system of men amassing wealth, for the purpose of creating to themselves pleasures, at the expense of the freedom of other human beings, equally regarded in the eyes of their common Creator, and differing from them in nought but colour. “ Woe unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by wrong—that useth his neighbour’s service without wages, and giveth him not for his work.” Why was it—on what ground or principle of right could it be defended, that one class of men should perpetrate on others, that against which they would rise with irresistible indignation if attempted against themselves?

In the words of another text—“ Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.” From men who were guilty of the gross injustice of which he complained, he would call on all to withhold their support. Let every individual possessing the feelings of humanity and kindness to his fellow-beings, discountenance the slavery system personally, by the total disuse of every commodity the produce of slave labour. (Cheers.) He would give very little, indeed, for that man who professed himself an advocate in the cause of liberty, and who, at the same time, was, day after day, really supporting the cause of slavery by the consumption of those articles derived from his sufferings.

The Rev. Gentleman read several extracts from a work lately published, entitled “ Notices of Brazil, by the Rev. Dr. Walsh,” descriptive of Slavery and the Slave Trade in that country, and exhibiting the tendency it had to brutalize not only the enslaved but the enslaver. He alluded forcibly to the opposition on the part of slave owners to the introduction of religious instruction amongst

the unhappy victims, lest they should, through its medium, obtain a knowledge of their rights; also to the deplorable fate of the late missionary Smith, who was martyred for his attempts to improve their morals and religion. The Rev. Speaker concluded by moving the question on the Report, and sat down amid general cheering.

The Rev. Mr. Cross on seconding the resolution, entered into a most interesting detail of the revolting effects of the slave system which had fallen under his own observation in the West Indies, and which pervaded equally all classes there, not excepting even the female sex of the higher ranks in society. The Rev. Gentleman described, in very affecting terms, the appalling and odious characteristics it possessed in all its features---the scourge, the excruciating torture, the merciless unrelenting oppression, and even the degrading jockey phrases that were familiarly used in the sale and purchase of the wretched creatures, which marked more strongly than any language he could possibly use the degrading nature of that most inhuman of all trafficking, the trade in human flesh. The slave system, he could maintain, debased even the very best that had the misfortune to come within the reach of its contaminating influence, and a man might possess the philanthropy of a Howard, or the energetic love of liberty of an O'Connell, and yet be unable to resist the baneful infection. He adjured the meeting, in the name of all that was liberal, in the name of the Most High God, the father of mercy and the vindicator of the oppressed, to attend to the cry, and exert themselves in behalf of 800,000 innocent victims, whose welfare temporal and eternal, was sacrificed to increase the wealth and gratify the passions of those who usurped a power the most unjust over the freedom of their fellow beings. (Cheers.)

Mr. CURRAN, in a long and eloquent speech, moved the second resolution, viz. "That no human Legislature has any lawful power to abridge or destroy the natural rights of life or liberty, unless the owner shall himself commit, or be charged with the commission of some criminal act that amounts to a forfeiture thereof, or becomes amenable to the laws through liability for debt."

Mr. JOSHUA ABELL, on seconding the resolution, spoke to the commercial advantages of the abolition of West Indian Slavery, in the following terms:—"I shall take advantage of this opportunity to explain a few of the immense advantages of the opening of the ports of Asia to our starving manufacturers. Even if the Charter of the East India Company be not renewed, we shall derive much less advantage than ought to be the case, whilst the West India interest continues to keep the East India productions almost out of our reach. There are about sixty-three Members of both Houses of Parliament who own West India property, and maintain that they have derived, from an Act of Parliament, authority to buy and sell the bodies of their fellow-men. These, by a strange anomaly, are sitting amongst the representatives of the free people of Great Britain, and are the very cause of our manufacturers being excluded from the markets of Asia. They have managed to keep a duty of ten per cent. on East India sugar more than on West, and the consequence is, that we are obliged to take their sugar at a higher price than it is worth; or, in other words, we pay about £800 per annum to the West India planter, as a poors' rate, to support a system which would infallibly fall without this bounty.

"It is vain to hope for improvement from the planters. I remember the words of the late Secretary Canning, which are so very appropriate, that, I am sure, I shall need no apology for quoting them. They were uttered in 1799; and an experience of thirty years has proved their truth:---'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.' (Cheers.)

"It is said that the slaves would not work if they were emancipated; but let the emancipated blacks of the colonies answer that question. There are 90,000 free blacks in the West India islands, and half the property in some of the islands belongs to them. Many of their sons are educated in European colleges, and the arms of the colonies are mostly in their hands. The whites amount to 65,000; they, as well as the slaves, decrease in number, owing to the demoralizing and unnatural system under which they live. The proportion of paupers among the whites is forty times as great as amongst the blacks.—If, therefore, the argument of using the whip for idleness be a valid one, it should change hands, and the black should hereafter be the master, and the white man the slave.—(Cheers.)

"It is usual for gentlemen to come to these Anti-Slavery meetings, shelter themselves behind, and when the meetings are over, say that we tell falsehoods, for that they have been in the West Indies, and have seen no such things. I challenge those gentlemen to disprove one single statement of what we assert. If we speak falsehoods, they are bound, as gentlemen, as men of honour, to come forward and undeceive the public. But they have not done so, because they could not. If any gentleman again ventures to make such statements, let his hearers request him to commit the proofs of his ignorance to paper, sign his name to the document, and transmit it to any member of the Anti-Slavery committee, and it will meet a full refutation. They have demanded your suffrages for the most extraordinary of all reasons, namely, that they did not see the deed, that they were not witnesses of the fact. On other occasions this disqualifies a man from giving evidence, but so little modesty have these gentlemen who have travelled in, or touched at the West Indies, that they seem to think themselves like Madeira, which has gone round the tropics, qualified to assume that there is nothing doubtful in their character remaining, and that their quality needs no shadow of proof.

"The West India planter possesses so great an interest in the House of Commons, that he keeps 10*l.* per ton more duty on East India than on West India sugar; 28*l.* per ton more on East India than on West India coffee; 11*s.* 6*d.* per gallon more on East than on West India rum, and such like duties on various other articles. Yet, notwithstanding this restrictive system, the imports to Asia (so great is the desire for our cotton and other manufactures) have increased beyond all example. It appears, from official returns, that in the year 1814, there were exported to India 604,800 yards of printed calicoes, and 213,408 yards of plain calicoes; while, in 1827, the export of printed calicoes was 14,362,551 yards, and of plain, 19,932,580; the increase in the export of plain calicoes, the description commonly worn by the natives, being ninety-three fold. That of cotton twist, so late as 1823, the export to India was only 121,500 lbs. weight; while, in 1827, the export was 3,063,968 lbs. weight, and has since been progressively increasing. That in metals, hardware, earthenware, and many other goods, an immense increase of our export has also taken place. That in the year 1819, the settlement of Singapore, at that time resorted to chiefly by pirates, was taken possession of by the British Government, and made a free port; and, in 1827, its import trade amounted to 13,387,185 Sicca rupees, with a corresponding export; thus showing the extensive benefits to be derived from a free commercial intercourse, and altogether affording a greatly increased and increasing field of employment for British shipping.

"There are at this moment West India planters in the room who can disprove what I say if it is false. Their boasted improvements amount to nothing. As well might we say, that the Irish landlords live at home, and attend to the wants and comforts of their people, because Lord Cloncurry and the Marquis of Downshire, and a few others, live on their estates, and attend to their tenantry, as to say that the West India planters have improved the condition of their slaves; and as well might you make a law, that the produce of the resident landlords should be taxed for the benefit of the produce of absentee estates, as to declare that the produce of free labour should be taxed for the benefit of slave labour.—(Cheers.) The planters have endeavoured to deceive the Eng-

lish people on many points, such as abolishing labour and markets on the Sabbath, the only day which they left to the slave to support himself, and yet they have not given him any other day for the purpose, so that they must still work or lie down and die. There are seven crown and thirteen chartered colonies, every one of which has refused to provide religious education for the slave; seventeen have refused to put an end to Sabbath markets and labour; eighteen have refused to make the Sabbath a day of religious observance; nineteen to allow the slave any other day than the Sabbath to support themselves; eight to admit slave evidence under any circumstances; ten to permit slave marriages or protect their connubial rights; nine to prevent the separation of families by sale; nineteen to prevent the forcible sale of negroes from the estates to which they belong; nine to protect the slaves in the acquirement of property; fourteen to establish saving banks; eleven to abolish the enormous taxes on manumission; fifteen to permit the negro to purchase his own freedom at any price; sixteen to prevent the abuse of arbitrary punishment; fifteen to permit a record to be kept of arbitrary punishment; fifteen to abolish the flogging of females; twelve to abolish the cart-whip as an instrument to excite negro labour; fifteen to appoint protectors of slaves; fifteen to prevent protectors of slaves from holding slaves; seventeen to permit the principles of law to be in favour of freedom; and the entire twenty have refused to purify the administration of justice. So stands the history of the present state of the negro slave in the West Indies." After some cogent observations on the expense of the West Indian colonies to the empire, and upon the misrepresentations of Messrs. Macqueen, Mackenzie, and other advocates of slavery, Mr. Abell concluded a comprehensive and impressive speech, which was loudly cheered by the audience.

The Rev. J. M'CREA proposed the next resolution, viz. "That the Committee be authorized to petition the Imperial Parliament, at the first convenient day of the present Session, and to request all other Anti-Slavery Societies to petition, that in their wisdom and justice they may be pleased to decree, that all children of slaves, in the British possessions, born after a day hereafter to be named, shall be free to all intents and purposes, as clearly as if they were the children of British parents, and born upon British soil." The Rev. Gentleman observed, that Mr. O'Connell was to follow him, and he preceded him merely for the purpose of that Gentleman being introduced to the meeting with greater effect. And, though he, Mr. M'CreA, had been opposed to Mr. O'Connell heretofore in feelings, religious and political, he now felt the most sincere and gratifying pleasure in this juxta-position with the Learned Gentleman.

Mr. O'CONNELL then rose to address the meeting. The Learned Gentleman was received with long continued and enthusiastic cheering. He commenced by observing, that in the profession to which he belonged, it was not, by any means, usual to solicit practice, but in the business to which he now belonged, and as a representative of the people, he solicited from the present meeting the high honour of presenting their petition to Parliament. (Cheers.) He felt proud and gratified at the occasion which presented him with the opportunity of thus soliciting their suffrages. It was to be sure a pleasure, and he certainly felt it as such, to meet there the Rev. Gentleman who had preceded him, and acted as master of the ceremonies—(a laugh)—in introducing him (Mr. O'C.) to the meeting, a gentleman who had differed with him in opinion, but he was quite satisfied had done so honestly and conscientiously. The present was however a question upon which they were all, as men and christians, engaged, and each was equally zealous to strike from his fellow-creature the chains that disgraced and degraded him. (Cheers.) Could it be borne, much less could it be defended, that man was found degraded because he differed in colour from him who presumed to call him his slave? (Cries of *no! no!* and *hear!*) But if they looked to the heart, they would find the heart of the master more black than the skin of him whom he arrogantly called his slave. He denied, totally denied and scouted the inhuman and absurd principle, that property could be claimed in human beings—those who were created by an eternal and just God for an eternity hereafter, and redeemed by the precious blood of a Divine Redeemer—(Cheers.)—To him it was a source of very considerable consolation indeed, to reflect, that amongst the various portions of the earth that had been disgraced by the accursed and abhorrent negro slavery system, the stain had never yet rested upon Ireland,

their own country. Ireland and Irishmen should therefore be foremost in seeking to effect the emancipation of human kind—(Cheers.) But Britain, haughty Britain, had much to answer for in this respect—(Hear, hear.) Britain had not only the crime to be proved against her in her own colonies at present, but in the colonies which had once belonged to her; and where the excuse now for slavery, was the influence set by British example. The Americans alleged that they had not perpetrated the crime, but inherited it from England. This, however, fact as it was, was still but a paltry apology for America, who, asserting liberty for herself, still used the brand and the lash against others. (Hear.) He taunted America with the continuance of slavery, and the voice with which he there uttered the taunt, would be wafted on the wings of the Press, until it would be heard in the remote wilds of America; it would be wafted over the waters of the Missouri and those of the Mississippi; and even the slaves upon the distant banks of the Ohio would make his words resound in the ears of their heartless masters, and tell them to their face that they were the victims of cruelty, injustice, and foul oppression. (Cheers.) Bright as was the page of American history, and brilliant as was the emblazonment of her deeds, yet still negro slavery was a black, a “damning spot” upon it. Glorious and splendid as was the star-spangled banner of Republican America, still, still it was stained with the deep foul blot of human blood. (Hear.) In nine of the Republics of America, negro slavery, the horrid and abominable traffic in human flesh, was countenanced and tolerated. Again he proclaimed that America was degraded by human slavery, and even the greatest of her heroes, Washington himself, had been a slave-owner. In his will, to be sure, that great man paid a tribute to the genius of his country, by giving freedom to his slaves; but so long as they could be useful to him in this life, so long did he retain them; and at his death he gave them freedom against the rest of the world. This was not, however, an excuse for Britain, and the plain, the undisguised truth should be told. The British Government possessed, if it chose to use it, the power of at once putting an end to slavery. In the colonies the slaves were guarded by soldiers, paid with their money; the Governor was paid with their money; for the commodities brought from the West Indies, a bounty price was given; and the fact was, that with every morsel of sugar that melted in their cups they bought negro blood, (hear, hear.) The British Government had but to say the word, and that moment negro slavery was at an end. The negro was not even allowed to be heard in a Court of Justice. The Judge, the Jury, the respective officers were all white men, and why was it they would not even listen to the unfortunate negro? This served to prove that wherever the negro was excluded from a court of law, there justice was but a name, and nothing prevailed but permanent injustice to them. And yet it was to perpetuate this wretched system of slavery that the Irish agriculturists were to be sacrificed. If a law could be carried into effect to prevent the drinking of spirituous liquors, he would use all means in his power to support that law. But what was the Government now about doing? Not at all to prevent the consumption of spirituous liquors, but on the contrary to increase that consumption, by holding out encouragement to the importation of rum from the West Indies (*hear!* and *shame! shame!*) at the expense of the grower of corn and the distiller of this country. Here then was an encouragement to the system of slave labour, and a prevention to the trade of freemen. Why, he would ask, was it that they were threatened with this? because in this country they had been divided; because instead of attending, as they ought, to their common interests, they were engaged in beating each other about the head. His excellent friend, the Rev. Mr. Crea, and himself, had been engaged something in the same way, but that was passed, and now they went on together, heart and hand. (Here the Hon. and Learned Member, turning to the Rev. Mr. M'Crea, shook hands with him, to the evident delight of the meeting, which testified its satisfaction by hearty acclamations.) They should now combine their struggles, not only in what more immediately regarded the interests of their own country, but they should unite their best energies to put an end to the odious monopoly of those who flogged the aged, and the young, as they flogged the brute beast, and who even raised the lash against woman. (*Shame! shame!*) Let us petition. There was not a village, a town, a parish, or a city throughout Ireland that should not unite, and send forward petitions against negro slavery. Let this but be done and the

result would be, that Government would not, could not, should not reject their prayer for the freedom and happiness of others. The speaker sat down amid loud and long-continued cheering.

The resolution to petition both Houses of Parliament was unanimously agreed to.

The Rev. Mr. CREIGHTON proposed the next resolution, viz. "That the most certain means of overcoming the system of slave-holding, by which the population of these countries is so severely oppressed, is by refraining from the use of slave-grown produce, and purchasing the production of free labour." The Reverend Gentleman observed, that though formerly a Brunswicker, and opposed to Mr. O'Connell, he felt grateful to him for the honourable sentiments which he had expressed that evening, and in which he most cordially concurred. He trusted the period would soon arrive when he should see the dearest wish of his heart realized, by their efforts being crowned with complete success.—(Cheers.)

Mr. FITZSIMON begged, as one who had been a violent agitator, to second the motion proposed by one who had been a Brunswicker. He hailed with joy this proud era of the union of Irish feeling, when burying in oblivion past dissensions and petty prejudices, they now saw their own interests; and in discerning their own interests, they at the same time saw and felt what would advance the interests of humanity at large.—(Cheers.) When he entered that room, he was not prepared to deliver a single sentiment; but he gladly and proudly obeyed the call of those around him, and he did so the more gladly as it afforded him the gratifying opportunity of uniting the former Brunswicker with the former Agitator.—(Tremendous cheering.)

The fourth resolution was then adopted, and a committee for the ensuing year having been appointed, Mr. O'Connell was called to the chair, thanks voted to Mr. Pim, and the meeting separated.

II.—ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING AT SOUTHAMPTON.

ON Tuesday the 6th of April, a very numerous and respectable Meeting of the Friends of Negro Emancipation was held at Southampton. After an appropriate address from the Chairman, Dr. Lindoe, the following Resolutions were proposed and unanimously approved of:—

"1. That a state of Personal Slavery appears to this Meeting to be repugnant to the clearest dictates of Justice, to the genius of the British Constitution, and to the spirit of the Christian Religion.

"2. That it is the imperative duty of the British Nation, to give a strong and unequivocal expression of its feelings, by urgent and respectful appeals to the Legislature, in support of those measures of Government which may appear calculated to ameliorate the present condition, and to promote the speedy Emancipation of the Slaves.

"3. That while we do not deny the claims of the Planters to be entitled to the deliberate and equitable attention of Parliament, we regard the prior and indefeasible claims of the Slaves to their liberty, as paramount to all pecuniary considerations; and that prompt and immediate steps should be taken to prepare them, by an efficient course of education and religious instruction, for the enjoyment of all the privileges and immunities of British subjects.

"4. That we are of opinion, that all children under ten years of age, and such as may be born after this time, should be at once declared free; that all charges on manumission should be abolished; and that, at the earliest period consistent with the general welfare of the Community, Slavery should cease in any form to exist within the limits of the British Dominions.

"5. That a Petition, embodying these Resolutions, be forthwith addressed to both Houses of Parliament."

In proposing these resolutions several very impressive speeches were delivered. From that of the Rev. J. Davies, who moved the first resolution, we extract the following passage:—

"That we may not be charged with indulging in the extravagance of sweep-

ing representations, and in the vagueness of abstract notions, I will take the liberty of stating a few facts, not less appalling than they are unquestionable, as the basis of my subsequent remarks. As preliminary to all others, I lay down the broad, primary, and comprehensive fact, that at this moment there are in our West Indian islands alone, not less, at the lowest calculation, than seven hundred thousand human beings—bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh—who are legally recognised, and are fiercely and resolutely claimed, as the *absolute property* of other men—of men, many of whom they have never seen—some, whose names probably they have never heard—of men, between a large proportion of whom and them the Atlantic rolls its waves; and this, not under the capricious sway of Turkish despotism—not within the narrow boundaries of some obscure petty sovereignty, which hides its deeds of tyranny in the shades of its insignificance—not in a region of Pagan darkness or Mahometan imposture—not in the semi-civilized epoch of feudal laws and baronial tenures, but in the conspicuous empire of Great Britain, in the 19th century of the Christian era—in an age remarkable for the universal diffusion of light and knowledge, and for the extension and confirmation of civil and religious liberty—within the dependencies of a country which holds a commanding and influential position among the nations of the earth—a country, whose charter of equal rights and political immunities has been delineated by the pen of its legislators, and sealed with the blood of its patriots—a country, which nearly 150 years ago indignantly hurled a legitimate monarch from his throne, because he exhibited a disposition to encroach upon the freedom and independence of his subjects. It is a fact, however anomalous and incredible, that in the range of colonial dependencies, governed by this country, there are 800,000 human beings—a number equalling, perhaps, the whole amount of the population of the principality of Wales—living in a state of abject, personal slavery. It is a fact, that after the repeated and continued efforts of philanthropic individuals to effect a change—after the loud and reiterated expression of the nation's feeling, through the medium of public resolutions, declarations, and petitions—after an unequivocal decision of Parliament, and definitive orders of the King in council, the system in all its substantial features, still remains, for the most part, unmitigated and the same. It is a fact, that in most of the islands the slaves have scarce any other time to cultivate their grounds, in order to raise provisions for themselves and families, except the Sunday. It is a fact, that in none of those islands which have legislatures of their own, has any efficient law been passed for the education and religious instruction of the slaves. It is a fact, that with very few exceptions, Sunday markets are still openly and legally held throughout the West Indian islands, and that the slaves can be arrested and imprisoned as felons, for the debts of their improvident masters. It is a fact, that during crop time, which forms nearly half the year, the slaves are forced to work, with scarcely any intermission, about eighteen hours out of every twenty-four—that in Jamaica, and many of the other islands, any master or overseer may inflict thirty-nine lashes with a cart-whip upon any negro slave, man, or woman, or child, without being obliged to give any reason for his conduct—that families, parents and children, brothers and sisters, are liable to be rudely torn asunder by the chances of public sales, in which they are exhibited, and the soundness of their several limbs examined, as if they were so many beasts of burden. But not to accumulate modes and instances of injustice and oppression, which would be too monstrous and appalling to admit of belief, if they were not fully authenticated and acknowledged, it is one fact decisive of the maltreatment, amounting to a slow and gradual murder, to which this numerous class of His Majesty's subjects are exposed—that in almost all the places where unmitigated slavery reigns, the negro population decreases at an enormous and unparalleled rate, while the free-born or emancipated negroes, by whom they are surrounded, are found to multiply in a proportionate ratio. These are facts, not fictions—realities, not hypotheses. They are attested by documents of unimpeachable authority. They are therefore too stubborn and absolute to be brushed away by one sweeping and somewhat unceremonious charge of ignorance and misrepresentation. And, if true, they prove beyond contradiction that the slave, in every important capacity and relation which belongs to him, is subject to intolerable injury and oppression—

that as a physical being he is worn by excessive labour, until he prematurely sinks into the grave,—that as an intellectual being, he is kept almost upon a level with the beast,—and that as an immortal being, by far the most important of all other considerations, he is abandoned, so far as any provision of law is concerned, to all the ignorance, depravity, and vice, which are calculated to effect his ruin. I appeal to this meeting, whether these things ought so to be. I would ask whether, under the sanction of the British legislature, 800,000 rational and immortal beings ought any longer to remain in this condition, merely because a few hundreds or even thousands of our fellow-countrymen may suffer some pecuniary loss, which is however in most cases very doubtful, as the consequence of some attempt to elevate them to the rank of humanity.”

After a very eloquent and argumentative address, in which the slaveholder's right of property, and claims for compensation, were ably discussed, and the state of personal bondage shewn to be opposed equally to natural right and divine revelation—and to be not less impolitic than inhuman, the speaker concluded as follows :

“To those who are convinced of the injustice and enormity of the slave system, but who are afraid to meddle with it, for fear of the dangers with which any general movement on the part of the negroes is apprehended as likely to be attended, it is only necessary to point out the numerous instances, upon every scale of magnitude, which have already taken place, without any such disasters being realized. The conduct of these persons is a continual compromise between duty and fear, for the benefit of oppression, and the irreparable injury of its objects. They employ themselves in soliloquizing upon the comparative eligibility of bearing those ills we have, rather than ‘flying to others that we know not of.’ And while they are thus conjuring up scenes of imaginary terror upon the remote verge of the skies, they completely overlook the numerous facts by which they are surrounded, and which prove beyond a possibility of doubt that the danger is by no means such as they apprehend it to be, even if immediate emancipation were to take place. They have the spacious island of Hayti before their eyes, with its half million of emancipated negroes, whose jubilee was announced by one shrill note of the trumpet of liberty, without being followed by any disastrous result. In the colony of Trinidad they have more than 15,000 free blacks, and persons of colour—being a proportion of more than four to one above the whites—living in peace, industry, and comfort. In St. Lucia the emancipated slaves are in a proportion of three to one more than the whites, and, by the testimony of the Chief Justice of the island, remarkable for their activity and good behaviour. In Grenada, the enfranchised population is four times the number of the whites, and there is not one pauper among them. In Jamaica, they have it officially stated in a return printed by order of the House of Commons, that the criminal prosecutions of the whites and the enfranchised blacks, were as 24 to 8, though the latter population is considerably larger than the former. And are these facts, and others equally striking, I would ask, to go for nothing in estimating the danger of admitting the negroes, under suitable regulations, to the enjoyment of civil liberty? Is it in reference to this question alone, that the evidence of experience is to be overborne by hypothesis, and that a system of crooked, barbarous, and cowardly policy is to supersede the dictates of justice and humanity, and the principles of enlightened legislation? I do not say indeed, that the question of negro slavery is without its dangers, but the real peril is from its continuance, not from its judicious and timely annihilation.

“Upon those, who think it too great an effort to bestow one serious and considerate thought upon the condition of their fellow beings, who are separated from them by so many leagues of water, I fear that all argument would be lost. This is not a subject for the triflers of the day, who flit from flower to flower in quest of some pleasurable sweet, and care not who suffers, if they enjoy—who is manacled, if they are free. Such persons must learn to think, before they know how to pity. But, before they presume to treat with levity and scorn the interminable captivity and wrong of 800,000 human beings, let them try by one effort

of the imagination, by one hour of pensive reflection, to realise what it would be to spend a single day in their own persons in the same humiliating condition.

“To those who are sincere and strenuous in their endeavours to procure the removal of this foul stain from the escutcheon of our country, I would only presume to say, that the most effectual means of attaining our object, is to combine moderation with firmness—perseverance with energy—discretion with zeal—qualities of which, I trust, the resolutions to be proposed this evening will afford a specimen. Let us ask nothing but what the legislature may safely and wisely yield. Let us be resolute in our purpose, but yet temperate in our appeals. Let this principle regulate the conduct of the friends and advocates of negro emancipation, and success, though difficult, and impeded by many obstacles, cannot be far distant. Every indication is in favour, indeed, of the speedy termination of this degrading system. And how would it cheer the hearts of the venerated champions of this glorious cause, those who have spent their strength in the service—our Clarkson and our Wilberforce, and their worthy associates, to behold this happy consummation of their philanthropic labours. I can imagine that after such a vision of earthly blessedness, their ascending spirits would clap their wings with gladder triumph as they hastened to join the company of the celestials, who have been gathered out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation, and to bear their part in that new song, which ascribeth blessing, and honour, and glory, and power, unto him that sitteth upon the throne and to the Lamb for ever and ever.”

Excellent speeches were also delivered on this occasion by Dr. Nicholl, Sir Matthew Blakiston, the Rev. Robert Adkins, and various other gentlemen present. From several of these we would willingly have given appropriate extracts; but our limits for the present are exhausted.

Petitions to both Houses of Parliament, founded upon the above Resolutions, and numerous signed, have subsequently been sent up for presentation.

III.—ANTI-SLAVERY MEETINGS AT BRADFORD, STROUD, &c. &c.

MEETINGS of a description similar to those above noticed, have also been held in the course of last month at Bradford, in Yorkshire, at Stroud, in Gloucestershire, and at several other towns throughout the country; at all of which very strong resolutions were passed. From a petition to Parliament adopted at the Bradford Meeting, we select the following specimen:—

“That in attempting to carry those resolutions [the Parliamentary resolutions of 1823] into effect, his Majesty’s Government has met with such opposition from most, and with such insult from some of the Colonial Governments, as sufficiently evince their general determination to *obstruct*, or by other means to *nullify* every provision tending to final abolition, and to preclude all reasonable hope of any effective co-operation from that quarter.

“That any considerable improvement in the moral and religious character of the slaves is rendered unattainable by the incessant, grievous, and unremunerated labours in which they are engaged, and that while a profession of anxiety or willingness to have the slaves instructed in Christianity, is held out by the colonial legislatures, their *PRACTICE* generally, and that of Jamaica particularly, shows the utter insincerity of such professions.

“That from these facts it appears plain to your Petitioners, that as long as the negroes continue the absolute property of their masters, there can be no reasonable hope of any religious or moral improvement in their character to any extensive degree.

“That your Petitioners are of opinion, and beg leave humbly to suggest to

your Right Honourable House, that immediate, decisive, and effectual steps should be taken to secure the absolute and unconditional freedom of the whole slave population; and that a definite and early period ought to be fixed forthwith for the accomplishment of this act of humanity and justice."

IV. MR. GODWIN'S LECTURES ON NEGRO SLAVERY.

The following account of a series of interesting lectures on Slavery, is extracted from the Leeds Mercury, of March 27, 1830.

"The Rev. Benjamin Godwin, baptist minister, of Bradford, has delivered four lectures last week, and the week before, at the Commercial Buildings, in that town, on this interesting subject.

"Admission was had by tickets at one shilling each, and the large room was well filled with a respectable company, who listened with deep attention and interest to the clear, able, and convincing arguments and statements of this zealous advocate of the cause of abolition. As a general outline of these lectures may be interesting, and may suggest similar exertions in other large towns, the public are presented with the following statement:—

"In the first lecture, the reasons which had induced Mr. Godwin to enter on the subject, and his design and plan in treating it, were referred to.

"He stated his desire to treat the subject with the utmost fairness, and to produce the arguments advanced on both sides of the question, and to establish his statements by reference to undisputed facts and unexceptionable documents. A Historical and Geographical sketch of Ancient and Modern Africa, and of the West Indies was then given, and also an account of the discovery, produce, population, colonization, and conquest of those islands.—This was followed by a general view of the system of Slavery; the manner in which the greater part of the population was formerly supplied by the Slave Trade from the western coast of Africa; the various employments of the slaves; a description of a sugar plantation; of the working gangs; the driver and his whip. The monstrous features of the system; the perpetuity of bondage; and a comparative view of the conditions of the English and the West Indian labourer closed this lecture.

"The second lecture pointed out more particularly the *evils of Slavery*, natural, moral, and political.—Under the first head, the internal wars which the Slave Trade originated in Africa—the capture—the journeys, embarkation—and last farewell of the captives to their native shores—the horrors of the middle passage, and their disposal when arrived in the West Indies, were affectingly described.

"The abolition of this horrid traffic by Great Britain was alluded to as a subject of congratulation, and as an argument for proceeding to the extinction of the *system of slavery*,—slavery, the parent of the African Slave Trade, which is still carried on clandestinely to a very shocking extent by the vessels of several of the European and South American states.

"The general treatment, as regards labour, food, and punishment of the slaves was particularized; and their relation to society, as liable to oppression and injustice from their masters (who were their legislators, and would take care not to abridge their own usurped and despotic authority) was stated. Also, the difficulty of obtaining redress, by the almost universal non-admission of slave evidence; the liability of families to be torn asunder in sales of slaves, who were in the eye of the law the mere goods and chattels of the master; the whole presenting a frightful mass of evil, and a state of complete degradation, were forcibly explained.

"Some very striking remarks were made on the perpetuated ignorance of the slaves, and the general unwillingness of the masters to have it removed; the almost universal disregard of the institution of marriage; the branding, advertising, and sale of slaves, and the unjust and cruel obligation imposed on the free black to prove his freedom, (whilst the claimant is not bound to prove his right,) which, if he fails to do, he again becomes a slave.

"The *moral evils* accruing from the system to the slaves and to their masters—tending to inflame the passions, to harden the heart—to extinguish all sense

of justice, and to induce the most unbounded licentiousness, were ably expounded: and the *political* evils, as affecting our finances, and our commerce, in the defence and maintenance of such a monopoly, were also laid open. This lecture closed with some very forcible observations upon our national guilt, in perpetuating a system which must be inexpressibly offensive to the righteous and holy God.

“The third lecture was a closely argumentative exposure of the unlawfulness of slavery, and of the sophisms which were used to justify it. Some preliminary remarks were made in answer to the usual defence and objections of the advocates of slavery, such as the alleged exaggeration of statements—the interest which the masters have in treating their slaves well—the contentedness of the slaves if let alone, and the alleged preferableness of the state of West Indian slaves to that of English paupers; which last allegation was very particularly disproved and exposed.

“The unlawfulness of slavery was shown as a violation of the natural rights of man—of the principles of the British constitution—and the more sacred principles of the religion of the Divine Redeemer.

“The opinions of Paley and Blackstone on the natural rights of man were quoted, and it was shown that none can possess nor acquire these *rights* either by gift, purchase, force, or human enactments. The common and hackneyed refinements to which the Macqueenites resort, such as—that though the Slave Trade may be unjust, slavery is not, or that it is an act of charity to take them from their country,—were treated, especially the latter, with deserved severity. It was also shown how unfounded is the allegation of their being an inferior race.

“In stating slavery to be opposed to the British constitution, the glaring inconsistency of our sending a fleet to Algiers to liberate Christian slaves, and our exertions to emancipate the Greeks from Turkish thralldom was forcibly pointed out. The principles of the constitution were also stated as founded upon the Magna Charta extorted from John, and as exercised in the resistance and expulsion of such despotic monarchs as James II. Its opposition to the law of nations was also shown. The sophisms and objections grounded on prescription, on antiquity, on the sanction of British laws, and on the slavery of the Jewish Dispensation, were exposed and refuted. This lecture closed with an impressive exposition of the principles of Christianity as opposed to slavery, and of the futility of the justification which some attempt to ground upon the state of society, and the exhortations of the Apostolic writers to the slaves, in the commencement of the Christian era.

“In showing the opposition of Slavery to the spirit and tendency of Christianity, the lecturer conceded that there was no distinct precept literally forbidding it,—that there were slaves (*δουλοι*) when Christianity commenced,—that such persons, on being converted, were exhorted to submission and obedience: but no sanction to such a system could be fairly inferred from these premises.—St. Paul, in 1 Cor. vii. 21, &c. evidently censures the system in very forcible terms. It was sufficient to observe, that the Apostles did not interfere with the political institutions of the day; but, says Paley, ‘does it follow from this, that all civil institutions which prevailed were right, or that the *bad* should not be exchanged for the better?’ If we proceed on this principle, how shall we justify the struggles of our ancestors for freedom? Was the attempt at arbitrary rule by any of our monarchs at all to be compared to the despotism of *that* period? and yet the Apostles did not denounce it. It was also observed, that those who attempted to justify Slavery from the apostolical injunctions to obedience, would do well to be admonished from the same quarter, that ‘men-stealers’ are classed with ‘murderers of fathers, and murderers of mothers, and men-slayers;’ and are they who perpetuate the act less guilty than they who originated it?

“The views which Christianity imparts of God, as ‘our Father in Heaven,’ the common and gracious benefactor of all our race, without respect of persons, nations, language, or complexion; as the universal Lawgiver or Judge, from whom neither the high nor low, the Planter nor Slave, can appeal: the fact that all mankind are naturally the same, and, more particularly, that the blessed promises of the Gospel extend to the black as well as to the white, that there is not one Divine Redeemer for the African and another for the European—that

the same atoning blood is efficacious to cleanse the Negro from his sins, and that the same Divine Spirit dwells in the heart of the Ethiopian—was happily urged, proving that, in Christ Jesus, there is neither bond nor free, and that the law of mutual love and good-will must for ever remain at variance with chains, and brands, and whips, and interminable bondage.

“The fourth lecture treated of the *Abolition of Slavery*, reference being first made to the history of colonial slavery, and the history of the cause of abolition as divided into four periods, viz. from its commencement to 1787, when Wilberforce first moved the House on behalf of the slaves. The next period extended to 1807, when the Slave Trade was abolished under the Administration of Grenville and Fox; the next to 1823, when Mr. Canning’s resolutions passed; and the last from that year to the present time, during which next to nothing has been done to carry them into effect. The questions, whether amelioration or abolition, and whether gradual or immediate abolition should be adopted, were also argued.

“The subject of Equitable Compensation was also examined, and the results were stated in substance to this effect:—

“1. That justice demanded positive abolition.

“2. That compensation (for which the slave had the first claim) could only be pleaded by the planters, not as *of right*, but in the nature of a penalty for national delinquency, and that the *extravagant* claims of the West India advocates as to indemnity could never be justly conceded.

“That the dangers anticipated from immediate abolition, which justice demanded, and sound policy dictated, were in most cases visionary and exaggerated, that any real danger might be guarded against, and that the case of Hayti would prove the feasibility of a bloodless manumission, if no efforts were made (as in that case) to enliven them again.

“The other objections to their emancipation, such as their proneness to inactivity, and ignorance, were taken up, and several facts cited to prove, that they were unfounded in experience, *where the blacks were free*. The circumstance of the great disproportion of white paupers to blacks was also adduced to show the futility of this objection.

“This lecture closed with examining the question ‘*How shall this end be attained?*’ The desirableness of discouraging slave produce was discussed. The duty of firm, temperate, and unceasing appeals to Parliament was shewn; and the power of the Legislature to effect that which the planters themselves never would effect, was compared to that of the steam engine, which required only *the steam of public opinion*, strongly expressed, to enable it to annihilate Colonial Slavery at one majestic stroke.

“These lectures, of which the above is but an imperfect outline, were attended by numerous, respectable, and attentive audiences, and have doubtless produced an effect upon the judgment as well as the sympathy of many influential persons, which will be permanent, and productive of well-directed exertion in this righteous cause.”

V.—LIEUTENANT SMITH, OF JAMAICA.

“THE West India Reporter, No. XXX, attacks us with great vehemence for having asserted the *genuineness* of a letter written by Mr. Smith, and dated from Jamaica, which first appeared in the Dublin Evening Mail of Sept. 30, 1829. When that letter first appeared, its want of *authentication* induced us to pay it comparatively little attention. But when it was asserted by the Morning Journal and the West Indian Reporter, and other pro-slavery works, that it was fabricated by the Anti-Slavery Society, we deemed it right so far to investigate the subject as to ascertain that such a letter had been written in Jamaica, and had been received in Ireland. On this point we were satisfied. We ascertained it to be a *genuine* letter written by Lieut. Smith, and received and published by his brother, and not a home fabrication, as was alleged. The Editor of the West India Reporter supposes that

in expressing our conviction of its *genuineness*, we meant to vouch for its truth. But this is not to understand the import of the English language. We merely meant to say, that we had ascertained that it was written at the place whence it was dated, and by the person who was alleged to be its author, leaving to our readers the inference that the imputations must be false which attributed its fabrication to us, or to any one in England. The letter being proved to be a genuine Jamaica letter could not, of course, be an English forgery.*

But it is alleged, on the testimony of Mr. Smith, that his letter had been ALTERED. Mr. Smith has admitted that he had been guilty of misrepresentations in that letter. He may, therefore, have been mistaken in this assertion also. But if so, the matter may be put to the proof. His letter is still, we understand, in existence, and in the hands of his brother. It may be compared with the Dublin Evening Mail. It has been so compared by a friend who has been permitted to see it, and he affirms that it has not been altered except by the omission of the names of persons and places.

That the letter was *genuine* we felt convinced, and if we could have doubted it, the proceedings in Jamaica, and the insertions in the West India Reporter, would have set all doubt on that point at rest. It is evidently the *real, unprompted, unconcerted* letter of Mr. Smith himself. Its truth is quite another question, on which we did not pretend to decide. And not being satisfied on that point, we did not insert one word of it in our pages. We knew that its *truth* as well as its *genuineness* would hereafter come to be investigated, and we waited that issue.

But though we admit that the letter is not entitled to the credit it assumes, and that, by the writer's own admission, some of its statements are unfounded, yet we still think that "it paints colonial slavery in true, though revolting colours." The descriptions of Greece by the author of Anacharsis are accurate, though the incidents are not real. And a man may give a true picture of Jamaica and its manners, while the particular facts are supposititious; as in the case of "Marly, or a Planter's life in Jamaica;" "The Memoirs of a West India Planter;" "The Tour of Cynric Williams," &c. In all these works there are many exact and graphic descriptions. And so in the letter of Mr. Smith, if there be not truth, there may be at least great verisimilitude. And that this is not our opinion merely, is evident from what has passed in Jamaica.† The following is an extract from *The Watchman* of the 16th of December, 1829:—

"We have read with surprise in the Courant of this morning, the copy of a letter from Mr. Smith, the comptroller of the customs at Savannah la Mar, on the subject of the article entitled, 'Cruelties of

* The West India Reporter seems so little aware of the meaning of the word *genuineness* that he changes *our* terms "complete conviction of its genuineness" into "conviction of its complete genuineness." (p. 264.) Our conviction of its *genuineness* was certainly complete, and is abundantly justified by all the details given in the West India Reporter.

† If any one will compare Mr. Smith's account of the cart-whip with that given above (p. 200) by Mr. Barrett, himself a planter, and at this moment a member of the Assembly of Jamaica, he will see that the latter is quite as revolting as the former.

West India Slavery,' &c. Our surprise is not that Mr. Smith owns himself the author of the letter, 'expunging some sentences and allusions,' but that he should give such a colouring to the avowal as to stamp his epistle with the character of a deliberate fabrication. Why does he not come forward boldly and state what he has said on the subject, and substantiate the allegation, if it can be substantiated? *That such atrocities do exist as represented, we have not the shadow of a doubt, and were the artillery of Jamaica planted in murderous array against our bosom, we should fearlessly express our opinions.*" "Who that has witnessed the persecution and martyrdom of the missionaries of St. Ann's, the Golgotha of Jamaica, can doubt of the existence of such unparalleled enormities? None. But Jamaica humanity can be traced even to the House of Assembly. How long is it since a young creole slave, a native of Jamaica, a subject of His Majesty, the property of Curtis Philip Berry, the honourable member for Manchester, was branded on both shoulders and breast with the letters C. P. B.? Well may colonial policy cavil and shiver at the admissibility of slave evidence."

The *Struggler*, of Dec. 12, expresses himself to much the same effect. (But this was before he heard of Mr. Smith's retractations.) "It has, too long," he says, been the practice of "the public of Jamaica, to stigmatize many truths as calumnies, and thereby prevent the exposure of improper acts. The time has, however, now arrived, at which all such fallacies must explode, and we rejoice" "that a sense of justice will trumpet forth the good or evil acts of the slave-owner." "The use of the whip has been too unrestricted: it cannot be denied." "We do not defend the imputations cast on the characters of the inhabitants of Westmorland by Mr. Smith," "but there appears no reason for concluding that Mr. Smith has exceeded the bounds of veracity in the detail of the disgusting severities he became a witness of, and therefore we see no just ground of complaint against his expressing that horror he no doubt felt whilst witnessing such inflictions."—"The Editor trusts he possesses sufficient moral courage to defy and scorn those animadversions which, he may lay his account, will be heaped upon him by the illiberal portion of the community, and the venal hirelings of a corrupt press."

Without doubt all this does not prove that Mr. Smith was actually, as he professed to be, the eye witness of what he related; but it indicates as we said before, at least the verisimilitude of his narration; and that, in the estimation of persons residing on the spot, and dependent on the favour of the public for the sale of their paper, the particulars detailed were not at all unlikely to have happened; and that there was nothing in the state of the law and of manners to prevent their happening.—It may be necessary either to prove or to disprove particular acts of atrocity. These may affect individuals, or they may serve to illustrate the state of society. But while the Jamaica statute-book stands as it does, a monument of inhumanity and injustice; while the laws professing to secure the well being of the slave are in the deplorable state of inefficiency in which we have shewn them to be in the preceding pages; what security can the slave, man, woman, or child, have either for person or for property, for back, or for limbs, or for life?

We must reserve for the next number our reply to the attack of the West India Reporter respecting Sierra Leone, which however admits of a very sufficient and satisfactory reply.

VI.—JAMAICA ADVERTISEMENTS.

Extracts from the *Royal Gazette* of Jamaica, of 13th March 1830, being descriptions of apprehended runaway slaves.

“George, a Mungola, 5 feet 5 inches; marked apparently TA on shoulders, wears whiskers, has country marks down his belly, and large sores on the right foot; to Thomas Tate, Esq. Shaftston plantation, Westmorland.

“Lizzy, alias Lizzy Thomas, an old grey-headed creole negro woman, 5 feet 2 inches; some of her teeth are lost and others are decayed; to York estate, St. Thomas’ in the East.

“George Robert, a young creole negro man, 5 feet 7½ inches; marked apparently PM on left, and WP on right shoulder, and has two scars on left breast; to a Mr. Stewart, now off the island.

“Elizabeth Baker Cooper, alias Mary Munro, a yellow skin creole negro woman, 4 feet 11½ inches, marked MI on shoulders; having stated to the magistrates that she was free, she was therefore ordered to be detained until she produces documents thereof.

“George, alias John Brown, a young creole negro man, 5 feet 5½ inches, marked PL (in one), diamond on top, twice on left and once on right shoulder, and the same marks on his breasts, to the estate of the late Purchas Lumley, Esq. dec. Richmond-Lodge, Westmorland.

“Hamlet, alias William Maxwell, a creole, 5 feet 3 inches; the first joint of the fourth right finger is lost; has scars on forehead, and old bruises on shins; to Tileston estate, Trelawny.

“Eliza Carr, a fair sambo, 5 feet 5 inches, stout made, marked apparently YP on right shoulder; has marks of a public flogging on shoulders, a scar under her chin, one above her upper lip on the left side, and one on her left inner ankle, and wears her hair thick and plaited.

“George Temple, a smart-looking *creole man boy*, 5 feet 4 inches, marked IS on shoulders; to a Mr. J. Thompson, May-Day, Manchester.

“Susanna, a creole, 5 feet 5 inches, marked apparently SM on left shoulder; lost the sight of her right eye; to a Miss Manjoe, Clarendon.

“Robert Smith, a creole, 5 feet 9½ inches, respectable appearance; formerly to Friendship Pen, Manchester, but paid the purchase-money of his freedom to a Mr. Morris, at the Bog estate, St. Elizabeth’s.

“Edward Ellis, a creole, 5 feet 8¾ inches, sambo complexion; has blister marks on his back, two moles on the right side of his lower lip, and a scar on left foot; says he is free, but can produce no document thereof.

“Alexander Fillington, a quadroon boy, about 16 years old; his toes are much distorted from the yaws; says he is free, is a native of Kingston.

“John Thomas, a Coromantee, 3 feet 4 inches, marked VIGW on right breast; says he is free, but has no documents thereof.”

ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER.

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The "ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER" will be forwarded to 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, on application at the Society's office, No. 18, Aldermanbury. Single Copies may be had of all booksellers and newsmen, at the rate of 1d. per half-sheet of eight pages.

I. PROCEEDINGS OF A GENERAL MEETING OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY AND ITS FRIENDS, HELD AT THE FREEMASONS' HALL, ON SATURDAY, THE 15th OF MAY, 1830, MR. WILBERFORCE IN THE CHAIR, CONTAINING THE SUBSTANCE OF THE SPEECHES DELIVERED, AND THE RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED ON THAT OCCASION.

II. CONCLUDING REMARKS.

III. LIST OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY COMMITTEE.

I. PROCEEDINGS OF A GENERAL MEETING OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY AND ITS FRIENDS, HELD AT THE FREEMASONS' HALL, ON SATURDAY THE 15TH OF MAY 1830.

THIS meeting was one of the most numerous that ever assembled at this place on any occasion. Long before the hour fixed for opening the business of the day had arrived, the hall was completely filled in every part, so that even the passage to the platform was choked up, and some gentlemen who were to have taken part in the proceedings of the day were forced to retire. It has been estimated that about two thousand persons must have been actually present; and certainly a very considerable number, probably 1,000 or 1,500 went away, without being able to obtain admission. Among those present we observed the following noblemen and gentlemen, viz. Lords Milton and Calthorpe; the Bishop of Bath and Wells, Hon. and Rev. G. Noel, Hon. and Rev. B. Noel, and Hon. C. J. Shore, Drs. Lushington and Milner, Messrs. Wilberforce, Clarkson, Brougham, Denman, Buxton, W. Smith, Sykes, Spring Rice, O'Connell, Brownlow, W. Whitmore, Pendarves, Z. and T. B. Macaulay, H. Drummond, Evans, Garratt, Pownall, Allen, Forster, Gurney, Rev. D. Wilson, Captain Gordon, and many others of high respectability.

Mr. CLARKSON came forward to make a proposition, which he believed would be agreeable to all present,—that his old and beloved friend and fellow-labourer, Mr. Wilberforce, should be called to the Chair. (Great and continued cheering.) That chair was, indeed, his natural and proper right in this assembly. He was entitled to it by long and unwearied services as the leader of our cause. And he sin-

cerely hoped he might live till, under his auspices, the great object of this day's meeting might be brought to a speedy and a happy issue.

Mr. WILBERFORCE having taken the chair, observed that if he were at all placed in that chair, he could undoubtedly be called to it by no one with more propriety than by his old and faithful friend and fellow-labourer, Mr. Clarkson.—He conceived it could not be necessary for him to detain the meeting long with any preliminary observations, because he trusted that the purpose for which they had met had sunk so deep into the heart and feelings, the conscience and principles of all who were present, that it was not necessary to say much either to explain its nature or to justify its propriety,—feeling convinced that he rather ought to apologize for having been so tardy in again bringing the subject before them, than for having done so now. The purpose for which they had assembled was, indeed, most urgent; and it was impossible for him to have met with his old friend Mr. Clarkson on this day, after a long interval of absence, without finding his mind occupied in looking back to the early period of that warfare, in which he was preceded by his friend, and which they prosecuted together until they at length effected in Parliament the abolition of the slave trade, that first step towards the completion of the object for which they were now assembled. And here he would remind the meeting of a most important lesson which they were taught at the very outset of their undertaking. When the proposition was first made for abolishing the slave trade; when light was first thrown on that den of darkness, and the atrocities connected with it were fully exposed to public view; it produced a sentiment of universal horror; and the British House of Commons declared almost with one concurrent voice that it should at once and for ever be abolished. But the result shewed how dangerous it was to trifle with conscience, and to resist the first impulse of an honest mind. Fatal was the consequence of doing so in this instance. When the horrors of the slave trade were fully laid before Parliament, its first impulse was to tolerate it no longer. But by degrees, the early fervour began to cool, and self-interest began to assert its claims, and to urge motives for delay. And under the patronage of Mr. Dundas, (the late Lord Melville) it was proposed that a gradual, instead of an immediate, abolition should be adopted. He and his friends saw at once the danger of such a proposal, and immediately rejected it. Every possible method which determined hostility, goaded by self-interest, could suggest, was now taken to oppose them, and their principles and motives were systematically and grossly misrepresented. It was imputed to them among other things that they acted on false principles; they neglected the slaves in the West Indies; and that to the improvement of their condition, and not to the abolition of the African slave trade, ought the attention of Parliament to be directed. This view of the subject was strenuously maintained in 1792. In that year the House of Commons resolved that the slave trade should be forthwith abolished. But Mr. Dundas contended for its continuance for eight years longer. He pleaded for its respite only for that period, and then he was willing that its death-warrant should be signed—and it should be doomed thenceforward to destruction. And to reconcile us to the idea of thus prolonging, for

eight years, the horrors of the slave trade, he proposed that when these eight years should have expired—namely, on the first of January 1800, then not only should the slave trade be abolished entirely, and for ever, but that every negro child that should be born in the West Indies, after that day, should be born free. Had we accepted that compromise, supposing it to have been faithfully executed, there would now scarcely have been left a single slave in the whole extent of the West Indies. Now it will be asked, why we did not accede to this proposal? But may it not be asked in reply, how we could possibly have acceded to it? Should we have been justified in sanctioning the continuance of this horrible trade for eight years longer, or for any period however short, if it was in our power to prevent it? Let the meeting only consider what Mr. Dundas's proposition was, and then they could not be of opinion that we should have done right in acceding to it. It was, that after we had been distinctly assured that Parliament would abolish the slave trade for ever, we should give our consent to its continuance for eight years longer—that we should give our willing consent that 70,000 or 80,000 human beings should every year, for eight years, be torn from their country by every method that rapine and cruelty could suggest, should be immured in floating dungeons, carried across the Atlantic, and there condemned they and their descendants to a state of slavery. What right had we to stipulate thus for the liberty, the life and death of so many of our fellow beings? We were all accountable to a higher tribunal, and why should we have presumed to consent, that a crime so shocking to humanity should be deliberately committed, for the miserable hope it afforded that any thing good would or could flow from it? For was it not plain, that if, with our eyes open to its enormity, we had acceded to such a proposition as that; if we had so far infringed upon right principles as to consent to enter into so unhallowed a compromise as that of seeking a good end by bad means; we could not have hoped for the divine blessing, and might have seen our object wholly defeated, or, at least, still further deferred. Recent experience had proved how little confidence we could place on such insidious concessions. In 1823 the West Indians came forward with *their* propositions, which were substituted for ours; but, having thus obtained the means of delay, they now, in 1830, even when we were pursuing the very course they themselves had suggested, retracted their concessions and opposed the carrying of them into effect. We might depend upon it, therefore, that if the abolitionists had assented to Mr. Dundas's proposition, some expedient would have been found to prevent its accomplishment. They did not accede to that proposition, and they were wise, he (Mr. Wilberforce) was convinced, in not having done so. They experienced, indeed, afterwards, much opposition during their long struggle to effect their object, but his faithful friend and himself had been cheered and animated throughout by the continued sympathy and support of the public, not less than by the consciousness of a good cause; and he firmly trusted, that the Almighty would not allow the evils, for the extinction of which they now laboured, to exist much longer. One victory had already been achieved, and he hoped, that old as he was, he should live to see another. There was no longer, indeed, any time

for delay, or for half measures. We must all be in earnest, and we must shew our earnestness by the vigour of our efforts.—Let us consider what was the state of things in which we now stood as compared with 1792; and this question would assume a still stronger emphasis when we considered who Mr. Dundas was, and what was the situation which he occupied. Was he some wild reformer, who following every visionary fancy and rash political scheme, was disposed to rush precipitately into plans of improvement? No: he was no such person; he was, on the contrary, a man, though generous and liberal in private life, who yet shewed the greatest enmity to every thing that savoured of wild project, and the most disposed to take the part of a cool and calculating policy against any thing that could be termed extravagant. Such was the character of Mr. Dundas, who yet in 1792 considered it not premature to begin to put an end to the system of slavery within eight years. In 1800, according to his plan, its death blow was to have been given, and yet now, thirty years after that period, were we only endeavouring to begin to effect a similar purpose, to the issue of which, it was to be feared, we had yet to look forward through a long vista of determined opposition. Now this was in 1792, and yet the system had been continued ever since with little or no variation. In the years, however, which had intervened, there was one period so marked, so important, and teaching such lessons of wisdom as to the future, that he could not forbear referring to it; and when he looked back upon it, it was with pain he recollected that the individual who bore the chief part in the transaction to which he alluded was now no more. In the year 1823, Mr. Canning entered into a negotiation with the West India planters in this country, for the purpose of effecting some alterations in the state of things in the West Indies. He brought forward his measures, which it was not now necessary to detail, at the suggestion and with the general concurrence of the West India proprietors in this country. He proposed them with the approbation of these West Indians, who recommended them in the strongest manner to the colonies; and what was the consequence? We should have expected that measures, thus suggested and recommended by their own friends, would have been received with forbearance, at least, if not with favour, and acceded to, if not from a conviction of their propriety, at least from a sense of interest. But what had they done? They had pertinaciously refused, one and all, to adopt these proposals. And what had been the result? The same West India Committee, who, in 1823, had suggested and recommended these measures, came forward in 1830, to abet the colonial legislatures in rejecting them, and in opposing us who required their fulfilment. He had lived long enough, however, not to be surprised by such want of principle in public bodies of men. Many of them, doubtless, were men of education and of respectability in private life, who would shrink with shame and hide their faces if they were supposed to be capable, individually, of conduct so repugnant to common honesty, and even common decency; who yet, when they acted in a collective capacity, were apt to act very differently, lending their countenances to each other in proceedings, which could not fail to compromise private character. Thus had these West India proprietors, on finding that the colonists refused

to adopt the proposed reforms, at length changed their tone, and coincided in their rejection; and although, when Mr. Canning proposed these measures to the House of Commons, they declared them to be not only wise and prudent, but moderate also, and such as ought to be acceded to, yet they had now retracted this opinion, and had declared that the colonial legislatures, who rejected them, had, in so doing, acted wisely and prudently, and humanely too. Notwithstanding their former assent, their object now manifestly was, to have the work of reform committed wholly to themselves, and that for the very purpose of mocking our hopes, and frustrating our designs. And the Government of this country, he feared, was too much disposed to yield to their wish, and to leave the interests of the slaves in the hands of the Colonial Assemblies; and yet no man who had at all attended to their past conduct could suppose that these Assemblies had any other purpose in view than that assigned to them—delay. For it was not that they agreed with us, as to the object we had in view, but only differed as to the means of carrying it into effect. But they now plainly told us, that they disapproved alike both of the end at which we aimed, and of the way by which we sought to attain it. That end, they affirmed, would be ruinous to their interests. Could we then hope that they would be willing to adopt the means by which that end was to be accomplished? Could any course be more opposed to common sense, than our continuing thus to commit the matter to their management? This would be the height of folly. Let us no longer than transfer to them a task which is properly our own. And let us engage in that task, not as a matter of feeling merely, but of duty and of conscience. Feeling was but a weak power when opposed by self-interest. Let us then not trust to that feeling which, arising from the mere sensibilities of our nature, might evaporate into indifference; especially when the objects of it were at a distance of three or four thousand miles, and when every pains were taken to deceive and delude as to the reality of those circumstances which constituted the oppression, degradation, and wretchedness of their state. We must act then not from feeling merely but upon principle, and a deep consciousness of the duty we owed to God and to man, while we used all the powers we possessed to accomplish an object recommended to us alike by every right feeling of the heart, and forced upon us by every act of our reason and understanding.—But it had been said that the negroes were a happy people, and that there was no ground either for commiserating their condition or desiring their emancipation; we were even told that they were happier than our own English peasantry. It was truly disgusting to listen to such assertions;—to hear men alive to the value of that liberty which they themselves possessed, and which they deemed their own noblest possession, yet conceiving that they are guilty of no crime in refusing to impart it to others! And when he found persons in high stations, possessing wealth and rank and every outward distinction, maintaining such propositions, he could not but feel that, however high their station, they wanted that true nobility of soul which even the poor negro had often shewn himself to be possessed of;—for *he* had often given the slow, and gradual, and laborious earnings of a long life to obtain, for himself or those dear to him, even

the qualified liberty that was enjoyed by the free coloured people of that country—in short to give all he possessed to purchase for himself, his child or his wife, the freedom some affected so lightly to prize; thus manifesting a far greater elevation of mind, and a truer estimate of the value of liberty than the greatest West India planter who, prizing the liberty which he himself possessed, yet denied it to the wretched beings of whom he claimed to be the master. He would conclude with this single observation, that should England proceed as she had hitherto done—making free with the rights and liberties of those whom Providence had placed under her protection—the time of retribution could not be far distant; for she could not expect in that case that a great and just God would continue to her her own abused blessings which she had so long enjoyed with so little gratitude. Let us all then exert ourselves to the utmost in this cause, with a deep impression that it was our paramount duty to do so, and that in this way alone could we expect to attain our object. Thus acting, however, we might humbly hope to live to witness the successful issue of our labours, and to rejoice together in the final accomplishment of the great work of mercy which we had undertaken.

The speech of the venerable Chairman was received throughout with great applause, and he sat down amid the loud acclamations of the audience.

Mr. F. BUXTON said, that when he saw what numbers were here collected, and by what persons he was surrounded, and particularly by his hon. and learned friends Mr. Brougham and Mr. Denman, he could not help thinking that it was in some degree presumptuous in him to step forward to move the first resolution. But his apology was that he did so in obedience to the commands of his friends around him, the members of the committee, who having certain statements to communicate had selected him as their organ. But he would first turn to the meeting at large for one moment and congratulate them that *he* who had so long been the leader and chieftain of our cause still continued to cheer us with his presence and to aid us with his counsel. And that this day, from those lips which had so frequently and so powerfully pleaded the cause of afflicted Africa, we had heard a noble, urgent, and he was sure, welcome exhortation to proceed forward with energy, and manfully and resolutely to encounter and resist all opposition, as the sure and only means of final success in the glorious cause in which we were engaged. But if there was eloquence in the language he employed, there was eloquence of a higher order still, eloquence more heart-stirring, and emphatic, in the recollection, that we saw *him* presiding among us who for twenty years had fought that battle of humanity and justice which had ended at last in the deliverance of Africa from British rapine, and in the deliverance of England from the foulest stain—the blackest crime that had ever tarnished the reputation of any country. Now then, let us under his auspices proceed with confidence, trusting that our worthy Chairman might yet live to complete what he had begun. The time had now arrived in which it had become necessary to speak and act with energy and decision. We had hitherto been restrained, perhaps too much restrained, by the hope—slender and forlorn as that hope had

always been in his mind,—that the planters would awaken, if not to a sense of justice and of the equal rights of the negroes, at least that they would awaken to a sense of their own interest as connected with this subject. On the 15th of May, in the year 1823, just that day seven years, this question had come under discussion, and Government on that occasion, chose to take the matter into its own hands, and to give a solemn pledge that such measures would be pursued as should ensure to the negro population a participation in the civil rights and privileges which were enjoyed by other classes of his Majesty's subjects. This purpose was submitted to the House of Commons and there it was approved—to the House of Lords and there it was approved—to the West India Interest in this country and by them also it was approved—to the English nation in general, and it was superfluous to say with what joy it was hailed by them. Was it too much then to have expected that a plan so just, so reasonable, and so moderate that the West Indians themselves did not venture to advance any objection to it—was it too much to expect that it should have been received with decent compliance, if not with cordiality, on the part of the colonists? But what had been done, and what answer had been returned by the Colonial Assemblies? They told us from Jamaica, “we have already done the utmost that is possible for our slaves—we have made them the happiest and the most comfortable peasantry in the world, and we can do no more.” And even the little Island of Tobago, addressing the imperial power of Great Britain, scrupled not to declare, “here is our *ultimatum*, nothing shall induce us to proceed one step further.” Such was the general tenor of the answers in *words* which the colonies conveyed to England on this subject. But they had sent a more intelligible answer in their *actions*—in what they had done and in what they had refused to do. Let us look for example to what Mr. Canning said should be done in the Colonies.—In the first place it was directed that the shocking and unseemly practice of chastising females with the whip should be entirely abolished, and this Mr. Canning designated as a first step from barbarism to civilization. But had that first step been taken by the Colonial assemblies? Look at that of Jamaica and what was its answer? No man was there found so wild and enthusiastic as even to dream of making such a proposition in the Colonial Assembly; but at last one member, less timid or more humane than his associates, did venture to propose, not the abolition of the punishment of females by flogging, but that when inflicted it should be inflicted *decently*. And upon this strange proposition that females should henceforward be flogged with the cart-whip not indecently but decently, the votes being taken, it was in effect resolved by two to one (28 to 12) that they should continue to be flogged indecently.—Another of the material propositions which Mr. Canning recommended was to abolish the use of the whip when applied to the slaves generally as a stimulus to labour in the field, a practice which Mr. Canning called a wanton and degrading act of cruelty that placed the Negro on a level with the beasts of the field. This too was refused by the Jamaica and other Colonial Assemblies.—It was further proposed to restrict the arbitrary power of the master as to the extent

of punishment he should have the power of inflicting. But what at this very hour was the law of Jamaica on that subject? It was this, that it should be in the power of he knew not how many parties—owners, attorneys, managers, overseers, workhouse-keepers, gaolers and others, to inflict on any slave, man, woman or child, 39 lashes of that cart-whip of which we were told by Mr. Barrett a planter, and one of their own body, on that very occasion, that 39 lashes of it were equal in severity to 500 lashes with the cat-o'-nine tails.—Another point urged on the Assemblies was the instruction of the Negroes in the Christian religion. They professed to accede to its expediency. But then time was necessary in order to instruction being communicated, and here arose the difficulty; for from the earliest dawn of day on Monday morning to the last ray of light on Saturday evening it was alleged that the slave's time belonged to his master, and it was impossible any of that time could be given to instruction. But still it might be given after the close of the day, and after the master's work was finished. No, that, it was alleged, would be an undue encroachment on the time of the slave, and a law was passed to forbid any one from conveying instruction after the night fell. But then it might be given on the Sabbath. The Sabbath however was the market day, and the day for cultivating their provision grounds. Mr. Canning had proposed to obviate this difficulty by giving the slaves a day in lieu of the Sabbath for these purposes. This proposition had not been acceded to, but on the contrary a law had been passed actually fixing the forenoon of the Sunday as the legal public market day of the Island.—Another point urged upon them was, that the Negro should be entitled to purchase his own freedom or that of his family by paying the full market price for it. This also had been refused, though it was, it might be thought, a most reasonable and moderate proposition. Was it possible, indeed, to devise any scheme of enfranchisement, the progress of which should be more slow and gradual than a scheme which depended on the ability of these poor creatures to save out of their small earnings, by denying themselves every gratification, a sum adequate to the honourable and elevated object of emancipating themselves, or their wives, or their children. But even this moderate proposition had proved too much for the planters, and against it more than against any other, had their voice been raised.—He had now shewn what their answer had been in *words*; he had also shewn the still more explicit and intelligible answer—that which more truly and certainly disclosed the real intentions of the West Indians—which had been conveyed in their *actions*. Demerara had sent a very explicit answer to the recommendations of the Crown in the murder of the Christian Missionary Smith;—Barbadoes, in the demolition of the Methodist chapel;—Berbice, in the well known and harrowing Reports of the Fiscal of the Colony;—and the Bahamas, in that most atrocious act of cruelty and outrage perpetrated by the Mosses. Not that we find this last answer merely in the circumstance that a wretched female slave was punished with a cruel imprisonment in the stocks for seventeen days successively, and repeatedly flogged during that period; nor that Cayenne pepper was rubbed into her eyes to increase her torments; nor even in the further

fact that this poor sufferer had died in consequence of these inhuman inflictions; but we find it above all in the petition presented to His Majesty's Government, sanctioned and recommended by the Governor, and signed by all the respectable inhabitants of the Colony, entreating that the penalty of fine and imprisonment imposed on Mr. and Mrs. Moss, by whom this outrage had been committed, should be remitted as a manifestation of the sympathy of the Government with the feelings of the white community.—From Jamaica we have also had a very clear and intelligible answer in those pretended plots and fabricated rebellions which had been brought to light and denounced in Parliament by his excellent friend Mr. Denman then present, and who had extorted from an unwilling Parliament a unanimous sentence, reprobating the conduct of the local authorities. Another answer we had had in their unjust and oppressive deportation of free people of colour. And at this moment they were supplying another answer in the persecutions raised against the Christian teachers of the Negroes, to which one of them had already fallen a victim, while another had returned to this country with his constitution shattered by the severities he had endured. But we had cause to thank God that these atrocities had not quenched the zeal either of the Missionary bodies in this country, who were determined to persevere; or of the Missionaries themselves who were also resolutely determined to go on, and if it must be so, to become martyrs in the cause.—Such then were some of the answers that had been received both in words and in actions from the Colonists, and now therefore we were brought not voluntarily but of necessity to this point—Shall we abandon the cause of the helpless Negroes; shall we, bound as we are to extend protection to them, shall we leave them to the well tried mercy of the planters;—or shall we strike at slavery itself, the root of all these evils? But it had been said and frequently repeated, that little attention was to be paid to our representations; first, because we did not understand the true state of things in the West Indies;—and secondly, because we were enthusiasts. Enthusiasts undoubtedly we were, in so far as we regarded the Negro as a man, and being a man felt that he ought not to be treated as a beast. Enthusiasts too we were, in so far as we were incapable of perceiving that because he wore the complexion which nature had given him, he ought therefore to be deprived of his liberty and doomed to be the slave of a tyrant of a different complexion. But before we proceeded farther in this question it did seem important that we should cautiously ascertain whether the right to the disposal of his own person was with the planter or with the Negro himself; in other words, whether in point of fact the negro were a *man* or a *thing*? If he were a *thing*, to which the planters had a rightful title, we should at once go all lengths in asserting their claims. But if we came to the conclusion that he was not a thing but a man, a man endowed by the Almighty with the unalienable rights of human nature, then must we endeavour, to the utmost of our power, to restore to him those rights which God had granted to him, and which only the cruelty and injustice of his fellow man had taken from him. Whence then, might it not be asked, did the West Indians derive their title? Was it from

nature? No man would say that *white* men had a natural or inherent right to the bodies of *black* men. Such a pretension had, indeed, been formerly set up, and it had even been asserted, that the slavery of the negroes was a part, an imprescriptible part of the birth-right of West Indians; but such a doctrine, he believed, would not be propounded now. Was it then, from religion that they derived their right? Some forty years ago, indeed, there was a body of theologians who made the strange discovery, that slavery was recommended, and even enjoined in scripture; and assuming, moreover, that the negroes were the descendants of Ham, they deemed it an act of impiety to interfere with the arrangements of Providence. But this opinion also was too absurd and extravagant to find many advocates now. Still it must be admitted, that there *was* a foundation for the right claimed by the planters, but it was to be found only in the slave trade. Thence, and thence alone, was the title under which they claimed to be derived. And what was this slave trade? Mr. Pitt supplied the proper answer when he declared, that “it was the most atrocious of all human crimes,—that there was something in it, which to the imagination of man was absolutely revolting.” And this was all that could be said in favour of the claim of the planters. They might plead, it was true,—we ravaged your country—we fired your village—we murdered your relatives—we captured you—we brought you to the West Indies, amid the unnumbered horrors of the middle passage—and there we have kept you in utter darkness, and ignorance, and wretchedness; and *therefore, ye are ours*. Such then, were the grounds of their vaunted rights and titles:—robbery, massacre, and murder.—Yes, these were the titles, the only titles on which the claim of the West Indian was founded. He should be sorry, in pursuing this line of argument, to say any thing which would give unnecessary offence to the West Indians; but, at the same time, it was desirable that we should see upon what their claim rested, as otherwise, we might not be able to decide whether we were entitled to break the fetters of the poor negro or not. Now it appeared to him quite ridiculous and absurd to argue that they had or could have any title whatever, except the title which they had derived from the horrors and barbarities of the slave trade.—Upon one occasion, an argument had been used so happily and appropriately upon this point, by a negro, that, with the permission of the meeting, he would just state the case; as the question was thus brought within a short compass, and an answer given in a few words, to the pretensions of the West Indians. In Philadelphia a free man of colour was suspected of having stolen goods in his possession, and when cited and brought before a magistrate, he candidly confessed it. “Indeed I have got the knife and corkscrew,” said he, “I bought them from Tom knowing that he stole them; but I paid him honestly for them.” “Indeed!” said the magistrate, “you buy stolen goods, knowing them to be stolen, and yet you say, you pay for them honestly; we will teach you better justice than that:—you must be flogged. Do you not know that the purchaser of stolen property, knowing it to be stolen, is just as criminal as the thief himself?” “But do you flog *every* buyer of stolen goods?” said the accused. “Undoubtedly, if he is convicted,” answered the judge. “There is

Tom's master! catch him constable! he bought Tom, knowing him to be stolen, as I bought the knife and the corkscrew; and the only difference between his purchase and mine is, that Tom was stolen from his father and mother, whereas the knife and corkscrew that Tom stole had no father and mother."

And now as to the question what we ought to do.—We ought, he thought, to aim at the extinction of slavery. He did not wish to disparage any efforts that might be made for its mitigation, though he had never expected much from them. But now when we saw what the West Indians had done, or rather, what they had not done, was not the dictum of Mr. Burke perfectly verified, "It is all arrant trifling, it is destitute of any executory principle." And even if it were otherwise, and if the West Indians had proceeded with zeal and efficiency, in ameliorating slavery, still that state of being in its fairest forms must be a system full of horror, and full of evil. We might prescribe the quantity of the slave's food, or of his labour; we might limit the number of his lashes, and adopt other fair-seeming regulations; but when we had passed laws, and when those laws being infringed, the negro applying for redress had convicted his master of the crime of violating them, yet that negro would nevertheless, be restored to his convicted master, exasperated by the very appeal made to the law, and holding in his hands, in that cartwhip which constituted the essence of slavery, a tremendous power of retaliation. So little, indeed, was he disposed to rely upon mere ameliorations to any extent which might be proposed by those who wished to uphold the system, that were they even to adopt all the measures suggested by Mr. Canning, and yet to strike out that clause in his Resolutions which engaged to raise the slaves to a participation in those civil rights and privileges which were enjoyed by other classes of His Majesty's subjects, he should be prepared to reject the scheme without reserve or hesitation. The West Indians, indeed, had asserted again and again that the negro was in such a state of moral and mental darkness that he was unfit for freedom. But granting this to be so, what could be so decisive, what reproach against slavery could be so pointed as this, that its victims were thereby unfitted for the common rights, and duties, and enjoyments of humanity? Granting it to be so, and that the parents were unfit for immediate liberation, yet the infant or unborn children were not as yet so contaminated by slavery; they were not yet so under the influence of that fell destroyer, as that we should be compelled to inflict upon them the penalties of that horrid system, a system which never failed to pollute and corrupt its victims, and to destroy the energies and faculties of all who were subjected to its malign dominion. One of the first things, therefore, that we had to do was to aim at the extinction of slavery, by cutting off that supply of fresh subjects which it was continually receiving. We ought, therefore, this day, ere we separated, to give some pledge that we would strike a blow towards the extinction of slavery, by at least arresting its further progress. Nothing less than this ought, and he was certain, that nothing less than this would satisfy the minds of those he was addressing. It was true there were difficulties in such a measure; but it was much less difficult to prepare the infant for freedom than for

slavery. Even if left to nature and providence, much would be gained. There were multitudes in this wide world who had no advantages but that they were free born, and were free men. But if besides this, you gave them instruction, you prepared them for society—and if you gave them religion, you laid the foundation of their happiness and of your security. But the process by which children were matured into slaves was much more difficult and laborious. Blows, and stripes, and hard usage must be inflicted and repeated year after year, ere the spirit of a man was sufficiently depressed within him, and before that unnatural and shameful tameness was formed, which was the character and quality of the slave. The infant, then, could be prepared for freedom much more easily than he could for slavery. And if it were asked how we were to deal with the planters? he should say, that we should deal with them honestly and justly. But then they could have no claim upon the negro, and if compensation were to be made, the compensation was due from them to the negro—compensation for evils without number, and for years of unrewarded toil. But it was said, the planters had a just claim upon their accomplice in iniquity, the British Government: be it so. And if the happy day were to arrive when we should, in conjunction with them enter into the consideration of plans for the extinction of slavery, we should all be found, he was persuaded, hardly more anxious for giving liberty to the slave, than that a full and liberal measure of justice should be afforded to his master. This speech was received throughout with great applause. At the close of it, Mr. Buxton moved the following resolution:—

“That on the 15th of May, 1823, Parliament, by its unanimous Resolutions, recognised the evils of slavery, and the duty of providing for its ultimate extinction; and that His Majesty’s Ministers then undertook to carry those Resolutions into effect.

“That although during the seven years which have since elapsed, the Colonial Legislatures have persisted in refusing to comply with the Resolutions of Parliament, and the recommendations of the Government, supported by the voice of the British nation, yet hitherto, the measures proper for giving effect to them have not been adopted.

“That even in the Colonies subject to the legislation of the Crown, the orders in Council issued on the subject, including the late revised and consolidated order of the 2d of February last, fall far short of the Official and Parliamentary pledges of 1823; and though containing several important and salutary provisions, yet afford no adequate means for the final extinction of Slavery, or even for its effectual mitigation.

“That while those pledges have thus remained unfulfilled, the West India body in this country, setting at nought the wishes of the British people, have not scrupled to declare by their standing Committee, that they make common cause with the local legislatures in the course they have pursued, and more particularly in rejecting all idea of compulsory manumission; thus plainly avowing that it is their purpose and intention that Slavery shall be perpetual, and thus also confirming the Colonial Assemblies in their contumacy, and making any effective reform on their part still more hopeless than before.

“That under these circumstances of disappointment, and recognising

the incurable injustice, as well as the inhumanity and impolicy of Slavery; its direct hostility to every cherished principle of the British Constitution, and its utter repugnance to the spirit and to the precepts of the Christian religion, the Meeting take this occasion to declare anew their unalterable determination to leave no proper and practicable means unattempted for effecting, at the earliest period, its entire abolition throughout the British dominions."

Lord MILTON on rising to second this resolution was received with great applause. It gave him, he said, the greatest satisfaction to have been requested to second the resolution which had been moved by his honourable friend, inasmuch as it appeared to him to contain propositions consistent with truth; and to declare objects, the furtherance of which it was the bounden duty of every citizen of this empire to forward to the utmost of his power. It stated the utter repugnance of slavery to the spirit and precepts of the Christian religion. And he would beg those present to ask themselves, whether it could be supposed that while slavery chained down the minds of so large a portion of those who inhabited our West Indian colonies, it was to be supposed that Christianity could make progress among them. Christianity was a religion of liberty. It was a religion which inculcated upon those who had power in their hands, to use that power in a manner which was consistent with the rights of all who were subject to their sway. And therefore it was, that we should take effectual measures that every man, in whatever situation he might be placed, should not be prevented from making use of those mental faculties with which his Creator had endowed him for the noblest purposes. But could it be supposed that when men were in a state of slavery, and while their bodies were chained to the earth, they could erect their minds to heaven, and take those high and elevating views of things which it was the duty of man to take. But slavery was not only inconsistent with the true principles of Christianity in those who were the possessors of slaves, but it was inconsistent with the reception of Christianity by those who were placed in that abject state. And it was because he took this view of the matter, that, without enlarging upon the subject—for, indeed, it was not his intention when he came here, to have taken any part in the discussions of the day—he had the greatest pleasure in seconding such a proposition as this, which looked to the utter extinction of slavery as the consummation of those measures which his hon. and excellent friend in the chair had *commenced* by making an attack upon the slave trade; and the final accomplishment of which, notwithstanding what had been alleged to the contrary, he was quite sure was the ultimate object he always had in view. He did not allude to this for the purpose of defending his honourable friend, Mr. Wilberforce, from the imputation of inconsistency, because now, at a more advanced period of life, he urged and claimed *the extinction of slavery*; as if that were inconsistent with his having urged and successfully claimed, at an earlier period of his life—the *destruction of the slave trade*. His honourable friend needed no defence on that ground—but he was induced, while speaking, to allude to it in consequence of an attack to that effect which had this

very day appeared in the Times Newspaper, and which he deemed to be as futile as it was unjust.

The resolution moved by Mr. Buxton was then put and carried unanimously.

Mr. T. B. MACAULAY. Before he adverted to the motion he was about to propose, he thought it but fair, in reference to the article in the Times alluded to by the noble Lord who had just sat down—to say that it was inserted as an advertisement, with the word “advertisement” prefixed to it.—With respect to the resolution which he held in his hand, it was a resolution upon which it would be necessary to say but little in the way either of exposition or defence. It was a resolution that expressed disapprobation of those laws by which peculiar protection was given to the produce of slave labour. And whatever arguments the West Indians might have had recourse to with respect to other parts of their case, here they had nothing of argument to produce. All their ordinary topics must fail them here. A claim, indeed, had been set up by the West Indians, and it had been repeated by some of their hireling writers in this country, to exemption from the supreme legislative control of the British empire. Their revered Chairman, who entered into public life in opposition to that policy which deprived us of America, would confirm him in the assertion, that none of those eminent men who objected to the principle of taxing the colonies, ever extended that principle further, or considered the English legislature to be excluded from making laws for their government on points distinct from taxation. Neither Chatham, nor Burke, nor Fox, nor any of those eminent men who were opposed to the principle of taxing the colonies; not even the American legislators themselves; not even Dr. Franklin; ever questioned the power of parliament to enact laws for their general government. But fortunately this pretension, absurd and untenable as it was, could not be pleaded against the resolution which he should have now the honour of proposing; for even those colonies which had denied to Britain the general right of legislating for them, had never denied her power to fix the duties which should be paid in British ports. In respect to their claims of vested rights and property, as well as to the principle of compensation, his opinion fully agreed with that of his honourable friend Mr. Buxton, who opened the discussion. But in whatever sense and with whatever modifications he might be inclined to admit the claim of the West Indian planters as just, that claim, whether admitted or denied, could not, in the slightest degree, tell against the resolution which he held in his hand. *Property* in a peculiar commercial protection was an absurdity which no one would ever dream of advancing. A protection like this could be recognised merely as a matter of favour. And on what principle of sound policy could it be contended that we were under any obligation to extend peculiar favour to those dependencies which had been distinguished by peculiar insolence and insubordination?—or that a species of protection, which, according to the opinion of the most enlightened statesmen, ought scarcely ever to be vouchsafed even for objects unquestionably good—should be extended to a system which exceeded all others in its gross vio-

lation of the rights of humanity and the obligations of morality? The only objection, worthy of an answer, he had ever heard of, to the placing of colonial produce on the same footing as the produce of free labour, was this—that by diminishing the demand for the produce of slave labour, we should injure the slaves;—because the proprietor being less able to afford the slave the comforts of life, his condition, instead of being bettered, would be made worse. Now the fact told distinctly against this reasoning. We saw in every part of the West Indies that there was an inverse proportion between the productiveness of the cultivation which was carried on, and the comforts enjoyed by the slave. It was too well known, indeed, that even in the parts of the West Indies most favourable to the slave, the state of things was bad enough. But in the Bahamas, by much the poorest of all our colonies, and from which there was no export of sugar, the slaves nevertheless did much more than keep up their population;—a sure proof that, however bad the state of slavery in those islands might be, it still stopped far short of what it appeared to be in some of the other colonies. In Trinidad and Demerara where the export of sugar, (that article of colonial produce which enjoyed most of peculiar advantage,) was greatest in proportion to the slave population, that population was decreasing with a frightful rapidity. And this principle which was thus proved true by experience, was one which was coincident with the nature of the case. Those who held an opposite opinion were misled by an obvious fallacy. They reasoned from the phenomena of a state of liberty to the phenomena of a state of slavery. There could be no doubt that in this country, and in every other well-governed country, the same causes which tended to enrich the capitalist tended to raise the condition of the labourer. A great increase in the demand for manufactures would better the condition of the people at Manchester—an increased demand for cutlery would benefit those at Sheffield. And the false inference was, that a great increase in the demand for sugar would necessarily raise the condition of the working classes in the West Indies. To illustrate this point, he would refer the meeting, although it might appear a homely illustration, to the case of a general election. All who ever witnessed such an event, knew that it produced a great demand for the means of conveyance along all the great roads; and the effects of this demand were very clearly discernible. It was beneficial to the innkeeper, and to all whom he employed—to the post-boys—the stable-boys—the coachmaker and the harness-maker, and all who worked for them. Every person who was at liberty to make his own terms; every person who could say, “I will work if you pay me at such a rate,” profited largely. But, was the post-horse a gainer? It was clear that the post-horse would be a gainer if he were in the same condition with the parties capable of contracting; and, if when he found that the labour imposed on him was too much, he could lie down on his straw, and positively refuse to move. But the post-horse was called out, without any inquiry as to his willingness; and just in proportion to the increased demand for conveyances, and the consequent increase in the master’s profits, was the toil and misery of the post-horse. This reasoning which applied so accurately to the post-horse, applied

with the same force to the equally miserable drudge of the West; to the human beast of burden—to a beast of burden formed after the image of God! This, this had been the curse of slavery from the beginning, and it would be so to the end;—to convert to poison all that served for enjoyment; to draw pain out of every thing which should yield pleasure; to draw death out of what should sustain life; and to turn into plagues those sources of human happiness and comfort, the exuberance of nature, the benignity of the climate, and the fertility of the soil!—There was another subject connected with this, although at first sight it might appear remote from it, and to which, for a few moments, he wished to call the attention of the meeting. He meant the condition of the free black and coloured population in the West Indies. This point resembled that of which he had been already speaking, in that neither in the one, nor in the other case, could any of those arguments about vested rights and rights of property, be brought forward against us which were so currently used by our opponents. The whites had no vested right in the degradation of the free black. The free black was not his property; the colour of his skin, the only difference between them, did not constitute him such!—He was no friend to religious distinctions, though for these there were well-meaning advocates; but that one man should be placed in a situation inferior to another, solely for the colour of his skin, was indeed the very height of absurdity, and could not find, he was sure, an advocate in a London assembly. Now the condition of the free blacks was far worse in the West Indies than in any other part of his Majesty's dominions. It was, in short, in the very place, where it was most desirable that he should be admitted to the exercise of equal rights, that he was excluded from them. In England, a free black, or man of colour, might be a Member of Parliament, or be made a Peer, or a Privy Councillor, or a Secretary of State for the Colonies, if it pleased his Majesty so to appoint him. But, in the West Indies, where it was of the greatest importance that they should be admitted to the possession of equal rights, they were entirely excluded. Of late, the free blacks had conducted themselves in a manner which was very encouraging. They had shewn a generous sympathy with their enslaved brethren, whose rights to freedom they had asserted with great spirit and intelligence; and they had evinced also strong feelings of attachment towards this country, and that at the very period when some of the colonies were threatening, that if we persisted in pressing our present measures in regard to the slaves, they would put themselves under the protection of another power. But it was not principally for the sake of the colonial empire of England, that he wished to see her free coloured and black subjects placed on an equal footing with the whites: such a change could not take place without a great alleviation in the lot of the slave. The great difficulty hitherto found in legislating for a state of slavery had been to provide some security for the due execution of mitigating and meliorating laws. As his hon. friend (Mr. Buxton), had stated in the words of Mr. Burke; at present, laws made for the benefit of the slave in the West Indies, were wholly destitute of any "executory principle." Now this "executory principle" might at once be found in the free coloured and black

population. Belonging to the class of the master by situation, and to the class of the slave by birth, he could not but believe, that we might find in them a guarantee for those who were trembling for the rights of property on the one hand, and for those who were zealous in the cause of humanity on the other; and that in various ways we should find their services a great assistance in executing the task we had undertaken.—He had spoken on these two subjects, on the protecting duties by which the colonial slavery was upheld and encouraged, and the condition of the free coloured and black population in the slave colonies, because, as he had said, they were topics in one respect different from many of the views under which the subject might be regarded. They were topics, in discussing which the arguments arising from considerations of property, by which the West Indians endeavoured to support their cause, could have no weight whatever. But much as he should certainly rejoice, by these or any other means, to see mitigating measures carried into effect, it was still impossible for him to regard slavery, even in its fairest and most mitigated form, as any thing else than a great moral and political evil. He was aware that it might often be necessary for the practical statesman to consider how far he was likely to obtain support in carrying his theoretical views into full effect, and often to bring forward that plan, not which he might think the best, but that which he might think most likely to be successful. It was only, perhaps, in speculation, that a great principle could be at once followed out to the whole length to which it would lead us. A life of action, to be of any practical benefit to mankind, must often be a life of compromise. But on that very account was it the more necessary, that we should have our eyes fixed on some great definite end, to which, if we could not immediately attain, we might at least constantly approximate. And if we were to select any principle on which the eye should always be fixed, he thought it should be this, that the evils of slavery were not *accidental*, but *essential*! We might, indeed, succeed in making some difference between the condition of one slave and that of another. The condition of the serf might be milder than that of the Helot; the condition of the Helot than that of the field negro of Jamaica, and the condition of the field negro of Jamaica might possibly be milder than that of the field negro of Demerara or the Mauritius. But even if mild laws and ameliorating measures could, to a certain degree, remove some of the accessory evils of slavery; if the slave could enjoy education, and protection from the law, and could enter with security into those relations upon which the virtue, and order, and happiness of society mainly depended; if his rights of conscience should run no danger of being invaded with mobs like those of Barbadoes;—if his life should not be at the mercy of such tribunals as those of Jamaica and Demerara;—yet, if all this were done, he should still say that slavery, even where thus mitigated, was still a great and terrible curse, of which society would act wisely to rid itself at any cost whatever. How long it might be before the people and the legislature took up the question in the manner in which alone they could take it up successfully, he could not decide. Little, indeed, of happy augury could be drawn from the past,

and thick darkness was still upon the future. Seven years had passed since the public mind was high in expectation that the evil would be terminated, but we had hitherto obtained nothing but a barren recognition of an abstract principle. It was difficult for any friend of humanity to think over the events of those seven years—the high hopes that had been disappointed—the solemn pledges that lay still unredeemed—without feeling his heart sink within him. But be the end of these things what it might—this, at least, was in our power;—to preserve inviolate our personal fidelity to those principles of humanity, liberty, and honour on which alone a public man should desire to stand, and with which he should be content to fall. He then moved the following resolution :

“That this meeting cannot forbear to express their deep regret, that a system productive of so much misery and crime as Slavery is now admitted to be, should not only be tolerated by this Christian land, but should, by means of our fiscal regulations, and in despite of the contumacy of the colonies, even find favour and encouragement at our hands; such a policy, it appears to this meeting, not only being most injurious to our national interests, but tending directly to aggravate and prolong the sufferings of the slaves, and to involve this nation in the guilt and shame of maintaining, at a heavy expense, a system which it has recognised as inhuman, immoral, and unjust.”

Lord CALTHORPE in seconding the motion said—that his honourable friend who had preceded him, had really left him so little to adduce in the way of proof of the inexpediency of the course that had been pursued with regard to the West Indian colonies, that he should say but little upon the immediate object of the resolution. But he thought, that no man could have heard the powerful and convincing arguments that were brought forward by him, without being fully satisfied that we had committed a serious and egregious mistake in applying to the course of conduct likely to be pursued by the West Indian planters towards their slaves, those principles, and those rules, and those feelings which happily pervaded this highly favoured land. The mistake we had committed in this way was not certainly so much our underrating the miseries of slavery, or conceiving that any system of slavery such as existed in the West Indies could fail to bring with it oppression and degradation, as our having ever suffered ourselves to imagine that those who were the owners of slaves, or who had been engaged in administering that system; who had long been living under its influence and enjoying its gains, and were still existing in an atmosphere tainted and vitiated by slavery, ever could cordially, and with sincerity and truth, carry into effect those measures of amelioration which were determined upon by the legislature of this country, pervaded and enforced by the feelings, by the united feelings of the empire at large;—that they ever would, with the requisite zeal and diligence, introduce and execute a set of measures the direct aim and tendency of which were to elevate the negro slave in the scale of being, to prepare him not only for the full possession of civil privileges, but for those higher and better privileges, from which, by the mercy of God, his colour and his physical disabilities, whatever they might be, did not exclude him. And when we referred to those

resolutions that were passed unanimously by both Houses of Parliament, and of which the West India proprietors themselves professed cordially to approve, and which were responded to by the universal concurrence of the country; and compared what had been done with what Parliament determined should be done; we might not unreasonably have expected that the West Indian proprietors themselves who had given a pledge on the part of the West India legislatures for the fulfilment of the proposed measures of reform, if they were to speak their sentiments, could not but express their disappointment at the result, and admit that they had greatly overrated, in giving that pledge, the state of feeling, as to humanity and justice, which was to be found among these legislatures. Indeed he could scarcely conceive that any one, residing in this country, should compare the statement of what was to have been done by the West India legislatures with the authentic reports of what had been done, without confessing that he had been miserably disappointed. And if it were otherwise—if there should be found any persons among us who could persuade themselves that the West India legislatures had acted up to what Parliament required them to do—what would this shew?—If it were possible for persons living in the knowledge and enjoyment of those blessed privileges which were ours, to be satisfied with what had been done, how could we hope that those who still lived in a land of slavery; how could we hope that those who still clung to the cruelties and abominations which accompany slavery, with almost the same sort of fondness with which we adhere to our social, domestic and national advantages; how could we hope they would really be induced to carry into effect those resolutions which were chiefly valuable because they contained the spirit and the genius which were inspired by the possession and enjoyment of our various civil and religious blessings? What then, he would ask, was to be our resource? And here he turned from that painful and afflicting spectacle, which the non-performance of what was promised on the part of the West Indian legislatures presented to us, with great satisfaction and hope and confidence, to that resource which we still possessed. That resource he felt assured was to be found in the feelings of the English people! He never could persuade himself that they (the West Indians in this country) who in fact had dictated these resolutions; who had professed cordially to assent to them, and had gone along with Parliament in every proposal of amelioration that Parliament had recommended and approved; that they could be satisfied with such a state of things as now existed, or that the disappointment we felt and proclaimed, would not also be shared by them. But though grievously disappointed, there was no ground for despondence. He well knew that the power of public opinion, if fairly and fully called into play upon such a question as this, must be irresistible. He was no advocate for mob-law, nor was he for making any appeals to popular feelings, however honest, which were not sanctioned and enforced by reason, and by judgment. And in appealing to the people of this country, he knew he appealed to a power that was irresistible, for this reason, especially, that it possessed not only a great numerical, not only a great political, but moreover a predominating moral force. He believed there were few individuals who would be

more willing to acknowledge the assistance they had derived from that powerful auxiliary than his honourable friend, who now filled the chair. For unceasing and powerful as his own exertions had been—unceasing as had been the exertions of his honourable friend, (Mr. Clarkson) whom he was glad to see this day at the chairman's right hand, and sharing in that inconsistency with which he stood accused; he well knew that they would be willing to acknowledge, that, great as their own exertions had been, powerful as was the assistance which they had received from highly gifted individuals, yet that that which gave authority and success to their exertions was this, that they carried with them the force of public opinion; that the cause they advocated in the British House of Parliament, went along with the very elements of constitutional and civil and religious feeling in the mass of the community. And he felt that we might appeal to that power with even greater confidence now, than at the time when his honourable friend first denounced in parliament the abominable traffic of the slave trade; because, happily, in the interval, the progress of religious and moral feeling had not been in this country what it was found to have been in our West India colonies. If it were true, that the advance that had been made, in every sentiment that was most honourable and most valuable, had been immense since the period when his hon. friend first came forward to denounce the slave trade, he feared that in comparing our state with that of the West India colonies, the difference between the condition of the slave, and that of the British subject, living in this happy and highly favoured land, would be found far greater and more immeasurable than ever. And if this were so, then surely, the possession of the immense advantages which we enjoyed, did lay us under a solemn debt of obligation to communicate those blessings, which we so amply experienced, to the world at large, but especially to our own colonial possessions; and above all, to those of our fellow subjects who were in a condition the most degraded and most miserable of any. He therefore felt persuaded, that the painful disappointment of which we had reason to complain in the failure of those measures of improvement, to the adoption and success of which Parliament had pledged itself, did afford us ground to believe that the appeal which was now meditated, would be attended with a complete and most gratifying result. It was under the influence of these sentiments and feelings that he seconded the resolution which had been read to them by his honourable friend. (Great applause.)

Before the resolution was put from the chair, the business of the day experienced some interruption from Mr. Hunt, who came forward to address the meeting, but was received with loud marks of disapprobation.

Mr. HUNT's observations were directed to a contrast of the state of slavery in the colonies, with the still greater slavery of portions of the white population of this country: and he considered that to be a left-eyed humanity, which, overlooking the misery existing among ourselves, could only find its objects in the slaves of the West Indies. He was proceeding, when it was moved, that it should be put to the sense of the meeting, whether Mr. Hunt should be allowed to continue his interruption; and the sense of the meeting having been unequivocally

expressed against it, Mr. Hunt resumed his seat, and order was again restored.

The resolution moved by Mr. Macaulay was then put, and carried unanimously.

The Rev. DANIEL WILSON observed, that the motion intrusted to him referred to the moral and religious bearings of the great question which we had assembled to consider. It recognised in the first place, the commiseration to which the moral and spiritual condition of the slaves in our West India colonies was entitled. It then adverted to the intolerant acts of the legislature of Jamaica, and the persecutions which christian missionaries and their negro converts had had to endure, and are still enduring in that island; and it concluded by charging on christians of every denomination, and especially upon all christian ministers, to manifest the grateful sense they entertained of their own religious blessings, by uniting their efforts to vindicate, to the unhappy negro, his equal right to the unobstructed enjoyment of the light and liberty of the gospel. He desired to place this great question of the abolition of colonial slavery upon what he conceived to be its true footing, namely;—the obligation under which every one professing the Christian religion was placed to use every lawful means for putting an end to a state of crime, and of disobedience to the Supreme and Divine Legislator,—and therefore to that state of misery, vice, degradation, and ignorance which had been for so many years pressing down the black population in the West Indies. He agreed in all the other considerations of policy, humanity, and justice which affected this question,—but he believed that the strongest hold that could be taken of the popular mind in a Christian country, was to place it distinctly and boldly upon this grand principle—that to profess the religion of light and of purity and not to act upon the principles of it, was wholly inconsistent with the faith which we professed. The Christian religion was founded in love. The great features of it were the love of God to man in Christ Jesus, and the love of man to his fellow men without distinction of sect, or caste, or kindred, or tongue, or people,—so that now in Christ Jesus there was but one great family of man all entitled to our fraternal regards and to a participation with us in the advantages we possessed. But our black population in the West Indies were peculiarly the objects of Christian commiseration, in as much as we violated in their case the first principles of religion, not only by neglecting to introduce, but by even hindering the introduction of, Christianity among them. He would not dwell on the intolerance and the persecutions which Christian Missionaries and their converts had experienced at the hand of the Jamaica legislature and of some of the planters of that Island. The details on that subject he would leave to a gentleman intimately acquainted with them.* To labour for the abolition of West India slavery he conceived had now become the conscientious duty of every minister of religion,—not only of the clergy of our established church, but of all others, and

* Mr. Wilson here alluded to the Rev. Richard Watson, who was to have seconded the motion, but was unable to make his way through the crowd.

he called upon them to awake from the comparative apathy with which they had too long regarded this most important subject—an apathy for which he could not well account, but which, he was persuaded, if the case were fairly brought before their minds, could not long continue. The state of the question at the present moment, as it had been explained by those who had gone before, took from us all hope of seeing any thing effectual done unless we should unite in communicating to Parliament and the Throne the expression of our sentiments on this subject; and in doing so he conceived that the ministers of religion might fairly take their station among the other classes of society,—not meddling indeed with points that might be foreign to their professional functions, or too much mixed with the views of mere worldly policy;—and that it became them boldly and plainly to demonstrate the immoral and unchristian nature of the system, addressing themselves to the plain common sense of Englishmen, to their christian feelings, their sympathy, their love and gratitude, and to all the best affections of their minds. The ministers of religion he therefore conceived were bound (and he would pledge himself, individually, to such a discharge of the duty as was in his power)—The ministers of religion were bound (and he was sure that the great body of the clergy, and ministers of every denomination, would be prompt to answer the call) to direct the public sentiments in forming a just view of the subject,—and were called upon, as the ministers of that blessed Saviour whose characteristics were love and mercy,—whose compassions extended to the slave no less than to the free,—temperately but firmly—standing on the great and uncontested principles of eternal truth and justice, and on the relations in which we stand to God; to do what they could to assist in forming and guiding the sentiments of their people, and in directing the public mind to the great point at which we aimed—the extinction by every fair and proper means of a system of slavery which, he believed, the world had never known to be paralleled for enormity: he meant the degrading and oppressive slavery existing in so many of our Colonies. And he felt assured, that in proportion as religion gained greater ascendancy in the public mind, there would be a more vigorous effort to wipe away this foul blot on our national character, and to rectify this flagrant inconsistency with our professed principles. Another reason why clergymen should take a more prominent part in this question, consistently with that moderation and reserve which became their characters as ministers of religion, arose from the statements that had appeared in connection with the great religious societies of the church of England, and especially in reference to the Codrington estates in Barbadoes, which, though in the hands of the ‘Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts,’ for 120 years past, were still worked by slaves, whose condition for a great part of that time differed little from that of the slave population around them, and was still a reproach to the church of England. It was therefore, the duty of the clergy of the church of England especially, as well as of all other denominations, to unite themselves with one heart and mind, with all the friends of humanity in the country, in promoting such measures as should effectually put a stop to such a

system. Silence on such a question, compromise in such a cause was treachery,—was cowardice,—was a breach of one of the prime duties of a minister of religion—that of fairly warning his people against declining to join their fellow Christians in doing all that they could to remove from us the shame and the guilt of slavery, which, if not removed, must tend to bring down upon us the displeasure of the Supreme Governor of the universe. Where was the man who refused to acknowledge that the Divine hand swayed and controuled the fortunes of empires, as well as of individuals, raising them up and casting them down according to their use or abuse of the privileges He had conferred upon them? And he could conceive no single point in the moral and religious character of a Christian nation, that was more likely to bring down the Divine displeasure upon our counsels and measures, than that of closing our eyes and hardening our hearts to scenes like those which our slave colonies exhibited when they were fairly brought before us. Mr. Wilson concluded with remarking, that if philosophy made it her boast that she raised man above the present to contemplate and act upon the future, and if this effect could only be attained in the degree in which man was elevated in his moral and rational nature, then Christianity, in his view the truest philosophy, would lead us to consider how we might best act so as to bring about a result so important to our national prosperity as involving our religious character. Let us, then, look forward to the future, disregarding, in the angry conflict of passion, the misrepresentations, the taunts, the difficulties that might assail us—remembering, that every negro was a being capable of being raised, perhaps, to as high degrees of moral and religious culture as ourselves. Let us go forward boldly, anticipating the time, he trusted not far distant, when the lessons of Christian instruction should be heard in every negro cabin; when the West Indies should flourish in comfort and happiness—when the claims of humanity should be there freely recognised—the cruelties now practised be forgotten or abhorred, and freedom and religious knowledge, and peace, and purity, and joy should universally prevail. (Great applause.) Mr. Wilson then moved,

“That in addition to the physical evils of slavery, the moral and religious condition of the slave population in the British colonies has long claimed the commiseration of every benevolent mind, a claim which is greatly strengthened by recent occurrences, and particularly by the intolerant acts of the legislature of Jamaica, and by the persecution which Christian missionaries and their negro converts have had to endure, and are still enduring in that island; and this meeting desire to urge it upon Christians of every denomination, and especially upon all Christian ministers, to manifest the grateful sense they entertain of their own religious blessings, by uniting their efforts to vindicate to the unhappy negro his equal right to the unobstructed enjoyment of the light and liberty of the Gospel.”

Mr. GEORGE BENNETT seconded the motion, which he did, he said, with great cordiality. The cause was so important, that he felt it a high honour to be permitted to take any part in promoting it. He had himself been in some of the regions of slavery, and having seen it in various forms in the Mauritius, in Madagascar, and at the Cape of Good

Hope, he felt himself called upon to give his humble, unprejudiced testimony in support of the motion which had just been read. Of the modes of slavery in the West Indies he was ignorant, except from the testimony of others. But he was so convinced by those testimonies, the testimony of men who had actually been in the slave countries, and of the official documents that had been given to the public through the press, that he had no hesitation in seconding that part of the resolution which referred to the West Indies. But although the modes of slavery might differ in different parts of the world—as, for example, in the Cape of Good Hope, where it assumed a milder aspect, and in the Mauritius, where it existed in its most horrid and disgusting forms; yet still, whether in its mild or more appalling exhibitions, it had *really* and *essentially* a cruelly demoralizing effect, not only on the poor slaves, but on all who were the owners of slaves—on all who even employed slaves in their families, from governors downwards, through all grades, civil and military, to the lowest—wherever it existed, there the moral sense soon became blunted, and it was impossible to estimate the extensiveness of its influence. Numerous examples of the demoralizing influence of slavery might easily have been adduced; while many of them were of such a nature, that it should seem almost impossible to find language sufficiently emphatic, by which to pourtray their enormity.—After relating some instances in proof of this statement, Mr. Bennett concluded with seconding the motion.

The Resolution proposed by Mr. Wilson was then put and unanimously carried.

Mr. BROWNLOW, M. P. did not feel that in addressing this meeting, it would be necessary for him to offer any apology for expressing the desire he had, according to his ability, to forward their common object. Indeed, if any excuses were to be offered by him upon this occasion, he felt that these excuses were rather due for its being the first time he had presented himself in this society,—for its being the first time, with shame he confessed it,—he was engaging in duties which every man was bound to discharge. He could not admit that we were guilty of any overstrained feelings, as was often alleged against us, because we came forward to plead this cause. He could not admit that he was chargeable with any intemperance, or any enthusiastic excess of feeling upon this subject. And if any such charge were to be made against our proceedings upon this day, and on the resolutions we had already passed, he wished it to be recollected that so long ago as the year 1800, Mr. Dundas, a man not liable to be very much carried away by his feelings, or to act from hasty emotions, moved a series of resolutions in Parliament, one of which resolutions was, that after the first of January in that year, slavery should cease through all parts of His Majesty's dominions. Therefore, had these resolutions been passed—had the policy which Mr. Dundas had recommended been happily carried into effect, slavery would have been now entirely at an end; nor should we have been called to meet upon this occasion, actually to condole with each other, that from that period to this, next to nothing had been accomplished for the cure of the evil. He did not wish to exaggerate on this subject, but he believed he was not over-stating

when he asserted, that in that period nothing, or next to nothing, had been accomplished in furtherance of this great work of putting an end to slavery. In the crown colonies there had been some improvements, some partial ameliorations in the state of the law. But when it was recollected how the laws were administered in the West Indies; when it was recollected who those were who filled high offices—planters, as assistant-protectors, and planters, as law-officers, and planters as judges—it was not exaggerating to state that the ameliorations in the letter of the law had not been carried into practical effect. And when we came to the parts of the question relating to those colonies which had legislatures of their own, it was a fact which all must admit with grief and indignation, that with respect to this evil, so opposed to the happiness of man, and so repugnant to the spirit of our religion, nothing effectual had yet been done for the improvement of those slaves whom we had handed over from the legislation of Parliament, which alone was competent to the task, to be dealt with by the colonial legislatures, who were utterly disinclined and incompetent to it. In these colonies slavery remained, therefore, unmitigated. The evils of the system remained the same as they had been many years ago. Such being the state of the case, nothing having yet been done, and the work being still before us, it was incumbent upon this meeting, and upon the empire at large, to implore Parliament to take this matter under its immediate control and superintendence. The experiment had been long enough tried with all the colonial legislatures; and up to the present moment, it had entirely failed. On these grounds he begged to move the following resolution:

“That deeply deploring the continued prevalence of the unnumbered evils of the colonial system, and among them the affecting circumstance that under the allegiance of a British Monarch, and within the legislative jurisdiction of a British Parliament, thousands of children continue yearly to be born to no inheritance but that of a hopeless and interminable bondage—a bondage now admitted to have been imposed on their parents by the most flagitious means,—this meeting feel it to be their imperative duty again to address their most urgent representations to both Houses of Parliament, imploring them no longer to postpone the consideration of this momentous subject, but to proceed forthwith to devise the best and wisest means of insuring the early and universal extinction of slavery in all the possessions of the British Crown.”

Mr. BROUGHAM rose amid great applause, to second the motion, and said, he was sure that he had had the satisfaction of meeting them too often in that place, upon occasions like the present, to make it necessary that he should anew profess his most cordial zeal in behalf of the great cause which assembled them together. But it was fit that he should remind them, which he should do very briefly, of the position in which the question at present stood. Seven years had elapsed since resolutions were passed, as they had heard from his friend Mr. Buxton, with the unanimous consent of Parliament, and with the unanimous approbation of the people, who, if they objected to them at all, only dissented from them in this, that they did not go far enough. By those resolutions, much had been promised us. During the interval of seven years that had elapsed since, nothing, or next to nothing, had been performed.

The year after, he had himself been forced to bring before Parliament the murder of a peaceful minister of the gospel, one of the late, but not the worst fruits, horrible though it was, of the degradation in which that system kept the slave, but not more the slave than the slave-owner. It was said sometimes, with more regard to antithesis in the form of the expression, than regard for truth in the substance of the proposition, that while that system tended to degrade the slave, it tended to pervert the nature of him who exercised the tyranny. But it was far nearer the truth to say, that it degraded the master even still more than the slave, unless it was meant to affirm that cruelty was less degrading than suffering—or that the man was more exalted who inflicted wrong, than his victim who suffered under it. When the result of that degradation had led to the murder of a missionary of the gospel; and when he brought forward that atrocious case before the Commons House of Parliament, a second warning was given to the legislators of the West Indies; and they were then distinctly warned that, for our dignity and for our honour and for our country's sake, if they did not improve the space which had been granted them, they might expect to be crushed in that common ruin which, sooner or later, must destroy that great evil; that if they did not lay the axe to the root of that accursed system of which both hemispheres so loudly complained, Parliament would arise in its might, and redeem its pledge to the people of England, and put down that enormous mischief, which we had in vain hoped that the colonial legislatures would proceed to get rid of. Six years more had now elapsed; and were we still to delay? Were we still to be put off with false promises and hollow professions? Were we still to suffer ourselves to be deluded with vain hopes? The meeting he saw before him this day was an answer to these questions. For often as he had here met the friends of this cause, and great as had been the concourse upon former occasions, he must say, that the present was by far, by very, very far indeed, the most numerous and respectable public assembly which he had ever yet seen convened together, to further the great objects of justice, humanity, and sound policy, and to influence our legislature in proceeding to the accomplishment of any one great measure of public interest. He was told that above two thousand persons were within these walls, and that many hundreds more had departed, hopeless of obtaining admission; and with the exception of a slight and momentary interruption, he had never yet seen on any other occasion more unanimity, more zeal and more perfect determination than on the present. This was the course by which they would insure success. It was by labouring in this place and out of it; by unwearied exertions together and apart; as members of this body, or as members of every separate sect, class, profession, and community, standing by one another and resolutely urging forward the great cause of humanity; or as individuals, each acting within the sphere of his own proper influence, devoting himself, heart and hand, to the promotion of it; that we should and must finally triumph. No man could tell of what paramount importance the single voice of every individual in the country might be in the decision of this question. No man could tell how important each man's single efforts might become; and in bringing this matter to a

happy issue, he trusted, therefore, that at no time, whether early or late, would any one of those whom he addressed, when called upon to exert his influence, ever forget the pledge he had given this day.—He would beg, before he sat down, to advert to the remark of Mr. Hunt, that that was a one-eyed or a left-eyed humanity which looked only towards distant evils, and neglected nearer and more pressing claims. He fully agreed that the conduct of those would be grossly inconsistent, and deserving, if not of ridicule, at least of high reprehension, who should neglect the misery that was near their own door, while they were holding out, or were calling upon us to hold out, a helping hand to the wretchedness that was beyond the Atlantic. Thus far, then, we were entirely agreed as to the principle, but with no disrespect towards him, he took leave very confidently, nevertheless, to dispute its application to those who stood forward on this occasion. When he looked around him on the very various demands which were urged, from time to time, upon the attention of the benevolent, by the wants and distresses of some portions of the community, or by the abuses which had arisen from some parts of our political system—he should wish to know who they were that did most constantly and zealously exert themselves to attempt the relief of the distress, or to seek for the downfall of the abuse? If there existed any object of charitable effort, either general or local, what were the names that we saw most frequently to grace the lists of those who came forward as public benefactors? Delicacy towards those who now surrounded him, prevented him from reciting their names. They were too well known to have dropt from the memory of those who were now present, and who could hardly hear this matter alluded to without being reminded that the names which appeared in the Anti-Slavery Society were to be found also in a large proportion among the best benefactors of the distressed. Was not ignorance one of the greatest causes of poverty itself? at all events, one of the great exacerbators of that condition? And was the ignorance of the poor no object of care with those who, this very day, had presented themselves before us, and taken a lead in these proceedings? Had any man here never heard—was there any man here who had not heard of the name of William Allen? Could he be impeached with disproportioned activity for the emancipation of the slaves, whose days and nights had been devoted to the education of the British peasantry? A Right Rev. Prelate too who sat on the right hand of the chair, whose piety and learning were ornaments to our hierarchy, was not more distinguished for his zeal that slavery might be made to cease, than he was known for his zeal to promote that great public benefit—the diffusion of wholesome education among the poor of the land. Prison discipline had been alluded to, and he would take upon him to say, in perfect consistency with the fact, that no one could name prison discipline without bringing Mr. Buxton to his remembrance. In the abuse of charities, which it will be admitted concerned the people of England, their honourable and worthy Chairman had laboured for years and years in Parliament, in conjunction with the humble individual who had now the honour to address them—the abuse of charities applicable, not to negroes—not to foreigners, but to our fellow-subjects—Englishmen. And yet he, too, must be charged

with neglecting the interests of his own countrymen, because he had toiled so unremittingly and so zealously to emancipate the slave—the master as well as the slave, from the deepest degradation. He had now repelled a charge which might not have been invidiously brought forward to-day—but which he had heard elsewhere urged, not by a friend—but by our enemies; by those who, being the enemies of freedom in the West Indies and every where else, twitted us with undue anxiety about those evils which were remote;—men who had the words “liberty” and the “English constitution” upon their lips, but whose hearts were far away from both;—men who, if they knew aught of liberty, only acted with it as monopolists did with their trade, and whose language was—“we must not let others interfere—we must keep it strictly at home, and to make it more secure we must keep it at home in the fewest possible hands.”—In short, the liberty of which they prated, was a liberty which they desired to retain within the narrowest conceivable compass.—He had once more to express his hope and his confidence, that a progress had been made this day, which, before long, would be felt in the proper quarter; and that we should be found urging and supporting the legislature of the country by all wise and lawful and just means to seek the eradication of this monstrous evil. We had talked, indeed, of making a gradual and a safe progress towards our object—but let it never be forgotten that the progress our adversaries would have us make, was that, which in order not to be too rapid, consisted in standing still, and sometimes, as of late, in going backward. But even in consenting to be discreet and prudent in our measures, it was upon this one condition only—that we should hold that course which must extinguish the evil; and that we should never deviate from it, not even by tacking, though, as they would pretend, by tacking we got on the quicker. He was for going on prudently and cautiously indeed, with a due regard to all interests, and disregarding none—but *go on we must, and go on we shall*—and if it were known that that was our fixed determination, we should find abettors in abundance, and either no adversaries, or none whose opposition we needed to regard. (Much applause).

Mr. POWNALL then rose and observed, that the resolution which had just been moved fell so far short of the expectations he had formed, that he begged to move an amendment upon it. He took encouragement, when he looked at this numerous assembly before him, and he took further encouragement from the many ministers of the gospel, and the many men of talent, and zeal, by whom he was surrounded, to believe that the time was now come when we should no longer temporize with this subject, but speak out, and speak boldly, our determination, that slavery should exist no longer. We had waited seven years in the hope that Parliament would devise and enforce some effectual and decisive measures which should meet the evil of negro slavery. Parliament had not done it. The colonies having legislatures of their own had not done it. The colonies that were under the jurisdiction of the Crown had not been compelled to do it. It was time, therefore, that the people of England should stand up and at length vindicate the rights of their fellow-subjects in the West Indies. The negroes there were subjects of the British dominions—they had as much right to free-

dom as ourselves, and that law which had violated their rights was not law but tyranny. And whatever Acts of Parliament sanctioning such violation could be brought forward, it was clear that the legislature of Great Britain, in enacting them, itself violated the very compact by which it was constituted. If this was the feeling of the meeting, why not express it? why not tell the Honourable Gentlemen that were around us, when in their places in the House of Commons, boldly to stand forward for the rights of Englishmen, and no longer year after year to dwell on the subject of petty details, a little less labour, and a little more food. Good or bad treatment had nothing to do with the subject. He must be allowed to say, that as human beings, they had as much right to the liberty of the body as to the air they breathed. And that those who had taken them over the seas in order to profit by the sugar-cane, committed a most egregious mistake—they should have taken the canes to the negroes, and not the negroes to the canes. He knew that the time of this meeting was valuable—but the point to which he wished to call their attention, was to pass some strong resolution which should go to Parliament, desiring that they would immediately take such measures as should put a stop to the present nefarious and degrading system, and that until such measures were adopted that they should pass a law preventing any subjects of His Majesty from being born into a state of slavery after a given period. He knew very well that we might have gone on with our present proceedings; we might have felt much; we might have been delighted with speeches and gone home abhorring slavery, but what had been the result? Why, our petitions it may be, had gone to Parliament, they had been received, and nothing more was heard of them. What was the value of our petitions unless they were supported by the unanimous voice of the people? And therefore, he now called upon every minister of religion that he would, without the counsel, without the sanction or approval of any other person, give a pledge this day that so long as British subjects were held in slavery, so long would he use his influence that petitions might come up from every part of England testifying against that monstrous outrage. Let them take it home to their parishes,—let the remotest districts of the kingdom hear of it—that British subjects when born, were doomed to perpetual bondage, and that to satisfy the avarice of their fellow-men and fellow-subjects. He was encouraged by the cheers around him to excite this meeting to try to fix a period to this system; and he trusted that this meeting would shew by its voice that the country was of the same opinion. And therefore, as an amendment to the resolution, he would propose at the close of the resolution now moved, to add the following words,

“And to provide that from and after the 1st of January, 1830, every child born within the King’s dominions shall be free.”

Now he was inclined to do this, because he remembered that in the speech of Mr. Buxton, made in the House of Commons in the year 1823, this proposition was recommended; and that on the same occasion also Mr. Brougham declared that it seemed to him to be the imperative duty of the legislature to pass some act with respect to the unborn children. He thought therefore, we should be wanting in our

duty to that part of our fellow subjects, if we did not immediately announce our determination to take up this part of the subject. Difficulties might arise—and who that contemplated a great achievement could expect not to encounter difficulties? But was a christian to be dissuaded from his duty merely because difficulties met him in the way? They might have difficulties to encounter as great as those had, who refused to bow down to the molten image set up by Nebuchadnezzar; but God could deliver us as he did them even from the fiery furnace. They must not be overcome by difficulties. And he confidently trusted that a resolution would be passed this day fixing definitely the time, when it should be declared that every child born in the British dominions should be free. Let us persist in that course, trusting to the majesty of our cause. Let us take a pledge from our representatives that they would fearlessly support it. Then would they gain for themselves the blessings of the negro no longer enslaved, while they would be cheered by the congratulations of a grateful community at home. (*Great applause.*)

Mr. H. DRUMMOND could not stand up to second the amendment which had just been proposed, without, at the same time, expressing the deep regret he should feel if any thing should fall from him that might be construed into the smallest disrespect of the venerable chairman who presided over them, or of those gentlemen who had already addressed the meeting. Whatever were the duties of our representatives in Parliament—our duties were totally distinct. We had nothing to do but with simple abstract principles. Whatever difficulties might occur must be left with those who had to conduct the business. It was for the government and not for us to overcome them. But when he saw in this day's newspapers the Society accused of inconsistency, and of holding opposite sentiments now to those which they held half a century ago,—he would beg leave to state that half a century ago he held no sentiments whatever.—He could not trust himself to speak upon this great question. There were subjects on which it was disgraceful to speak coolly. He could not come to this question under any point of view, or look at it as a system even upon the dry rules of heathen ethics, without detesting and condemning it. And if he controuled himself now, and if he conjured those who heard him to control themselves also, it was that they might keep smothered within them a more intense fire,—it was that they might keep from dissipating in idle speeches in a tavern, what was yet to be called into action in a more efficient place. In his conscience, however, he believed and feared, that this question would never be carried until some black O'Connell, or some swarthy Bolivar was found to take it up.

Mr. RUTT in reference to the advertisement alluded to, and which charged the Society and their hon. chairman with inconsistency, declared, that they had not forfeited any pledge. He had taken the pains of examining the proceedings of Parliament during the time alluded to, and he had found the opinion now entertained of slavery to have been the general opinion of every speaker in favour of the abolition of the slave-trade.

Mr. BUXTON said he should detain the meeting but a single

moment.—He perfectly agreed with Mr. Pownall's amendment; and he would again say, that there was no part of this great subject in which he felt so deep and intense an interest, as on this very point—the emancipation of the children. It was provided for in his original propositions; and it was therefore proved, that the Society had then entertained the same principles which this amendment proposed to adopt. It was upon this point therefore, that he recommended that we should state in the words Mr. Pownall had suggested, that we looked to Parliament to enact a law, by which every slave-child born after the 1st of January, 1831, should be free.

Mr. BROUGHAM entreated the meeting not to act under the influence of any sudden emotion, arising from the impatience which had very naturally been begotten by the delay we had met with, so as to adopt a resolution which might give rise to an impression that we had acted rashly. If we should pass a resolution calling upon the legislature to pass a bill at this late period of the Session, which was to have its operation in January next, there would be various hindrances which he specified, both in the House of Commons and the House of Lords before such a bill could pass. These observations, which he made with the utmost respect for the meeting, and the utmost deference for those gentlemen who had moved and seconded the amendment, were not intended to oppose the passing of some such resolution, but only against the resolution in its present shape.

Mr. POWNALL was sorry he had been misunderstood. He was not bigotedly attached to a particular day. But he conceived that unless we fixed a definite period, the subject might pass by as it had before done. The recommendation could not be considered a precipitate measure, since the chairman had told us that 30 years ago the very same proposition was made to the British Parliament. And it could not be regarded as too soon for the people of England to take measures for inducing the legislature no longer to trifle with the question.

Mr. S. RICE said he took the liberty of suggesting a method of gaining the *one object*, which he took upon himself to say they all had in view. We were all agreed, that it was expedient upon this subject, that a definite time should be fixed when slavery should exist no longer. If then we were to admit the principle that a definite time should be appointed, and stop there, leaving for the present the consideration of the precise time to the good sense of those who should have hereafter to deliberate upon it, the object of all who had spoken upon the point, would, he was convinced be gained, and the business of the meeting would go on much more satisfactorily. (Cheers.)

Mr. O'CONNELL said that it seemed to him that this was really a question free from all difficulty; and instead of regretting that a difference should have arisen among us, it only shewed, that in the variety of our zeal, we had different ways of attaining the same object. What difficulty was there that this meeting should announce its opinion, that the slavery should cease of persons born from and after the 1st of Jan. 1831, or even from some earlier day or year? It seemed to him that there was not the least difficulty in it, nor did he know there would be any in bringing the matter before Parliament this session. If any one

thought we should carry such a question at the first onset he could not agree with him. The blow must be repeated again and again—and if we were to go to battle, the sooner we began the fight the better. He had never, he said, felt so gratified as he did, by a compliment paid to him to-day (by Mr. Drummond). He felt very proud of that compliment; for if the sound of his humble name should ever serve to fan the flame of freedom in the heart of any human being, he had got his great reward, and he desired no other recompence. He asserted it as an eternal truth, that a created human being, who had an immortal soul, redeemed by the blood of the only Redeemer, could not become the property of his fellow-creature. Man could not have property in man. Slavery was a nuisance to be put down, not to be compromised with; and to be assailed without cessation, and without mercy, by every blow that could be levelled at the monster. He had served three apprenticeships to agitation. He had seen the cause of national liberty, and the sacred principle of freedom of conscience struck at, and time after time he had heard that it was too soon in the session to talk of such and such a measure; then, in the middle, that parliament was too much occupied with more pressing affairs; and when the middle had passed away and the end was approaching, then he was told to wait till the next meeting of parliament; and these endless postponements, which made the hearts of others sick, only roused him to redouble his exertions until the enemy was at length tired out, and conscience had achieved her triumph. The very same course he proposed, as a member of parliament, to be adopted in this cause. He could not help feeling surprised at being so long in the house and having seen so few petitions presented on this subject; while at the same time he saw such a large and powerful party devoted to what had been called the West India interest. They had noble lords and right honorable gentlemen at their command, and came in regular phalanx, and nobody seemed to sleep but the friends of justice and humanity. Was this as it ought to be? Let us imitate the example of West India activity. Let our call be heard throughout the land, until every town and parish in England was roused into action. Let the present state of slavery in our Colonies be exposed in detail. Let general principle be asserted. And as it was the cause of religion and liberty, all that it wanted was the unwearied repetition of zealous advocacy to make it certainly triumphant. Let every man then, in whatever position he might be placed, do his duty, in crushing that hideous tyranny, which rent the husband from his wife, the children from their parents—which enabled one human being, at his uncontroled will, to apply the lash to the back of his fellow-man. At no period of human history had slavery assumed a form so abominable as in our slave colonies. Anciently the state of slavery was only a few degrees worse than the domestic servitude of the present day. In the early ages the slave shared with his owner, in the food which he procured for the common benefit of both. But what was the fact in our Colonies? Human beings were converted into machinery, with which to make a fortune.—And we had not only to answer for the slavery of our own West Indies, but for slavery all over the face of the earth. Ought the mistress nation of the world to give the

sanction of her palmy glory to such a system? Were we to go to the free states of America—they would tell us that England left, as an inheritance, this crime to them, and that to this day England continued that crime; and they found their excuse for the enormity of their conduct in quoting the example of England, and sheltering themselves behind the crimes of Great Britain. When we pointed out to them the contrast between the privileges they asserted for themselves and their practice towards the negroes—they most justly retorted upon us. Ought this to last? We owed it therefore to America, as well as to ourselves, to put an end to slavery.—And to return to the amendment: he thought the first proposition we should come to was, that England should determine on a period when it should be declared that the children of slaves should be free born. He could see no reason why a day should not be fixed, even antecedent to the passing of the Act; why for example the 14th of April, 1829, might not be fixed; a day of which he had so many pleasing recollections. The children born after that period would not be so old as to incapacitate them for receiving an education suited to freemen.—But it was said that in giving freedom to the blacks we should destroy the whites. We must, he admitted, proceed with caution—but beyond this he would make no concession. And if any said it ought to be done gradually, he would reply that at least it must be done decidedly. There was a principle pervading this nation of cold calculating prudence—but oh! the greatest prudence of all was the assertion of the eternal principles of justice, and the enforcing of them perpetually and unremittingly.—Let us therefore begin—let the day be fixed to which we should be solemnly pledged. Let the voice of indignant remonstrance resound across the rich plains of England—let it be heard from the remotest mountains of Scotland,—and he would answer for its being echoed from the glens and valleys of his native land in a voice of thunder—a voice that had made itself heard already and should ere long be heard again. Let this voice of indignant remonstrance be only heard from every quarter of the land, and then, but not till then would the black be free and the white man saved,—human beings be no longer degraded to the rank of brute beasts, and Christianity be no longer blasphemed. True liberality did not consist in giving up one's own religious opinions, but in allowing that freedom to others which we claimed for ourselves.—How could any one preach to the negro respecting the value of Christian morality when he saw his master selling his own child to the neighbouring planter, violating alike every precept of the gospel—every dictate of reason—every feeling of humanity? He conceived that while such a system lasted every Englishman was degraded, and the religion of Christ was blasphemed. The cause we were engaged in was a great and noble cause. We had formidable opposition to encounter—but what was great should at least be attempted. The drop was soft and the rock was hard, but by perpetually falling on it, it impressed it at last. He did feel it his duty to make these statements to this respectable meeting. He should not longer detain them, but would only say, let the sentiments which had this day been expressed, be cautiously, distinctly, perpetually inculcated; let its echo be heard in the House of Commons, and moderation and truth would ultimately

prevail. We should at least have the consolation that we had the honour to struggle for the interests of liberty and of true religion. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. BUCKINGHAM in speaking to this amendment, begged leave to state two facts relating to the state of things in reference to the immediate abolition of slavery generally, but more especially as it applied to the infant race. It had been his fortune to have been in the West and East Indies—but it was from the latter he would take his examples. In Ceylon when Alexander Johnstone was chief justice of the island, he succeeded in having a period fixed for the abolition of slavery by the emancipation of the children, and the whole of the infants born of slaves after that period were declared free. The other case was that of Sir Stamford Raffles, he introduced the emancipation of slaves at Bencoolen. A Mahomedan who was proprietor of an immense number of slaves, thanked him on that occasion for the good he had done, and declared he had often felt compunction that such a system should so long have been carried on, and pledged himself to forsake it. He mentioned these facts to encourage the Society—and before sitting down he would beg leave to suggest a single word of advice, which did not depend upon the people of England, nor upon the votes of this assembly, but upon the counsel that every man and every woman should find in their own bosom, and that was—to regard the produce of slave labour as accursed and poisoned—and, to speak in the emphatic language of scripture, he would say of it, “Touch not, taste not, handle not the unclean thing.” And he would have every lady in this assembly when dealing out the meal to her household, to remember that there was a large country, India—our own country—where the same article was produced by free labour. Every man and every woman is interested in that country—and he held it to be the duty of every one to rouse himself to exertion on its behalf, and thus to procure the abolition of slavery in the West.

Mr. Pownall's amendment was then put and carried, in a modified form. To the resolution moved by Mr. Brownlow were added the words “and to fix the day upon which all children born in the British dominions shall be free.”

Mr. DENMAN begged to congratulate the meeting in the first place on what had just now occurred, because on all former occasions the Society had run before the public, and had in some degree been called upon to excite it—but in this instance the public had shewn that it would take the matter into its own hands, and had thus given the Society a warning by which he was sure it would endeavour to profit. The public felt the deepest gratitude to their respected Chairman in the first place, and to all who had followed in his footsteps upon this great subject. But it felt that its own character would not be safe if slavery were any longer to exist, and if it were not put down at the earliest possible opportunity. In the first place his hon. friend was charged with never having contemplated the abolition of slavery when the slave-trade was put an end to. It was a contemptible and groundless falsehood. It required only to be mentioned in order to be discredited. So far were the abolitionists from pledging themselves to be content with that, that they distinctly announced the abolition of slavery

as their ulterior object. The public had now been aroused from its dormant state; and that meeting had shewn that in the breast of every man there was a voice which cried, "sleep no more;" and it would continue, he was sure, to give us the full benefit of its future efforts. With regard to the amendment, he must own that the experience of many years, and the observations he had made on the subject, did not lead him to believe that Parliament would proceed too rapidly. But the members of the legislature were undoubtedly to receive their instructions from the public; and this day he hoped those instructions would be given. It might indeed be said that this was a political question which from the state of society involved difficulties of no ordinary description. In his judgment we had nothing to do with any such considerations. If there were any inconvenience arising from a change in the state of society, it was for the legislatures of the colonies—it was for the parliament of this country—it was for the proprietors of slaves themselves to devise the means by which these inconveniences might be avoided, and to take care that no evil should result from the restoration of liberty to those who had unjustly been deprived of it. He rejoiced to hear the voice of the people of England proclaiming in this room, that what Mr. Dundas proposed probably only for the purpose of delay; and which every friend of the cause had all along anxiously been looking forward to; should at length be resolved upon, and that slavery should exist no longer. He did not much regret the interruption which had taken place in consequence of what Mr. Hunt had said, as the speech of his hon. and learned friend (Mr. Brougham) had so well superseded all necessity of further arguments upon that subject. He should not enter into the various topics that tempted him; but he would take the liberty of saying, in addition to what he had said, that every step we took towards emancipating the negroes, was a step gained for the whole people of England, by enabling them to rid themselves of that foul reproach—the spots on the sun of the fair face of England's reputation. He then moved the following resolution.

"That this meeting most earnestly invite all Anti-Slavery Associations, and all who are friendly to the Society's objects, in every part of the United Kingdom, to join in persevering and concurrent exertions to induce Parliament to take effectual measures for freeing their country from the foul reproach and the deep moral guilt attendant on our continued toleration and encouragement of slavery; and to this end they are entreated to employ such means of public discussion, or such other expedients as they may deem advisable, for diffusing, in their respective vicinages, a more complete knowledge of the nature and baneful effects of that criminal system, and for uniting every heart and hand in Petitions to Parliament for its early and universal abolition."

Dr. LUSHINGTON rose to second the motion, and observed that at this late hour he should address but a very few words to that numerous assembly which he had the happiness to see before him, and only for the purpose of endeavouring to add a little to the strong impression which the eloquence and sound sense of his hon. friend (Mr. Denman) who had preceded him, must have made upon the minds of all who heard him. Without the assistance of the people out of doors—without

the exertions of all those who had influence in different parts of the country, it was in vain that the few members of the House of Commons who had the courage and the perseverance to advocate this cause there, made the attempt which this assembly were desirous should no longer be delayed. Into the hands indeed of no man living—so powerful—so able—so zealous—as into the hands of his hon. friend Mr. Brougham could this task be confided—(*Great applause.*) He spoke the truth, lamentable in itself as it was, that scarcely a decent hearing could be obtained in that house by any other member on this subject. He alone was possessed of that power and that influence which Parliament did not seem capable of resisting—and to him must we look to penetrate the prejudice which prevailed, and the reluctance we had to encounter. Now he entreated the meeting to mark him. The present hour was not to be lost. The time of a general election was fast approaching. That was the hour when the people could effectually aid us. If they went with us heart and hand—if in their very souls they were convinced of the necessity that existed for abolishing the degrading system which prevailed in the slave colonies—now was the time by their exertions to aid its extinction and abolition. Let every man who had a vote either in any single town which had the privilege of sending a representative to Parliament, or in any county; let every such man remember that it was his sacred duty to see that neither his influence nor his vote should be given to any one who would not pledge himself to the cause of abolition. And let the meeting again mark this one word of further advice. Let them give their vote to no lukewarm friend—to no stickler about indemnities—to no putter-off of the question to a day that was never to come—to no advocate for vested interests as paramount to the claims of justice and humanity; but to one who would pledge himself to say—“this iniquity has been committed by those who have legislated before me, here and in the West: my soul sinks under that sin, and with the blessing of God, every effort shall be made by me to remove the load from my country and my conscience”—to one who would rise early and go to bed late to carry his point—to one who had the firmness to disregard the sneers of the interested, and who would not mind the disgrace of being named a “Philanthropist.” He was persuaded that if once this spirit could be roused into activity, if those possessed of it were to exert their influence honestly and fearlessly, not giving their vote or influence out of friendship to any one, or from regard to any other object; were we thus to go straight forward to the end in view then would our efforts be crowned with success, and that guilt which had stained this country more deeply than any other upon the face of the globe would be removed from us; and not merely guilt but all the consequences of guilt that certainly follow it—misery and suffering to all. Before he sat down, he wished to advert to another point. He had intended to have made a motion upon the subject of the state of the people of colour in the West Indies, but at that late hour that purpose must now be dispensed with. Few who heard him could have any idea of their condition. Though emancipated from actual bondage, instead of standing on a footing of equality with their fellow-citizens, they were degraded to a condition in which justice was impossible to be

obtained, and where oppression was the lot of all. Now who were these people of colour? When he had first asked himself that question, the answer trembled on his lips,—“they are the children of white men, of the very men who had inflicted on their own offspring the galling yoke of oppression—who had been the authors of the degrading disabilities by which they had suffered, and were still suffering.” In short, in whatever light slavery was viewed, we should find that it overcame all the feelings and sympathies of nature, broke all those domestic bonds which were most near and dear to us, and invested its unhappy associations with the certain consequences of misery and guilt. He had the pleasure however, of assuring the meeting, that on that subject at least, the government of this country had imbibed a better feeling; and that in some of our own colonies measures had already been taken for putting these children of Britons on the same footing with their fathers; and that on the part of the supreme authority of the state, a determination existed to recommend a similar course in the other colonies. He had only to say in conclusion, that he believed that upon their individual exertions would depend our ultimate success.—(*Great applause.*)

MR. W. WHITMORE, M. P. read to the meeting a letter from His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, the Patron of the Society, enclosing his annual subscription, and expressing his regret that he was prevented from attending personally, by the lamented indisposition of His Majesty. He then moved,

“That the cordial acknowledgments of this meeting be most respectfully presented to His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester; for the undeviating support he has uniformly given to the principles on which this society is founded.”

And the motion having been seconded by Mr. Macaulay, was carried unanimously, and with loud acclamation.

MR. S. RICE said that the resolution he had to move was one to which every heart in this assembly would at once respond, and to which moreover, there was not a friend of humanity all over the world who would not be ready to give his acquiescence—it was a vote of thanks to his hon. and venerable friend Mr. WILBERFORCE—(*Great applause.*)—Whose character as a man, nay whose very name, was an argument; and whose life was an example—(*Great applause.*) He should indeed ill deserve any portion of their attention if he occupied them one moment more than to read the words in which the resolution was drawn up, in order to recommend it to them. Some one had said that the most glorious of all spectacles was a good man struggling against adversity. He thought there was one more glorious,—it was to see the closing years of a virtuous life, spent in great and disinterested exertions, reaping from his countrymen the reward of those exertions, in their heartfelt approval, and thus handing down to posterity one of the most glorious incentives to the imitation of such an example. His hon. friend had presided over them to-day,—he trusted he would be present with them when they next met,—not to claim from Parliament further concessions, but to express to Parliament their thanks for having freed this country from the foul reproach of slavery. He then moved,

“That this meeting are anxious to express their heartfelt satisfaction

in seeing the chair occupied this day by William Wilberforce, Esq., the revered champion of injured and outraged Africa, and they desire to offer to him the tribute of their grateful acknowledgments for his unceasing efforts in the vindication and relief of suffering humanity; and to testify their strong sense of the many services he has rendered to his country and to the world at large."

Mr. SYKES, M. P. believed he had the honour to boast of a longer acquaintance with his revered friend Mr. Wilberforce, than any of the gentlemen that sat around him. He had derived much benefit, he did not need to assure them, from that intercourse; and he esteemed it the greatest of all benefits, that he had learned from him to detest slavery. He therefore seconded the resolution with the utmost cordiality,—and he took the opportunity of testifying his complete approbation of the course which the Society had this day pursued, and of telling them again from that platform, that during the remainder of his days he should as he had hitherto done, devote himself to the pursuit and accomplishment of the great object of their common solicitude and united exertions—the final extinction of slavery. (*Cheering.*)

The vote was carried by acclamation, and

The CHAIRMAN in acknowledging it, said he felt deeply grateful for the kindness of the meeting, and it was not the least gratifying circumstance to him that this vote had been moved by a gentleman whom he admired as a public man, and seconded by one whom he esteemed as a private friend. (*Great applause.*)

II.—CONCLUDING REMARKS.

THUS closed the business of a meeting, distinguished by its number and respectability, by the zeal which animated it, and by the impression which it has produced, not only on those who were present, but on the public at large. Already are the good effects of it visible in the increasing interest which the condition of our enslaved fellow-subjects, the negro bondsmen of our colonies, has excited throughout the land, and in the more strenuous and combined exertions which that increased interest is calling forth into action. It has confirmed the Synod of the Scotch secession in its determination previously announced to aid the Anti-Slavery cause, not only by its own prayer to Parliament, but by that of its three hundred congregations. The Deputies of the three denominations of Protestant Dissenters in London, representing the dissenting body throughout the land, have already addressed to Parliament their strong protest against the continuance of slavery, and have called upon their numerous constituents in all parts of the kingdom to unite heart and hand in promoting its early extinction. The zeal even of those early and tried and consistent friends of the oppressed African, the Society of Friends, seems to burn with a more intense flame. The numerous and influential body of the Methodists have manifested a stronger and deeper feeling than ever of the duty of concurrent and unceasing exertion to remove the barriers which slavery presents to the diffusion of christianity. And, we feel assured by our past experience, of the effective co-operation which is to be expected from a great ma-

majority of the ministers and members of the Church of Scotland, as well as of the united Churches of England and Ireland. Nor can we doubt that the Catholics in both kingdoms will shew their gratitude for the success of their recent efforts, in achieving their own liberation from restraint, by aiding to break the oppressive yoke which weighs down our negro fellow-subjects.—To all these various classes of Christians we would earnestly address ourselves,—and not to them only, but to all of every class and party, whether religious or political, in the United Kingdom, who feel any concern for the honour of God, or any desire to vindicate our national character from infamy and reproach, or any sympathy with suffering humanity;—to them we would address our earnest entreaties to join cordially, concurrently, and perseveringly, in the promotion of this sacred cause, until the unhappy slave shall be relieved from his fetters, and Great Britain shall be delivered from the guilt and shame of holding him in bondage.

Those who are disposed to respond to this call will find, in the speeches delivered, and the resolutions adopted at the meeting, of whose proceedings we have given an account, ample information both of the present state of the slavery question, and of the means by which it is proposed to influence Parliament to abolish it. We, therefore, conclude with recommending the foregoing details to their attentive perusal and conscientious consideration; and with urging them to admit of no delay in taking the measures necessary for carrying into effect the various suggestions which they contain. The present session of Parliament may cease before much can be accomplished. But ere long there will be another session, if not, perhaps another parliament. And in this last case we trust that no one who has pledged himself to this cause will employ his vote or his influence without maturely considering, what his duty to God, to his country, and to his fellow men, no less than fidelity to his engagements, requires at his hands.

A petition founded on the resolutions adopted by the meeting has since been prepared for both Houses of Parliament. It represents Slavery as an evil which requires not merely to be palliated or amended, but to be eradicated; not as a practice capable of being made tolerable by regulation, but as a crime to be suppressed, an outrage on our professed principles as Christians to be renounced, and a foul stain on our national character to be wholly and for ever effaced. And it PRAYS that Parliament would no longer postpone to take this momentous subject into its early and earnest consideration, and that in order effectually to relieve the country from the guilt and ignominy of such a system, it would proceed forthwith to devise, and adopt, and enforce the best and wisest means of ensuring its universal extinction throughout the British Empire; and that, until this most desirable consummation shall have been attained, immediate measures may be taken, at least to arrest the progress of the evil, and to prevent any farther addition being made to the present number of enslaved British subjects, by fixing a day after which all children who shall be born within the dominions of His Majesty, whatever be their class, condition, or complexion, shall thenceforward be absolutely and to all intents and purposes *free*.

A copy of this petition with some notices on Sierra Leone and the Mauritius will appear in a Supplement.

III.—LIST OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Patron.

His Royal Highness the DUKE of GLOUCESTER.

President.

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, Esq.

Vice Presidents.

His Grace the DUKE of DEVON-	THOMAS CLARKSON, Esq.
SHIRE,	THOMAS DENMAN, Esq.
The Most Hon. the Marquis of	HENRY DRUMMOND, Esq.
BRISTOL,	WILLIAM EVANS, Esq.
The Right Hon. Lord SUFFIELD,	DR. LUSHINGTON, M. P.
————— Lord NUGENT,	W. T. MONEY, Esq.
————— Lord CALTHORPE	RICHARD PHILLIPS, Esq.
————— Lord MILTON,	T. SPRING RICE, Esq. M. P.
————— Sir JAS. MACKIN-	C. E. RUMBOLD, Esq. M. P.
TOSH,	WILLIAM SMITH, Esq. M. P.
The Hon. GEO. AGAR ELLIS, M. P.	JAMES STEPHEN, Esq.
THOMAS BABINGTON, Esq.	DANIEL SYKES, Esq. M. P.
HENRY BROUGHAM, Esq. M. P.	S. C. WHITBREAD, Esq. M. P.
JAMES BROWNE, Esq. M. P.	W. W. WHITMORE, Esq. M. P.
THOS. FOWEL BUNTON, Esq. M. P.	

Treasurer.

SAMUEL HOARE, Esq.

Committee.

A. R. BARCLAY, Esq.	Z. MACAULAY, Esq.
RICHARD BARRETT, Esq.	T. B. MACAULAY, Esq. M. P.
JOSEPH BELDAM, Esq.	WILLIAM MALTON, Esq.
Rev. J. BUNTING,	RICHARD MATTHEWS, Esq.
EDWARD CARROL, Esq.	HON. and Rev. B. NOEL,
JOSEPH DIMSDALE, Esq.	HENRY POWNALL, Esq.
CHARLES ELLIOTT, Esq.	Rev. M. M. PRESTON,
WILLIAM EMPSON, Esq.	W. F. REYNOLDS, Esq.
THOMAS FISHER, Esq.	GEORGE STACEY, Esq.
Rev. JOSEPH FLETCHER,	THOMAS STURGE, Esq.
EDWARD FORSTER, Esq.	SAMUEL THOROWGOOD, Esq.
JOSIAH FORSTER, Esq.	Rev. Dr. WALSH,
ROBERT FORSTER, Esq.	Rev. R. WATSON,
W. A. GARRATT, Esq.	HENRY WAYMOUTH, Esq.
SAMUEL GURNEY, Esq.	Rev. DANIEL WILSON,
W. S. HATHAWAY, Esq.	JOSEPH WILSON, Esq.
Rev. JOSEPH IVIMEY,	JOSHUA WILSON, Esq.

Honorary Governors.

WILLIAM ALLEN, Esq.	JAMES CROPPER, Esq.
ROBERT BENSON, Esq.	HENRY NEWMAN, Esq.

S U P P L E M E N T

TO THE

ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER,

No. 61, FOR JUNE 1830.

- I. PETITION OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY TO PARLIAMENT.
 - II. THE CASE OF THE WEST INDIA PLANTERS, OR PAUPERISM ON A GREAT SCALE.
 - III. THE WEST INDIA REPORTER'S VIEW OF THE EXPENDITURE OF SIERRA LEONE.
 - IV. Dr. WALSH'S VIEW OF SLAVERY IN THE BRAZILS.
 1. THE NEGRO RACE ENSLAVED AND FREE.
 2. INSTANCE OF SAVAGE CRUELTY.
 3. SLAVE MARKET.
 4. CRUEL AND UNJUST TREATMENT OF THE ABORIGINAL INDIANS.
-

I. PETITION OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

HUMBLY SHEWETH,

That your petitioners beg leave to remind your honourable house, that on the 15th day of May, 1823, your honourable house, by its unanimous resolutions, recognised the *evil of slavery*, and the duty of providing for its ultimate extinction; and that His Majesty's Ministers then undertook to carry those resolutions into effect.

That though seven years have since elapsed, during which the Colonial Assemblies have persisted in either evading, or refusing to comply with, the resolutions of Parliament and the recommendations of His Majesty's Government, supported by the voice of the British nation; yet hitherto no adequate means of giving them effect have been adopted by your honourable house.

That your petitioners regret to find that, even in the colonies subject to the legislation of the Crown, the Orders in council, including the revised and consolidated order of the 2d of February last, though containing some important and salutary enactments, fall, nevertheless, far short of those official and parliamentary pledges of 1823 which they professed to fulfil, and have provided no sufficient means either for the final extinction of slavery, or for its effectual mitigation.

That while these pledges have thus remained for seven years unfulfilled, the committee of the West India planters and merchants in this country, who, at the commencement of that period, had fully assented to their propriety, have recently withdrawn their concurrence, and have not scrupled to express their approbation of the conduct of the local legislatures in the course which they have pursued, and which has been, in fact, a rejection of the measures recommended by the Crown, and of that measure especially which proposed to facilitate the manumission of the slave.

That this conduct of the West India committee may be considered as a plain avowal, notwithstanding their previous professed adhesion to the resolutions of 1823, that it is their fixed purpose and intention that slavery shall be perpetual; and it is manifestly calculated to confirm the Colonial Assemblies in their contumacy, and to render any effective reform, by their means, still more hopeless than your petitioners have always deemed it to be.

That under these circumstances of disappointment, and utterly despairing of any aid towards the abolition of slavery from the colonial legislatures or from the holders of slaves generally, your petitioners feel themselves compelled again to press on the attention of your honourable house the recognised and admitted evils of that system;— its injustice, inhumanity, and impolicy; its hostility to the principles of the British constitution; and its utter repugnance to the spirit and precepts of the Christian religion; and to declare their firm conviction that it is only by the direct legislation of Parliament that a remedy can be applied to these evils, and their unalterable determination (which they believe to be that also of the public at large) to leave no lawful means unattempted for effecting, by parliamentary enactment, and at the earliest possible period, the entire abolition of slavery throughout the dominions of His Majesty.

That contemplating slavery in this light, your petitioners cannot withhold the strong expression of their concern and regret, that a system so productive of misery and crime should not only be tolerated by this Christian nation, but should be directly upheld by its naval and military force at a frightful cost of European life, and should also, by means of the bounties and protection granted to the produce of slave labour in our colonies, be even favoured and encouraged, to the injury and disadvantage of the produce of free labour in the other tropical possessions of the Crown.

That such a policy as this, while it is most unjust towards multitudes of our fellow-subjects, and most injurious to the general commercial interests of the empire, tends directly to aggravate the sufferings and prolong the bondage of unoffending British subjects, and to involve this country in the guilt and shame of abetting and maintaining, at an enormous expense of blood and treasure, a system which it has recognised and denounced as inhuman, immoral, and unjust.

That the cruel and afflicting circumstances which have marked the moral and religious condition of the colonial slave have long claimed the commiseration of every benevolent mind, but have been forced on the attention of your petitioners at this time by recent occurrences, and

especially by the late intolerant acts of the legislature of Jamaica, and by the persecutions which Christian missionaries, and their negro converts have had to endure, and are still enduring in that island; and to these they respectfully beg to direct the consideration of your honourable house.

That it is not the purpose of your petitioners again to enter into any specification of the various and unnumbered evils, whether physical or moral, of the present colonial system of Great Britain. They are already too well known to require it. But your petitioners cannot forbear from bringing before the view of your honourable house, as one of its most opprobrious features, the circumstance that under the allegiance of a British Monarch, and within the legislative jurisdiction of a British Parliament, thousands of children are annually born to no inheritance but that of a hopeless and interminable bondage.

That the experience of the last seven years has brought the nature and baneful effects of slavery more fully under the cognizance of Parliament and the public; and that contemplating in this view the evidence now lying on the table of your honourable house;—the enormities which are there officially brought to light; the statistical information which has there been officially furnished; and above all, the very measures of pretended and delusive reforms which have been framed, during that period, by the colonial legislatures, as well as those they have refused to adopt; your petitioners are driven to this conclusion, that slavery is an evil which requires not merely to be palliated or amended, but which it is an imperative duty wholly to eradicate;—that it is no longer to be regarded as a practice capable of being rendered tolerable by regulation, but as a crime to be suppressed, an outrage on our professed principles as Christians to be renounced, and a foul stain on the national character to be wholly and for ever effaced.

That your petitioners, indeed, must confess that they can discover no essential difference, in point of principle, between the colonial slavery which we are reluctantly made to uphold and even to foster and encourage, and the African slave trade which we have stamped with the merited characters of felony and piracy, and which we visit with the penalty justly due to those atrocious crimes, and which even the advocates of slavery now admit to be fully entitled to the reprobation which has been affixed to it.

That, in this view, it is most important that your honourable house should be reminded, that before the slave trade had received its final condemnation, it was strenuously defended by the same advocates who now defend colonial slavery; and your petitioners venture to assert, that, with slight variations, the petitions, remonstrances, and speeches in support of the slave trade, and the whole character of the resistance made to the abolition of that foul and murderous traffic, were grounded on the very same principles, supported by the very same arguments, and conducted in the very same spirit, as have marked the recent efforts of the same parties, both at home and abroad, to impede the progress of colonial reform, and to frustrate the solemn resolutions of Parliament, and the wishes of the country at large on that subject.

That your petitioners are further convinced, that the laudable efforts

of Great Britain to induce other nations to abandon the slave trade have hitherto failed of their effect, and must continue to do so, so long as we ourselves, for our own profit, retain the unfortunate victims of our former crimes, and their innocent offspring, in a state of cruel, hopeless, and uncompensated bondage.

That under the painful impression of these sentiments, sentiments which have recently obtained the unanimous approbation of a very large and highly respectable meeting in this city, and in which your petitioners confidently anticipate the universal concurrence of all classes throughout the United Kingdom who do not participate in the administration or in the gains of slavery; your petitioners feel it to be their imperative obligation again to approach your honourable house with their most urgent entreaties, that you would no longer postpone to take this momentous subject into your early and earnest consideration, and that in order effectually to relieve the country from the guilt and ignominy of such a system, you would proceed forthwith to devise, and adopt, and enforce the best and wisest means of ensuring its universal extinction throughout the British Empire; and that, until this most desirable consummation shall have been attained, immediate measures may be taken, at least to arrest the progress of the evil, and to prevent any farther addition being made to the present number of enslaved British subjects, by fixing a day after which all children who shall be born within the dominions of His Majesty, whatever be their class, condition, or complexion, shall thenceforward be absolutely and to all intents and purposes *free*.

II.—THE CASE OF THE WEST INDIA PLANTERS ; OR, PAUPERISM ON A GREAT SCALE.

WE hear much at the present moment of the sufferings of the West India Planters, and an application is about to be made to Parliament for their relief. Before the application is granted, it seems expedient to consider its nature. It is in fact an attempt to bolster up, by national aid, a losing speculation, which cannot possibly be supported, and which, from its unjust and impolitic nature, has been, and must ever continue to be, a source of loss and disaster to the nation, and to all concerned in it.

To prove this, it will only be necessary to take a brief review of the past history of West India plantership. Mr. Long, the historian of Jamaica, has fully established the fact, that so long ago as the year 1750, the Planters of that Island were labouring under severe distress. Mr. Bryan Edwards, the historian of the West Indies, referring to the period which closed in the year 1792, when his work first appeared, asserts, (in his 2nd vol. book vi. chap. i. 5th ed. p. 587,) that though “many have competencies which enable them to live well with economy in this country, *yet the great mass of Planters are men of oppressed fortunes, consigned by debt to unremitting drudgery in the Colonies, with a hope, which eternally mocks their grasp, of happier days, and a release from their embarrassments.*”

But we have still more decisive authority than that even of Bryan

Edwards for the prevalence of great distress at this period, and during the twenty preceding years, that is to say, from 1772 to 1792.

On the 23rd of November, 1792, a Report was prepared on the Sugar Trade of Jamaica, by a Committee of the Assembly, and confirmed and printed by its order, which contains the following passage.

“In the course of twenty years, 177 estates in Jamaica have been sold for the payment of debts; 55 estates have been thrown up; and 92 are still in the hands of creditors; and it appears, from a return made by the provost marshal, that 80,121 executions, amounting to £22,563,786 sterling, have been lodged in his office in the course of twenty years.”

A gleam of prosperity appears to have followed the revolution of St. Domingo; but in a few years the sky was again overcast, and in a Report of the Assembly of Jamaica, of 23d Nov. 1804, and printed by order of the House of Commons, 25th Feb. 1805, we have the following statement.

“Every British merchant holding securities on real estates, is filing bills in Chancery to foreclose, although when he has obtained his decree he hesitates to enforce it, because he must himself become the proprietor of the plantation, of which from fatal experience he knows the consequence. No one will advance money to relieve those whose debts approach half the value of their property, nor even lend a moderate sum without a judgment in ejectment and release of errors, that at a moment's notice he may take out a writ of possession, and enter on the plantation of his unfortunate debtor. Sheriffs' officers and collectors of taxes are every where offering for sale the property of individuals who have seen better days, and now must view their effects purchased for half their real value, and at less than half the original cost. Far from having the reversion expected, the creditor is often not satisfied. All kind of credit is at an end. If litigation in the courts of common law has diminished, it is not from increased ability to perform contracts, but from confidence having ceased, and no man parting with property but for an immediate payment of the consideration. A faithful detail would have the appearance of a frightful caricature.”

In 1807, the consideration of the commercial state of the West Indies was referred to a Committee of the House of Commons. The Report of that Committee was printed, by an order of the House of the 24th July, 1807, and is numbered 65; and it may be referred to with great advantage, as exhibiting the generally ruinous nature of sugar-planting speculations in our slave colonies, and the desperate and costly expedients which the planters are in the habit of demanding for their relief. At that time, as now, the West Indies were exhibited as liable, without speedy aid, to inevitable ruin, and to the total loss of their vast capital.

In the following year the same subject was pressed again on the attention of Parliament, and a voluminous Report was printed, by an order of the House of Commons of the 13th April, 1808, No. 178, in which it is recommended that sugar should be substituted for grain in our distilleries. To this Report a detailed statement is appended from the Assembly of Jamaica, dated 13th Nov. 1807, in

which they state, that, within the last five or six years, 65 estates had been abandoned, 32 sold under decrees of Chancery, 115 more respecting which suits in Chancery were depending, and many more for which bills were preparing:—"from these facts," they say, "the House will be able to judge *to what an alarming extent the distresses of the Sugar Planters have already reached, and with what accelerated rapidity they are now increasing ; for the sugar estates lately brought to sale, and now in the Court of Chancery in this Island and in England, amount to about one-fourth of the whole number of the Colony.*

"Your Committee have to lament that ruin has already taken place, and they must, under a continuance of the present circumstances, anticipate very shortly the bankruptcy of a much larger part of the community, and, in the course of a few years, of the whole class of Sugar Planters, excepting perhaps a very few in peculiar circumstances."

And the remedy which the Jamaica Assembly modestly recommended, was to adopt means to raise the price of their sugars in England to from 60s. to 70s. a cwt. exclusive of duty, as alone adequate to afford a living profit to the planter; and to this end they further recommend the substitution of their sugar for British grain in the distilleries.

On the 15th of June, 1812, by an order of the House of Commons, a "representation of the Assembly of Jamaica to the King" was laid on the table and printed. It is numbered 279. In this representation similar complaints to those already specified were renewed. They there speak of their ruin as complete,—“For two years has this most calamitous state been endured; the crops of 1809 and 1810 are in a state worse than useless;—a third draws towards its close with no appearance of amendment or alteration. The crop is gathering in” (they are speaking here of coffee), “but its exuberance excites no sensation of pleasure.” If the slaves of the coffee plantations are offered for sale, who, they ask “can buy them?—*The proprietors of the old sugar estates are themselves sinking under accumulated burdens.*” “*If ever there was a case demanding the active and immediate interference of a paternal government, to relieve the burdens and alleviate the calamities of a most valuable and useful class of subjects,*” “it is that of the Coffee Planters of Jamaica.”

The remedy the Assembly proposed was a high protecting duty, or even a prohibition of other coffee.—But they proceed—

“The distresses of our constituents are not confined to the Coffee Planters. The growers of cotton, pimento, and the minor staples, are also suffering severely from their depreciation. *The Sugar Planters, however, call more especially for protection and interposition.*” “*The ruin of the original possessors has been gradually completed. Estate after estate has passed into the hands of mortgagees and creditors absent from the island, until there are large districts, whole parishes, in which there is not a single proprietor of a sugar plantation resident.*” “*The distress,*” they add, “*cannot be well aggravated,*” and the most moderate recompence which can save the sugar grower from ruin, is said to be 50s. a cwt. exclusive of duty; for “it is not to be concealed, and cannot be denied, that a crisis has at last arrived, when nothing but the immediate and powerful interposition of the supreme authority of the

empire can prevent our utter destruction. Exactions, debasement, and privations have been long and patiently endured by the proprietors. A large proportion of them now see approaching the lowest state of human misery, absolute want to their families, and the horrors of a gaol for themselves !”

The general effect of these statements, strong as they are, seems to have been borne out, in some measure, by a speech of Mr. Marryat, in the House of Commons in 1813, in a debate on the East India sugar duties. He is stated to have then affirmed, “ That there were comparatively few estates in the West Indies, that had not, during the last twenty years, been sold or given up to creditors.”

And now, after a lapse of nearly twenty years more, during which the West Indies have been drawing immense sums from the pockets of the public for bounties and protections, and have had freedom too given to their commerce, what is the language they are this very moment addressing to Parliament and the nation ? It is this,—“ *The alarming and unprecedented state of distress in which the whole British West India interest is at this time involved,*” the petitioners say, justifies them in imploring Parliament “ to adopt prompt and effectual measures of relief, *in order to preserve them from inevitable ruin.*” And not satisfied with the protection they already enjoy, and a bounty of about 5s. 3d. a cwt. they again revert to the necessity of securing a remunerating price for sugar of 70s. to 80s. a cwt. (see the Bristol petition); and they call also for additional protection for their rum.

What a picture have we here of frightful pauperism ! A body of not quite 2,000 sugar planters have already obtained of the country by bounties alone upwards of a million of money annually in the enhanced value of their sugars, being an average of near 600*l.* a year to each of them. And not content with this payment, exacted by their clamorous importunity, they now come to us for more.—We term it a system of pauperism, and with reason, for it has all the worst characteristics of a compulsory poor’s rate. It therefore may be expected to produce all the injurious effects on the recipients which, when we look around us, we see to flow from ill administered parochial relief in this country. It is, in short, a system of pauperism on a large scale, attended with all the evils of pauperism. Those evils have been stated by a Committee of the House of Commons to be, in the case of the paupers, a want of exertion and self-dependence, recklessness of the future, improvidence, waste, profligacy, &c. &c.; and, as it respects the public, unceasing and insatiable demands for farther aid; instead of looking for help to their own industry and economy, and to a reformation in their plans of life, they throw themselves on the eleemosynary bounty of the public.—Those who read above what has been the state of West Indian interests, during the last fifty or sixty years, notwithstanding all the impolitic and costly boons accorded to them, will easily see how aptly, and in how many points the parallel applies. And perhaps, of all the misfortunes which have attended West India speculators, none have been more fatal to their prosperity, and more pregnant with evil, even in a pecuniary point of view, than the success which has attended their clamorous importunity for public aid. They have overlooked, like

the sturdy beggar,* the means of relief within their own power, in order to draw an easy, though unsatisfactory and precarious provision, from the weakness and credulity of others.

But for this, would it have been possible that the West Indies should have continued in that low and wretched state of improvement which they now exhibit;—that the miserable hoe, raised by the feeble hands of men and women, driven forward by the cart-whip, should still be their only instrument in turning up the soil, to the neglect of cattle and machinery;—that all modern improvements in husbandry should be almost unknown;—that one unvarying course of exhausting crops should be pursued without change or relief;—and that in a climate congenial to them the population should continue progressively and rapidly to decrease? These and many other points that might be mentioned are fatal anomalies, which can only be accounted for by the withering influence of Slavery, and of the factitious aid by which it is upheld in all its unmitigated malignity. How different would have been the state of things in our Colonies, had a different course been pursued! How different would soon be their state, and this is now a far more important consideration, if they were driven to depend on their own resources, and if they were released from the injurious effects of that pampering and protecting system which has hitherto kept them from all effective efforts of improvement!

If there be truth in history, or any certainty in political science, the downfall of the present system, and of the restrictive laws which maintain it, would prove beneficial to none more than to the Colonists themselves;—but upon that point we cannot now enter, and will only add, that it is vain to expect, that, while the West Indies maintain their monopoly, and are thus protected against the competition of free labour, a single effectual step will be taken in the career of reformation.

But it is not the distress of the West India planters, as arising from the impolitic system we have been pursuing, which is chiefly to be deplored, but the aggravated sufferings which it entails on the slave population. For it admits of demonstration that, independently of the other unnumbered evils of slavery, sugar planting, as conducted in the West Indies, is decidedly unfriendly to human life; and that its destructive influence is aggravated by the very circumstances which swell the gains of the planter, namely, the fertility of the soil, and the protection

* The resemblance, though sufficiently apposite in some points of view, fails in others. The mendicancy of the West Indians aims at more costly objects, and their ambition takes a higher flight than that of the inmates of Kent Street and St. Giles's. These are content with the means of occasional carousals, while the West Indians have their more costly banquets at the Albion.—But the latter aspire to still more expensive indulgencies. Their gay mansions and splendid equipages, their rich viands and their costly wines, by which many a favourable vote is gained to their interests, must be maintained. They must be enabled also to purchase seats in parliament for themselves, and thus to control the Government in the distribution of its favours, and the course of its policy. And to all these objects it is their design, at the present moment, to make the country, if they can, contribute still more largely. But this design, it is to be hoped that the good sense, not to say the moral feeling of the country, will completely frustrate.

afforded to his produce by bounties and protections. It is not merely 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. And this view of the subject supplies 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 competition.

And it further appears, 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 the quantity of produce they rear by the acre is proportionably the largest. The number of slaves sold in execution in Demerara and Trinidad, for example, where the soil is the richest and the planter's gains the greatest, is more than double, when compared with its population, what it is in the less fertile colonies. 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 designs of those, whose object it is to enrich themselves by the rigorous exaction of the uncompensated labour of their fellow-creatures?

III. THE WEST INDIA REPORTER'S VIEW OF THE EXPENDITURE OF SIERRA LEONE.

IN our 59th Number we adverted to an Article in No. XXVIII. of the West India Reporter, on Sierra Leone, in which the cost of that establishment was given. The cost of Sierra Leone, says the Editor, had been from 1807 to 1824, inclusive, as follows:—

Payments to the Company previous to the transfer of the settle- ment	.	.	.	.	.	.	£117,700
Army	.	.	.	.	.	.	781,781
Navy	.	.	.	.	.	.	70,702
Ordnance	.	.	.	.	.	.	188,176
Civil Establishment	.	.	.	.	.	.	218,419

Public Buildings . . . . .	.	.	.	.	.	289,121
Captured liberated Africans . . . . .	.	.	.	.	.	333,028
Other charges not included . . . . .	.	.	.	.	.	240,124
						£2,238,351
Same expense in 1825 . . . . .	.	.	.	.	.	179,813
Ditto 1826 . . . . .	.	.	.	.	.	162,367
Averaged	}	1827 . . . . .	.	.	.	150,000
		1828 . . . . .	.	.	.	150,000
		1829 . . . . .	.	.	.	150,000
						£3,060,531

This amount we are told was "taken from an unpublished official account, made up to the end of the year 1826."

We ventured to question the accuracy of this statement, and called for this alleged unpublished official document.

In a succeeding West India Reporter, No. XXX. vehement indignation is expressed at our incredulity, and reference is made with an air of triumph to a paper which, it is said, was laid before the Finance Committee of 1827, and bears the number 176; and then follows the usual portion of invective for having dared to express any doubt of its accuracy. Still, as the editors prudently abstained from producing the document itself, which by a bare inspection, might have settled the question, and they chose rather to show their skill in vituperatives; our doubt was not removed. It is now, however, completely obviated, for we have been able to obtain a copy of the document which the West India Reporter affected to quote, and we now lay it before our readers.

The paper bears this general title, "An account shewing the amount expended by Great Britain in consequence of the measures for the abolition of the slave trade to the latest period for which the account can be made up; also shewing the expenditure in each of the years 1825 and 1826, being the two last years for which the accounts are completed.

It then proceeds thus,

Heads of Expenditure.	Total Amount.	Amount expended in the years	
		1825.	1826.
	£.	£.	£.
Expense of the Colony of Sierra Leone, and other Settlements on the West Coast of Africa, viz.			
1. Payment to the Sierra Leone Company on, and previous to the transfer of the Settlement to Government	117,000	—	—
2. Expended on account of the Army	781,781	110,407	79,870
3. Navy	70,702	12,312	6,499
4. Ordnance	188,176	6,444	30,896
5. Civil Establishment	218,419	17,216	13,688
6. Public Buildings	289,121	10,027	6,766
7. Captured and liberated Africans	333,028	18,572	18,013
8. Other charges not included in the above items	240,124	4,835	6,635
Total Expense of Sierra Leone, &c.	£2,238,351	179,813	162,367

The first mistatement on the part of the West India Reporter which we shall notice, is his asserting, that the sum of £2,238,351 exhibits the expenditure only to the end of 1824; whereas, it is the amount "to the latest period for

which the account can be made up," and this was not 1824, but 1826. It is true that the expenditure in the years 1825 and 1826 is separately particularized—but it is obviously included in the total sums given in the first column. The paper specifies, indeed, the particulars of the expense of each of the two years 1825 and 1826, but then it had previously given the *whole* expense (including these two years) *to the latest period to which the account can be made up*; and which was not the end of 1824, but the end of 1826. Here, then, we have at once a deduction of £342,180 to be made from the amount as stated by the West India Reporter.

But a still more remarkable circumstance consists in the suppression of that part of the title of the account which expressly includes the expense, not only "of the colony of Sierra Leone," but of "other settlements on the West coast of Africa." Now the other settlements on the coast are those in the Gambia, on the Gold Coast, and at Fernandipo. What part of the military, naval and ordnance expenses; and of the cost of public buildings and fortifications, and of the other charges not included in these items, is applicable to these settlements we are not told, and it were vain to conjecture; but certainly a very large part of this largest item, (*viz.* £781,781 for the army) must have arisen from the war on the Gold Coast with which Sierra Leone had nothing whatever to do. The West India Reporter, however, places the whole to the debit of Sierra Leone.

But besides this, a great part of the heavy item of military expense, he must, or might have known, was actually incurred, not for Sierra Leone, or for any part of Africa, but for the West Indies. The recruiting depot, for example, had been maintained at Sierra Leone for many years, chiefly for the purpose of supplying the black regiments in the West Indies with recruits. And a further very heavy portion of the military expenditure was caused by the disbanding, and pensioning, and locating at Sierra Leone of those very black regiments which were raised at great cost for the service of the West Indies, but which the West Indians, urged by their fears, insisted on being removed from among them, white troops being substituted at the usual waste of blood and treasure to this country.

Again, the West India Reporter, in order to swell the annual average, confines the expenditure at Sierra Leone to the years from 1807 to 1824, whereas it extends from 1800 to 1826. The very first item in the account, and that a heavy one, (£117,000) is expressly said in "the unpublished official document" to be on, and *previous* to, the transfer of the colony to Government. Now that transfer took place on the 31st of December, 1807. But almost, the whole of this item of expense had been incurred in preceding years, namely, between the years 1800 and 1807, the sums expended prior to 1807, being equal to about nine tenths of the whole amount.

But besides the large deductions which are to be made from the total amount on the grounds we have now stated, there is one important item of £333,028 for captured and liberated Africans which there is no more reason for placing to the account of Sierra Leone as a colonial charge, than there would be for placing to the same account the expense of the Mission of Captain Sabine some years ago to that colony for the purpose of making certain astronomical observations, merely because he had fixed his instruments there. The expense of the liberated Africans is, to all intents and purposes, as much a national expense as that which attends the improvement of the nautical almanack, or the removal of convicts to New South Wales. Their transport and subsequent subsistence constitute no fair charge against New South Wales, merely because that place was chosen as the field for a great national experiment. The expense is wholly national.

One of the greatest mistatements, however, of the West India Reporter, consists in his average calculation of the expense of the colony during the years 1827, 1828, and 1829, and which he estimates (moderately he tells us) at £150,000 per annum.

By way of bringing the fidelity of this estimate to the test of documentary evidence, we will select the middle year of this series, 1828, the expense of which does not differ materially from that of the other two. Now, on examining the *published official* documents before Parliament on this subject, we find the expenditure of 1828 to be as follows:—

In a parliamentary paper printed in 1830, (No 139) we find at p. 57 that, excluding £5,000 remitted from Sierra Leone to the Gambia and Fernandipo, the whole of the military expenditure of that year, at Sierra Leone, amounted to

	£47,577 14 5
From which is to be deducted for pensions to black soldiers of disbanded West India regiments	£9308 4 0
For advances on account of liberated Africans, accounted for below	8631 2 6
	17939 6 6
Leaving a sum of	£29638 7 11
This sum consists of allowances and subsistence to officers and men, and various contingencies paid at Sierra Leone	6796 11 6
And pay of troops, staff appointments, commissaries, ordnance, naval and victualling expenses paid in England	22841 16 5
	29638 7 11
The civil establishment for that year is stated in the finance accounts (printed March 24, 1829, No. 161) to amount to	11624 11 8

Making together £41,262 19 7

This sum is all which can, with propriety, be charged to the colony, and more indeed than ought to be charged to it. But even if we add to this sum the expense of the liberated captives as stated in the same finance accounts, it will only make an amount of £53,144 14s. 8d. The particulars of the expense of the liberated captives are as follows:—

Paid by Colonel Denham from Jan. 1, to June 8, 1828	£4952 15 4
— by Col. Lumley from June 9, to July 31	2408 7 10
— by Mr. Smart from Aug. 1, to Nov. 10	3199 12 9
— by Major Ricketts from Nov. 10, to Dec. 31	1320 19 2

Making for the year 1828, (including the sum of £8631 2s. 6d. deducted above as advanced by the commissaries on this account)	11881 15 1
To which, if we add the total of military and civil expense, as above	£41262 19 7

∴ We shall have a grand total of £53,144 14 8

The only other sum we can discover to have been paid by the public is a sum of £6 7s. 6d. for public buildings, any further expense attending them, as well as the contingencies, being probably paid from the colonial revenues. Here then we have little more than a third of the West India Reporter's estimate; and even of this amount a very considerable part is manifestly and strictly national and not colonial.

Still we admit the sum to be too large, much larger than would be requisite if Government abstained from the improvident sacrifice of blood and treasure which is occasioned by the unnecessary employment of European troops; and if they also selected the chief part of their civil functionaries from the educated coloured and black classes.

There appears to us to be no excuse for employing European troops in such noxious climates as Africa and the West Indies, while native troops are to be had. We trust the West India mortality will still be fully disclosed to public view, as that of Africa has been. Sir William Young in his *Common-Place Book* (p. 217 to 245) gives us a glimpse of it. One table (p. 218) exhibits a mortality in our army there from deaths alone, independently of war, of 590 officers, and 17,173 men, between April 1796 and Feb. 1802; the whole force at the former period being 19,676, and at the latter 10,198.

As for the expense attending the liberated Africans, we believe that it could nowhere be so cheaply conducted as at Sierra Leone.

IV. DR. WALSH'S VIEW OF SLAVERY IN THE BRAZILS.

A Work, entitled *Notes on the Brazils*, by the Rev. Dr. Walsh, has just been published, containing a variety of most interesting matter on the subject of slavery. It shows the identity of that monstrous system wherever it is allowed to exist; whether in the Brazils, the West Indies, the United States, or the Mauritius.

1. *The Negro race enslaved and free.*

“Here is the *alfandega*, or custom-house: there for the first time, I saw the negro population under circumstances so striking to a stranger.

“The whole labour of bearing and moving burdens is performed by these people, and the state in which they appear is revolting to humanity. Here was a number of beings entirely naked, with the exception of a covering of dirty rags tied about their waists. Their skins, from constant exposure to the weather, had become hard, crusty, and seamed, resembling the coarse black covering of some beast, or like that of an elephant, a wrinkled hide scattered with scanty hairs. On contemplating their persons, you saw them with a physical organization resembling beings of a grade below the rank of man; long projecting heels, the gastronomic muscle wanting, and no calves to their legs; their mouths and chins protruded, their noses flat, their foreheads retiring, having exactly the head and legs of the baboon tribe. Some of these beings were yoked to drays, on which they dragged heavy burdens. Some were chained by the necks and legs, and moved with loads thus encumbered. Some followed each other in ranks, with heavy weights on their heads, chattering the most inarticulate and dismal cadence as they moved along. Some were munching young sugar canes, like beasts of burden eating green provender, and some were seen near the water, lying on the bare ground among filth and offal, coiled up like dogs, and seeming to expect or require no more comfort or accommodation, exhibiting a state and conformation so inhuman, that they not only seemed, but actually were, far below the inferior animals around them. Horses and mules were not employed in this way; they were used only for pleasure, and not for labour. They were seen in the same streets, pampered, spirited, and richly caparisoned, enjoying a state far superior to the negroes, and appearing to look down on the fettered and burdened wretches they were passing, as on beings of an inferior rank in the creation to themselves. Some of the negroes actually seemed to envy the caparisons of their fellow brutes, and eyed with jealousy their glittering harness. In imitation of this finery they were fond of thrums of many-coloured threads; and I saw one creature, who supported the squalid rag that wrapped his waist by a suspender of gaudy worsted, which he turned every moment to look at, on his naked shoulder. The greater number, however, were as unconscious of any covering for use or ornament, as a pig or an ass.

“The first impression of all this on my mind, was to shake the conviction I had always felt, of the wrong and hardship inflicted on our black fellow creatures, and that they were only in that state which God and nature had assigned them; that they were the lowest grade of human existence, and the link that connected it with the brute; and that the gradation was so insensible, and their natures so intermingled, that it was impossible to tell where one had terminated and the other commenced; and that it was not surprising that people who contemplated them every day, so formed, so employed, and so degraded, should forget their claims to that rank in the scale of beings in which modern philanthropists are so anxious to place them. I did not, at the moment, myself recollect, that the white man, made a slave on the coast of Africa, suffers not only a similar mental but physical deterioration from hardships and emaciation, and becomes in time the dull and deformed beast I now saw yoked to a burden.

“A few hours only were necessary to correct my first impressions of the negro population, by seeing them under a different aspect. We were attracted by the sound of military music, and found it proceeded from a regiment drawn up in one of the streets. Their colonel had just died, and they attended to form a procession to celebrate his obsequies. They were all of different shades of

black, but the majority were negroes. Their equipment was excellent; they wore dark jackets, white pantaloons, and black leather caps and belts, all which, with their arms, were in high order. Their band produced sweet and agreeable music, of the leader's own composition, and the men went through some evolutions with regularity and dexterity. They were only a militia regiment, yet were as well appointed and disciplined as one of our regiments of the line. Here then was the first step in that gradation by which the black population of this country ascend in the scale of humanity; the negro advances from the state below that of a beast of burden into a military rank, and he shows himself as capable of discipline and improvement as a human being of any other colour.

"Our attention was next attracted by negro men and women bearing about a variety of articles for sale; some in baskets, some on boards and cases carried on their heads. They belonged to a class of small shopkeepers, many of whom vend their wares at home, but the greater number send them about in this way, as in itinerant shops. A few of these people were still in a state of bondage, and brought a certain sum every evening to their owners, as the produce of their daily labour. But a large proportion, I was informed, were free, and exercised this little calling on their own account. They were all very neat and clean in their persons, and had a decorum and sense of respectability about them superior to whites of the same class and calling. All their articles were good in their kind, and neatly kept, and they sold them with simplicity and confidence, neither wishing to take advantage of others, nor suspecting that it would be taken of themselves. I bought some confectionary from one of the females, and I was struck with the modesty and propriety of her manner; she was a young mother, and had with her a neatly dressed child, of which she seemed very fond. I gave it a little comfit, and it turned up its dusky countenance to her and then to me, taking my sweatmeat, and at the same time kissing my hand. As yet unacquainted with the coin of the country, I had none that was current about me, and was leaving the articles; but the poor young woman pressed them on me with a ready confidence, repeating in broken Portuguese, *outo tempo*. I am sorry to say, the 'other time' never came, for I could not recognise her person afterwards to discharge her little debt, though I went to the same place for the purpose.

"It soon began to grow dark, and I was attracted by a number of persons bearing large lighted wax tapers, like torches, gathering before a house. As I passed by, one was put into my hand by a man who seemed in some authority, and I was requested to fall into a procession that was forming. It was the preparation for a funeral, and on such occasions, I learned that they always request the attendance of a passing stranger, and feel hurt, if they are refused. I joined the party, and proceeded with them to a neighbouring church. When we entered, we ranged ourselves on each side of a platform, which stood near the choir, on which was laid an open coffin covered with pink silk and gold borders. The funeral service was chanted by a choir of priests, one of whom was a negro, a large comely man, whose jet black visage formed a strong and striking contrast to his white vestments. He seemed to perform his part with a decorum and sense of solemnity, which I did not observe in his brethren. After scattering flowers on the coffin, and fuming it with incense, they retired, the procession dispersed, and we returned on board.

"I had been but a few hours on shore, for the first time, and I saw an African negro under four aspects of society; and it appeared to me, that in every one, his character depended on the state in which he was placed, and the estimation in which he was held. As a despised slave, he was far lower than other animals of burden that surrounded him; more miserable in his look, more revolting in his nakedness, more distorted in his person, and apparently more deficient in intellect than the horses and mules that passed him by. Advanced to the grade of a soldier, he was clean and neat in his person, amenable to discipline, expert at his exercises, and shewed the port and bearing of a white man similarly placed. As a citizen, he was remarkable for the respectability of his appearance, and the decorum of his manners in the rank assigned him; and, as a priest, standing in the house of God, appointed to instruct society on their most important interests, and in a grade in which moral and intellectual fitness

is required, and a certain degree of superiority is expected, he seemed even more devout in his impressions, and more correct in his manners, than his white associates. I came, therefore, to the irresistible conclusion in my mind, that colour was an accident affecting the surface of a man, and having no more to do with his qualities than his clothes—that God had equally created an African in the image of his person, and equally given him an immortal soul; and that a European had no pretext but his own cupidity, for impiously thrusting his fellow-man from that rank in the creation which the Almighty has assigned him, and degrading him below the lot of the brute beasts that perish.” (Vol. I. p. 134—141.)

2. Instance of savage Cruelty.

“This was a large dreary place, like a stable, kept by a woman, who lived there with five or six negroes. She was young and rather comely; but when I entered, evidently intoxicated. She had been, I learned, a person of indifferent character, at Rio; and had two illegitimate children. She rented this rancho, and took one of her negroes to her paramour and partner. Of all the women on record who have been no ornament to their sex, this, I believe, was one of the worst. After having emptied a bottle of caxas, to which, as I passed by her venda, I saw her head constantly applied, she issued forth with her face flushed, and a lash in her hand; the very personification of Tisiphoné. One of her slaves was a poor boy of twelve years old, and on this child she vented all her malignant passions. Every time she met him, she attacked him with her lash, cutting him across the face and body, till she left him bleeding and moaning; and this for no reason, but in the very wantonness of cruelty. Her house was like herself—most abominable. I could get no place to rest in, but a kind of stable among the negroes; and here, in the midst of filth, my supper was served up. It consisted of rancid pork sausages and feijao. When the boy, whom she had so cruelly treated, was laying it on the table, he trembled so, that he spilled a small portion of the sauce. She seized him by the throat, dashed him down, and trampled on him. I now interfered for the poor child, and took him up to protect him. There lay on the board a pointed faca, one of the deadly weapons used for stabbing. She caught it up, and striking the end of it on the table, rushed forward with an intent to wound either me or the child, when I wrenched it from her hand. Knowing *quid furens fœmina posset*, and that she had several sturdy negroes at her command, I thought it right to be on my guard, and kept the little fellow by me on a mat; he moaned most piteously all night, crying out for mercy every moment in his sleep.

“I was glad to leave this fury at the dawn of day, but sorry to leave the poor child behind me, who, I have no doubt, will fall a victim to her intoxicated rage. If there was no other argument against a state of slavery, the incentive it applies to the indulgence of our evil passions, would be sufficient to condemn it. If this wretched woman had not this poor victim to exercise her bad temper on with impunity on all occasions, she would learn to keep it under some control.” (Vol. II. p. 274—276.)

3. Slave Market.

“A scene now presented itself highly repugnant to European feelings, particularly those who witness it for the first time. We had overtaken on the road several troops of slaves, bought at Rio, and driven like sheep into the country to be sold at the different villages. A market was here opened, just before the inn-door, and about thirty men, women, and children, were brought there. The driver was the very model of what I had conceived such a fellow to be. He was a tall, cadaverous, tawny man, with a shock of black hair hanging about his sharp, but determined-looking visage. He was dressed in a blue jacket and pantaloons, with buff boots hanging loose about his legs, ornamented with large silver spurs. On his head he wore a capacious straw hat, bound with a broad ribbon, and in his hand was a long whip, with two thongs; he shook this over

his drove, and they all arranged themselves for examination, some of them, particularly the children, trembling like aspen leaves. He then went round the village, for purchasers, and when they arrived, the market was opened. The slaves, both men and women, were walked about, and put into different paces, then handled and felt exactly as I have seen butchers feel a calf. He occasionally lashed them, and made them jump to shew that their limbs were supple, and caused them to shriek and cry, that the purchasers might perceive their lungs were sound.

“Among the company at the market, was a Brazilian lady, who exhibited a regular model of her class in the country. She had on a round felt hat, like an Englishman’s, and under it a turban, which covered her head as a nightcap. Though it was a burning day, she was wrapped up in a large scarlet woollen cloak, which, however, she drew up so high as to shew us her embroidered shoes and silk stockings; she was attended by a black slave, who held an umbrella over her head, and she walked for a considerable time deliberately through the slaves, looking as if she was proudly contrasting her own importance with their misery.

“On turning away from a spectacle, where every thing, though so novel, was so revolting, we were accosted by a man with a gaudy flowered silk waistcoat, who spoke a little English, and said he was a German doctor, settled in the Aldéa. He informed us, that the people in the neighbouring valley treated the slaves with the greatest inhumanity. They allowed them but a scanty portion of farinha or feijao, and never any animal food; yet on this they compelled them to work fourteen hours a day, exposing them to the alternations of heat, cold, and wet, without the smallest regard to health, comfort, or life. The consequence was that the deaths exceeded the births in such a proportion, that if it was not for the constant supply sent down in this way, the negroes of the district would soon become an extinct race. He himself possessed two slaves, which he kept alive and healthy by a different treatment, which he recommended in vain to his neighbours to adopt, even for their own sakes, if not for that of humanity.” (Vol. II. p. 51—53.)

4. *Cruel and unjust treatment of the aboriginal Indians.*

“A decree for the purpose was issued so late as the year 1808, by Dom John, and it was one of the measures which he thought best calculated to reclaim the aborigines, who had just before committed some ravages. He directed that the Indians who were conquered, should be distributed among the fazendeiros and agriculturists, who should support, clothe, and civilize, and instruct them in the principles of our holy religion, but should be allowed to *use the services of the same Indians for a certain number of years*, in compensation for the expense of their instruction and management. This unfortunate permission at once destroyed all intercourse between the natives and the Brazilians. The Indians were everywhere hunted down for the sake of their salvation; wars were excited among the tribes, for the laudable purpose of bringing in each other captives, to be converted to Christianity; the most sacred objects were prostituted to the base cupidity of man, by even this humane and limited permission, of reducing his fellow-creatures to slavery. In the distant provinces, particularly on the banks of the Maranhão, it is still practised, and white men set out for the woods to seek their fortunes; that is, to hunt Indians, and return with slaves. The consequence was, that all who could escape, retired to the remotest forests; and there is not one to be now found in a state of nature, in all this wooded region.” (Vol. II. p. 70, 71.)

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.

ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER.

No. 62.]

FOR JULY, 1830.

[No. 14. Vol. iii.

I. ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER'S PICTURE OF SLAVERY IN THE MAURITIUS, VINDICATED.

II. JAMAICA WATCHMAN.

III. SOUTHAMPTON ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

I. PICTURE OF MAURITIUS SLAVERY VINDICATED.

SOME friends of Mr. Telfair, of the Mauritius, have widely circulated an extract from a statement of his, printed at Port Louis, purporting to be a refutation of the charges of the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 44, against that colony, and the whole of which statement they announce as about to be republished in this country. The only passage in the Reporter which they have now put forward as calumnious, is the following:

“ 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?” P. 377.

The circumstances which chiefly gave occasion to these severe remarks, were thus stated in the preceding pages of the same Reporter:

“ 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 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.” P. 375 and 376.

Now, in these returns alone, assuming them to be correct, there was enough to warrant the line of remark adopted in describing the waste of life in one whole district of the Mauritius. If, on the other hand, the returns are incorrect, then the functionaries of that island, who furnished them, must bear the blame. But even if we should reduce this frightful estimate by a third or a half, there would still remain, as was observed at the time, (p. 376,) enough to justify the strongest language then employed. The observations proceeded on the assumed accuracy of official returns, some of them prepared during the pendency of a controversy which would naturally make the persons furnishing them, and some of whom were also parties in that controversy, careful not needlessly to supply weapons against themselves. We never can suppose, if, under these circumstances, they either mistated or omitted facts, that they would do so to their own wrong.

But then it may be asked, why the above passage should have selected Bel Ombre from the mass of plantations, and introduced its name in so invidious a connection. The reason was this; that while all the other plantations in the island were lumped together, separate and specific returns of the particulars of the increase and decrease of its slaves were required and received from that estate alone.

An order was issued by the House of Commons on the 14th of April, 1826, calling for a return from the collector's and register's rolls of the number of slaves on Bel Ombre, and of the number born, dying, purchased, or sold, with various other particulars, *in each year*, from 1814, to the latest period. This return was extremely defective, and fell far short of complying with the order of the House: but still, having been made with the privity and consent of the owner of the estate, who had moreover been called upon to furnish all the explanations he might deem requisite, it might fairly be presumed to give as favourable a view of his case as could be exhibited, It was not to be believed, that

a person so conversant with business as Mr. Telfair was known to be, and living in the colony, could not have furnished all the information that was required; for even, if through his neglect, the records of the collector or of the registrar were unable to supply it, yet his own plantation books might have been referred to as containing every particular that was demanded. A transcript from them must have afforded a clear account from year to year, almost from day to day, of the total number of his slaves, and of the births, deaths, sales, and purchases occurring from time to time, during his occupancy of the estate.—If such books were kept, then it was in Mr. Telfair's power to comply with the order of the House, and in doing so, if all was regular, to satisfy the doubts which had produced the order. But instead of adopting this plain and obvious course, matters are still left in the darkness and doubt in which the irregularity of his own returns to the collector and registrar had involved them. But if it be alleged there were no such plantation books from which correct information could be drawn, then we should say that no allegation could be less creditable to the proprietor of Bel Ombre than this. It would seem at once to be a refutation of his own assertions, and those of his friends, in favour of the humane and judicious management of that plantation. It would imply an entire neglect of the very first elements of improvement on a plantation worked by slaves, if the person in charge of it had not placed himself in a capacity of knowing from year to year, and even from day to day, the state and progress of its population, and of thus giving to others a clear account of both. And even supposing that Mr. Telfair had no view to the improvement of the condition of his slaves, but merely to a profitable investment of capital, we see not how he could possibly have omitted to cause such plantation records, as have been alluded to, to be kept by his managers. Why then, when the owner of Bel Ombre learnt that an order of the House of Commons required a return of the number of slaves on that estate, and of their births, deaths, &c., *for each year* during his possession; and when he also knew, (for he was referred to on the occasion,)* that neither the collector's rolls, nor the registry, could afford the information required, and that the only returns to be obtained from them were vague, incomplete, and unsatisfactory; why did he not offer to supply the deficiency? Was it not in his power at once to have cleared up all doubts on the subject; and was it not, therefore, obviously his duty, and also his interest, if his own records were in accordance with his present allegations, to have brought them forward? The task therefore of shewing why it was not done rests entirely on him. He alone can clear up the mystery which hangs on the subject.

Among the returns actually produced, none were found that furnished any intelligent data from which to reason, excepting for two of the twelve years for which they were required, namely 1819 and 1825.

The remarks made at the time, by the Reporter, on these returns, and which seem to be fair and reasonable deductions from them, were as follows:

“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

* See Parliamentary papers of 1827, No. 285, p. 41.

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 visitor 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.," p. 376.

Mr. Telfair now alleges that this view of the subject was erroneous; as the returns which the Reporter assumed to be annual, and on which it reasoned as such, were, in fact, not annual, but triennial, and that therefore the mortality of $13\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., for example, was the mortality, not of one year, but of three, being at the rate, therefore, not of $13\frac{1}{2}$, but of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum. We shall recur to this point hereafter. In the mean time we will assume, what we are not at all inclined to believe, that he is right, and that we have laboured under a mistake in regarding the return of births and deaths as annual, and not triennial. And what in reality does he gain by this concession? The object was to prove the destructive nature of the slavery prevailing in Mauritius; and though it cannot be denied that $13\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. is a more appalling ratio of decrease than $4\frac{1}{2}$; yet is not the latter a sufficiently cogent proof of the deathful tendency of that system, especially when found recurring, year after year, on a plantation which by Sir Robert Farquhar, and other friends of Mr. Telfair, was represented as a model of humane management, and of wise and beneficent attention to the comfort and well-being of the slaves? We may judge from this fact of the standard of humanity among the slave-holders of Mauritius. The steady progression of mortality at such a rate, in a climate congenial to the slave, sufficiently establishes the malignity and destructiveness of the system. It cannot consist with moderate labour and an abundance of food. It can only be satisfactorily accounted for by severity of treatment;—by the excessive exaction of the slave's coerced labour, or by the scantiness and inadequacy of his nourishment.

This will be illustrated by comparing the decrease among the slaves of Bel Ombre, even at the assumed lower rate of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., with the ascertained progress of population among the free black and coloured classes in the Mauritius. On referring to the parliamentary papers for 1823, No. 89, p. 127, we find the following census of these classes for the years 1817, 1818, and 1819.

	Population.	Births.	Deaths.	Increase.
1817 . .	10,209	504	262	242
1818 . .	10,549	536	336	200
1819 . .	11,552	576	337	239

This return, it will be perceived, gives a regular increase of upwards of two per cent. per annum, in the very years when the slaves of Bel

Ombre, even on Mr. Telfair's own admission, were decreasing at the rate of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., and in the district of Port Louis generally at a much higher rate.

It has been argued, however, that the decrease of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. is to be explained, first by the fact of an epidemic, and next by the disparity of the sexes. Let us consider these separately.

With respect to the epidemic, it is obvious that its influence would apply equally to the free negroes as to the slave negroes, except in so far as the slave system, notwithstanding its alleged humanity and its boasted hospitals, is of itself unfriendly to health and life. This inherent unfriendliness, however, is the very point contended for, and which, by the comparison just instituted, is irrefragably proved.

As to the disparity of the sexes, we have to remark, that when Mr. Telfair first purchased Bel Ombre, in 1816, the sexes appear to have been nearly equal, the males amounting to 133, and the females to 120, making a difference of only about one-tenth. Now, giving full credit to Mr. Telfair for those humane, enlightened, and philanthropic sentiments which he professes, and which his friends attribute to him, it might have been expected that he would have been anxious to diminish, and most certainly not to aggravate, this slight disparity. But what is the fact? We have in the very next line an enumeration of his slaves in 1819, (p. 5,) including those transferred to him in 1816, and those whom he had subsequently added by purchase or otherwise, and it makes the males 250, and the females 176. Another enumeration, bearing the same date, at p. 34, makes the males 291, and the females 199; raising the original disparity of one-tenth to about a third; that is to say, more than threefold what it was when the estate came into Mr. Telfair's hands.

Now these additions must have been the voluntary and deliberate act of Mr. Telfair; and yet, if we had judged by Mr. Telfair's own professions, and by the testimonies of his friends in proof of his studious and wakeful attention, not only to the physical comforts, but to the moral improvement of his slaves; the very last thing we should have expected, or even thought possible, would have been, that in the course of one, two, or three years, he should voluntarily have so increased the disparity of the sexes on his estate, that there should only be about two women for every three men upon it. Such a proceeding *voluntarily* adopted appears to be altogether incompatible with any rational and settled purpose of promoting the real comfort and well-being of the slaves; nor can any strength of assertion, or any multiplicity of testimonies to character, rebut the plain inference deducible from such a fact. For whatever effect this enormously increased disparity may have had in swelling the mortality, or in aggravating the moral evils prevailing in Bel Ombre, it was his own proper and spontaneous act, done in the certain and inevitable prospect of the numerous evils, both physical and moral, which he must have known could not fail to flow from it.

During a part at least of the years 1818 and 1819, there were on Bel Ombre, (see papers of 1827, No. 285, p. 34,) 199 females; and the births in that year are stated to be 12. Now it was this circumstance, among others, which led to the conclusion that the return of

births and deaths there given was for a single year, and not, as Mr. Telfair now affirms, for three years. We could not have supposed it possible, for one moment, that the births among so many females had only been 12 in three years, or only four annually; and yet such must be the fact, if the affirmation of Mr. Telfair be correct, that the return of births and deaths was a triennial and not an annual return. If it were so, then must there of necessity be something radically vicious in a system which among so many females limited the births to only four in one year. Nor can we conceive it possible that this should have been the fact, without such undue severity in the exaction of labour, or such a deficiency in the supply of food, as tended to check and almost to destroy the natural fecundity of the human race.

But another circumstance, which led to the conclusion that the return for 1819 was an annual, and not a triennial return, was this, that at the close of a nominal list of the slaves on Bel Ombre, dated the 25th February, 1819, and signed by Mr. Blancard, the co-partner and manager of the estate, the last twelve names in the list are said to be *new born*, (paper of 1827, No. 285, p. 25,) that is, we presume, born within the preceding year; a number which exactly agrees with the number of births given in the same paper, p. 34, for 1819, namely, 12.—And if we had thus fair grounds for concluding that the births were the births of *one* year, and not of three years, we were necessarily led to the conclusion that the deaths embraced the same period, and that the return of births and deaths was therefore an annual and not a triennial return. Mr. Telfair, however, now affirms the contrary; but whether he be right or wrong on this point, is in truth of no real importance; for to prove the monstrously unnatural state of things which is produced by slavery in the Mauritius, it seems quite sufficient to take the fact on Mr. Telfair's shewing, that in three years only 12 children were born in Bel Ombre, being four annually. To establish this more clearly, we will recur to the paper of 1823, No. 89, p. 127. The number of free black and coloured females in the island in 1819, was 6,349. The number of their births in that year is stated to have been 576, being one birth for each eleven females; whereas on Bel Ombre the births were one for every 44 females, if we take their number to be 176, as it stands at p. 5 of the papers of 1827, No. 285; or one for every 50 females, if we take their number at 199, as it stands at p. 34 of the same paper.

And here we are reminded of another circumstance, which of itself would be sufficient to confirm us in the opinion that we were right as to the precise periods for which these returns are given, and that is, their irregular, confused, and even contradictory tenor. The order of the House of Commons was clear and precise. It called for the number of slaves on Bel Ombre *in each year*, from 1814 to the latest period to which the account could be made up; and, also, for "the number of slaves born, dying, purchased, or sold" *in each year*, as these stood both in the registry, and in the collector's rolls.

The returns to this order, as they appear in the papers of 1827, No. 285, are as follows:

From the registry;—in 1815, 253 slaves; in 1819, 426; and in 1825, 387; (p. 4 & 5.)—Again, (p. 34.) in 1819, 490 slaves. No specification is given for any other years. Both these returns, though differing so

much from each other, are signed by the same individual, E. A. Draper, Acting Register, and bear the same date 31 Aug. 1826.

From the collector's rolls we have a different statement, viz. in 1814, 220 slaves; in 1819, 378 slaves; in 1820, and 1821, 426 slaves; in 1822, 419 slaves; in 1823, 360 slaves; in 1824, 388 slaves; in 1825, 372 slaves; and in 1826, 173 slaves (p. 35—40).

Besides this, we have a list containing the names of all the slaves "*existing*" on Bel Ombre, signed by Mr. Blancard, and dated 25 Feb. 1819, and making the whole number 490, of which 64 are marked as dead, thus reducing the number to 426 (p. 6—25). We have also a list of slaves "*existing*" on Bel Ombre, dated 25 Jan. 1822, and signed by Charles Telfair, containing only 197 names, but closing with a certificate, that the number on the estate, at that time, was 425 (p. 46—53). We have, moreover, a third list of the same kind, dated 27 Feb. 1825, and signed for Mr. Telfair, by William Foster, containing 196 names, and certifying the whole number to be 318 (p. 26—33). Some curious inferences from a comparison of the numbers and names in these lists we must for the present omit.

Surely this uncertainty and confusion might have been obviated; and means might have been taken, by a reference to the plantation books, to explain these otherwise inexplicable discrepancies. Mr. Telfair doubtless could have given a satisfactory solution of them. He must have been aware that such a solution was essential to the purpose for which the returns had been called for; and yet it was not given. Who then is to blame for any suspicions which, under all the circumstances of the case, were naturally caused by so much obscurity, but the individual in whose power it was to have made the whole matter clear?

But this is not all. As a public functionary, and the secretary of the governor, he must have been aware that the measure of registration was one which the Government and the Parliament had it at heart to enforce, as the only effectual means of detecting, and thus preventing the illicit importation of slaves. Mr. Telfair himself now admits that a system of strict and vigilant registration is an effectual bar to slave trading; and he pleads the recent institution of such a registry (at the close of 1826) as a proof that no slave trade can now exist. But, if so, how are we to account for it, that during the twelve years which had elapsed previous to 1827, and during which a registry was as much a part of the law as it now is, that registry should have been permitted to fall into complete neglect and consequent confusion, without having excited the jealousy and vigilance, or the remonstrances of the local Government of which he formed a part? And how did it happen that he himself, bound by all his obligations as a servant of the crown, to see that that law was enforced, should not only have neglected to do so, or to take, or even to propose any effectual measures to that end; but that he himself should have been amongst the defaulters? And could it be otherwise than that his influential example should have given encouragement to similar defaults in others? They would naturally feel secure in the violation of an enactment, however vitally important it might be represented by His Majesty's Secretary of State to be, which was sanctioned by the example of one who was the confidential friend and adviser of the governor, and whose conduct,

under all the circumstances of the case, could not fail to produce the impression that it might be set at nought with impunity. But we will not pursue this subject farther at present, although much remains to be said upon it. Our readers will feel that a single successful slave-voyage, encouraged even by the neglect or omission in a public functionary of the only effectual means of preventing it, involved more horrors than have ever been alleged to flow from slavery on any one plantation in the island.

Having thus considered the inferences fairly deducible from those returns which profess to exhibit the state and progress of population in the Mauritius generally, as well as on a particular plantation; inferences which cannot be shaken by any multiplication of individual affirmations to the contrary;—we would say one word in justification of the sketch that was given of the *general* state of slavery in the Mauritius, in the Reporters Nos. 42 and 44.

1st. As to the want of education and religious instruction.

Even one of Mr. Telfair's own compurgators, Mr. R. M. Thomas, the protector of slaves, in a letter of 19 June 1829, lets us into this secret, that, down to that time, now only twelve months ago, on no estate but Bel Ombre had any, even the slightest, attempt been made to instruct the slaves. The words of this witness are—"Mr. Telfair is the *only* individual in the colony, lay or clerical, who *permits* elementary instruction to be imparted to his slaves." Did the Reporter then affirm untruly, that "the slaves of the Mauritius were generally excluded from all moral or religious instruction?" P. 380.

2. As to the general condition of the slaves.

The LAW of the island, previous to 1827, made no distinction whatever in the punishments inflicted on men and women, adults or children. The following are a few of its provisions—Slaves can possess nothing, 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.—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.—A fugitive slave (Maron) absent *a month*, after being denounced, shall have his ears cut off, and be branded with a fleur de lis; if absent, a second time, for the same space, his ham-strings shall be cut, and he shall again be branded; if a third time, he shall suffer death.—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.—(Papers of 1828, No. 526, p. 5—19.)

The mitigations of this terrible code are—that masters are ordered to furnish to each slave the scanty allowance of two pounds of Indian corn, or an equivalent in other food, every day, together with the yearly clothing necessary—and "are forbidden to inflict more than thirty lashes" at a time--and are also "forbidden to make their slaves work on Sunday."—"Slaves not fed and clothed, or barbarously and inhu-

manly treated, may complain to the solicitor general, by whom the masters shall be prosecuted." (ibid.)

Such is the *law*,---now for the *practice*. In the beginning of 1827, Sir Lowry Cole deemed it necessary to republish from the slave code of the island, framed in 1723, and renewed in 1767, the clauses which refer to the four mitigating provisions we have mentioned, namely, those respecting Sunday labour; food and clothing; the limitation of punishments; and the Solicitor-General's power of prosecution in certain cases. This republication he accompanied by a circular letter, addressed to the Magistrates throughout the island, in which he states, that notwithstanding these laws "which forbid masters on pain of arbitrary punishment and confiscation to make their slaves work on Sundays," the Governor had learned that, "on many estates the slaves work on Sundays as on other week days." This conduct, he adds, "so repugnant to humanity, can no longer be tolerated;" and he "is resolved to put an end to so crying an abuse." He admits, indeed, that "the planters may find it necessary to work their sugar-houses at night;" and he does "not pretend to oppose it;" but, in that case, he gives it as his opinion, that the slaves "ought to have the following day to rest themselves;" and when circumstances oblige the planters to deprive their slaves of Sundays, he hopes "they will feel the justice of indemnifying them." He recommends also, that they should not be required to work until half an hour before sun-rise and after sun-set. What must their hours have been before to make such a limitation as this seem to Sir L. Cole a merciful indulgence? (ibid. p. 30.)

He then adverts to the food, clothing, and correction, which masters are allowed to deal out to their slaves, and says, that "there exist in this respect abuses which it is the duty of the magistrates to remove by denouncing them to the Solicitor-General." And if this warning should be neglected, he tells them, that he "will find himself compelled much against his will to recur to measures of rigour which will be repugnant to his feelings, but which will be called for by the dictates of humanity, by the laws, and by the colonial interests." He adverts also in strong terms, to the excess of punishment inflicted by some masters beyond the thirty lashes allowed by law. (ibid. p. 30—32.)

Upon all these points we have the opinions and recommendations, the wishes and the hopes of Sir Lowry Cole, but no effective enactments. He issued, however, about the same time, an ordinance to regulate the weight of the chains and fetters which masters were authorized, by the existing laws, to fasten on their slaves, at their own discretion. The weight in future, he ordained to be; for two men chained together, nine pounds;—for one man six pounds;—for two women five pounds;—for one woman, or for a child three pounds. These weights, however, might be augmented without limit by the magistrate. Women and children, though they might be chained, were not at the same time to be fettered; but men might be both chained and fettered by a magistrate's order. Collars, with their branches, were now for the first time forbidden by this ordinance. (ibid. p. 27.)

This barbarous law, though it doubtless appeared to Sir L. Cole to be a merciful relaxation of the preceding law, which fixed no limit to the

weight of chains and fetters, and allowed of the three-pronged collars, formerly described by us, (No. 44, p. 379); and though regarded in the Mauritius (such was the state of public feeling there,) as an undue interference with the authority of the master, is thus spoken of by Sir George Murray, in a letter of the 8th May, 1829, addressed to the Governor of the Mauritius. (See papers of 1829, No. 333). "It is not without much surprise and concern," says the benevolent Secretary, "that his Majesty's Government have observed the provisions of this ordinance. The use of chains, as an ordinary instrument of domestic punishment in a tropical climate, must be deprecated on every principle of humanity and sound policy." "This enactment not merely tolerates them, but subjects even women and children of the most tender years to the same description of punishments. It even permits the use of what are termed branches, attached to the collars, borne on the necks of the sufferer. It assigns no limit to the duration of this species of punishment, and, when sanctioned by the magistrate, no limit to the weight of the chain. Unfortunately, it cannot be suggested, that these instruments which owners are permitted to employ, are formidable only in name. Specimens of the various chains and collars, with or without spokes, which are used at Mauritius in the punishment of slaves," have been transmitted to this department; "and they appear to be nothing less than instruments of torture."—Again, he observes, that it had been stated to him, that in the very streets of Port Louis, "the slaves employed as scavengers were yoked together in carts, and exhibited a most offensive and humiliating spectacle." (Papers of 1829, No. 333.)

3. As to the *flogging and chaining of females.*

An attempt has been made to throw doubt on the existence of this practice. And yet does the language of the preceding statements permit any doubt to rest upon that point? If it did, it would be obviated by the following passage, in the circular of Sir Lowry Cole, already alluded to. "I think it," he says, "necessary to dwell upon the various punishments inflicted upon negro women. *Up to this moment there has not existed any difference in the corrections ordered by the masters, in respect to them, and those in use with regard to the men.* Rest assured, that his Majesty's Government will suppress the punishment of flogging for negro women," And lest we should be left to suppose that Sir Lowry Cole was some fanatical Anti-Slavery partizan, he goes on to use the following words. "It must, in fact, be admitted, that the weakness of their sex, and public decency, *would seem to require that negro women should undergo the lash only in extraordinary cases, and with the concurrence of the local authority.* Do not irons, the stocks, imprisonment," (is this intended as irony?) "offer sufficient means of punishing negro women, whose condition, besides being almost always precarious, requires great care?" Here we have the proof that the testimony of Sir Lowry Cole did not arise from any squeamishness he may have felt on the subject of slavery itself: and that he acted from no bias towards the views of the Anti-Slavery party. Indeed, Sir Lowry Cole, in a subsequent despatch, relents a little from the severity of his circular, and pleads, with the Secretary of State, to indulge the good people of the Mauritius with a prolongation

of this amiable practice.—“I admit,” he says, “that the abolishing of corporal punishment in the case of female slaves is highly *desirable*,” yet, “I conceive, that bad consequences might result from its *immediate* prohibition.” Can any one read these words of this public functionary without suspecting the horrid extent to which this practice must have been carried, and admitting the hardening effect of familiarity with this and the other incidents of slavery? (Papers of 1828, No. 526, p. 32.)

Now let any man compare these authentic and official statements of Sir George Murray and Sir Lowry Cole with the view given of the general treatment of slaves in the Reporter (No. 44, pp. 377—380,) and say wherein that work has been guilty of exaggeration. Wherever it has touched on the same topics, it is completely borne out by these high authorities; and it may, therefore, have credit for having at least aimed at accuracy in every other part of its delineation. We believe it to be correct, and should not be shaken from that belief, though every slaveholder in the Mauritius were to unite with every guest who may have shared his hospitalities, in saying, or even swearing to the contrary. And, even if Sir George Murray and Sir Lowry Cole had not verified the Reporter’s most revolting statements, the state of the law, previous to the recent Order in Council, would be quite conclusive as marking the utter wretchedness and degradation of the slave.

But although the accuracy of the picture drawn in the Reporter of the general treatment of the slaves has thus been proved; yet it may be said that the particular details of cruelty that were there given as occurring on Bel Ombre were false and calumnious. Was it then a calumny to say, with respect to a Mauritius plantation, that slaves, both men and women, were there both flogged and chained? or was Bel Ombre the only estate in the island that was exempted from such inflictions? The facts stated to have occurred there, Mr. Telfair has chosen to consider as a personal charge, imputing to him the perpetration of cruel acts. It does not follow, however, that because they occurred on Bel Ombre, they were either authorized by him, or even known to him, though in such a case even ignorance is culpable. It may be unfortunate for a man to be connected with an estate of which such things have been said; but while a manager possesses, as he does in the Mauritius, so unlimited a power of arbitrary punishment, Mr. Telfair is implicated in any particular act of severity occurring at Bel Ombre in his absence, only as the Earl of Romney was implicated in the act of Mr. Cardin, his manager in St. Kitts, who confined his Lordship’s old female mulatto slave, Betto Douglas, in the stocks of his Lordship’s estate, for six whole months, because she had failed to pay her monthly hire. (See Reporters, No. 25, and No. 28.)---It is not imputed to Mr. Telfair that he either inflicted the particular punishments which are stated to have taken place there, or that he even knew of them. The sound of the whip could not have reached him at Port Louis, where his official duties lay. Indeed his inability to furnish a correct view of that branch of plantation economy, the state and progress of the slave population on his estate, does not indicate any very regular habits of inspection and scrutiny into the circumstances of the slaves.---Besides, let us consider the state of the *law* in the Mauritius. It empowered his manager to inflict the lash, and chains, and

fetters, on all slaves, and to inflict besides on fugitive slaves (*Marons*) the punishment of branding, of hamstringing, and even of death. Merely to flog them therefore, and even to flog them severely, might seem rather a lenient and merciful remission, according to the standard of retributive justice for slaves in the Mauritius;—and that the sex of the fugitives would be no protection from such flogging, and chaining, and fettering we have already seen. That such things too may be done, and have been done with impunity, in *all* our slave colonies there is abundant evidence. In the Mauritius, especially, the proof of the frequent occurrence of such transactions is established not only by the official statements quoted above of Sir Lowry Cole and Sir George Murray, but by the various abortive complaints of slaves, referred to in No. 44, p. 383—390; and may further be proved by abundant oral testimony ready to be produced, if such testimony were necessary to prove that severe floggings and chainings, both of men and women, were common, on plantations throughout the Mauritius, not excepting Bel Ombre.

Mr. Telfair and his friends have assumed that these statements must be false, because, as they allege, they rest solely on the evidence of two men, Higginson and Kendrick, whose evidence on some other occasion, as they say, has been proved to be unworthy of credit. It is an entire mistake, however, to suppose that the Reporter is compromised by this circumstance; or that it has relied on the testimony of either of these individuals. The witnesses of the facts are entirely different persons whose veracity we have not yet heard questioned, and who, whenever an inquiry takes place, will answer for themselves. In the mean time we repeat, that the particular acts of atrocity in question were related with no intention of inculcating any individual, but merely to illustrate the general system, and to shew that so inveterate an evil is negro slavery, that even on an estate, described by Sir R. Farquhar as well regulated, and the owner of which held a respectable situation in colonial society, and had credit there both for humanity and for more than usual liberality, horrors may occur in the administration of the system, which make the blood of all, unused to such scenes, to run cold. This we are ready in the face of the asseverations of all the slave holders in the world, and of all their occasional guests, and boon companions, to affirm and maintain, aye, and to prove to be the uniform, necessary, and inevitable effect of that wicked system called negro slavery, wherever it is suffered to exist.

Can we have forgotten, that from 1787 to 1807, we had hosts of generals and admirals, and captains, and public functionaries of all grades, and planters, and merchants, testifying far more strongly in favour of the loveliness even of the slave trade as well as of West India slavery, than they now do in favour of the slavery of the Mauritius; their testimony being backed also by the governors, and councils, and assemblies of slave colonies. And yet these accumulated masses of pretended evidence were then felt by the abolitionists, and are now acknowledged by the world at large, to have been utterly false;—the mere effusion either of ignorance, or prejudice, or pride, or cupidity, or the rancour of party spirit, or the mere effect of familiarity with the horrors which were denied or extenuated. Can we have forgotten the scenes of Do-

minica, Nevis, and the Bahamas, and the testimonies borne to the high respectability and humanity of a Huggins or a Moss? Can we have forgotten the mock conspiracies of Jamaica in 1824, with all their horrid and sanguinary results; or the palpable and multiplied perjuries which drove Lecesne and Escoffery into exile, and nearly succeeded in crushing them; or the audacious but flimsy fabrications by which, only two years since, an attempt was made to justify the persecuting laws of the Assembly against sectarian missionaries, but which their agents in this country have not dared to publish? Or can we have forgotten the court martial which tried and condemned the missionary Smith? But, above all, can we have already forgotten the fact of the united testimony of the whole white population of the Mauritius, with their deluded governors at their head, affirming the non-existence of that slave trade, the proof of the extensive prevalence of which, for many years, is now so unquestionable as to be fully and publicly admitted by his Majesty's government.

But on this point we have a recent and most instructive and most apposite elucidation in the Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry, sent to the Mauritius, in 1827, which has lately been published, (Papers of 1829, No. 292.) Referring to that most striking document, we will content ourselves now with transcribing the substance of some remarks which were made upon it on its first appearance, in the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 51, p. 39—41.

“We have often been thought to deal unfairly by the owners of Slaves in our colonies, when we have refused to admit their testimony in favour of their own system, (although such testimony amounts to no more at best than the substitution of the plea of Not Guilty in the place of legal evidence;) or when we have ventured, as in our last number (p. 26,) and on many former occasions, to warn our readers against the effects of that sympathy of interest and that fellow feeling among them which tend to produce a general and firm combination of all the members of the dominant class, not only in defending, *per fas aut nefas*, the worst abuses of their system, but in oppressing and persecuting every individual of their body who may dare to assist in exposing its incurable wickedness. But have we really merited the charge of unfairness on this account? We think not. In addition to the innumerable proofs which have been exhibited of such combinations from the year 1787 to the present day, we have it now in our power to corroborate what have been deemed our harsh and groundless imputations, by the testimony of his Majesty's Commissioners, whose report is now before us. ‘Although the investigation of such a subject as the Slave trade,’ these gentlemen observe, ‘would at any time have been unpopular with the inhabitants (of the Mauritius,) it was apparent to us on our arrival that circumstances had caused a strong repugnance to prevail against it.’ ‘As it might be supposed that many individuals were deeply interested in evading the retrospect into their former proceedings, they would take advantage of their influence and of the situation of the community, to awaken a general apprehension of the consequences of such an investigation as that with which we were charged, and of the risk attending any admission of the extent to which the Slave trade had

been carried on and encouraged.' And it has even appeared to the Commissioners 'that the community had tacitly, if not expressly,' 'entered into a general resolution to make no admission that the Slave trade had been encouraged by the inhabitants, or carried on to any extent in the colony.' They therefore have felt themselves bound to state, 'that the difficulties of the inquiry, from the general unpopularity attending it have been considerable;' nor have they 'deemed it proper *at this stage of the inquiry*, and in the *present* temper of the community, to disclose to parties the names of their accusers,' because as there is a 'prevalent impression of the hostility of the community against persons making accusations of Slave trading,' and examples of 'prosecutions sustained' by those persons; such disclosures would have been construed into an intention, on the part of the Commissioners, 'to discourage persons from coming forward' to give evidence on the subject. In the mean time the witnesses were made to subscribe their statements, and were warned that they should be held responsible for them, and would be liable to be called on to confirm them judicially. —The Commissioners farther intimate that they had every reason given to them to apprehend that 'the extensive powers of the police department had been unjustly exercised to the prejudice' of persons who had given information respecting the Slave trade, and had thereby incurred the hostility of the community; and they express their solicitude, particularly in the case of one individual who had made a frank confession of his own delinquencies, that 'in giving publicity to his information, care may be taken that *he* shall not be made to suffer from the consequences of the voluntary avowal of his past conduct.' The danger, however, appears to them to be still more imminent in the case of slaves or of liberated captives who may be instrumental in making known infractions of the abolition law;—and it is manifest both from their report, and from a variety of past occurrences, (see the case of Pedro, Reporter, vol. ii. p. 384, and that of Troptard, 14th Report of the African Institution, p. 23,) that nothing but the most energetic and determined interference of the government can save such persons, so informing, from the effects of a cruel and remorseless vengeance. Now what does all this indicate but a community made up of confederates in evil; hardened, by the kindred employments of Slave trading and Slave driving, and by mutual countenance and support, to deliberate combinations for lawless purposes? And such confederacies belong not to the Mauritius alone; they belong essentially and inherently to every community on which Slavery exercises the same withering and demoralizing influence."

The spirit and principles of these remarks apply with equal force, *mutatis mutandis*, to slavery as to the slave trade. The parties in both cases, in the Mauritius at least, are the same.

The friends of Mr. Telfair are desirous of bringing forward the London Missionary Society, and some of its missionaries, among the compurgators of that gentleman, and, through him, of the Mauritius system. In this view, it is somewhat remarkable that, at the Anti-Slavery Meeting, which took place at Freemason's Hall, on the 15th of May last, Mr. George Bennet, a highly respectable gentleman, employed by that So-

ciety to visit their various missions in the southern and eastern seas, and also in India, addressed the meeting on this subject. He had seen slavery, in all its aspects, and he declared that “*in the Mauritius it wore its most horrid and disgusting form;*” but, he added, that, “whether in its mild or more appalling exhibitions, it had, really and essentially, a cruelly demoralizing effect, not only on the poor slaves, but on all who were the owners of slaves, on all who even employed slaves in their families, from governors downwards through all grades, civil and military.—Wherever it existed, *there* the moral sense ever became blunted, and it was impossible to estimate the extensiveness of its influence.” See Reporter, No. 61, p. 252. This is the simple solution of all those imposing compurgations on which slave-holders in the East as well as in the West, are apt to place so vain a reliance.

We here suspend any farther observations until the promised work of Mr. Telfair shall have been published, and we are thereby enabled to examine it more deliberately. As yet we have only had an opportunity of seeing it for a few hours, and we do not even possess a copy of it. In the mean time, what has now been said on the state and progress of population among the slaves, in the Mauritius generally, and on Bel Ombre in particular; and on the condition of slavery as it existed in that colony both in law and in practice; will be sufficient to obviate any injurious inferences, with respect to the accuracy of former statements, to which the circular notice of Mr. Telfair’s friends may have possibly led in the case of persons uninformed on the subject.

II. JAMAICA WATCHMAN.

IN the supplement to our last number, we inserted some extracts from a work of the Rev. Dr. Walsh, on the Brazils, confirming, in a very striking manner, all our views of the cruelly debasing effects of negro slavery, and of the unspeakable benefits to be produced by an emancipation from its bonds. The Jamaica Watchman, in a late number (April 14, 1830), admits some remarkable communications on the general subject of this debasement, as it affects not only the slave, but the free. A correspondent, in speaking of the degraded concubinage so generally prevalent between the whites and the free coloured women, observes, that

“The people of colour owe to Mr. Morgan, and to the *Dissenting* ministers generally, no little gratitude for the check which they have succeeded in putting to this detestable system, and so far from any of their body being displeased with him, they are rather disposed to wish him God speed in his work of charity, and labour of love. From the vicious, the demoralized, and depraved portion of the community, the Dissenters must expect abuse and vituperation. From the sober, reasonable, and more respectable, they will receive treatment exactly the reverse; and whilst they persevere in their endeavours to put an end to this evil in particular, they will carry with them the best wishes and prayers of such for their speedy success.

“No man, Mr. Editor, who has any regard for the honour of his caste, can do otherwise than wish an end put to the system.—No man who has reflected upon the evils it has produced, can do otherwise than reprobate it. To this system *principally* the people of colour owe their degradation. The people of colour never will be respected so long as the whites are permitted to take their mistresses

from among them ; and so long as that is the case they cannot but be despised.”

Again :—

“ To talk of the happiness of the free coloured man is absurd ; of the happiness of the *slave madness!* As well might the sand merchants or itinerant hucksters, who drive their long-eared slaves through the streets of London, vaunt the happiness of their overladen, overdriven asses, because, for the interest of his owner, each is stabled and gets a meal of the cheapest and worst food, in order to prepare him for another day of suffering, and unremunerated labour.

“ It is in vain that the glaring falsehood is reiterated over and over again by the interested press here, and the hired press in Europe.—It is in vain that distinguished strangers are taken to particular estates, after due preparation of the negroes. It is in vain, that under the denomination of Saints, men who are ornaments to their country and their species, are calumniated and abused, and the ministers of religion vilified and insulted—all, all, is useless ‘ vexation of spirit.’ The people of England meet the falsehood with contempt, and few, very few, are there of those ‘ perishing Englishmen,’ who would not impart a ‘ taste of their knuckles’ to any spurious West Indian, who might be fool-hardy enough to suggest to them a change of their ‘ freedom and starvation’ for the ‘ labour and plenty’ of the slave.”

III. SOUTHAMPTON ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE following important resolutions were unanimously adopted at a recent meeting of the Southampton Anti-Slavery Society, viz.

1. That viewing slavery, as it exists in the British colonies, in the light of a great national crime, highly offensive in the sight of God, disgraceful to us as a free and a Christian people, and cruel and unjust towards those who are the hapless victims of it, we are determined to employ every means in our power, that the constitution has given us, to put an end to this great and aggravated evil.

2. That considering the approaching general election, as an occasion eminently fitting for the nation at large to vindicate its moral character, and publicly to testify its repudiation of this flagrant system of tyranny and injustice, we resolve, and invite our fellow-townsmen, and more especially those who signed the late petitions against slavery, to unite with us herein—in bestowing our suffrages, to give the preference to such candidates, as besides other claims to our support shall add this—of being the firm, zealous, and decided friends of the cause of abolition, and shall pledge themselves to use their utmost endeavours in Parliament to accomplish, at the earliest possible period, the extinction of slavery,—urging it upon the Legislature to begin, as its first step in this great moral work, with fixing a day, on and after which all children, the offspring of slaves, shall be born free throughout his Majesty’s dominions.

3. That the Committee prepare and circulate forthwith an address in conformity with the preceding resolutions.

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 depots of the Anti-Slavery Society throughout the kingdom.

THE
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FOR JULY, 1830.

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CASE OF LIEUTENANT SMITH.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER.

SIR,—I received a small pamphlet a few days ago, by the three-penny post, without a title, beginning with the following words :

“ *Without mooting the question of slavery in the abstract, upon which there cannot be two opinions,* the attention of the most influential body in the empire, its officiating Clergy, is earnestly invited to the following case, upon its intrinsic merits. It consists in

“ 1. A statement recently published, widely disseminated, and perhaps very generally believed, as to the existing character of slavery in Jamaica.

“ 2. A confession, upon his oath, of its anonymous but now discovered author, that his *whole statement* is a fabrication and a falsehood.

“ In such a case as this, which is one of common charity between man and man, it is not asking too much of the upright mind of every Christian minister to surrender a portion of his time to its deliberate examination. Should he see cause, on having done so, to recommend to those over whose judgments he must possess a large and salutary influence, to receive any similar statements for the future with caution, it will be rendering bare and but too tardy justice to an injured community.”

I have complied with the request, and examined it deliberately. I have read it attentively three times, and diligently compared one part of it with another. It is sent forth to the world, and circulated far and wide at a considerable expense, as a triumphant vindication of the West Indians from the charge of cruelty to their slaves, and an irrefragable proof of the fraudulent means to which the advocates of emancipation resort, and the foul calumnies which they propagate, to blacken the character of the West Indians, and enlist the feelings of their countrymen in the cause of the enthralled Negroes. The House of Assembly in Jamaica, under whose auspices it is published, have no doubt made the best of their case, and placed every object in the most favourable point of view for themselves: yet the hideousness of West Indian slavery cannot be concealed; but meets the eye whichever way it looks. I think it right to state that I am not a member of the Anti-Slavery Society, nor have I ever written for it till now. As a free-born Englishman, with a British heart beating in my bosom, I have always entertained an abhorrence of slavery in its mildest form; a careful perusal of the pamphlet in question convinces me that it exists in the West Indies in its severest, and would have made me an emancipationist, if I had not been one before.

The pamphlet consists entirely of copies of official documents, except-

ing the few lines I have transcribed, by way of introduction, and a few more by way of conclusion. It contains

“ 1. A letter from Mr. George Hamilton Smith, Comptroller of his Majesty’s Customs, residing at Savanna-la-Mar, in the parish of Westmoreland, in the island of Jamaica, dated May 15th, 1829, addressed to his brother, a clergyman in England.

“ 2. A second letter from Mr. Smith, dated Tuesday afternoon, addressed to Mr. Evelyn, Collector of his Majesty’s customs at Savanna-la-Mar.

“ 3. Examinations on oath, taken before a committee of the House of Assembly of the island of Jamaica, appointed to inquire into the charges against the inhabitants of the parish of Westmoreland in the island of Jamaica, of cruelty towards the labouring class of the population of that parish, which were published in certain newspapers of the United Kingdom, and of which charges, Mr. G. H. Smith, the Comptroller of his Majesty’s customs, and residing in Westmoreland, has admitted himself to be the author.

“ 4. Proceedings of a Council of Protection, held on Thursday the 14th day of January, 1830, at the Court House at Savanna-la-Mar, in the parish of Westmoreland, to inquire into the manner in which a certain girl slave, named Juliana, in the possession of Eleanor Whitehead, of the said parish, tavern keeper, lost the sight of her right eye, and which said slave was committed to the workhouse of the said parish for maintenance and protection, and not to be worked, by justices Hardin, Pinnock, and M’Cail.

“ 5. The examination, on oath, of Mr. Smith, before the House of Assembly, on Tuesday, February 9, 1830. And

“ 6. The Report of the Committee of Inquiry, appointed by the House of Assembly to investigate the case, dated February 13, 1830.”

The former part of the first sentence of the pamphlet, coming from such a quarter as it does, must not be overlooked. It runs thus, “ Without mootng the question of slavery in the abstract, *upon which there cannot be two opinions.*” There is an ambiguity in the wording of it which renders it susceptible of two constructions diametrically opposed to each other. The one is, that slavery is so notoriously repugnant to nature, reason, justice, humanity, and religion, as to be utterly indefensible, and that no one can think he has a right to hold his fellow creatures in bondage. If this be the right construction, (and it seems to be the obvious meaning of the words,) the West Indians are self-condemned of pertinaciously struggling to uphold a system, the moral turpitude of which they cannot conceal from themselves, and no longer venture to deny: interest, then, is the Moloch whose altar in the West Indies towers above the altar of God, on which myriads of human beings are daily immolated, without a sigh of pity or a pang of remorse. The other construction is, that the right which one man has to acquire an absolute and permanent property in another, and make him his slave, is so consonant to nature and reason, so consistent with justice and humanity, and so clearly sanctioned by revelation, that no one can entertain a doubt of the lawfulness of slavery. That is to say, that the strong may prey on the weak, get possession of their persons, and deprive them of their liberty and property. If this be what is meant, the pamphlet

begins with an intentional falsehood; for the authors of it know that public opinion in this country indignantly denies the existence of such a right; and a suspicion naturally arises that the words were artfully chosen to entrap the unwary reader, and instil into him a prejudice in favour of the equity and humanity of the West Indians, to bias his judgment before they opened the case, on the merits of which they request him to decide, and they wish him to confine his attention to its *intrinsic merits*, and to put the general principle entirely out of sight. A verdict given against Mr. Smith under such circumstances, however it might sully his character, would not whiten theirs, for two blacks do not make a white. Let us, however, investigate the case on its *intrinsic merits*.

1. The letter which Mr. Smith wrote to his brother was a private communication, not intended to meet the public eye. His brother, thinking the publication of it would serve the cause of justice and humanity, procured its insertion in the Dublin Evening Mail, and it afterwards appeared in the Morning Chronicle of London, of October 8, 1829, with the following title prefixed to it.

“Cruelties of West Indian Slavery at this moment, by an eye-witness.”

The contents of the letter may be arranged under the following heads:

1. What Mr. Smith actually saw, viz. A negro woman indecently and unmercifully flogged; the drivers armed with their whips in the fields; then a description of that tremendous instrument of torture, the whip, and of parties of negro women, almost in a state of nudity, washing clothes in the narrow, shallow rivers, which frequently intersect the roads; and lastly the fact that Sunday markets are not abolished.

2. What he was told by a girl slave, named Juliana, by Mr. Fraser, and by Mr. Evelyn, and

3. What he copied from Mr. Stephen's work on West India Slavery.

Mr. Smith is evidently a humane, but nerveless man, easily intimidated. The style in which his letter to his brother was written, and the circumstances it detailed, betrayed the writer. It was copied from the Morning Chronicle into the “Watchman and Jamaica Free Press.” In his letter to Mr. Evelyn, he says, “Messrs. Valentine and Fraser called on me with it, to know if I was the author of it. I, of course, immediately acknowledged that I was, but that it was never intended for the public eye, and, on perusing it, that it was incorrect in many points. You may be sure I am not much pleased with my clerical brother inserting my letter to him, with his own alterations, as I shall have the whole island in arms against me, as the parties here are so indignant, and will write of course by this post, giving me up as the author. I do not expect it will end here, as Valentine and Fraser seem much hurt; however, I do not hesitate in saying that the principal part, alluding to the latter, (Fraser,) is incorrect.”—“However, I do not by any means disavow being the author, expunging some sentences and allusions; but I must again repeat, I never had the most distant idea of my brother giving it publicity. But now that he has done so, I further disavow meaning the least offence to any individual; but what I said was against the system of slavery in general.” He adds, in a postscript, “If you would approve of it, (and I hope I am not asking too much of you to be my friend on this occasion,) I don't think there would be any thing like implicating my honour, in your giving publicity, as from me, to some-

thing like the following; stating that two gentlemen of the town had just called on me, to know if I was the author of the paragraph alluded to. On casting my eye over it I immediately admitted that I was, but on perusing it through, I totally disavowed many allusions therein, but that it was never intended to get publicity, and that no offence was meant individually, but what I said was against slavery itself."

This letter, which was written to Mr. Evelyn immediately after Valentine and Fraser had called on him, discovers great alarm; for he says, "*I shall have the whole Island in arms against me,*" and "*I do not expect it will end here.*" He was anxious to extricate himself from the difficulty in which the publication of his letter to his brother had involved him; he, probably, apprehended the loss of the lucrative situation which he held in the Customs, and the ruin of himself and his family. A court of protection was held to inquire into the case of Juliana; and a committee was appointed, by the House of Assembly, to inquire into the charges of cruelty against the inhabitants of Westmoreland. Public and private hostility were excited, and legal and legislative bodies put in motion against him. Whichever way he looked he beheld a foe; no one would befriend the friend of the negroes, and he probably recollected the fate of the injured Smith of Demerara. He was not a missionary, and he had not a martyr's spirit; he trembled at the dangers which surrounded him; his courage failed; and when he stood at the bar of the House of Assembly he *partially* recanted what he had written to his brother. He *did not confess*, as the author of the pamphlet asserts, that his *whole statement was a fabrication and a falsehood*. He says, that when he wrote the letter to his brother, as published in the Morning Chronicle, he had little or no means of information, relative to the character and conduct of the white inhabitants of Jamaica, towards their slaves on plantations, either their own property, or that of persons in England whom such inhabitants represent as their attorneys or agents: his opinion was formed from the statement of *another*. He feels it an act of justice to acknowledge that he was deceived. He viewed the character and actions of the white inhabitants with a jaundiced eye; being prejudiced against them by *one* whom he did not conceive could have misled him as he certainly had done. Since he had acquired the means of forming his own judgment, he was satisfied that the charges made against the managers of plantations in perpetrating or suffering cruelty were groundless. Had not his mind been warped against the parishioners of Westmoreland he would not have written the letter before referred to, and since he had found his error he had written to correct it. He never intended the letter, which was inserted in the Morning Chronicle, for publication; but as innocent individuals had been injured by it, he felt it due to them to make the only atonement in his power, by acknowledging his error in adopting the statements of *another* as facts, without waiting the result of his own experience.

This recantation appeased the wrath of the House of Assembly, and the storm which had lowered over Mr. Smith passed away, not harmlessly indeed, for it stripped him of much honour, though it left him in possession of his office, and the emoluments connected with it. But let us examine it closely, and compare it with Mr. Smith's letter to his brother, that we may see whether it amounts to a confession that his

whole statement is a fabrication and a falsehood. It will be found that the charge of fabrication and falsehood recoils, with no small violence, on those who have made so baseless an assertion, and confidently and unblushingly proclaimed it to the world. The House of Assembly and its Committee have shewn themselves skilful tacticians, for though they attacked some parts of Mr. Smith's letter with great violence, and boast of the total discomfiture of their intimidated adversary; they contented themselves with driving back a piquet, and cutting off a straggler, but are so far from having made a breach in the intrenchments, that they have not ventured to plant a cannon against them.

I. Mr. Smith says in his letter to Mr. Evelyn that his letter to his brother, as published in the Morning Chronicle, and copied into the Watchman and Jamaica Free Press, was "incorrect in many points." "You may be sure I am not much pleased with my clerical brother, inserting my letter to him, with his own alterations, as I shall have the whole Island in arms against me." "However I do not, by any means, disavow being the author, expunging some sentences and allusions." Of these alterations Mr. Smith's brother, and the Editor of the Morning Chronicle, give the following account:—

"The following extracts," (says the editor) "are from a letter recently received from a gentleman in Jamaica, by his brother, a clergyman in this country, by whom it is authenticated: only a few trifling verbal alterations have been made."—Blanks were left for the names of persons and places, and here and there perhaps a word or part of a sentence altered, which as it was originally written would have exhibited the writer too clearly. The intention was to throw a veil over Mr. Smith, not to conceal truth, or display falsehood. But the veil was too thin, his features were recognised through it; a proof that his letter was private and confidential, not intended for the public eye, and affording a strong argument that what he declared he had seen and heard was strictly true, for he could have no interest, nor any imaginable motive to deceive and mislead his brother. And it is remarkable, that he never specified, or offered to specify the alterations which his brother had made in his letter, to appease or soften the anger that was kindled against him; nor did Mr. Valentine, or Mr. Fraser, or the Council of Protection, or the House of Assembly, though both of them examined him, desire him to point them out.

They eagerly catch at the words "By an eye witness," which are part of the heading to the letter in the Morning Chronicle. The letter, as has been before observed, narrates *facts which Mr. Smith had witnessed, and information which he had received from others*. But it did not suit the West Indians to separate the one from the other, though they could not but perceive the difference. If the Committee had distinguished them they must have investigated the *facts*, and either confessed or denied them in the report which they made to the House of Assembly. The former they would not, the latter they could not do, they therefore prudently overlooked the *facts*, confined themselves to the information, and reported in general terms, that Mr. Evelyn "had given a succinct and direct negative to the charges," and that Mr. Smith had "declared on oath before the Committee that his accusations were untrue, and that they arose from his having been misled

by an individual, in whom he reposed unaccustomed confidence ;” and it is added, “By implication, he accuses Mr. Evelyn (his only associate) of having deceived him by false information.” Is it not somewhat extraordinary, that when the House of Assembly asked Mr. Smith whether he had any objection to state who his informant was, by whom he said he was so misled, they did not press the question on his objecting to answer it ? The author of the calumnies (if the West Indians were calumniated,) was more criminal than the unsuspecting retailer of them, and the business could not be thoroughly sifted without ascertaining the author, and interrogating him as to what he had said to Mr. Smith, and his reasons for saying it. And it is still more extraordinary that the Committee appointed to inquire into the charges, though they examined Mr. Evelyn at considerable length, and reported that Mr. Smith, “by implication, accused Mr. Evelyn, (his only associate) of having deceived him by false information ;” they did not once ask him whether he had given Mr. Smith any and what information respecting the circumstances and morals of the West Indians, and their treatment of their slaves. The examination of Mr. Evelyn, and indeed all the proceedings, are marked by extreme caution. There is a line to which the Committee and the House of Assembly advance, but which they do not venture to pass. They raise a great alarm about some parts of the letter, but on other parts they maintain a wary and invincible silence.

Mr. Smith’s letter to his brother greatly offended the West Indians, by the terms in which he spoke of them ; and by the facts he detailed respecting the treatment of the slaves. He says, “You will be as much surprised as I was myself on coming, to hear that we did not find a single respectable person, except the Collector (Mr. Evelyn,) who is a countryman, in the whole town or neighbourhood, so that you will say we are well off in respect to society.” “The owners of an estate, or rather the mortgagees of it, for all the estates are mortgaged, do not one in a hundred reside on their properties ; but invariably take up their abode in a more genial climate, preferring half their income at home to residing in such a country. In these instances they delegate their power to what are here designated attornies, something like agents at home, with this difference, that they are intrusted with a thousand times greater authority and power.”—The attornies, managers, overseers, and drivers, “all possess and exercise the tremendous power—for such it truly is—of inflicting on the slaves, who are under their government, whether male or female, the punishment of the cart-whip.”—“The drivers make it subservient to the gratification of their employer’s sensual appetites, by applying the whip to the removal of any impediment that may arise, even should it be a wretched mother trying to shield a yet more wretched daughter from the lust of such merciless brutes.”—“It is impossible,” he adds, “to give you an idea of the dreadful depravity of the whole of the white population, with scarcely a single exception.—They oppose to the utmost of their power, (which over their slaves is unbounded) every thing in the shape of religion, turning it on all occasions into contempt and mockery,” and “it is quite a rare sight to see one of the white population at church ; one or two ladies occasionally, but the gentlemen never.”

It is not surprising that such severe animadversions on the character

and conduct of the West Indians should excite their anger, for the innocent are indignant at being calumniated, and the guilty vexed and mortified at having their vices detected and exposed. He says, in his examination before the House of Assembly, that these opinions were formed from the statements of another, and that since he has acquired the means of forming his own judgment, he is satisfied that the charges made against the managers of plantations, as perpetrating or suffering cruelty, are groundless. He *recants his opinions formed on the information of another, but he does not retract his statement of facts which came under his own knowledge, and the House of Assembly does not venture to ask him to retract them.* He pleads guilty of credulity, not of falsehood; they record his plea, and though they bring forward no evidence to convict him of what he denies, they have the effrontery to say that he confessed on oath that his *whole statement is a fabrication and a falsehood.*

Let us now proceed to the case of Juliana, which Mr. Smith describes in the following words: "In the house we live in there is a very interesting little girl of about 18 years of age, who has lost an eye by the blow of a whip from her mistress, but you may be sure not since I have been here." In consequence of the publication of this letter, a Court of Protection was held on Thursday the 14th day of January, 1830, at the Court house of Savanna-la-Mar, in the parish of Westmoreland, to inquire into the manner in which a certain girl slave, named Juliana, in the possession of Eleanor Whitehead, of the said parish, tavern-keeper, lost the sight of her right eye, and which said slave was committed to the workhouse of the said parish, for maintenance and protection and not to be worked, by justices Hardin, Pinnock and M'Cail." Juliana stated to the council, that she was sent by her mistress to her house in the Bay, for a flannel jacket, and did not return till the following morning. It does not appear how far Miss Whitehead's two houses were distant from each other, nor at what hour the girl was sent for the jacket. On her return her mistress flogged her with a cat of six tails, and when running from the lick, the end of the cat licked her in the eye, and a little film grew over it, but after that she could see out of it, and was sent out to needle work. A long time after, she and Massa Willie were playing together; he had a black jacket with brass buttons, and as they were playing, she was teasing him and running from him, he took the jacket and went to lick her, and one of the buttons licked her in the same eye, and she has been blind ever since.—Antoinette Leslie Bell, for whom she went to work, and Margaret Tate, who was in the habit of seeing her frequently, two free persons of colour, contradicted each other; Tate says that her eye was not bad at all until she was struck by the button, and Bell that she had a *failing in her eye.* Mr. Smith deposed on oath, that "he asked the girl how she lost her eye; she told him it was from the lick of a whip from her mistress." He further deposes, "I heard from many persons, and on one occasion particularly from Mr. Fraser, when I asked him if it really was the case, that Miss Whitehead had put the girl's eye out, and *he said it was too true.*" Mr. Fraser, who went to live at Miss Whitehead's house in 1826, says, "he thinks he told Mr. Smith that the girl had received an accidental blow from her mistress but that he never said any thing to Mr. Smith to in-

duce him to believe that it had occurred otherwise than accidentally. The girl was in the habit of playing with Miss Whitehead's children." Mr. Smith concluded his deposition by saying, "my private sentiments are that it was accidental," and Juliana said, in answer to a question, "was your mistress good to you? Yes."—The Council were "unanimously of opinion that there were no grounds for instituting any proceedings against Eleanor Whitehead in the above matter."

1. There can be no doubt that the poor girl received a severe blow in the eye from her mistress, which injured it considerably, and occasioned a film to grow over it, though she afterwards recovered the use of it; and though the immediate cause of the loss of sight was the blow which she received from one of the buttons of Massa Willie's jacket, the blow that she received from her mistress, whether intentional or accidental, might have induced a weakness which rendered the second stroke more injurious to her than it would otherwise have been.

2. When this unfortunate child's eye was diseased so that blindness ensued, Miss Whitehead did not nurse her; it does not appear that she had any surgical attendance, but was committed by three justices to the workhouse, which partakes of the nature of a jail, and is at once an hospital for the sick, and a prison for the profligate. So much for West Indian humanity, and the kind treatment of the slaves. This fact is established by an official document, which the West Indians themselves send forth to the world.

3. The answer of Juliana to the leading question, "was your mistress good to you?" to which she replied, "yes," is not conclusive evidence that Miss Whitehead was really good to her; and the circumstance of this afflicted child being sent to such a place as a West Indian workhouse, argues little in favour of the tenderness of her heart. It would have been unsafe for the poor girl to have said that her mistress was not good to her, for she was to go from the Court to her mistress's house, where she would have soon felt the effects of her displeasure, if she had said any thing to offend her.

4. Nor does the circumstance of Miss Whitehead having children in her house, and publicly acknowledging them as her own, (for Mr. Fraser's words imply nothing less,) yet retaining the appellation of *Miss*, and enjoying the patronage of respectable persons, who lodged in her house, and by so doing countenanced her, give us a favourable opinion of West Indian morality. In England when a woman owns her illegitimate children, she boldly proclaims herself a prostitute, in which case she is openly shunned by those who have any regard for public decency and for their own characters, and those who visit her do it by stealth; or she goes where her shame is not known, takes the title of mistress, and calls herself a widow.

Let us now investigate the facts which Mr. Smith states from his own knowledge, and which are so far from being disproved that they are not even denied.

1. He describes the whip with which the slaves are flogged. "It consists of a short handle, with a thick and strongly plaited whip, of about three yards long, formed either of rope as hard as iron, or of a strip of dried hide, the lash of it being made of the fibres of a plant named penguin, in appearance like the finest flax; when twisted up and

knotted, it becomes as hard as steel, and will cut like a razor." The effect of the whip he thus describes. "The proprietor of the _____ here, and who lives, I am sorry to say, under the same roof with us, but you may be sure not in the same apartment, takes great credit to himself for being possessed of no small portion of humanity, as he told me the other day, when reasoning with him on the dreadful system of flogging, that he had given directions to the drivers not to *cut* the negroes, on pain of being laid down and flogged themselves, for when inflicting this torture they are always extended on the ground. But you must observe, cutting does not merely mean drawing blood, and fleecing off the skin, for those are the effects of almost every lash on the naked body with this instrument, however leniently applied; but it means cutting into the very muscles and flesh below."

2. He gives the following dreadful account of the flogging of a female slave. "It was only the day before yesterday, when writing, that I heard the noise of that dreadful instrument, the whip, which so often grates on my ears, proceed from a back yard, each crack of it being followed by an agonizing groan that would have touched a heart of adamant. In hopes of begging off the miserable creature, whoever it might be, I went there, but, gracious God! what an appalling sight did I behold! a wretched woman extended on the ground, with her clothes tied up to her waist; a powerful negro man, upwards of six feet high, a driver from the workhouse, (who has to deal there with the worst characters) lacerating her flesh; and this disgusting and abominable sight, directed and superintended by a mother and her daughter; the poor miserable slave herself the mother of eleven children, nine of whom are living, and a grown up daughter of her own one of the spectators. And what think you was the poor woman's crime? The poor wretch had left some things before the fire to dry, belonging to her mistress, and having placed them too near the fire, in her absence they were burnt: the whole of them were not worth five shillings."

As a specimen of the callous indifference with which the West Indians regard the tortures that are inflicted on the negroes, Mr. Smith goes on to state, that on the evening of the day on which the poor woman had been so indecently and barbarously flogged, he walked up to the Collector of the Customs, Mr. Evelyn, to drink tea, and happened to mention to him what he had witnessed that day, and asked him if he could not take the woman before a magistrate. "There was a lady present, (hardly deserving the epithet) and a namesake, the wife of an attorney, and possessing 150 slaves, who hearing me state the circumstance and ask the question, in the most unfeeling and brutal manner said, what Mr. _____ would you prevent the woman doing what she pleased with her own? But what think you was the worthy _____ (Mr. Evelyn's) advice? he said, I might have the woman taken before a magistrate, but perhaps I might find him committing the same act on one of his own slaves, and therefore not likely to give much redress." Mr. Evelyn does not deny having said so. When that part of Mr. Smith's letter which related it was read to him, he answered, "with regard to what is alleged to have taken place at my house, I cannot at this distance of time particularly remember; however, I remember Mr. Smith's complaining that a woman had been severely flogged in a yard

opposite to the tavern where he then lodged, and I also remember that I told him we could and would bring the matter before the magistrates, if he, from his own knowledge, had seen enough of the excess of punishment, either as to the severity, or the number of the lashes inflicted; but after much conversation on the subject, I was impressed with the idea that he knew nothing more of the matter than the mere hearing of the woman's cries could inform him; and therefore I was decidedly of opinion that it would be most ridiculous to go before a magistrate, and when there, be found to have no sufficient ground or information to go upon."—If application had been made to a magistrate on the following day, (the day after the flogging) when her lacerated flesh was raw and her wounds unhealed, the inspection of her person would have shewn the severity of her punishment. Mr. Evelyn's advice not to interfere in her behalf proves either the defectiveness of the law, if magistrates could not compel the production of the slave, for the purpose of having her examined; or the unwillingness of the magistrates to act on behalf of the slaves, and extend to them the protection and redress which the law allows them; or that Mr. Evelyn was not possessed of common humanity; or that he was afraid of provoking the resentment of the West Indians by espousing the cause of an injured tortured slave against her merciless owner. Perhaps it proves all this. The Council of Protection took no notice of this strong and recent outrage; the House of Assembly did not question Mr. Smith about it, though they called him before them; a committee, indeed asked Mr. Evelyn, who was not a spectator of the melancholy sight, what truth there was in the whole of the statement,—they took his heartless answer, and coolly proceeded to interrogate him about something else. Neither the smallness of the offence, nor the severity of the punishment, are denied.

3. He states "that the roads are frequently intersected by narrow shallow rivers, at which parties of negro women are at almost all times to be seen, washing clothes, their bodies quite naked, with merely something wrapped round their loins, and thus are exposed to full view the crowded and callous scars of repeated punishments." The committee after reading this paragraph to Mr. Evelyn, desire him to "state whether the women *are compelled* to this exposure" (thereby admitting that they are so exposed) "and whether he has witnessed the crowded and callous scars of the repeated punishments which Mr. Smith mentions?" To which he replies, "the washerwomen are certainly to be seen in the rivers near all towns in this country, nearly half naked, and I believe not from being compelled to do so; but as to the scars they have, I know nothing." He does not deny their being scarred, he only says he knows nothing about it. This answer, cautious and guarded as it is, proves either that their owners do not provide the female slaves with proper clothing; or that these unfortunate women are in the lowest state of moral degradation, destitute of modesty, the brightest ornament of their sex, and that no pains are taken by their owners to teach them the first principles of virtue; or that the magistrates are not the faithful guardians of public morals. Perhaps it proves these three points.

4. He says, "That having obtained permission to visit an estate, he found on going to it the negroes all nicely dressed, not a whip, or cat-

o-nine tails was to be seen, and every thing in the nicest order;" but that "some days after when the militia had to muster, at which all the white people on an estate are obliged to attend, he took advantage of their absence and drove out again, and then he saw every driver armed with his whip."—The practice of the drivers carrying their whips in the field is not disputed.

5. He asserts that, "Sunday here is the day of business; not even yet is one of the markets abolished on that day, although the Speaker of the House of Assembly and another of its members are inhabitants of the place. The poor slaves themselves would most gladly devote that day to other and better purposes,—but their inhuman and unchristian overseers will not allow them any other time to procure the necessities of life."—Nor is the truth of this statement disputed.

The examination of Mr. Evelyn before the committee of the House of Assembly occupies nearly one-fourth of the pamphlet, and as great importance is attached to it, for the committee report to the House that "Mr. Evelyn has given a succinct and direct negative to the charges of Mr. Smith;" it is intitled to more particular attention than it has yet received. He says, almost at the outset, "my office is so peculiarly situated in this country, that I have always considered it incumbent on me not to interfere, and to *inquire as little as possible, into the transactions connected with the general system of the country*; and I consider that Custom House officers should feel it to be their duty to interfere as little as possible with its affairs."

Mr. Evelyn is determined, by his own confession, to use a homely phrase, to keep himself to himself, to be on good terms with his white neighbours, and to leave the wretched negroes to their fate. He has eyes, but he will not see their sufferings; he has ears, but he will not hear their cries; and it would not avail the wretched sufferers if he did, for he publicly declares that it is "ridiculous" to consider the violence of the cries of a negro under the lash as affording such presumptive proof of excessive punishment, as to induce a person to go before a magistrate to have the circumstances of the case investigated. What regard would be due to his evidence if it were decidedly favourable to the West Indians? But of what nature is it? purely negative; not negating from his own knowledge the facts which Mr. Smith stated, but only declaring his ignorance of them: and the very few facts which he does state, make as strongly against the present system of West Indian slavery as can well be imagined. He says, "he has no knowledge of the drivers being made subservient to the gratification of their employers, by employing the whip for the removal of any impediment that may arise, even should it be a wretched mother trying to shield a yet more wretched daughter from the lust of such merciless brutes;" he never heard a single instance of it; he should *hope and believe* Mr. Smith had not. "He never heard the expression of *cutting before*." "He had never, *that he remembers*, immediately and closely witnessed a flogging. He *does not believe* that when Mr. Smith visited an estate by permission, the negroes were dressed to meet his inspection. He *believes* the magistrates would not permit any man with impunity to violate the provisions of the slave laws, on complaint being made to them; and he knew of one fact where an overseer was fined

£20 for putting a light collar on a notorious runaway, without the authority of a magistrate. He *does not know* of any influence used by the managers and owners of slaves to prevent them attending public worship at church." The question that was put to him respecting Sunday markets he dexterously evades. He says "this question can be answered by a reference to the law, which *I believe* is generally adhered to." "He *never heard* of any act of excessive flogging which was not visited by some punishment, either at the hands of the magistrate, or of the attorney or owner of the slave." As Mr. Evelyn would *know* nothing about the general system of the country that he could help knowing, nothing would come to his knowledge but what was matter of such public notoriety that he could not be ignorant of it; that is to say, when the perpetrator of an atrocious act of cruelty was punished for his barbarity, he knew that an atrocious act of cruelty had been perpetrated. His confession, that the negroes are sometimes punished excessively, proves that the penalty on conviction is too trifling to prevent the commission of the offence; or that the magistrates are criminally remiss in not levying it; or that the difficulty of convicting an offender is so great, that the law is a dead letter. Yet Mr. Evelyn does not blush to swear that "he believes the slaves are in a better state, more comfortable, and more attended to, than the peasantry and lower classes of society in the countries with which he is in any wise acquainted."

The most sanguine advocate of emancipation could not have anticipated that the West Indians would have sent into the world a pamphlet which pleads so powerfully on behalf of the cause that interests the best and warmest feelings of the hearts of the best and wisest part of the community. Where was the sagacity of the legislators and the acuteness of the lawyers of Jamaica, that they did not foresee the injury which the publication of it would do them? Five facts are stated by Mr. Smith: he has not disowned them, nor has the House of Assembly, or its Committee, nor the Council of Protection, denied, or attempted to explain them away, or soften them down, viz. That the cart-whip is a tremendous instrument of punishment—that the drivers carry it with them into the fields—that females are indecently stripped and publicly flogged with it—that women, almost in a state of nudity, are seen by the road side, near all the towns, washing—and that the Sunday markets for the slaves are not abolished. No impression has been made on the obdurate minds of the West Indians; their inflexible dispositions have not yielded in the least, and their determination to perpetuate the bondage of the unfortunate negroes "till time shall be no longer," unless prevented by superior power, is too plainly manifested to admit of a reasonable doubt. If any thing be wanting to give a fresh impulse to the zeal of the Anti-Slavery Society, the scenes of oppression and woe which this pamphlet exhibits, will surely give it. The tear-swollen eyes of the wretched slaves are turned towards England, from whence are all their hopes, for the soil that produces the sugar-cane yields no hope to the wretched African. I trust my reverend brethren will answer the appeal that has been made to them, and "render too tardy justice" to the most "injured community" in the world, by throwing all the weight of their influence into the scale

of justice and mercy, and will bind it on their congregations as a sacred duty which they owe to God and man, to put forth all their energies, and co-operate with them in "binding up the broken-hearted, proclaiming liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound."

I am, Sir, a sincere well-wisher to yourself and to the cause which you so zealously advocate,

CLERICUS.

The Circular Letter on which our reverend Correspondent has so ably and satisfactorily commented, consists of a transcript from the West Indian Reporter, No. XXX., to which we have already given a conclusive reply, as far as we ourselves were concerned, in the Supplement to our 60th number for May 1830, p. 225 to 227. It would be hardly necessary therefore, for us to go over the same ground again, were it not that, notwithstanding that reply, which the issuers of this Circular have, with a laudable prudence, wholly omitted to notice, they have chosen to republish the following concluding sentence of the West India Reporter, every assertion in which we had, in the passage last referred to, completely refuted.—

"Such" it is said, "is the history of a transaction not indeed unparalleled in the catalogue of calumny, but certainly distinguished in the degree in which it has been confuted and overthrown. Yet the overthrow of this *deliberate fraud*, signal as it has proved, is scarcely more conspicuous than was the confidence with which its *absolute integrity* was maintained. A publication called the Anti-Slavery Reporter, rushed forward in the cause with what would have been a perfect self-immolation, had not that publication already survived repeated convictions of mendacity. When the authenticity of Mr. Smith's letter was first impeached, upon its internal evidence of plagiarism from the obsolete work of Mr. Stephen; the Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter boldly came to its support by the following declaration,—'The extraordinary whoop about this unfortunate letter has led to enquiries which we should not otherwise have thought of making, and the result is a complete conviction of its genuineness.'

"Those who have adopted the 'complete convictions' of this publication as their own, are assuredly entitled to some apology from the guide who has misled them; but those who have been injured by such implicit adoption of this and similar calumnies ask no other reparation than a cautious mistrust of such statements for the future."*

* The only assertions we made were, first, that the letter was not a forged but a genuine letter, a fact which the Circular has "not confuted or overthrown" but confirmed; and secondly, that Mr. Smith had truly depicted the state of slavery in Jamaica, and which we affirm is still substantially the same as when Mr. Stephen wrote his delineation.—As to fraud, we neither wrote nor published the letter in question, nor vouched for the truth of its particular statements, though we did, and still do, vouch for the appropriateness of its general description.—We spoke with confidence, not of its *integrity*, but only of its *genuineness*, and that point the Circular confirms; we have therefore not misled our readers, and we have absolutely nothing to qualify or retract.

The extreme difficulty to which the West Indian party are reduced in defending their criminal system against the rising indignation of the public, has led them to the infatuated step of giving increased circulation to the present document, a document which, as our correspondent has well shewn, is of itself completely damnable of that system. With a singular blindness to consequences, and an utter ignorance of the state of public feeling, they have hoped to revive their sinking cause by giving to it so extraordinary a degree of publicity, as must have incurred an expence of at least a thousand pounds in sending it, as they have done, by post to every "officiating minister" in the kingdom, to most also of the dissenting ministers, and to multitudes of persons besides. Under these circumstances we are grateful to our correspondent for having saved us the trouble we might otherwise have been obliged to take of exposing the artful and insidious manner in which this fallacious document has been got up, and especially the curious dexterity with which prominence is given in it to those circumstances which are the least material, while the real and substantial points of the question are suppressed or evaded. Our reverend friend has done this so effectually that we shall confine ourselves entirely to that part of the case on which he has not touched, we mean our own defence.

When the letter of Lieutenant Smith first appeared in the Dublin Evening Mail, and was thence transcribed into various newspapers in this country, we regarded it as an unauthenticated statement, and abstained wholly from noticing it in our pages. So far were we from eagerly seizing upon it for the purpose of popular inflammation, that we maintained an absolute silence respecting it, until the Morning Journal and various other Pro-Slavery publications charged us with being its authors, and with having ourselves fabricated it for Anti-Slavery purposes. They affirmed that it was of English manufacture, and was actually the work of the Anti-Slavery Society itself. This slander was repeated in a variety of forms, the West Indian Reporter among the rest holding up the letter as a *monstrous fabrication* of the Anti-Slavery journalists. In order to repel this false and calumnious charge, we wrote to a friend in Dublin, through whom we obtained the most satisfactory proof of the genuineness of the letter; that is to say, that it was a letter written in Jamaica as it professed to be, and by a person who was actually residing in that Island. We were permitted even to inspect the original letter of Lieutenant Smith, and to collate it with the Mail, so as to ascertain that the transcript had been fairly and honestly made:—a few expressions only were omitted which would have served to betray the writer. We deny therefore that the reverend gentleman who gave publicity to this letter, (which he did without any previous communication with us whatever, neither he nor his brother having been in the slightest degree known to us) is justly liable to the charge insinuated against him by his brother of having made "alterations," or of having added "sentences and allusions" to the original. There is no sentence or allusion in the printed letter which is not to be found in the original. That original, we presume, is still in existence, and may be referred to in confirmation of this fact.

Having obtained such *convincing* proof of the *genuineness* of this

letter, we deemed it incumbent upon us to repel the charge of "monstrous fabrication" which had been brought against us in several journals and periodical works. We therefore briefly remarked, in a paragraph of only ten lines, at the close of our number for November 1829, (No. 54, p. 146,) that the charge of having forged this letter had led to inquiries which we should not otherwise have thought of making, and the result of which was "a complete conviction of its genuineness." In short, we had found it to be, what indeed the whole of the evidence taken in Jamaica proves it to have been, the genuine letter of a Lieutenant Smith residing in Jamaica, and not the work of any individual in this country. We added the further statement, and to that we still adhere, that the author of that letter, whatever may have been his other errors or inaccuracies, had "painted the slavery of Jamaica in true colours." We nevertheless did not, therefore, take it upon us to affirm that Mr. Smith, though he might *paint* truly, had *narrated* faithfully; and until that point also could be ascertained, we judged it right to make no use of his testimony. Not a single line of his letter therefore was transcribed into the Anti-Slavery Reporter, nor a single allusion made to any of the particular occurrences of which he professed to be the eye-witness. All we did was to state that the letter was a real, not a forged or fabricated letter, and that the picture given in it of West Indian practices and manners was a lively resemblance of the original; and this opinion we still maintain in the face of all the evidence which has been so ostentatiously obtruded on the public. Without attempting to defend either the veracity or the consistency, or the firmness of Mr. Smith, we nevertheless affirm that he has succeeded in painting with much truth of colouring, and with unquestionable verisimilitude, scenes which are of daily occurrence in Jamaica. And whether it be the tremendous power of the cartwhip; or the indecent exhibitions of naked and scarred negroes; or the cruel and disgusting inflictions of the lash to which the bared bodies of wretched women are frequently subjected; or the continuance of the brutal system of *driving* men, women, and children to their labour in the field by the whip; or the uncontrolled power possessed by masters and managers of plantations, and the dreadful abuses to which that power is liable; or the general disregard of religious observances and of moral restraints, and the general diffusion of licentious habits throughout the community; or the universal desecration of the Sabbath to the purposes of marketing, and labour, and revelry; or the injurious effects of the non-residence of the mass of proprietors, and the consequent delegation of their despotic authority to hirelings;—we affirm that there is not a single feature in this picture which has not in our pages been substantiated over and over again, and which we are not now ready to substantiate anew, beyond the possibility of denial; and that, on the conclusive authority of the colonists themselves.

We are happy to inform our readers that His Majesty's Government, in the exercise of their justice and clemency, have *disallowed* the consolidated Slave law of Jamaica of 1829, with all its harsh provisions and persecuting enactments.

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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I. PROCEEDINGS OF PARLIAMENT ON THE SUBJECT OF COLONIAL SLAVERY—SPEECH AND REPLY OF MR. BROUGHAM—SPEECHES OF MESSRS. PROTHEROE, DOUGLAS, SMITH, AND HORTON, SIR G. MURRAY, MESSRS. CAVE, AND MANNING, SIR F. BURDETT, SIR R. PEEL, MR. TWISS, MR. BUXTON, AND SIR A. GRANT—CASE OF PERSECUTION—GENERAL ELECTION—BRISTOL—YORKSHIRE.

II. CASE ILLUSTRATIVE OF JAMAICA SOCIETY AND MANNERS.

1.—PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT ON THE SUBJECT OF COLONIAL SLAVERY.

ON the 1st of July Mr. BROUGHAM presented to the House of Commons the petition from the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society, (inserted in the Supplement to the Reporter, No. 61, p. 269) on which occasion he thus expressed himself: "Sir, I rise to present a petition, on a subject of the greatest possible importance, and one which does not derive that importance from circumstances of an adventitious nature; but as the natural consequence of its own intrinsic weight. The subject matter of the petition which I hold in my hand, is slavery, with all its frightful consequences—that system by which hundreds of thousands of the King's subjects, and of our fellow-creatures, are held in bondage within the dominions of his Majesty. This petition comes from a meeting, which was equalled by none that I ever saw, though nowise unaccustomed to public meetings, in numbers, weight, and personal respectability. It consisted of persons of various sects, of opposite parties, and of different classes, whom zeal and feeling in behalf of this cause called together. If I were to say that above two thousand persons, such as I have described, were assembled together on the great occasion, on which this petition was agreed to, and that the same number of persons entitled to the same description departed for want of accommodation in the great hall in which the meeting was held, I should not exaggerate the account as to numbers; and as little should I exaggerate if I said that I never attended at any public meeting, even when those composing it were the most likely to be aroused, as upon any question of religious controversy or political principle—even at such meetings, never did I see any thing like the exhibition of feeling, by which the persons who composed this meeting were apparently guided and impelled. The proceedings of that day were, in my mind, most interesting; and when I look to the names affixed to this petition it becomes still more interesting. The first name is that of a most venerable person, one whose eloquence has often delighted this house, and the purity of whose private life would have rendered him distinguished, even if the importance of his public services had not given him a place amongst the greatest, as well as the most amiable benefactors of mankind. It

is scarcely necessary for me to name Mr. Wilberforce, whom I have already endeavoured, though faintly and imperfectly, to describe by his talents and his virtues. His name is the first, and in fit and meet conjunction with it is the name of Thomas Clarkson, one remarkable even amongst those the most distinguished for unwearied zeal and perseverance in the cause of humanity. That gentleman, it is well known, has devoted his talents, his learning, and his untamable zeal in promoting the abolition of slavery. It is only necessary for me to say, that there are other names fit to follow those, who have been most appropriately chosen to lead in this petition. The petitioners approach this house in the language of respect; but at the same time of calm remonstrance. They state that just seven years have elapsed since the resolutions of the 15th of May, 1823, respecting Colonial Slavery were unanimously adopted by this house, the only difference of opinion then being, whether they went far enough; and certainly, the only difference at the meeting from which this petition emanated being, whether *they* now went far enough to meet the exigencies of the case.

“The petition, after stating that hardly any of the measures recognised by the resolutions of May, 1823, have been adopted by the colonial legislatures, and have been imperfectly fulfilled even in those colonies where the crown could have dictated the adoption of such measures, naturally, in substance if not in words, takes the form of a remonstrance, and asks how long Parliament will suffer itself to be thus trifled with. After the repeated pledges given on this subject, the petitioners express their surprise—and they might have well expressed a stronger feeling—upon finding that the West India Committee at home had not scrupled to express its concurrence and approbation of the conduct of the local legislatures. The petitioners go on to state, that the measures proposed by Parliament for facilitating the manumission of slaves, have been adopted in any degree only in the crown colonies; in the others not at all. In these also, even where a shew of admitting slave evidence, for example, is made, it is done so partially and ineffectively as to produce no benefit to the slave; and although something has also ostensibly been done with respect to Sunday markets, in some of the chartered colonies, yet no time being allowed to the slave in lieu of Sunday, what has been done is wholly inadequate and evasive. Besides which, in no one of the colonies, having legislatures of their *own*, have the steps been taken of putting an end to the flogging of females or to the use of the driving whip, or towards establishing the principle of the compulsory manumission of the slaves.—I abstain from entering further into detail on this mighty question, not differing with the petitioners as to its urgency, nor harbouring the slightest shadow of doubt that the time is arrived when this subject cannot be trifled with further. Acting on that impression, I have given notice of a specific proposition, which I am in hopes will enable the House to deal with this question before the end of the present session. I think this is due to the subject—to the colonies—to hundreds of thousands of our fellow subjects, suffering in unabated and unceasing bondage. It is due to ourselves who, seven long years ago, carried our recommendations to the foot of the Throne; and it is due to the Crown itself which adopted the recommendations

of this House. Above all, Sir, it is due to our constituents, to the people of this country, who are deeply interested in the question; and I for one would not wish, indeed I could hardly venture to meet those whose confidence I desire most to enjoy, if I had not taken some step towards enabling this House to discuss the question of Negro Slavery before the conclusion of the present session.—On that occasion I would fain hope that this House will again raise its voice on behalf of the hundreds of thousands of our fellow creatures now suffering in Slavery.”

On the 13th of July, Mr. BROUGHAM brought forward the promised discussion, grounded on a motion pledging the House to proceed, at the earliest practicable period in the next session, to take into its serious consideration the mitigation and final abolition of Slavery, together with the amendment of the administration of justice in the slave colonies of Great Britain.

This motion he prefaced with a speech to the following effect.—

“Sir,—In rising to bring before the House a subject more momentous, in the eyes both of this country and of the world, than any that has occupied our attention during the whole of a long protracted session, I feel that I owe some apology for entering upon it at so late a day. I know too, that I am blamed in many quarters, for not postponing it till another session. But the apology which I am about to offer is, not for bringing it forward to-day, but for having delayed it so long; and I feel that I should be indeed without excuse; that I should stand convicted of a signal breach of public duty, to the character and the honour of the House, to the feelings and principles of the people, nay, to the universal feelings of mankind at large, by whatever names they may be called, into whatever families distributed, if I had not an ample defence to urge for having so long put off the agitation of this great question. Occurrences which happened at the commencement of the session, and the matters of pressing interest which attended its close, must plead my justification. Early in the year I had hoped that the Government would redeem the pledges which they gave me last session, and which then stayed my steps. I had expected to have the satisfaction of seconding a measure propounded by the ministers of the crown for improving the administration of justice in the colonies, and especially for amending the law which excludes the testimony of slaves. That those expectations have been frustrated, that those pledges remain unredeemed, I may lament, but in fairness I am bound to say I cannot charge as matter of severe blame on the Government, because I know the obstacles of a financial nature, which have stood in the way of intentions sincerely entertained to provide a pure and efficient system of judicature for the West India islands. Until I saw that no such reforms could be looked for in that high quarter, I was precluded from undertaking the subject, lest my efforts might mar the work in hands far more able to execute it. This is my defence for now addressing you at the end of the parliamentary year; but to imagine that I can hold my peace a moment longer, that I can suffer the parliament to be prorogued, and above all to be dissolved, and the country to be assembled for the choice of new representatives, without calling on the House for a solemn pledge which

may bind its successors to do their duty by the most defenceless and wretched portion of their fellow subjects, is so manifestly out of the question, that I make no apology for the lateness of the day, and disregard even the necessary absence of many of the fastest friends of the cause,* and the general slackness of attendance incident to the season, as attested by the state of these benches, which might well dissuade me from going on.

“And now, after the question of colonial slavery has for so many years been familiar to the House, and I fear still more familiar to the country, I would fain hope that I may dispense with the irksome task of dragging you through its details, from their multiplicity so overwhelming, from their miserable nature so afflicting. But I am aware that in the threshold of the scene, and to scare me from entering upon it, there stands the phantom of colonial independence, resisting parliamentary interference, fatiguing the ear with the thrice-told tale of their ignorance who see from afar off, and pointing to the fatal issue of the American war. There needs but one steady glance to brush all such spectres away. That the colonial legislatures have rights—that their privileges are to be respected—that their province is not to be lightly invaded—that the parliament of the mother country is not without necessity to trench on their independence—no man more than myself is willing to allow. But when those local assemblies utterly neglect their first duties—when we see them from the circumstances of their situation prevented from acting—struggling in these trammels for an independent existence—exhausted in the effort to stand alone—and to move one step wholly unable;—when at any rate we wait for years, and perceive that they advance not by a hair’s breadth, either because they cannot, or because they dare not, or because they will not;—then to contend that we should not interfere—that we should fail in *our* duty because they do not theirs—nay, that we have no right to act, because they have no power or no inclination to obey us, would be not an argument, but an abomination, a gross insult to Parliament, a mockery of our privileges—for I trust that we too have some left—a shameful abandonment of our duty, and a portentous novelty in the history of parliament, the plantations, and the country.

“Talk not of the American contest, and the triumph of the colonists! Who that has read the sad history of that event (and I believe among the patriarchs of this cause whom I now address there are some who can remember that disgrace of our counsels and our arms), will say, that either the Americans triumphed, or we quailed, on one inch of the ground upon which the present controversy stands? Ignorance the most gross, or inattention the most heedless, can alone explain, but cannot at all justify the use of such a topic. Be it remembered, and to set at rest the point of right, I shall say no more—let it not once be forgotten that the supremacy of the mother country never for an instant was surrendered at any period of that calamitous struggle. Nay, in

* He alluded to Sir J. Mackintosh, Dr. Lushington, Mr. Buxton, Mr. Sykes, Mr. W. Whitmore, and others, who were unavoidably absent on the occasion.

the whole course of it, a question of her supremacy never once was raised; the whole dispute was rigorously confined to the power of taxing. All that we gave up, as *we* said voluntarily, as the Americans more truly said by compulsion, was the power to tax; and by the very act which surrendered this power, we solemnly, deliberately, and unequivocally reasserted the right of the Parliament to give laws to the plantations in all other respects whatever. Thus speaks the record of history, and the record of our statute book. But were both history and the laws silent, there is a fact so plain and striking, that it would of itself be quite sufficient to establish the doctrine of parliamentary supremacy. I believe it may safely be affirmed, that on neither side of the water was there a man more distinguished for steady devotion to the cause of colonial independence, or who made his name more renowned by firm resistance to the claims of the mother country, than Mr. Burke. He was in truth throughout that memorable struggle the great leader in Parliament against the infatuated ministry, whose counsels ended in severing the empire: and far from abating in his opposition as the contest advanced, he sacrificed to those principles the favour of his constituents, and was obliged to withdraw from the representation of Bristol, which till then he had held. His speech on that occasion reaffirms the doctrines of American independence. But neither then nor at any other time did he ever think of denying the general legislative supremacy of Parliament; he only questioned the right of taxing the unrepresented colonies. But another fact must at once carry conviction to every mind. During the heat of the controversy, he employed himself in framing a code for the government of our sugar colonies. It was a bill to be passed into a law by the legislature of the mother country; and it has fortunately been preserved among his invaluable papers. There is no minute detail into which its provisions do not enter. The rights of the slave, the duties of the master, the obligation to feed and clothe, the restriction of the power of coercion and punishment, all that concerns marriage and education and religious instruction, all that relates to the hours of labour and rest,—every thing is minutely provided for, with an abundance of regulation which might well be deemed excessive, were not the subject that unnatural state of things which subjects man to the dominion of his fellow creatures, and which can only be rendered tolerable by the most profuse enactment of checks and controls. This measure of most ample interference was decreed by the most illustrious champion of colonial rights, the most jealous watchman of English encroachments. With his own hand he sketched the bold outline; with his own hand he filled up its details; with his own hand, long after the American contest had terminated, after the controversy on negro freedom had begun, and when his own principles touching the slave trade and slavery had bent before certain West India prejudices communicated by the party of the planters in Paris with whom he made common cause on revolutionary politics,—even then, instead of rejecting all idea of interference with the rights of the colonial assemblies, he delivered over his plan of a slave code to Mr. Dundas, then Secretary for the colonies, for the patronage and adoption of himself and Mr. Pitt. I offer this fact as a striking proof that it is worse than a jest, it is an

unpardonable delusion, to fancy that there ever has existed a doubt of the right of Parliament to give the colonies laws.

“ But I am told, that granting the right to be ours, we ought to shrink from the exercise of it when it would lead to an encroachment upon the sacred rights of property. I desire the House to mark the short and plain issue to which I am willing to bring this matter. I believe there is no man, either in or out of the profession to which I have the honour of belonging, and which over all others inculcates upon its children an habitual veneration for civil rights, less disposed than I am lightly to value those rights, or rashly to inculcate a disregard of them. But that renowned profession has taught me another lesson also; it has imprinted on my mind the doctrine which all men, the learned and the unlearned, feel to be congenial with the human mind, and to gather strength with its growth—that law above and prior to all the laws of human lawgivers, for it is the law of God—that there are some things which cannot be holden in property, and above every thing else, that man can have no property in his fellow-creature. But I willingly avoid those heights of moral argument, where, if we go in search of first principles, we see eternal fogs reign, and “ find no end in wandering mazes lost.” I had rather seek the humbler regions, and approach the level plain where all men see clear, where their judgments agree, and common feelings knit their hearts together; and standing on that general level, I ask, what is the right which one man claims over the person of another, as if he were a chattel and one of the beasts which perish? Is this that kind of property which claims universal respect, and is clothed in the hearts of all with a sanctity which makes it inviolable? I resist the claim; I deny the title: as a lawyer I demur to the declaration of the right; as a man I set up a law superior in point of antiquity, higher in point of authority than any which men have framed—the law of nature; and, if you appeal from that, I set up the law of the Christian dispensation, which holds all men equal, and commands that you treat every man as a brother! Talk to me not of such monstrous pretensions being decreed by acts of parliament, and recognised by treaties! Go back a quarter of a century to a kindred contest, when a long and painful struggle ended in an immortal triumph. The self-same arguments were urged in defence of the slave trade. Its vindication was rested upon the rights of property, as established by laws and by treaties: the right to trade in men was held to be as clear then as the right to hold men in property is held to be clear now. For twenty-five years, I am ashamed to repeat, for twenty-five years, to the lasting disgrace of the Parliament, the African slave traffic was thus defended; and that which it was then maintained every one had a right to do, is now denounced by our laws as piracy, and whoso doeth it shall be hanged as a felon.

“ But I am next told, that be the right as it may, the facts are against me; that the theory may be with those who object to slavery, but the practice is in favour of the system. The negroes are all well off, it seems; they are inured to the state in which they have been born and grown up; they are happy and contented, and we shall only hurt them by changing their condition, which the peasantry of England are desired to regard with envy. I will not stoop to answer such out-

rageous assertions by facts or by reasons. I will not insult your understanding, by proving, that no slave can know happiness or comfort; that where a man is at the nod of another, he can know nothing of real peace or repose. But I will at once appeal to two tests; to these I shall confine myself, satisfied that if they fail to decide the question, I may resort in vain to any arguments which philosophers can admit, or political economists entertain, or men of ordinary common sense handle.

“The two tests or criteria of happiness among any people, which I will now resort to, are the progress of population, and the amount of crime. These, but the first especially, are of all others the most safely to be relied on. Every one who has studied the philosophy of human nature, and every one who has cultivated statesmanlike wisdom, which indeed is only that philosophy reduced to practice, must admit, that the principle implanted in our nature, which ensures the continuance of the species is so powerful, that nothing can check its operation but some calamitous state of suffering, which reverses the natural order of things. Wherever, then, we see the numbers of men stationary, much more when we perceive them decreasing, we may rest assured that there is some fatal malady, some fundamental vice in the condition of the community, which makes head against the most irresistible of all impulses. Now look to the history of the black population, both free and slave, in the Antilles. In the British islands, excluding the island of Barbadoes, on a population of 670,000 slaves, there was a decrease of 31,500 in the six years which elapsed between 1818 and 1824; in Jamaica alone, upon the number of 330,000, a decrease of between 8,000 and 9,000. But not so with the free men: although placed in circumstances exceedingly unfavourable to increase of numbers, yet such is the natural fruitfulness of the negro race that they rapidly multiplied. The Maroons doubled between 1749 and 1782; and when great part of them were removed after the rebellion of 1796, those who remained increased in six years, from 1810 to 1816, no less than 18 per cent.; and in five years, from 1816 to 1821, 14 per cent. In North America, where they are better fed, the negroes have increased in thirty years no less than 130 per cent. Look next to Trinidad: in the four years, from 1825 to 1829, the slaves have fallen off from 23,117 to 22,436, notwithstanding a considerable importation; being a decrease of at least a 34th, but probably of a 20th. But what has happened to the same race, and circumstanced alike as to climate, soil, food, in short every thing save liberty? Nature has with them upheld her rights; her first great law has been obeyed; the passions and the vigour of man have had their course unrestrained; and the increase of his numbers has attested his freedom. They have risen in the same four years, from 13,995 to 16,412, being a rate, when due allowances have been made for manumissions, which would double their numbers in twenty years; the greatest rate at which population is in any circumstances known to increase.*

* We shall be able to show, that even this frightful contrast, instead of being exaggerated, as was asserted by Mr. K. Douglas, is below the mark. The de-

“ There cannot be a more appalling picture presented to the reflecting mind than that of a people decreasing in numbers. To him who can look beyond the abstract numbers, whose eye is not confined to the mere tables and returns of population, but ranges over the miseries of which such a diminution is the infallible symptom ; it offers a view of all the forms of wretchedness, suffering in every shape, privations in unlimited measure—whatever is most contrary to the nature of human beings, most alien to their habits, most averse to their happiness and comfort,—all beginning in slavery, the state most unnatural to man ; consummated through various channels in his degradation, and leading to one common end, the grave. Show me but the simple fact, that the people in any country are regularly decreasing, so as in half a century to be extinct ; and I want no other evidence that their lot is that of the bitterest wretchedness ; nor will any other facts convince me that their general condition can be favourable or mild.

“ The second general test to which I would resort for the purpose of trying the state of any community, without the risk of those deceptions to which particular facts are liable, is the number of crimes committed. In Trinidad, I find that the slaves belonging to plantations, in number 16,580, appear by the records printed, to have been punished in two years for 11,131 offences ; that is to say, deducting the number of infants incapable of committing crimes, every slave had committed some offence in the course of those two years. It is true that the bulk of those offences, 7,644, were connected with their condition of bondage—refusing to work, absconding from the estate, insolence to their owner or overseer ; all incidental to their sad condition, but all visited with punishment betokening its accompanying debasement. Nevertheless, other crimes were not wanting : 713 were punished for theft, or above 350 in a year, on a number of about 12,000, deducting persons incapacitated by infancy, age, or sickness, from being the subjects of punishment. Let any one consider what this proportion would give in England : it would amount to 350,000 persons punished in one year for larceny. In Berbice, on a population of 21,000, were 9,000 punishments ; no record being kept of those in plantations of six slaves or under : and in Demerara, of 61,000 plantation slaves, there were 20,567 punished, of whom 8,461 were women. I cannot here withhold from the House the testimony of the protector of slaves, to the happiness of their condition. ‘ I cannot,’ says that judicious officer, ‘ refrain from remarking on the contented appearance of the negroes ; and from the opportunities of judging which I have, I think that generally they have every reason to be so.’ I would not have this protector placed in the condition of the very happiest of this contented tribe,

crease of the slaves in Trinidad, from 1818 to 1824, was 3868, or $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. per annum. The rate of decrease from 1825 to 1829, adding the large importation which took place, and deducting the number manumitted, in those years, will be found not to fall short of this ; while the increase of the free black and coloured population, during the same years, making due allowance for manumissions, appears to have proceeded at the rate of at least 3 per cent.—The decrease of 31,500, mentioned above, ought to be 30,150, the increase in the Bahamas appearing not to have been deducted.—See *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 26. p. 11-

whose numbers are hourly lessening, and whose lives are spent in committing crime and in receiving punishment. No, not for a day would I punish his error in judgment, by condemning him to taste the comforts which he describes, as they are enjoyed by the very luckiest of those placed under his protection. But such testimony is not peculiar to this officer. Long before his protectorate commenced, before he even came into this world of slavery and bliss, of bondage and contentment, the like opinion had been pronounced in favour of West Indian felicity.

“ I hold in my hand the evidence of lord Rodney, who swore before the Privy Council that he never saw an instance of cruel treatment ;— that in all the islands, ‘ and,’ said his lordship, ‘ I know them all,’ the negroes were better off in clothing, lodging, and food, than the poor at home, and were never in any case at all over-worked. Admiral Barington, rising in ardour of expression, as he advanced in knowledge, declares that he has often wished himself in the condition of the slaves. Neither would I take the gallant admiral at his rash word, sanctioned though it be by an oath. I would not punish his temerity so severely as to consign him to a station, compared with which he would in four and twenty hours have become reconciled to the hardest fare in the most crazy bark that ever rocked on the most perilous wave ; or even to the lot which our English seamen are the least inured to—the most disastrous combat that ever lowered his flag in discomfiture and disgrace. But these officers confined not their testimony to the condition of slavery ; they cast its panoply around the slave trade itself. They were just as liberal in behalf of the Guineaman, as of those whom his toils were destined to enrich. They gave just as Arcadian a picture of the slaver’s deck and hold, as of the enviable fields whither she was fraught with a cargo of happy creatures, designed by their felicitous destiny to become what are called the cultivators of those romantic regions. ‘ The slaves on board are comfortably lodged,’ says one gallant officer, ‘ in rooms fitted up for them.’ ‘ They are amused with instruments of music : when tired of music, they then go to games of chance.’ Let the inhabitants or the frequenters of our club houses hear this and envy—those ‘ famous wits’ to whom St. James’s purlieus are ‘ native or hospitable :’ let them cast a longing look on the superior felicity of their sable brethren on the middle passage. They toil not, neither do they spin, yet have they found for them all earthly indulgences ; food and raiment for nothing ; music to charm the sense ; and when, sated with such enjoyment, the mind seeks a change, games of chance are kindly provided by boon traffic, to stimulate the lazy appetite. ‘ The slaves,’ adds the admiral, ‘ are indulged in all their little humours.’ Whether one of these caprices might be to have themselves tied up from time to time, and lacerated with a scourge, he has omitted to mention. ‘ He had frequently,’ he says, ‘ seen them, and as happy as any of the crew, it being the interest of the officers and men to make them so.’ But it is admiral Evans who puts the finishing stroke to this fairy picture. ‘ The arrival of a Guineaman,’ he says, ‘ is known in the West Indies by the dancing and singing of the negroes on board.’ It is thus that these cargoes of merry happy creatures, torn from their families, their native fields, and their cottages, celebrate their reaching the land

of promise, and that their coming is distinguished from the dismal landing of free English seamen, out of West India traders, or other receptacles of cruelty and wretchedness!

“But if all the deductions of philosophy, and all the general indications of fact, loudly prove the unalterable wretchedness of colonial slavery, where, may it be asked, are the particular instances of its existence? Alas! there is no want of these: but I will only cull out a few, dealing purposely with the mass rather by sample than by breaking its foul bulk. I shall illustrate by a few examples the effects of slavery in communities to the exertions of which we are bid to look for the mitigation and final extinction of that horrid condition.

“A certain Reverend George Wilson Bridges was charged with an offence of the deepest dye. A slave girl had been ordered to dress a turkey for dinner, and the order having been disobeyed, he struck her a violent blow, which caused her nose and mouth to flow with blood, applying to her at the same time an oath, and a peculiarly coarse epithet, highly unbecoming in a clergyman, and indeed in any man, as it is the name most offensive to all womankind. He then commanded two men to cut bamboo rods and point them for her punishment. She was stripped of every article of dress, and flogged till the back part of her, from the shoulders to the calves of the legs, was one mass of lacerated flesh. She made her escape, and went to a magistrate. The matter was brought before what is called a council of protection, where by a majority of fourteen to four it was resolved that no further proceedings should take place. The Secretary of State for the colonies, however, thought otherwise, and in a dispatch, with no part of which have I any fault to find, directed the evidence to be laid before the attorney general. I understand that the reverend gentleman has NOT been put on his trial.* I hope I may have been misinformed: I shall rejoice to find it is so. I shall also be glad to find that there is no ground for the charge: although the man’s servants, when examined, all admitted the severity of the flogging, and himself allowed he had seen it, though he alleged he was not near; but he could not deny he had heard the screams of the victim. This Reverend Bridges I happen to know by other works of his, by those labours of slander which have diversified the life of this minister of peace and truth. For publishing one of these, a respectable bookseller has been convicted by a jury of his country. Others have been passed over with contempt by their illustrious object—that venerable person, the great patriarch of our cause, whose days are to be numbered by acts of benevolence and of piety; whose whole life—and long may it be extended for his own glory and the good of his fellow-creatures!—has been devoted to the highest interests of religion and charity; who might have hoped to pass on his holy path undisturbed by any one calling himself a Christian pastor, even in a West Indian community. This man, however, has so far succeeded, whether by the treatment of his slaves, or the defamation of Mr. Wilberforce, in recommending himself to his fellow-citizens in Jamaica, that a great majority of the protecting council forbade his conduct being inquired into. So vain is it to expect

* Subsequent accounts state that he is to be put upon his trial.

from the owners of slaves any active execution of the laws against slavery! And will you then trust those slave owners with the making of such laws? Recollect the memorable warning of Mr. Canning, given thirty years ago, and proved true by every day's experience since. 'Have a care how you leave to the owners of slaves the task of making laws against slavery. While human nature remains the same, they never can be trusted with it.'

"It is now six years since I called the attention of Parliament to one of the most grievous outrages that ever was committed since the Charraibean Archipelago was peopled with Negro slaves—the persecution unto death of a Christian minister, for no other offence than preaching the gospel of his Master. I was then told, that no such wrong would ever be done again. It was a single case which never could recur: at all events, the discussion in this House, and the universal reprobation called forth, even from those who had not sufficient independence to give their voices for doing justice upon the guilty, would, I was told, effectually secure the freedom of religious worship in future. I was silenced by the majority of votes, but not convinced by such reasons as these. And I now hold in my hand the proof that I was right. It is a statement promulgated by a numerous and respectable body of sincere Christians, with whom I differ both in religious and political opinions, but in whose conduct, if there be any thing which I peculiarly blame, it is their disinclination to deviate from a bad habit of passive obedience—of taking all that is done by men in authority to be right. They seem, however, now to be convinced that they have carried this habit too far, and that the time is come when they can no longer do their duty and hold their peace. The narrative which they have given, confirmed by the conduct of the Government itself, is such as would have filled me with indignation had I read it six years ago; but after the warning voice so loudly raised in the debates upon the missionary Smith's murder, I gaze upon it astonished and incredulous. The simple and affecting story is told by Mr. Orton, a blameless and pious minister of the gospel in Jamaica. He first alludes to the 'daring attack made on the mission premises at St. Ann's Bay on Christmas-day 1826' (the festival chosen by these friends of the established church for celebrating their brotherly love towards another sect). 'The attack,' says he, 'was made by a party of white persons, of the light company of militia, who were stationed at St. Ann's Bay as the Christmas guards. The plan appeared to have been premeditated, and there remains but little doubt that the design was murderous. A great number of balls were fired into the chapel and house, fourteen of which I assisted to extract from various parts of the building; and upon noticing particularly the direction, and measuring the distance from which some of the shots must have been fired, it appeared that Mr. and Mrs. Ratcliffe and their child most narrowly escaped the fatal consequences which were no doubt designed.' All attempts to bring these criminals to justice failed, it seems, for want of evidence—a somewhat extraordinary incident in a community calling itself civilized, that so many persons as must have been concerned in it should all have escaped! In the course of the next summer, Mr. Grims-

dall, another clergyman of the same persuasion, was arrested twice; the second time, for having preached at a small place called Ocho Rios, in an unlicensed house, although a licence had been applied for and refused, contrary to the judgment of the custos and another magistrate. He was flung into a noisome dungeon, 'such,' says the narrative, 'as no person in Great Britain can have any conception of. His constitution, naturally strong, could not sustain the attack—he sunk under the oppression of these persecutors, and the deleterious effects of confinement in a noxious prison; and this devoted servant of God, after a painful sickness of sixteen days, was delivered by death from the further sufferings projected by his unfeeling persecutors. He died the 15th day of December 1827.'

"Mr Whitehouse, too, was a preacher of the gospel, and consequently an object of persecution. In the summer of 1828, he was seized and carried before a magistrate, accused of having preached without a licence, that is, of having a licence in one parish and preaching in another. He besought the magistrates as a favour, to be bound in irons in the market-place, instead of being confined in the cell where his predecessor had been deprived of life. They treated his remonstrances with indifference, said they were resolved to do their duty, professed not to regard what the public might say of them, and added that 'whoever might come should be treated in the same manner.' He was accordingly flung into the dungeon where Mr. Grimsdall had perished. 'I found it,' says he, 'occupied by an insane black woman. She was removed, but the cell was exceedingly filthy, and the stench unbearable. It was now eight o'clock in the evening, and the jailor said he 'must lock up.' I desired that the cell floor might, at least, be swept, which a few friends immediately attended to. There was no bed provided for me, not even one of straw; and it was not until I had made several requests to the jailor that a few benches from the chapel were allowed to be brought in, on which to make a bed. A large quantity of vinegar, and of strong camphorated rum, was thrown upon the floor and walls for the purpose of counteracting the very disagreeable effluvia which proceeded from the filth with which the place abounded; but this produced very little effect. The sea-breeze had subsided, and the only window from which I could obtain the least air, was just above the place in which all the filth of the premises is deposited.'

"Mr. Orton received the intelligence of his persecuted brother's affliction, with a request that he would perform his pastoral duty to his congregation. He did so, and was forthwith committed to the same jail. 'Of the horrid state of the place,' he says, 'an idea can scarcely be formed from any representation which can here be made, as common decency forbids the mention of its filthy condition, and of the many unseemly practices which were constantly presented to our notice. The hospital, jail, and workhouse, are united: the two former are under one roof, occupying an area of about twenty-five feet by thirty-five. On the ground-floor were three apartments. In the condemned cell were two unfortunate creatures waiting their doom. In an adjoining cell were many negroes confined for petty offences; and in another apartment,

on the same floor, forty were crammed together, who had been taken in execution, and were waiting to be driven and sold in the market. This building, small and confined, was, especially during the night, literally stowed with persons; so that from the number of the prisoners, and the extreme filth of the negroes, it was almost unbearable.

“ Let us but reflect on the sufferings of imprisonment, even in the best jail of our own temperate climate; and let us then add to those the torments of the tropical heats! Think of being inclosed with crowds beyond what the air will supply with the needful nourishment of the lungs, while a fiery sun wheels round the clear sky from morning to night, without the veil of a single cloud to throw a shade between; where all matter passes instantly from life to putrescence, and water itself, under the pestilent ray, becomes the source of every frightful malady! Add the unnatural condition of the inmates, not there for debts or for offences of their own, but seized for their owner’s default, and awaiting, not the judgment of the law, or their liberation under an insolvent act, but till the market opens, when, like brute beasts, they are to be driven and sold to the highest bidder! In such a dungeon was it that Mr. Orton and his brethren were immured; and when their strength began to sink, and it seemed plain that they must speedily follow their friend to the grave, they were taken before the Chief Justice, who instantly declared the warrant illegal, and their seventeen days’ confinement to have been without the shadow of pretence.

“ Who then was in the right, six years ago, in the memorable debate upon the persecutions of the missionary Smith? You, who said enough had been done in broaching the subject, and that religion and her ministers would thenceforward be secure—or I, who warned you, that if my Resolutions were rejected, he would not, by many a one, be the last victim? I would to God that the facts did not so plainly prove me to have foretold the truth.

“ I may seem to have said enough; but it is painful to me that I cannot stop here,—that I must try faintly to paint excesses unheard of in Christian times—which to match we must go back to heathen ages, to the days and to the stations wherein absolute power made men, but pagan men, prodigies of cruelty exaggerated by caprice,—that I must drag before you persons moving in the higher walks of life, and exerting proportionable influence over the society they belong to:—an English gentleman and an English gentlewoman accused, guilty, convicted of the most infernal barbarity; and an English community, so far from visiting the enormity with contempt, or indignant execration, that they make the savage perpetrators the endeared objects of esteem, respect, and affection! I read the recital from the despatch of the late Secretary for the Colonies (Mr. Huskisson), a document never to be sufficiently praised for its statesmanlike firmness, for the manly tone of feeling and of determination united which marks it throughout. ‘The slave girl,’ he says, ‘was accused of theft, but some disobedience in refusing to mend the clothes 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 her 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 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.'

“ Mark the refinement of their wickedness! I nowise doubt, that to screen themselves from the punishment of death due to their crimes, these wretches will now say—they did indeed say on their trial—that their hapless victim died of disease. When their own lives were in jeopardy, they found that she had caught the fever, and died by the visitation of God.—But when the question was, Shall she be flogged again? Shall she, who has for twelve days been fixed in the stocks under the fiery beams of a tropical sun,—who has been torn with the scourge from the nape of the neck to the plants of her feet,—who has had pepper rubbed in her eyes to ward off the sleep that might have stolen over her senses, and for a moment withdrawn her spirit from the fangs of her tormentors—shall SHE be subjected by those accursed fiends to the seventh scourging? Oh! then she had no sign of fever! she had caught no disease! she was all hale, and sound, and fit for the lash! At seven she was flogged—at noon she died! and those execrable and impious murderers soon found out that she had caught the malady, and perished by the ‘visitation of God!’ No, no! I am used to examine circumstances, to weigh evidence, and I do firmly believe that she died by the murderous hand of man! that she was killed and murdered! It was wisely said by Mr. Fox, that when some grievous crime is perpetrated in a civilized community, we are consoled by finding in all breasts a sympathy with the victim, and an approval of the punishment by which the wrong-doer expiates his offence. But in the West Indies there is no such solace to the mind—there all the feelings flow in a wrong course—perverse, preposterous, unnatural—the hatred is for the victim, the sympathy for the tormentor! I hold in my hand the proof of it in this dreadful case. The Mosses were condemned by

an iniquitous sentence; for it was only to a small fine and five months' imprisonment. The public indignation followed the transaction; but it was indignation against the punishment, not the crime, and against the severity, not the lenity of the infliction. The governor, a British officer—and I will name him to rescue others from the blame—General Grant—tells us in his despatch, that 'he had been applied to by the most respectable inhabitants to remit the sentence;' that 'he loses no time in applying to Lord Bathurst to authorize the remission.' He speaks of 'the unfortunate Henry and Helen Moss;' says, they 'are rather to be pitied for the *untoward* melancholy occurrence' (as if he were talking of some great naval victory over the Turk, instead of a savage murder,) and that 'he hastens to prevent the impression, which the mention of the case might make on his Lordship's mind.' In a second despatch, he earnestly renews the application; describes 'the respectability of Mr. and Mrs. Moss, their general kindness to their slaves, the high estimation in which they are held by all who have partaken of their hospitality;' tells us that 'they have always been favourably spoken of in every respect, including that of slave management;' states his own anxiety, that 'persons of their respectability should be spared from imprisonment;' and that at any rate 'the mulct should be relinquished, lest they should be thought cruel and oppressive beyond others, and also in order to remove in some degree the impression of their being habitually and studiously cruel;' and he adds a fact, which speaks volumes, and may well shut all mouths that now cry aloud for leaving such things to the assemblies of the islands. 'Notwithstanding their being in gaol, they are visited by the most respectable persons in the place, and by ALL who knew them before.'

"The governor who thus thinks and thus writes, has been removed from that settlement; but only, I say it with grief, to be made the ruler of a far more important colony. From the Bahamas he has been promoted to Trinidad—that great island which Mr. Canning described as about to be made the model by the crown, for all slave colonies. Over such a colony was he sent to preside, who, having tasted of the hospitality of the Mosses, could discern in their treatment of their slaves, nothing out of the fair, ordinary course of humane management.

"From contemplating the horrors of slavery in the West Indies, it is impossible that we can avoid the transition to that infernal traffic, alike the scourge of Africa and America, the disgrace of the old world and the curse of the new, from which so much wretchedness has flowed. It is most shocking to reflect that its ravages are still abroad desolating the earth. I do not, I believe, rate the importation into the Brazils too high, when I put it at 100,000 during the last twelve months. Now, when we recollect that the number of seventy-three capital punishments, among which are but two or three for murder, in a population of twelve millions, excites our just horror in England, what shall we say of 100,000 capital crimes committed by a handful of desperate men, every one of which involves and implies rapine, fraud, murder, torture, in frightful abundance? And yet we must stand by and see such enormities perpetrated without making any remonstrance, or even urging any representation! By the treaty with Portugal, it is true, no such

crimes can henceforth be repeated ; for this year the traffic is to cease, and the mutual right of search is given to the vessels of both nations, the only possible security for the abolition being effectual.* But there is another country, nearer to us in position, and in habits of intercourse more familiar, one of far more importance for the authority of its example, in which the slave trade still flourishes in most portentous vigour, although denounced by the law and visited with infamous punishment :—the dominions of the monarch who calls himself ‘ Most Christian,’ and refuses the only measure that can put such wholesale iniquity down. There it must thrive as long as groundless national jealousies prevent the right of search from being mutually conceded. Let us hope that so foul a stain on the character of so great a nation will soon be wiped away ; that the people who now take the lead of all others in the march of liberty will cast far from their camp this unclean thing, by all lovers of freedom most abhorred. I have heard with amazement some thoughtless men say, that the French cannot enjoy liberty, because they are unused to it. I protest solemnly, I could point to no nation more worthy of freedom, or which knew better how to use it, how to gain it, how to defend it. I turn with a grateful heart to contemplate the glorious spectacle, now exhibited in France of patriotism, of undaunted devotion to liberty, of firm, yet temperate, resistance to arbitrary power. It is animating to every beholder ; it is encouraging to all freemen in every part of the world. I earnestly hope that it may not be lost on the Bourbon monarch and his councillors ; for the sake of France and of England, for the sake of peace, for the sake of the Bourbon princes themselves, I pray that they may be wise in time, and yield to the wish, the determination of their people ; I pray that, bending before the coming breeze, the gathering storm may not sweep them away ! But of one thing I would warn that devoted race ; let them not flatter themselves that by trampling upon liberty in France, they can escape either the abhorrence of man or the divine wrath for the execrable traffic in slaves, carried on under their flag, and flourishing under their sway in Africa. I will tell their ghostly councillors in the language of a book with which they *ought* to be familiar—‘ Behold, obedience is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams.’ To what should they lend an ear ? To the commands of a God who loves mercy, and will punish injustice, and abhors blood, and will surely avenge it upon their heads ; nothing the less because their patronage of slavery in distant climes is matched by their hatred of liberty at home.

“ Sir, I have done. I trust that at length the time is come when parliament will no longer bear to be told that slave owners are the best lawgivers on slavery : no longer allow an appeal from the British public to such communities as those in which the Smiths and the Grimsdalls are persecuted to death for teaching the gospel to the negroes ; and the Mosses holden in affectionate respect for torture and murder : no longer suffer our voice to roll across the Atlantic in empty warnings, and fruitless orders. Tell me not of rights—talk not of the property of

* From the month of March last, by the treaty with Brazil, slave-trading is made piracy, and slave-traders are punishable as pirates.

the planter in his slaves. I deny the right—I acknowledge not the property. The principles, the feelings of our common nature, rise in rebellion against it. Be the appeal made to the understanding or to the heart, the sentence is the same that rejects it. In vain you tell me of laws that sanction such a claim! There is a law above all the enactments of human codes—the same throughout the world, the same in all times—such as it was before the daring genius of Columbus pierced the night of ages, and opened to one world sources of power, wealth, and knowledge; to another, all unutterable woes;—such it is at this day: it is the law written by the finger of God on the heart of man; and by that law, eternal, unchangeable, while men despise fraud, and loathe rapine, and abhor blood, they shall reject with indignation the wild and guilty phantasy, that man can hold property in man! In vain you appeal to treaties, to covenants between nations. The covenants of the Almighty, whether the old covenant or the new, denounce such unholy pretensions. To those laws did they of old refer, who maintained the African trade. Such treaties did they cite, and not untruly; for by one shameful compact you bartered the glories of Blenheim for the traffic in blood. Yet, in despite of law and of treaty, that infernal traffic is now destroyed, and its votaries put to death like other pirates. How came this change to pass? Not assuredly by parliament leading the way; but the country at length awoke; the indignation of the people was kindled; it descended in thunder, and smote the traffic, and scattered its guilty profits to the winds. Now then let the planters beware—let their assemblies beware—let the government at home beware—let the parliament beware! The same country is once more awake,—awake to the condition of negro slavery; the same indignation kindles in the bosom of the same people; the same cloud is gathering that annihilated the slave trade: and, if it shall descend again, they, on whom its crash may fall, will not be destroyed before I have warned them: but I pray that their destruction may turn away from us the more terrible judgments of God!"

The motion of Mr. Brougham was seconded by Mr. E. PROTHEROE, who expressed his satisfaction in the opportunity of giving it his warmest support, although in so doing, he should displease many of his friends, and raise serious obstacles to his return to Parliament.

Mr. KEITH DOUGLAS entered upon a vindication of the conduct of the colonial legislatures, re-affirming many of the statements which have recently appeared in an Abstract published with the sanction of the West India committee.*

Mr. W. SMITH replied to the statements of Mr. Douglas, on the

* A full exposure of the extreme unfairness of this Abstract, indeed of its extraordinary deviations from truth, will be found in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 60. Both Mr. Douglas, and afterwards Mr. Manning, endeavoured to vindicate the colonial legislatures, by gleaning from the official despatches of successive secretaries of state an occasional compliment; entirely omitting their severe animadversions on the inefficiency or injustice of the pretended colonial ameliorations. Compliments, however, do not alter the facts of the case, or give a new character to laws which are in themselves, and by the same high authority are pronounced to be, evasive, inoperative, or unjust.

subject of colonial improvement, and affirmed that the pretended compliances of the colonial assemblies with the recommendations of the Crown, were altogether evasive and ineffectual. He protested also against a system of making man the property of his fellow man, as opposed to every principle of British constitutional law, and still more as forbidden by the laws of nature and of God.

Mr. W. HORTON defended himself from the imputation of having been hostile to the anti-slavery cause, and charged the Anti-Slavery Society with inconsistency in objecting to the proprietary rights of the holders of slavers, while they contended for the adoption of the compulsory manumission clause.* His object had been to give full effect to every part of the resolutions of 1823, and no less to that part which recognised the interests of private property, than to that which pointed to the final termination of slavery; both which objects were equally contemplated by the resolutions of 1823. He further thought, that it would be most unwise in Parliament to force on the colonies laws, to frame which Parliament was very incompetent. The laws ought to be framed by the colonists abroad, and not by us at home. Nevertheless, he would strongly advise the chartered colonies to adopt into their codes the provisions of the late order in council, which he conceived, with a slight exception or two, had done all in the way of reform that was requisite. Still he thought it would be unwise to force upon the colonies an act of Parliament, though he wished them to adopt the order in council. And if they still refused to do so, we might then induce their compliance, by imposing higher duties on the produce of the refractory colonies, and lower duties on the others. He closed his speech by reading a series of resolutions in conformity with the general views he had expressed on the subject. †

Sir GEORGE MURRAY objected to the resolutions of Mr. W. Hor-

* We can see no inconsistency whatever in denying the right of one man to hold his fellow creature in bondage, and at the same time urging Government to fulfil its own pledges on the subject of manumission. If the Anti-Slavery Society cannot obtain all that they think just for the slaves, that would be a very bad reason for failing to claim on their behalf the fulfilment of every promise of relief and mitigation, which, in however slight a degree, tended to make their yoke less galling and oppressive, and their bondage less hopeless.

† We find it difficult clearly to comprehend the consistency of the reasoning here employed by Mr. Horton. He disapproves of Parliament legislating for the colonies, and says we ought to leave that work to themselves; and yet he recommends to their adoption, under pain of fiscal coercion, a slave code, not framed in the colonies, but framed in England. He deems that code to be excellent. Without stopping to dispute that point,—still that code has been framed at home, and has been forcibly imposed on six of our colonies; nor does he allege that any evil has arisen, or is likely to arise from this compulsory course. And yet he condemns it as an unwise policy to impose the same code in the same way on the other colonies. But, surely, if it is right, and has been productive of good, to legislate from home for the *Crown* colonies, it cannot be wrong and productive of evil to legislate in like manner for the *chartered* colonies. And as to his expedient for inducing these colonies to adopt this code, what is it but the use of force? We should have thought that an act of parliament, which it is admitted on all hands we have full right to pass on this subject, would be a much more simple, rational, and efficient process than that which he recommends.

ton, and to the motion of Mr. Brougham; and he strongly urged the latter not to divide the house. He expressed strongly his admiration of Mr. Brougham's speech, and declared his decided repugnance to such a condition as that of slavery, which, he thought, injurious alike to master and slave, as well as opposed to humanity and sound policy, and at variance with the principles of Christianity. He admitted fully the right of Parliament to legislate for the West Indies; and the slaves he regarded as having an equal right with every other class of the king's subjects, to the protection of the government and legislature of this country. He was averse, however, to precipitate measures. It was certainly his intention to fulfil his pledge of last year as to improving the administration of justice, and he conceived that the ends of justice would be greatly promoted by freely admitting slave evidence in all cases. He adverted to the consolidated slave law of Jamaica, which, though containing, he said, some improvements, had been disallowed on account of its inadmissible restrictions on religious toleration. Sir George concluded with assuring the House that he would continue to urge the colonies to reform their system as rapidly as it could be done, but that he felt, at the same time, the necessity of caution.*

After a few words from Mr. OTWAY CAVE, urging the early and entire abolition of slavery; and a speech from Mr. MANNING, in vindication of the colonial legislatures, and complaining of such motions as the present being brought on at the close of a Parliament, as they led to a most inconvenient catechising of candidates, an inconvenience he had painfully experienced at the last election;—Sir FRANCIS BURDETT addressed the house at some length. He supported Mr. Brougham's motion, pledging the house to an early consideration of the whole subject; and though he was inclined to believe, that they might not be able to place the matter in better hands than those of Sir G. Murray, yet it was desirable, by a resolution of that house, to quicken the sluggish movements of the colonial legislatures, to whom, however, he did not impute great blame. On the contrary, of their intentions he thought favourably, and he believed they had done much in the way of amelioration. He then suggested various expedients for improving the condition of the slaves, and gradually effecting their emancipation; but he expressed an opinion, at the same time, that the question was one of great delicacy, and requiring very

* Sir George Murray admits that the right of Parliament to legislate for the chartered colonies is as indisputable as that of the Crown to legislate for the Crown colonies. Now what is it that has justified him in imposing a slave code on the Crown colonies against their will, which would not equally justify him in proposing to impose the same code by act of Parliament on the chartered colonies? He speaks of the necessity of acting cautiously, and of avoiding precipitancy. But these considerations must have been equally valid, when he issued the Order in Council of February last, as they are now. And what makes them of more force in respect to Jamaica, Barbadoes, Antigua, &c. than they are with respect to Demerara, Trinidad, and the Mauritius? Is the reluctance of the planters to the measure greater in the former than in the latter? Or would the effects be different, or the resistance to be dreaded of a more serious and alarming character in the one case than in the other? Sir George Murray, and Sir Robert Peel (who concurred in Sir George's view of the subject), must feel that there is in fact no real distinction between the two cases.

slow and cautious advances; although he admitted, that by pursuing our inquiries with zeal and earnestness, the duration of slavery might be greatly shortened; and he held, moreover, that the emancipation of the slaves, when brought about, could not but prove, in the end, a benefit to the proprietors as well as to the slaves.*

Sir ROBERT PEEL, after highly praising the moderation and good sense which distinguished the observations of the preceding speaker, urged various objections to the expediency of giving the prospective pledge proposed by Mr. Brougham. He objected to it, among other reasons, because it pledged the House to the final abolition of slavery, whereas, he was not prepared to give any such pledge, until he saw the means of effecting it. It did so too, without adverting to compensation. He admitted he could not defend the title by which slaves were held as property, but still he thought the present holders of them had the same just claim to compensation with the holders of any other kind of property. He cautioned the House against pledging itself to any measure, leading to emancipation.—He admitted the power of Parliament to impose laws on the colonies, but he could not contemplate, without horror, an idea of going to war with them to enforce such laws.—He viewed the atrocities practised towards the slaves with deep regret, especially as he could not view them merely as if they were the acts of individuals, but as indicating that the sympathies of the colonists generally were enlisted on the side of the wrong doer and against the slave.—While he admitted, in the fullest extent, the right of Parliament to legislate for the colonies on this question, yet he should rather let the necessary measures originate in the kindly feelings of the colonists themselves, for he thought little good could be expected from reluctant legislation.†

* We were surprised by the tone of this speech. The honourable Baronet would, we think, have modified his view of this subject had he drawn his information from the only legitimate sources, particularly from the colonial statute books, the statistical and other official returns received from the colonies, and the recorded admissions of the colonists themselves; and had reasoned from them on the general principles which he would apply to every other case. If he had pursued this course, it would have been impossible that a mind like his, so sensitively alive as it has ever shown itself to the evils of oppression, could have so inadequately appreciated the evils of the very worst species of oppression which has ever darkened the history of the human race. We earnestly hope he will carefully re-examine the subject. If he does, we cannot doubt the result.

† We were still more surprised by the speech of Sir Robert Peel, than by that of the Baronet who preceded him. The concluding observation of it has already been noticed. Our chief surprise was caused by Sir Robert's reluctance to give any pledge for the final abolition of slavery. He surely must have forgotten his unqualified concurrence in those solemn resolutions of the 15th May, 1823, which deeply pledged both the Government, of which he formed a part, and the Parliament of Great Britain, to the final extinction of every trace of slavery, "at the earliest period," compatible with certain objects there specified. And if he has not forgotten this pledge, does he consider it as having been vacated by circumstances? Or is his present disclaimer to be regarded as a designed retractation of it? We hope not. And then as to the omission of which he complains, in the proposed motion, of all reference to the subject of compensation in case of abolition; in what way can the motion be viewed as shutting out that or any other part of the entire case from the consideration of Parlia-

Mr. BROUGHAM, in reply, stated that he was afraid there was but little substance in one of the objections of the right hon. Secretary to dividing the House, grounded upon the smallness of the numbers present on this occasion. He was apprehensive lest it should, by the division, be disclosed to the country how few were present on so important a question. But he did not exactly see how the circumstance could be long concealed, even if they did not divide. A secret like this, trusted to above forty individuals, like the secrets of the weaker sex, was confided to too many persons, not to reach the parties interested in the discussion, in the course of to-morrow. It was thus that the most delicate secrets always got out. A person being confided in, and afraid of not being able to keep the secret, took some one to help him, and he finding the difficulty increase, took two or three more to his assistance, and so about as many as now were present came to know it, and there was an end of the secret. In his mind, the smallness of the number who felt an interest in the settlement of the question, ought to be an additional argument with its friends for the publication of the numbers who divided upon it; because it showed that Parliament, which notwithstanding its vote of the 15th of May, 1826, had ever since done exactly and precisely nothing, continued still to evince the same slowness to redeem the pledges it had so solemnly given to the public on that former occasion. But it was said, you hurt the character of the House by dividing. He would not stop to inquire what character the House had to lose in this respect, or whether it could spare any character.—A death-bed repentance, in the case of individuals, it was said, went but a little way; perhaps, in a Parliament, it went further, especially with members' constituents on the eve of a dissolution.—But he really was amused with the ingenuous simplicity of the member for Evesham (Mr. Manning), so refreshing in an ancient senator, a West India merchant, and a Bank director—and so worthy rather of the tenderness of artless youth. He complained of the great inconvenience of being put to answer questions at his election; and said that, in 1826, a similar motion, made at the end of the last Parliament, had exposed him to be catechised, when he went to his constituents—a troublesome and even painful ceremony, he innocently said.—Would he suffer him (Mr. B.) to attend him on his death-bed—while alarmed at approaching dissolution—and minister comfort, and indeed aid to him? He could tell him how he might take the sting from dissolution, and meet his constituents without fear. Let him vote for the motion, and he would answer for their being satisfied, and re-electing him without asking any questions at all. But, again, it was objected that they should not presume to take on them the dictation of any measure to a future Parliament.—Where then was Mr. Fox's precedent, when, in 1806, he moved his resolution on the slave trade as a minister, and carried it?—What became

ment? The pledge called for by Mr. Brougham is limited to the point of an early and mature consideration of the whole subject. To such a motion, therefore, this objection is wholly inapplicable. It appears, however, that so many years have already passed fruitlessly since the pledge was first given, that even those who gave it have forgotten its import. It is surely high time, therefore, that it should be renewed.

of Mr. Canning's resolution, and the precedent he then established, relative to the pledge of concession to the Catholics, on the 22d of June, in the year 1812, when, as in the present instance, the House was on the eve of dissolution? There was also the precedent of Mr. Dundas, who was by no means an enthusiast, but remarkable as a practical man, which pointed out, as the point on which we were to keep our eye fixed, and on which we were constantly to steer—final emancipation. This plain, common sense, every day statesman, actually proposed, in 1792, a resolution which was to take effect eight years after, long before which Parliament was to be dissolved. Had that proposition been adopted, every negro born after January 1800 would have been free, and there could hardly at this day have been a slave in the Colonies.—The Honourable Baronet (Sir F. Burdett) had spoken of the evils of a *sudden* emancipation of the slave. He (Mr. B.) had reason to complain of this, (though it was the speech that had proved most gratifying to the Secretary of State of any his Hon. Friend had ever delivered,) for it misrepresented his (Mr. B.'s) views. Who talked of *sudden* emancipation? He did not say emancipate *suddenly*, but consider how you may deal with the condition of the slave, so as to set him free hereafter, which was his right and your duty. What was there alarming in giving a pledge that the subject of the mitigation and abolition of slavery should be inquired into (he pointed out no mode of inquiry) in the next Parliament?—But there was one most painful and alarming novelty in this night's debate. The minister (Sir R. Peel) had for the first time declared against emancipation—even against final emancipation: he could not go the length of committing himself to it in any shape or at any time. He differed in this, not only from himself and his colleagues in May, 1823, but from all his predecessors, even from those least friendly to the negroes—even from Mr. Dundas, and most widely from Mr. Pitt. They always avowed that ultimate emancipation was their great and common object, and that every regulation then taken must have this for its final issue. He, (Sir R. Peel,) on the contrary, took the alarm at the bare use of the word, so far were we gone back in the lapse of years, while the case had been growing daily more overpowering! Then the Hon. Bank Director (Mr. Manning) had courteously invited him (Mr. B.) and his honourable friend (Mr. W. Smith) the long tried advocate of this cause, to visit the West Indies in the ensuing vacation. One reason he had for not accepting the proffered hospitality was, that he did not perceive the proprietors of estates there to act on the same suggestion—they did not visit their plantations and their negroes—but remained here, and left the care of every thing to hired servants. Here was the root of much evil. The interest of the slave owner had not its due weight in the slaves' treatment, though always referred to in the argument; and the Colonial Assemblies were both composed and controlled differently from what they would be, were the proprietors resident on the spot. The Colonial Legislatures—made up, not of such men as the member for Dumfries, the Hon. Bank Director, Lord Seaford, or Lord Holland, men of liberal views and enlightened minds; but of the mob of low whites in those islands, and sitting among the same mob, could not, beset as they were, or carried away by their own preju-

dices, do what was now every hour becoming more urgently necessary.—The fact of the liberation of Moss from confinement being celebrated as a day of rejoicing, and occasioning a jubilee dinner amongst them (Moss no doubt being present, and the object of undivided solicitude and interest) showed the blackest traits of the gloomy picture of the social state of those colonies. What could be expected from them but similar conduct to that which characterised the demeanour of the same party in the West India islands, relative to the Missionary Smith, so much and so deservedly deplored? But the hour was arrived, the measure of time was completed, when neither apathy nor interest could any longer present a sufficient barrier against public opinion.—Six long years, of misery to the negroes and shame to ourselves, had rolled on since he (Mr. B.) lifted his voice, beseeching the parent state to do her duty, and warning the colonies of their coming fate. He told them that the work might still be left in their hands, but on condition that they did it. If not, England, in mercy to themselves, must stretch forth her hand and save them from the ruin into which they were rushing headlong. If, he then said, moved by no threats, scared by no auguries, deaf to all warning, they still went on, contumacious; they would ere long see that we should be trifled with no more.—Still they went on—moved by no threats, scared by no auguries, deaf to all warnings—and refusing every concession—while the indignant voice of all England echoed, in accents of impatient resentment, across the Atlantic waves. All they did was a mockery—no measure of real value was adopted. Exemption from labour on the Sabbath, to afford opportunities of religious worship, had not been given in the only way in which it could be effectual—coupled with allotting some week-day for the necessary labours of the slave in his own support. No attempt to provide the means of manumission was made. Religious liberty had been violated, by the general persecution of teachers, whose lives were blameless as their doctrines were pure. The cart-whip still rang as loud, as ceaseless as before, through all the brakes and dells of all the islands. Nothing had been done! But still the Assemblies went on, expecting that England would continue as supine as they were obstinate. They were, he trusted, greatly deceived. Even from Parliament he hoped something—but from the country he hoped all things. He knew that what the House did or left undone might be important, as it regarded its own character; and he therefore hoped it might do its duty—but if not, the affair was of moment rather to itself than to the question—for the people of England, he well knew, would do theirs.

The House then divided—

For the motion	-	-	-	-	27
Against it	-	-	-	-	56
Majority	-	-	-	-	—29

On the 16th of July some further conversation on this subject took place in the House of Commons, on the presentation of a petition from Brighton, by Mr. OTWAY CAVE, who maintained that West India proprietors possessed, and could possess no legal property in persons who were equally British subjects with themselves. Since the division of the

13th he had no longer any hopes of a change proceeding from his Majesty's Government. He trusted, therefore, that the constituency of the country would call on every candidate to pledge himself to use his best efforts to get rid of it. If this were not done, and that speedily, the negroes would be justified in the eyes of God and man in shaking off the yoke that oppressed them. Mr. TWISS and Sir GEORGE MURRAY deprecated such language, as pregnant with danger; and its use was defended by Mr. Cave.—Sir G. Murray allowed that it was indeed difficult to speak of slavery in an assembly of freemen without giving way to that warmth of expression which a contemplation of its horrors naturally excited; and he admitted it had its origin in injustice and inhumanity. But he said we could not now go back to its origin. We found such a state existing—and recognised—and what we had now to do was to ameliorate in order to get rid of it altogether; and humanity itself required we should be cautious, both in the steps we took, and the language we used.—Mr. W. SMITH took the occasion again to express his opinion that slavery had never been established by any law of this country. He thought the House was bound to interfere and put an end to the present system, for if it left the planters to their own counsels it would soon behold them plunged in irretrievable ruin. He had seen in a recent petition from certain slave-owners of Demerara the extraordinary allegation that the negroes were as much property as chairs and tables. This was a doctrine so monstrous that he never could hear it without bearing his very strongest protest against it.

Again, on the 20th July, Mr. BUXTON on presenting several petitions against slavery—among others, one from the graduates, and undergraduates of Oxford, expressed his pleasure in observing the union of the learned and unlearned in demanding the speedy abolition of slavery. He lamented that domestic circumstances had prevented his attending on Mr. Brougham's motion on the 13th. He therefore felt himself now called upon to make a few remarks on the subject. The question was now brought to this alternative. The House and the country must now take up the question—or renounce it altogether. It was utterly idle to expect any thing from the Colonial Assemblies. During seven years they had been urged to ameliorate the state of the slaves with a view to final emancipation, as held out in the resolutions of 1823; and they had done literally nothing.—In 1823, Mr. Canning had stated it as a first step to negro improvement to abolish the flogging of females. Not one Assembly had adopted the recommendation. No man, in that of Jamaica, had the courage to propose it. One man moved, indeed, that in flogging women there should be no indecent exposure of their persons, but the motion was negatived by 28 to 12.—Another of the objects of Mr. Canning was to afford the slaves facilities of religious instruction. And yet to this hour no time whatever was allotted to them in any of the colonies in lieu of Sunday, hitherto the day for raising their food and going to market. Within the last two hours he had learnt a fact, illustrative of the desire of religious improvement alleged to prevail in Jamaica. So recently as in May last, a poor negro who had been guilty of no other crime but that of attending, with his master's permission, a prayer meeting, where he joined in prayer to God, was

convicted of that heinous crime, and sentenced on account of it to be flogged with the cart-whip, and afterwards worked in chains for a fortnight.* It was plain, therefore, nothing could be done unless the

* The following is the substance of the account of this transaction which ended in the conviction and punishment of a negro named Sam Swiney, as given under the hand of the Rev. William Knibb, a Baptist Missionary, and inserted in the Jamaica Watchman of the 5th June, 1830. The transaction occurred at Savannah-la-mar, the very spot where Lieutenant Smith, whose letter has made so much noise in the world, resides.

“During my absence from Savannah-la-mar,” observes Mr. Knibb, “in consequence of serious indisposition, a number of my congregation were molested by certain ‘lewd fellows of the baser sort,’ and which molestation has ended, according to my conception, in as manifest a perversion of justice as I have ever witnessed.” “On Easter evening, part of my congregation assembled at my house, to hold a prayer meeting, which is customary in all dissenting congregations.” “When they were thus engaged, much interruption was experienced from two persons of the name of Passoa and Metchener, who on the following day, after consulting the clergyman of the established church, gave information, upon which a warrant was issued for the apprehension of six free persons and six slaves.” The charges on oath “the whole of which I am prepared to prove were false, and the majority of which were proved to be so on oath by three respectable gentlemen” were,

“1. That the persons were assembled for the purpose of *preaching* and *teaching*.

“2. That the meeting continued till between 9 and 10 at night.

“3. That such a noise was made as disturbed the whole of the neighbourhood.

“4. That a slave, John Wright, was there, who it could have been proved at that time was four miles off.”

The second and third charges were disproved by the oaths of two gentlemen living opposite to Mr. Knibb’s house, one of them Mr. Gibson the head constable, who testified that there was not the least noise, and that the meeting was over before eight o’clock. “Mr. Aaron Deleon, the owner of the slave Sam Swiney who suffered, informed the magistrates, being the Custos, the Hon. David Finlayson, (the speaker of the House of Assembly,) and Mr. T. W. Hardin, that he had given Sam free permission to attend the meeting: the Custos asked whether the permission was in writing, and the owner answering he was not aware it was necessary, he was told that the omission made the leave of no avail.” After a long investigation, and nothing tangible appearing against the other parties, “the Custos appeared determined to find Sam Swiney, one of the slaves apprehended, guilty of something for which he might be punished: and therefore because he prayed without a book, and out of his *head*, or as one of the witnesses swore with *his lips*, he declared that praying and preaching were synonymous terms, and that he had acted illegally, and must suffer for the infraction of the law. I explained to Mr. Finlayson the nature of the meeting.” “I told him that Dissenters made use of no set form of prayer, and that there was a manifest difference between preaching and praying. He replied there was not: they were the same: *praying* meant *teaching*, and *preaching* meant *teaching*, and it was nonsense to make a difference.” He said, “Mr. Knibb, you have done very wrong, and if you do so again I’ll take away your license.”

“The result of this extraordinary proceeding was, that though the owner of the slave appeared and stated that the negro had free permission to attend the meeting: though the neighbours declared that the deposition of the informer was false, the man was without any hesitation convicted, and for simply, on his knees, offering a short prayer to God, was sentenced to receive 20 lashes, and to be worked in chains for a fortnight. Early on the following morning, I went to see the disgusting scene that was then enacted. What my feelings were I will not now express, for I beheld a fellow creature, a respectable tradesman of his class, stretched indecently on the earth, and lacerated with a cart-whip, and immediately after chained to a convict and sent to work on the road”—“to gra-

country took up the question, and unless also the electors throughout the kingdom now took it up. If the electors thought that slavery was a good thing;—that the flogging of naked women was to be borne;—that missionaries should be confined in loathsome jails for no offence but preaching the Gospel, and negroes be punished for attending, with their masters' leave, meetings for prayer:—if the electors thought all these things right and proper, then let them vote for those who support such abominations. But if not, then would they send men to this House, pledged to do their utmost, both by their voices and their votes, to put an end to so detestable a system.

Sir ALEXANDER GRANT argued that Mr. Buxton had not fairly represented the pledge of May 1823, which asserted the sacred rights of the property vested in slaves, and he referred to the resolutions of that period, as giving the planters a full title to compensation.

Mr. BUXTON replied, that he had not misrepresented the resolutions of 1823, in affirming that they looked distinctly to the final emancipation of the slaves. He did not mean to say that fair compensation should not be given by this country to the West India proprietors. Whatever claims they had on this country, which was one of the guilty parties in supporting slavery, he did not deny that they were entitled to equitable consideration; but most certainly they had no just claim, and could have none, upon the injured and oppressed slave.

In closing this brief sketch of what has recently taken place in Parliament, we turn involuntarily to the scene of bustle and conflict which its dissolution has produced. Now is the critical moment for the friends of humanity to bestir themselves on the behalf of the injured and outraged negro. We have already remarked with satisfaction the paramount importance attached to this question, by many of the electors in various parts of the kingdom. Bristol, anciently a stronghold of the African Slave Trade, and still one of the main holds of the opprobrious system of slavery which has sprung from that polluted source; Bristol has taken the lead in strenuous efforts to wipe off this foul stain, and has set an example already followed by many, and, which we trust, will be widely influential. Many of its most respectable inhabitants subscribed a public declaration, that they could "consider no man to be a fit representative of Britons" who did not regard "as sacred and inviolable articles of his political belief," that "personal freedom is the birthright of every human being; and that every person owing allegiance to the Crown of this empire is justly entitled, as the condition of such allegiance, to the full enjoyment of the civil rights and immunities of a freeborn British subject;" and they pledged their word and promise to each other and to the world, that, at the general election, they would give their respective votes "to no candidate for a seat in Parliament who would not solemnly and publicly engage to pro-

tify the prejudices of those who hold that preaching and praying are the same, and equally infractions of the law of Jamaica. Whether justice has been done in this case I leave others to determine. For my own part, I must consider that if the law sanctions such a conclusion, that law is an abomination, and a disgrace to a Christian country."

mote the practical application of those principles, whenever British Colonial Slavery should be brought under the consideration of the House of Commons."

Without any reference to this declaration, it appeared from what passed in the House of Commons on the 13th of July last, and to which we have already briefly adverted (see above, p. 333,) that Mr. Edward Protheroe, junior, having offered himself as a candidate for Bristol, with flattering prospects of success, it was no sooner known that his views were decidedly opposed to slavery, than he was threatened with the most formidable opposition from the whole West India interest; and many whose cordial support he had relied upon, turned their backs upon him, in order to seek out as a representative some decided favourer of the colonial system. They have accordingly invited Mr. James Baillie to become a candidate, and he has accepted the invitation. The battle therefore of freedom against slavery is about to be fought at Bristol. The utmost energies of the friends of slavery are now putting forth to protect their alleged inalienable right to hold their fellow men in helpless, hopeless and endless bondage; and they threaten to spare no efforts and no sacrifices which may be required to avert any infringement of that cherished privilege. We trust, however, that there will be found among a majority of the freemen of Bristol a spirit too high, and principles too pure, and a determination too firm to be moved, either by entreaty or intimidation, to bend to compromise on such a question;—too sacred a reverence for their paramount obligations as Christians, and too deep a feeling of the claims of humanity, to permit them to listen to any voice which would seduce them from the plain path of their duty. The eye of Great Britain is upon them, and whether they succeed or not in their attempt, every extremity of her wide dominion must feel the purifying and exalting influence of such an example.

But it is in the great county of York that the anti-slavery zeal seems to burn with the most intense and pervading flame. It has led to the nomination of Mr. Brougham for the representation of that county, with a demonstration of union and cordiality which seems to insure his return. And the spirit which animated a large meeting of freeholders, held at York on the 23d of July, and which issued in the nomination of that gentleman, seems but the echo of the other divisions of the county. In the East Riding the most decisive resolutions were adopted, D. Sykes, Esq., M. P., in the chair, to take advantage of this opportune period to engage on their own behalf, and to solicit others, in the name of justice, humanity, and religion, to use every lawful means of putting an end to so great an evil "as the cruel bondage in which nearly one million of our fellow-creatures are held:" and they recommend "to all who deem the buying and selling of human creatures, and holding them in slavery to be a crime," to favour those candidates only "who will engage to exert themselves in carrying into immediate effect the wisest and most practicable measures for the speedy extinction of a system by which man is made the absolute property of his fellow-man, and thereby degraded to the condition of a brute."

The cry from the West Riding is not less loud and unambiguous.

The following are the resolutions of an anti-slavery meeting held at Leeds on the 21st of July, John Clapham, Esq., in the chair.

“That it is the duty of all the Members of this Association to exert their utmost influence in the ensuing General Election, to secure the return of those Candidates alone who will give an unequivocal pledge of their determination to seek, as an object of high and primary importance, the entire extinction of Negro Slavery in the British Colonies.

“That we therefore agree and also earnestly recommend to our friends who possess the elective franchise, either for the county or for boroughs, to withhold all support from such persons as are interested in the system of Slavery, or will not assist to accomplish its extirpation.

“That the transcendent ability, and nervous and commanding eloquence with which HENRY BROUGHAM, Esq. has so often pleaded the cause of an injured race, the ardent zeal, and uniform perseverance with which he has laboured to redress their wrongs and effect their emancipation, pre-eminently entitle him to the gratitude of all true friends of civil and religious liberty, and signally mark him out as the fittest representative of the opinions and wishes of the Freeholders of this great County, who demand the Abolition of Slavery as an evil of fearful magnitude, directly opposed to the well-being and happiness of man, the Law of God, and the Religion of Christ.

“That should Mr. Brougham permit himself to be proposed as a Candidate for the Representation of Yorkshire,—we do, in accordance with our avowed principles, and on the ground of his past exertions in this righteous cause, and his pledge of future and more entire self-devotement to it, faithfully bind ourselves to give him our most strenuous support, and to forward his election by every constitutional means.”

An address accompanied the resolutions, from which we extract a few sentences.

“Beneath the sceptre of your King, whose brightest glory it is that He is called to reign over freemen; and under the Law of your country, whose proudest boast is the equal security and well-being of all;—nearly a million of the human family—our fellow-creatures in kind, reason, moral capability, and immortal destiny,—are held as captives, rated as chattels, yoked as beasts, and branded as criminals, without the pretext or allegation of any offence.”

“It is for you to say, and for your loud voice to determine, whether this monstrous evil shall be any longer endured.

“Firmly reject, peremptorily discountenance, any candidate who will not explicitly and decidedly pledge himself to measures which shall exterminate this horrible enormity.

“An opportunity, the most providential, now occurs of proclaiming your sentiments against this unequalled wrong on our Common Nature, and this foul scandal on the Christian name.

“You poured forth your thousands to support Wilberforce when he stood the champion of Africa against the traffic in her children: prove that you have not degenerated from the lofty standard of your own example.

“A patriot the most unshrinking, a philanthropist the most indefatigable, a statesman the most acute and eloquent, will stand forward on

your County hustings, to receive your command that Slavery shall cease to the ends of the earth."

"Never was there a more urgent occasion for your strenuous and united exertions,—never a more noble and disinterested cause to engage them.

"Your character as Christians is in the balance !

"How can you answer it to Him who heareth the groaning of the prisoner—how can you answer it to the brother for whom Christ died—how can you answer it to yourselves,---if you forego the opportunity of exercising your franchise or influence on behalf of this deeply injured race ?

"With you it rests, under God, whether the bondman shall go free,---whether your fellow-man shall be reinstated in the rights of manhood,---whether tens of thousands of your fellow-Christians, 'born again' to the Saviour in their cruel exile or servitude, shall be welcomed to the Christian charter,---the privileges of which their injuries have only endeared ;---from which privileges no circumstance, no law, any more than the accidents of birth and complexion, can justly exclude them !

"Brother Christians!---Allow no discouragements, fear no difficulties ; fortify yourselves with your cause ; rejoice in the testimony of your conscience ; carry out your principles ; be true to yourselves ; and soon the last rivet of slavery shall be broken, and even its last scar be effaced."

II.—ILLUSTRATION OF JAMAICA SOCIETY AND MANNERS.

Want of room alone prevents our conveying to our readers much interesting intelligence recently received from the West Indies, exhibiting in lively colours the disgusting effects of the miserable system, which converts that smiling region of the earth into a loathsome Lazar-or rather Charnel-house. We have scarcely room left for a brief abstract of a single case. It is that of a mulatto female slave, named ELEANOR MEAD, belonging to Colchis estate, in the parish of Trelawney. Her mistress, Mrs. Earnshaw, who is described by some as a lady of humanity and delicacy, having taken offence at something which this slave had said or done, in the course of a quarrel with another slave, ordered her to be stripped naked, prostrated on the ground, and in her own presence caused the male driver to inflict upon her bared body fifty-eight lashes of the cart whip. This happened about the 1st of April last.—Eleanor Mead was the mother of nine children. One of the persons ordered to hold her prostrate during the punishment, was her own daughter Catherine. When one hip had been sufficiently lacerated in the opinion of Mrs. Earnshaw, she told the driver to go round and flog the other side. On rising up after the infliction, the woman proceeded to pull down her clothes which had been raised up towards her shoulders. Mrs. Earnshaw would not permit her to do so, but ordered her to be conveyed, in her naked and exposed state, by two men, to the bilboes, she herself walking behind till she reached the bilboes, and had her feet fastened in them.—On the character given to Mrs. Earnshaw for humanity and delicacy, the Editor of the *Watchman* inquires what opinion could be formed of her delicacy, "when she could order the clothes of a woman

to be taken up in her presence and in the presence of negro men; or of her humanity, when she could calmly stand by and suffer fifty-eight lashes to be inflicted on an unfortunate wretch who had been the mother of nine children, one of whom she compelled to assist in the punishment of her own parent, by holding her down while she was writhing under the lash? Where was her humanity when after one side was flogged she told the driver to turn round and flog the other? And where was her modesty when she refused her slave to pull down her clothes, and when she walked behind her in a state of nudity with a bleeding body from the house to the bilboes?"

In the course of the same evening, Eleanor Mead escaped from the bilboes, and reached Falmouth along with her daughter Catharine, and there made her complaint to the Custos, Mr. Miller. Mr. Miller and his brother magistrate, though they saw that a severe punishment had been inflicted, yet having no evidence but that of slaves to prove that the punishment had exceeded thirty-nine lashes, sent the complainant and her daughter back to Colchis, with a letter stating, that as she had not been *proved* to have received a punishment contrary to law, she had been ordered home, and they requested she might be allowed to resume her *usual employment*, which was that of a house servant. On returning to the estate however, neither she nor her daughter were restored to their usual employment, but were ordered into the field with a hoe and bill. On refusing to go, they were placed in the stocks, and on the following day, the 8th of April, 1830, Eleanor Mead was sent by the attorney of the estate, Mr. Frater, to the workhouse, with an order to the superintendant, authorizing him to receive her, and there safely keep her for one month, giving her thirty-nine lashes on going in. In her way thither, she contrived to present herself to the view of a magistrate, Mr. Ogilvy, who, on hearing her statement and reading Mr. Frater's order, interposed to prevent this second punishment from being carried into effect, "the consequences of which" he thought, "might have been of a serious nature, as she had not recovered from the effects of the first." This interference on the part of the magistrate, excited loud complaints on the part of Mr. Frater, who vehemently accused him of illegal and improper interference with the power of the master.*

* On the 7th April, 1830, Mr Frater informed the Custos by letter, that he had not only sent the mother, Eleanor Mead, to the workhouse, to be punished with thirty-nine lashes more, but that he had ordered the overseer of Colchis to inflict also on the daughter Catharine, thirty-nine lashes, and "to keep her confined till she behaves herself." The Custos replied on the 8th April, by recommending more lenient measures to Mr. Frater than he had stated it to be his intention to pursue. On the 12th, Mr. Frater repels, with indignation, the caution of the Custos, and says "I will defy the world to accuse me of any improper or cruel act towards a slave, during my residence in this country, of upwards of thirty years." The slave law, he adds, "requires that the complaint of the slave being proved frivolous, the magistrates should give redress to the master by punishing the slave—and not," as had been done in this instance, "to adopt a mistaken philanthropy by turning the slave back on the owner, with directions that no further notice is to be taken of their misconduct." "Such a decision" he adds, "never could have been contemplated by the legislature in enacting this law, for it is striking at the very root of our constitutional rights that we are so strenuously defending."

On the 3d of May, the case was submitted to a board of twenty-three magistrates, when it was resolved by a majority of nineteen to four, to forward the whole of the evidence to the Attorney-General for his opinion. Among the witnesses examined were two surgeons.—Dr. Neilson the surgeon of the workhouse, saw Eleanor Mead, first, on the 2nd of April,—“she had many marks of punishment on her posteriors and thighs in about ten or a dozen places; the lashes had penetrated the skin and lacerated the parts.—Saw her again on the 9th, when the sores had been scabbed over, but none of them were well. Witness considered the punishment severe for a woman of her age and colour, although he could not say that the law had been exceeded. Never saw such a punishment inflicted on a person of her description. She was not in a fit state to receive a second punishment, the parts being still lacerated.”—Dr. Perkins, the surgeon of the plantation Colchis, was sent by Mr. Frater on the 17th of April to examine her. He testified that “he found the skin completely healed and she was perfectly well, but had the appearance of recent punishment. He cannot say how many lashes were inflicted, being so blended with old marks of punishments. Cannot say if she had received fifty lashes. Had not the appearance of so many. Should not think her capable of doing heavy or gang work or cutting canes.”

The Attorney-General’s opinion, dated the 15th May, 1830, is, that as he cannot receive the evidence of slaves as proving excess of punishment, (that is to say, above thirty-nine lashes) and there being no other direct proof to that point, he thinks no case is substantiated against Mrs. Earnshaw. And as to the charge of a second punishment being ordered when the slave had not recovered from the former one, the magistrates, he conceived, had acted properly in suspending it, but the offence was not complete so as to form a ground of prosecution, unless such second punishment had actually been inflicted.

Two days after, on the 17th of May, Eleanor Mead was sent back to Colchis, and placed under the uncontrolled power of Mrs. Earnshaw and Mr. Frater!

We have been obliged to abridge much of this case, and to omit many observations suggested by it, but we may again recur to it. The particulars are fully detailed in the Jamaica Watchman of May 29 and June 2 and 5, 1830.

The argument on which Mr. Frater chiefly insisted as justifying himself and Mrs. Earnshaw, and condemning the magistrates, was that “*the law gave him power to punish his slave, provided he did not exceed the law; and to put him to any work he chose.*” The observations of Mr. Barrett, one of the magistrates, on this plea was—“Look at the complainant, a poor weakly woman! Can it be for a moment contended, that the law gives the master power to inflict the same punishment on a weakly woman as on an able bodied negro man, or to put her to work which she cannot physically perform? No! the law curtails the power of the owner.” Mr. Frater however was right, and Mr. Barrett wrong in his interpretation of the law according to the Attorney-General.—Such are the laws of Jamaica!

*Donations and Remittances in Aid of the Funds of the Anti-Slavery Society, from the General Meeting, May 15, to July 24, 1830.**

	£.	s.	d.
Collection at General Meeting	64	1	9
His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester (annual donation)	10	10	0
Pontefract Association (donation)	10	0	0
Southampton Ladies' Association (donation)	10	0	0
Ditto ditto (payment for Reporters)	2	6	0
Beverley Ladies ditto (£5. donation £3. payment)	8	0	0
Tewksbury Association (payment)	6	19	1
Lewes ditto ditto	3	17	1
Doncaster ditto ditto	11	5	0
Mrs. Drew, Roehampton (donation)	1	0	0
J. J. Briscoe, Esq. ditto	1	1	0
J. T. Price, Esq. ditto	1	0	0
B. J. Wood, Esq. (annual subscription)	1	1	0
Rev. Charles Stuart (donation)	1	0	0
Captain Hawkins (annual subscription)	1	0	0
Ditto (payment)	4	0	0
G. T. Clark, Esq. (annual subscription)	1	1	0
W. Albright, Esq. Charlbury (donation)	1	0	0
Rochester Ladies' Association ditto	10	0	0
Ditto ditto (payment)	2	15	6
Horsham Association (payment)	4	19	6
Chelmsford Ladies' Association (donation)	10	0	0
Coalbrookdale Association (donation)	11	13	10
Ditto (payment)	5	0	6
Leominster Association ditto	1	14	6
Berkhamstead, Tring, &c. ditto (donation)	5	0	0
West Bromwich, Birmingham, &c. (payment)	5	5	9
Joseph Sturge, Esq. Birmingham (donation)	10	10	0
Charles Sturge, Esq.	5	0	0
Charles Elliot, Esq. (annual subscriber)	2	2	0
Joseph Dimsdale, Esq. ditto	1	1	0
Halifax Association, (payment)	5	19	8
Gainsborough, ditto, per Maw Bowen, Esq. (donation)	26	9	0
Ditto ditto ditto (payment)	13	11	0
Bristol, ditto (donation)	25	0	0
Ditto ditto (payment)	13	16	0
W. Johnson, Esq. Cork (donation)	2	2	0
Rev. T. Weaver ditto	1	0	0
Thomas Wilson, Esq. ditto	10	10	0
Clapham Ladies' Association, ditto	20	0	0
Stoke Newington, ditto, ditto (payment)	1	4	6
Margate Association ditto	2	10	0
Ditto ditto (donation)	1	5	1
Keyhaven Association ditto	3	4	10
Rev. J. H. Malpas ditto	1	1	0
Plymouth Association ditto	5	0	0
Miss S. Wedgwood, Camphill ditto	40	0	0
Geo. Long, Esq. ditto	1	1	0
F. W. Austin, Esq. ditto	1	0	0

* It is intended to publish a list of contributions to the funds of the Society, in this manner, from time to time, exclusive of the Annual Account of Receipts and Disbursements, made up at the close of each year. The Accounts and Lists of Subscribers for 1829, and 1830, will be printed in January 1831.

THE
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

No. 65.]

AUGUST 20, 1830.

[Vol. iii. No. 17.]

- I.—WESLEYAN METHODISTS AND COLONIAL SLAVERY:—**
RESOLUTIONS OF METHODIST CONFERENCE, JULY 30, 1830;
PERSECUTION OF METHODIST MISSIONARIES BY MAGISTRATES AND ASSEMBLY OF JAMAICA;
PERSECUTION OF RELIGIOUS SLAVES IN JAMAICA;
REV. J. BARRY'S EXPOSURE OF MR. BARCLAY.
- II.—GENERAL ELECTION:—**
CONTEST AT BRISTOL; MR. PROTHEROE'S PARTING ADDRESS, &c.;
TRIUMPH OF ANTI-SLAVERY PRINCIPLES IN YORKSHIRE;
RETURN OF MR. BROUGHAM, &c.; POPULAR FEELING ON THE SUBJECT.
CALL FOR UNIVERSAL PETITIONS TO PARLIAMENT.
- III.—ADMINISTRATION OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE IN BARBADOES.**
- IV.—SUCCINCT VIEW OF THE STATE OF COLONIAL REFORM BOTH IN THE CROWN AND IN THE CHARTERED COLONIES.**

I.—WESLEYAN METHODISTS AND COLONIAL SLAVERY.

WE have the utmost satisfaction in recording the following resolutions of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference, assembled at Leeds, on the 30th July, 1830, on the subject of Colonial Slavery, the Rev. George Morley in the Chair. The Resolutions are in the very highest degree honourable to that body, and cannot fail to produce results the most beneficial to the interests of humanity and to the diffusion of religious light among the oppressed and outraged objects of their active zeal and unwearied benevolence. They are thus expressed:—

“The Conference taking into consideration the laudable efforts which are now making to impress the public with a due sense of the injustice and inhumanity of continuing that system of slavery which exists in many of the colonies of the British Crown, and to invite a general application to Parliament, by petition, that such measures may in its wisdom be adopted as shall speedily lead to the universal termination of the wrongs inflicted upon so large a portion of our fellow men, resolve as follows:—

“1. That as a body of Christian Ministers, they feel themselves called upon again to record their solemn judgment, that the holding of human beings in a state of slavery is in direct opposition to all the principles of natural right, and to the benign spirit of the religion of Christ.

“2. That the system of bondage existing in our West India Colonies is marked with characters of peculiar severity and injustice, inasmuch as a great majority of the slaves are doomed to labours inhumanly wasting to health and life; and are exposed to arbitrary, excessive, and degrading punishments, without any effectual protection from adequate and impartially administered laws.

“3. That the Conference having long been engaged in endeavouring

the instruction and evangelization of the Pagan Negroes of our West India Colonies by numerous and expensive Missions, supported by the pious liberality of the Friends of Religion at home, have had painful experience of the unfavourable influence of a state of slavery upon the moral improvement of a class of men most entitled to the sympathy and help of all true Christians; that the patient and devoted men who have laboured in the work of Negro conversion, have too often been made the objects of obloquy and persecution, from that very contempt, or fear of the Negroes, which a system of slavery inspires; that the violent prejudices of caste, founded upon the colour of the skin, and nurtured by a state of slavery, and inseparable from it, have opposed the most formidable obstacles to the employment of coloured teachers and missionaries, who would otherwise have been called into useful employment, in considerable numbers, as qualified instructors of their fellows; that the general discouragement of slave marriages, and the frequent violent separation of those husbands and wives who have been united in matrimony by missionaries, have served greatly to encourage and perpetuate a grossness of manners, which might otherwise have been corrected; that the nearly absolute control of vicious masters, or their agents, over those under their power, is, to a lamentable extent, used for the corrupting of the young, and the polluting of the most hallowed relations of life; that the refusal of the Lord's-day to the slave, as a day of rest and religious worship, besides fostering the habit of entire irreligion, limits, and in many cases renders nugatory every attempt at efficient religious instruction;—all which circumstances, more or less felt in each of the colonies, demonstrate the incompatibility of slavery with a general diffusion of the influence of morals and religion, and its necessary association with general ignorance, vice, and wretchedness.

“4. That the Preachers assembled in Conference, feel themselves the more bound to exhort the Members of the Methodist Societies and Congregations at home, to unite with their fellow-subjects in presenting their petitions to the next Parliament to take this important subject into its earliest consideration, because of the interesting relation which exists between them and the numerous Methodist Societies in the West Indies, in which are no fewer than 24,000 slaves, who, with their families, have been brought under the influence of Christianity; and who, in so many instances, have fully rewarded the charitable toil of those who have applied themselves to promote their spiritual benefit, and whose right to exemption from a state of slavery, is, if possible, strengthened by their being partakers with us of ‘like precious faith,’ and from their standing in the special relation of ‘brethren’ to all who themselves profess to be Christians.

“5. That the Conference fully concurs in those strong moral views of the evil and injustice of slavery, which are taken by their fellow-christians of different denominations, and in the purpose which is so generally entertained of presenting petitions to Parliament from their respective congregations for its speedy and universal abolition; and earnestly recommends it to all the congregations of the Wesleyan Methodists throughout Great Britain and Ireland, to express in this

manner, that is, by petitions to both Houses of Parliament from each congregation, to be signed at its own chapel, and presented, as early as possible, after the assembling of the next Parliament, their sympathy with an injured portion of their race, and their abhorrence of all those principles on which it is attempted to defend the subjection of human beings to hopeless and interminable slavery.

“6. That the Conference still further recommend, in the strongest manner, to such of the Members of the Methodist Societies as enjoy the elective franchise, that, in this great crisis, when the question is, whether justice and humanity shall triumph over oppression and cruelty, or nearly a million of our fellow-men, many of whom are also our fellow-christians, shall remain excluded from the rights of humanity, and the privileges of that constitution under which they are born; they will use that solemn trust to promote the rescue of our country from the guilt and dishonour which have been brought upon it by a criminal connivance at the oppressions which have so long existed in its colonies, and that, in the elections now on the eve of taking place, they will give their influence and votes only to those candidates who pledge themselves to support, in Parliament, the most effectual measures for the entire abolition of slavery throughout the Colonies of the British Empire.”

When it is recollected that the Wesleyan Methodists have been prosecuting their Christian labours in our slave colonies for nearly half a century; that during that period their missionaries have been brought into close contact with the system prevailing there; that they have enjoyed daily and almost hourly opportunities of examining its real nature and effects, without being exposed to the corrupting and demoralizing influence either of its profits, or of the despotic power it confers on its administrators; and that the Conference have now been enabled to bring before the public the result of the accumulated experience of hundreds of missionaries, who, for fifty years, have been toiling and suffering and dying in their divine master's service; the unequivocal and decided testimony which they have now borne to the evils, the incurable evils of slavery, cannot fail to produce on the nation at large a powerful and almost irresistible conviction of the imperative obligation which lies upon us to effect its early and entire extinction.

And it is certainly no small satisfaction to *us*, exposed as we have been to obloquy of the grossest kind for the part we have felt it our duty to take in this cause; accused as we have been of misrepresentation, exaggeration, and deliberate falsehood in the facts we have adduced and the views we have exhibited of this enormous evil; thus to receive from a body of witnesses so competent and so unexceptionable, their clear, unbiassed, and unambiguous confirmation of the truth and fidelity of our general statements on the subject.

If any one will be at the trouble to compare, for example, our “*Brief View of the Nature and Effects of Negro Slavery as it exists in the colonies of Great Britain*,” which was first drawn up and published in April 1823,* with these resolutions, the spontaneous and unconcerted

* See Preface to Substance of Debate of 15th May, 1823, p. 13.

judgment of this highly respectable body, formed on the mass of concurrent information furnished by hundreds of respectable eye-witnesses, who, during half a century, some for a longer and some for a shorter period, have been brought into familiar acquaintance with slavery stripped of its disguises, and as it exists in its proper and intrinsic deformity, he will find irrefragable proof of the accuracy of our delineations. And this corroboration too we have from men whose zeal brings them into habits of constant intercourse not only with slavery in our colonies, but with the lowest states of poverty and depression in Great Britain and Ireland; and who are thereby singularly qualified to pronounce with authority on the supreme degradation and wretchedness of the colonial slave. We earnestly entreat our readers to weigh with attention every syllable of this most important document,—the most important which perhaps has yet appeared during the present controversy,—for every syllable of it is fraught with meaning; and they will find within its brief compass the substance of many a bulky pamphlet and voluminous Reporter, expressed with a force and fulness which we have seldom seen equalled.

Nor is this all which this body has done to promote most essentially the Anti-Slavery cause. An Appendix to their Report of the Wesleyan Missions for the year 1829, appeared about two months ago, in which they lament the necessity to which they are driven of making known to the public the flagrant and unprovoked instances of hostility to the propagation of the Gospel which have occurred in the island of Jamaica. The Committee affirm truly that they have shewn no inclination to indulge in reproaches;—but the recent systematic and repeated attempts to suppress religious liberty in Jamaica, and to deprive the slaves of the Christian instructions of the Missionaries, and of the advantages of public worship, do not permit them to be longer silent. The Rev. Mr. Orton who has lately returned to England, his health broken by harsh and illegal imprisonment, has drawn up a narrative of the persecutions the Missionaries have had to endure, and of the iniquitous laws which have been passed by the legislature with the view of destroying the freedom of public worship. We have already distinctly pointed out the harsh and revolting tenor of the clauses introduced into the disallowed Act of 1826. (Reporter, No. 29, p. 104 and 105.) In the Act of 1829, likewise happily disallowed, the same clauses were renewed with a very considerable aggravation of their anti-Christian severity. The Act of 1826 permitted *licensed* ministers to perform divine worship in *licensed* places at any time before eight in the evening. The Act of 1829, with a studied and deliberate antipathy to religious instruction, confined the celebration of divine service between the hours of sunrise and sunset, it being well known to the framers of the law that between these hours it is physically impossible that divine service should be performed or Christian instruction given. These hours comprehend the very hours when the slaves, men, women and children are of necessity labouring, under the impulse of the lash, in the cultivation of the soil beneath a vertical sun; for the law empowers the master to compel the slave to be *in the field* from five in the morning till seven in the even-

ing, independently of the severe night labour of crop, and a variety of extra services which he is forced to perform both for his master and for himself. (See Reporter, No. 33, p. 180, &c.) The enactment therefore had it directly in view entirely to suppress religious instruction.

Such is the obvious and unquestionable spirit of the legislation of Jamaica in respect to religious missions. Now for its practice.

We have already adverted to the premeditated midnight and ruffian-like attack made on the Mission-house at St. Ann's Bay, on the Christmas-eye of 1826, incited by a sermon preached in the preceding forenoon by the Rev. G. W. Bridges, and perpetrated by men wearing the garb and assuming the character of gentlemen, with the murderous design of taking the life of the missionary Mr. Ratcliffe, his wife and child. This outrage has met with perfect impunity. We have also given some account of the repeated apprehension, and imprisonment in a noisome dungeon, of the Rev. Mr. Grimsdall, a Wesleyan missionary, who sunk under the oppressions he had to endure, and fell at length the martyred victim of the persecuting rage of his enemies. (No. 22, p. 326.)

In the Reporter, No. 43, p. 370, will be found a further account of the implacable spirit of intolerance, with which the persecutors of Mr. Grimsdall, unsatiated with his blood, continued to pursue those intrepid servants of Christ, Mr. Whitehouse and Mr. Orton, who succeeded Mr. Grimsdall in his missionary labours among the slaves; and who under providence have only escaped a similar fate through the firm interference of the Chief Justice of the island, Sir W. Scarlett, seconded by the King's Attorney General.

Not satisfied even with these savage and remorseless proceedings, vexatious prosecutions for perjury and other crimes were instituted against missionaries, which, though they terminated in an honourable acquittal, were necessarily a source of most distressing annoyance. And the House of Assembly, falling in with the hostility to Christian missions entertained by a large part of the community, did not scruple to lend its aid to the unhallowed conspiracy for rooting them out from the island, by fastening upon the missionaries the crimes of sedition, extortion, and licentiousness. Fabricated testimony, slanderous insinuations, and notoriously false assertions were among the means resorted to; and the resolutions on the subject, with the evidence on which they were founded, remain an imperishable monument of the wicked arts which men calling themselves legislators could employ to effect the impious design of extinguishing the Christian light which had begun to dawn upon the slaves in that den of darkness. It is true, that warned by the remonstrances of their friends in England, pains have been taken to keep from the view of the British parliament and public these perilous proofs of infamy; but we appeal fearlessly to the documents themselves as justifying all that is said of them. And that this is no hasty sentiment on our part but our calm and mature judgment will appear by turning to the preceding pages of this work. (See Reporters, No. 46, p. 462, No. 50, p. 24, No. 55, p. 162, No. 62, p. 297, &c. &c. &c.) But this is not an insulated case. It is merely one proof among many of the sadly demoralizing influence of slavery, not on the slave alone but on the master, and of the utter discredit which is justly due to the strongest

representations of slave holders, even when concurrently made, in favour of their own system. (See No. 62, p. 296.)

We proceed to confirm these views of the conduct of the Assembly and community of Jamaica by a few extracts from the concluding remarks of the Committee of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, in the Appendix to their Report.

“The Committee have the most certain means of knowing that as far as their missions are concerned, and they doubt not as to all others, more false and unsupported allegations were never made by private prejudice, than are, in the Report of the Jamaica ‘*Sectarian Committee,*’ levelled against innocent men and their peaceable congregations, on the authority of the House of Assembly. Such is the exact and constant superintendence exercised over all these missions by the Committee, that it is impossible that such evils should exist without their own knowledge of, and consequent participation in them, if they existed at all; and they trust that they have a character sufficiently responsible to render it unnecessary that they should go into any formal refutation of charges so infamous. It is enough that they give sufficient reasons to show, that the statements of this famous Report, have produced little conviction in Jamaica, and even in the House of Assembly itself, and that the only conclusion which can be rationally arrived at, from considering the whole case, is, that the Report was, in the worst sense of the phrase, *got up* for the purpose of favouring the passing of the New Slave Law, with its intolerant clauses, so as to place the missions conducted in that island wholly under the power of the local government; a power which the above statements are sufficient to prove would be most intolerantly used.” Appendix, p. 18, 19.

“If the foul charges against the missionaries contained in the Report of the ‘*Sectarian Committee,*’ had been believed in Jamaica, there would surely have been no difficulty in carrying through the House of Assembly those clauses respecting religion which are now inserted in the Slave Law last sent home. If the charges of extortion, injury to the morals of slaves, preaching seditious doctrines, inciting the slaves to insurrection, and taking the hire of the prostitution of the female members of their societies to their own use, had rested on any probable evidence, and had carried conviction to the minds of the members, he must have been a very rash man who would have made the least resistance to them. The influence of sectarianism in the Jamaica House of Assembly cannot be said even to exist, in any degree; and a unanimous vote of the Assembly in favour of the clauses in question, must have resulted from the development of the facts of the Report, had they been generally received as credible. But the truth is, that so much had public opinion in Jamaica in favour of the missionaries been improved by the publication of this very Report itself, and the design which it so evidently disclosed to harass and persecute them upon the most frivolous and partial evidence, that the clauses were carried by majorities small beyond all former precedent on such questions; and that one of the members of the House of Assembly who most strenuously and violently advocated them, felt himself under the necessity of resorting to the manœuvre of using the name of his Majesty’s ministers in a most unwarrantable manner to influence

the division ; asserting, that he had ‘ *high authority* ’ for stating, that if a few verbal alterations in the clauses which had been rejected in the Slave Law of 1826 were made, they would receive the sanction of the government at home.”—*ib.* p. 20, 21. ‘

In short they affirm that the Report of the ‘ *Sectarian Committee*,’ of the House of Assembly, “rests on no evidence of credit, or even thought to be of credit, in the very place where it originated; and stands only as a monument of one of the most unworthy attempts ever made by any public body to carry into effect a system of persecution, under pretences known by them to be without any sufficient foundation. The Committee rejoice to be able to state that the number of the advocates of religious toleration, and of the religious instruction of the slaves, has, of late, considerably increased in the island of Jamaica; that acts of justice have been done by several magistrates, in favour of the persecuted and harassed instructors of the slaves; and that an increasing number of proprietors encourage their labours among their negroes. Still, not only do these public acts of the House of Assembly prove the existence of a violent and intolerant party in that colony; but many instances of private persecution are occurring, which show a spirit so much at variance with religious toleration, and even humanity, as to afford additional reason for the earnest applications which the Committee have again made to His Majesty’s Government for the protection of the Wesleyan Missionaries in the exercise of their religious duties, and of their congregations in their religious rights. The relief which they have sought will, they doubt not, be again afforded them, by the disallowance of the persecuting clauses of the new Slave Bill* which has recently passed the Jamaica legislature, and is now under the consideration of His Majesty’s Ministers. Without that protection which a tolerant government has ever extended, certain it is that agents are not wanting in Jamaica to carry into operation, and that in the harshest manner, every restrictive enactment. Of the treatment of Missionaries, Mr. Orton’s narrative affords some painful proofs, which exhibit, however, but a continuation of former instances of violent persecution. The Missions in Jamaica, although carried on among a people professing Christianity and Protestantism, bear upon them the marks of persecuting violence to *imprisonment* and to *death!* Nor is that spirit in some parts of the island at all abated. The Committee have the details before them of a slave of excellent report, who within a few months was so severely punished by flogging for no other cause, alleged at the time, but his attendance at one of the mission chapels, as to have most narrowly escaped with life, if indeed he yet survives a most atrocious act of barbarity. And they have also the particulars of the case of another slave, more recently, who was laid down and severely flogged for the same alleged offence; not indeed by his owner, but by order of the Rector of St. Ann’s parish, before whose house he happened to be passing, and whose injury the said clergyman compensated by a pecuniary gift to the injured man, to escape judicial proceedings instituted by the owner of the slave, who gives him a most

* This bill, as our readers are aware, has been disallowed.

excellent character. Names, places, and dates, are all in the possession of the Committee, and can be adduced on a proper occasion ; but they now state these cases in brief, for the purpose of showing, that neither the religious liberties, nor the personal safety of Missionaries, nor of the members of their societies, are safe, except under the justice of His Majesty's Government, and the sympathies of the friends of religious liberty and the instruction of an oppressed race of their fellow men."—*ib.* p. 22, 23.

Of the two facts alluded to at the close of the above passage, we deem it our duty to present our readers with some further details.

The first of these two cases is that of a slave, named Henry Williams, belonging to an estate called the Rural Retreat. The owner of the estate is a lady residing in Scotland, to whom it has lately descended by inheritance. Her attorney is a magistrate of Jamaica. The late owner of this estate had placed unlimited confidence in Henry Williams, and had been in the habit of employing him under his own direction, as sole manager of the property. Having thus been a favourite with his deceased master, he was in very respectable circumstances, and his conduct is said to have uniformly been such that he had never, during that master's lifetime, been subjected to corporal punishment. He had for years been a member of the Methodist Society, and had given such evidence both of intelligence and piety, that in March, 1829, he was appointed the leader of a class. The attorney hearing of this appointment, expressed his displeasure. "I hear," he said, "you are become a great preacher at the Methodist chapel, but if ever you go there again, I will send you to Rodney Hall workhouse."* Henry replied, that he was no preacher, but that he had attended the chapel for years, and had received much good there, and had there learned his duty to God and to his master. The attorney charged him also with the crime of drawing his fellow-slaves to the chapel, and thus ruining both them and himself. Henry admitted the fact of his trying to induce others to go thither. He had himself, he said, been benefited by his attendance, and he thought he could not do better than advise his fellow-slaves to attend too ; and, but for that, he felt confident that they would not have minded their business as they were now doing. On the following day the attorney visited the estate, and having summoned the whole gang before him, threatened them with severe punishment if they went again to the chapel. On this a female slave, a sister of Henry Williams, happened to heave a deep sigh. The attorney said, "Who is that groaning?" and perceiving who it was, ordered her to be laid down on her stomach on the ground, and caused to be inflicted upon her a severe flogging. From the estate the attorney went to the house of the Rev. G. W. Bridges, which is near it, probably to consult with his Rector on the means of checking this unhappy tendency to frequent the Methodist chapel. The next day Henry Williams having to pass that way, Mr. Bridges called him, and inquired his reasons for preferring the

* This workhouse is situated in St. Thomas in the Vale, and is a sort of receptacle for notorious delinquents. Slaves deemed deserving of extraordinary punishment, are said to be often sent to this seat of darkness and misery, because of the peculiar severity with which they are there treated.

Methodist chapel to the church. Henry frankly told him his reasons : They were generally, that he derived more spiritual benefit from going to the chapel than to the church. Mr. Bridges then told him that unless he came to church himself, and brought his fellow-slaves with him, he was assured by the attorney that he must prepare for the consequences with which he had been threatened. On the succeeding Sunday Henry Williams, having received the orders of the attorney to attend at church with all the people, was himself present during the service. After service, the attorney asked him where the rest of the people were. Henry replied, that the people had told him, that Sunday was their own, and that some of them had gone to the Methodist chapel, and others had gone in other directions, (probably to their grounds or to market,) but that he himself, though resolved not to relinquish the chapel, had come to church to shew how desirous he was to obey the orders that had been given him. The attorney then told him he should be sent to Rodney Hall workhouse. Thither, in a day or two, he was accordingly sent, and though perfectly ready to go without constraint, he was lashed round like a felon, his arms being fastened with ropes. This took place about the beginning of July, 1829. In the workhouse at Rodney Hall, he was put in chains, and repeatedly flogged, and so severe was the punishment inflicted upon him, that, after a time, he became so ill, that the superintendant deemed it necessary to remove from him the chains with which he was loaded, and to place him in the hospital, where his death was expected. The attorney, it seems, was much displeased with this lenity, alleging, that the sickness of Henry Williams was feigned, and signified his intention of removing him to a still more distant workhouse. His poor wife endeavoured to induce a gentleman to intercede for her nearly murdered husband, who had been thus literally brought to death's door for no other offence than that of attending the Methodist chapel, but in vain. At length, however, the circumstances of the case were brought to the knowledge of the Editor of the newspaper called the "Watchman and Jamaica Free Press," who animadverted upon it in an able article with such just and pointed severity, that the guilty party appears to have caught the alarm, and Henry Williams was soon after released from the workhouse, and reconveyed to the Rural Retreat. By this time, however, he had been so cut up with the severe floggings he had received, that his life was despaired of ; and the last account of him, dated in November last, was, that for several weeks he had been "confined to his bed, and obliged to lie on his stomach, day and night, his back being a mass of corruption." Whether he has survived this atrocious act of barbarity, is still, as stated in the appendix, a matter of uncertainty.

The second case referred to in that appendix will occupy a shorter space.

A slave of the name of George, belonging to a lady in Jamaica, who is favourable to missionary exertions, and who herself occasionally attends the Methodist chapel, had been for several years distinguished, as a person of excellent character, even among white persons in the neighbourhood. He was guilty, however, of the same crime with Henry Williams. He was a zealous and regular attendant on the ministrations of the Methodists. Shortly before the time that Henry Williams was

sent to Rodney Hall workhouse, this slave had also become obnoxious to the Rev. G. W. Bridges, and in passing that gentleman's residence, was stopped by him, and ordered to be laid down and flogged. The order was executed, and George was flogged with such severity, that it was with difficulty that he afterwards walked to his home, which was about a mile distant. The mistress of George, indignant at this treatment, sent him, as soon as he was sufficiently recovered to leave home, to the custos, with a letter complaining of the conduct of Mr. Bridges : on this the custos wrote to Mr. Bridges, and appointed a day for inquiring into his conduct. But before the appointed day arrived, a friend of the Rev. gentleman succeeded in compromising the matter with George by paying him a small sum of money as a satisfaction for the injury he had received. This happened not long before the period when the same Rev. gentleman was cited, as stated in our last number, p. 326, before a special vestry, for cruelly maltreating one of his female slaves, a mulatto. But as on this transaction we shall hereafter have much to say, we postpone it for the present.

These are only two of the many cases of a similar kind which have reached us, and which shew that the violence of persecution, for a time directed towards the missionaries themselves, had been turned upon the poor slaves, who, it was discovered, could be assailed with more effect, and with less danger to the persecutor, though with scarcely less pain and annoyance to the missionaries. To the narrative, the substance of which is given above, it is added, that "almost every breeze that blows, appears to convey the distant sigh of the persecuted Christian slave."—How long, we ask, shall these enormities be endured by this Christian land?

But besides the publication of the Methodist committee, on which we have been led to dwell at so much length, we have before us a pamphlet, published by Mason, 60, Paternoster-Row, of the Rev. John Barry, a Wesleyan missionary, recently returned from Jamaica. It consists of a letter addressed by him, on the 30th of June last, to Sir George Murray, in refutation of many foul, false, and calumnious charges made against the Jamaica Missionaries generally, in a letter also addressed to Sir George Murray, by the well known Alexander Barclay, written with a view to accredit colonial slavery generally, and to justify the persecuting enactments of the Jamaica assembly.

With Mr. Barclay we and our readers have long been acquainted. He stands forward as the avowed champion of the colonial system, and in conducting its defence, he has not scrupled to employ the most shameless misrepresentations not only of the statements of his opponents, but of the very law as well as the practice of slavery. He had the hardihood to undertake the refutation of Mr. Stephen's "delineation of Negro Slavery," and his work on that subject was held out by himself and hailed by the Jamaica Assembly, and by the West India Committee at home, who bought and circulated 1000 copies of it, as a conclusive vindication of the slave system.

In an early number of the Reporter, No. 18, we shewed in a variety of instances how futile, how utterly groundless was this boast ;—and to bring the matter to a short issue, we challenged Mr. Barclay and his

friends to produce a single instance in which he had refuted any one of Mr. Stephen's positions. The challenge was prudently declined. The same challenge has since been twice renewed with the same result. We may regard Mr. Barclay's work therefore as undeserving of confidence.

Mr. Barry confines *his* exposure of Mr. Barclay chiefly to his falsifications of fact in regard to the conduct of the missionaries. In common with the Assembly he accuses them of the foul crime of rapaciously extorting money from their negro converts for their own selfish ends. We need not say that not only is this charge not established, but that it is fully disproved.

Mr. Barclay had strenuously defended the colonists from the charge of being opposed to the religious instruction of the slaves. Mr. Barry willingly admits that *several* proprietors and managers *are* friendly to that object. But, he asks, "is this the general disposition of the colonists? Is the fact of their friendly disposition towards negro instruction proved by severe legislative enactments,—by the imprisonment of three missionaries, for no other crime than that of preaching the gospel,—by the punishment inflicted on slaves for attending our chapels, by attempts to prevent the possibility of their attendance, and by the efforts of several courts of quarter sessions to assume illegal power, and subject the missionaries to the necessity of receiving their licenses to officiate in every parish, without which they were not permitted to preach?—The last, I am happy to say, has been set aside by the decision of the Supreme Court."

"The tendency of Mr. Barclay's pamphlet requires that at this time the truth should be told; and I regret to be compelled to say, that no such *general* disposition exists, and the facts above adverted to, with the actually neglected state of the vast majority of the slaves, sufficiently establish the conclusion. Mr. Barclay, in a note, refers to the Scotch Kirk for proof that the colonists are not unfriendly to the religious instruction of the slaves; but does he forget that in Kingston *no slaves attend the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Wordie*; at least I have never seen any."

"In speaking of the 84th clause of the law, Mr. Barclay introduces Mr. Huskisson's remark, that, prohibiting meetings, unless between sunrise and sunset, would prevent the slaves from receiving instruction, and denies that such prohibition exists; as the clause allows 'all licensed places to be open till eight o'clock.' I can scarcely avoid suspecting here an intentional insincerity. Surely he was fully aware at the time of writing his pamphlet, that the intolerant clauses of 1826 were rendered even more odious and restrictive in the bill of 1829; and he must therefore have hoped that the British public, for want of proper information, would conclude that the law of 1829 is in this respect the same as that rejected in 1826. The fact, however, is, that no meetings are by the last slave law permitted before sunrise, or after sunset, and that the extension to eight o'clock is not to be found in it. All who know the West Indies, know, therefore, that this act excludes the greater part of the slaves from all opportunities of instruction.

"In reference to the influence of the Sunday markets on the interests

of religion, Mr. Barclay *must* admit that it is most destructive. He speaks a great deal concerning the favourable circumstances of the slaves with regard to the time allowed them, and refers to a clause of the law of 1816, prohibiting the working of sugar-mills between seven o'clock on Saturday evening, and five o'clock on Monday morning; but I would ask Mr. Barclay, is this really acted upon? Does labour cease on the estates during these intervening hours? If so, I am glad to hear of the improvement; but it certainly was not general in the year 1825, nor, as I am informed, to this day.* According to my own personal observation, the negro cannot attend the Sunday market and the services of religion; nor even devote sufficient time to the cultivation of his grounds. There are a few cases in which both objects may be accomplished, but they are exceptions. For instance, many of the negroes, who go to the Kingston Sunday markets, have sometimes to travel twenty, nay thirty miles with a heavy load of provision. This I have often known to be the case. The principal part of Saturday is occupied in performing the journey; and if, by Mr. Barclay's showing, the slave previously digs his provision on that day, the excessive labour consequent on such a task should be another reason for the abolition of the market. The negro arrives in Kingston late in the evening, and if he have no friend with whom to lodge, sleeps in the market-place; the market continues, say, until eleven o'clock on Sunday forenoon; he has then to procure his own little articles at the store, and spends the remainder of the Sabbath in returning to the plantation. Where then, I would inquire, is the possibility, especially under restricted hours, of attending religious worship?"

"But supposing the law of 1826 had received the Royal assent, and become operative, the case would not have been greatly bettered, since, independent of the injustice done thereby to the Sects, by so unmerited an attack on their civil and religious privileges, the peculiar circumstances of the slave would very frequently involve the violation of that law. For instance, the slave works on the plantation till six o'clock †—the shell blows—he leaves the field—has frequently to procure grass for the horses on the property, and meat for the hogs,—then walks from one to three miles to the negro houses; ‡—perhaps washes and dresses himself,—proceeds another mile to the chapel,—and yet by the law, the *favourable* law of 1826, the Missionary must close the service at eight o'clock! This is no exaggerated picture,—this is a case of very frequent occurrence;—and this I stated to the Committee of the House of Assembly as a reason why the Missionary should not be restricted to that hour. We do not at any time hold late meetings; and I have often known the services of the Established Church continued much later than ours; yet it was never said that such a practice injured the health of the slave, or afforded facilities to propagate sedition."

* Mr. Barry is speaking of the parish of St. Thomas in the East, where Mr. Barclay resides, and where he himself had resided as a Missionary in 1825.

† Mr. Barry mentions this as the most favourable representation. In truth the law extends the hours of *field-labour* to seven at night.—Editor.

‡ "This will not appear surprising to those who are acquainted with the extent of the properties in the island, and the zig-zag nature of the roads."

There is much more in this pamphlet which is deserving of notice, but our limits will not allow us to add any further extracts. We must therefore, refer our readers to the pamphlet itself. Enough, it will be allowed, has been already brought forward to establish the deplorable state of our negro bondmen with respect to religious instruction, as well as the spirit of determined hostility to the diffusion of Christianity which pervades the greatest of our slave colonies. We well know also the kindred spirit which has prevailed in other colonies, and especially in Demerara and Barbadoes. But we must quit the subject for the present, only earnestly recommending it to the compassionate consideration of this Christian nation, and urging it upon them as their imperative duty, in the sight of God, to rise in their united strength in order to sweep away a system which is the source of so many evils.

II.—GENERAL ELECTION.

WE turn with disgust from these foul and loathsome scenes, to contemplate the cheering prospect which the course of the general elections has opened to the view of humanity. It is impossible not to exult in the manifestation of public feeling which the occasion has called forth on the subject of Negro Slavery, and in the fruits which have already resulted from it. It would be impossible for us to enter at any length into the details of what has been occurring simultaneously in all parts of the kingdom to mark the deep-rooted determination of the people of this country to put an end, at whatever cost, to this great national crime. But we will just glance at a few particulars.

We alluded in our last number to the conflict between the interests of humanity and freedom on the one side, and of oppression and slavery on the other, which had commenced at Bristol. The opposing candidates were MR. EDWARD PROTHEROE, junior, who presented himself to the choice of the electors of that city, the very focus of colonial power and prejudice, as the advocate of anti-slavery principles; and MR. JAMES EVAN BAILLIE, a great West India proprietor and merchant, who, though spoken of as a highly respectable gentleman, has nevertheless a deep stake in the perpetuation of that system of cruelty and crime Negro Slavery. It was highly gratifying, however, as a decisive indication of the strong current of the popular feeling against slavery, that the supporters of Mr. BAILLIE found it necessary to use language on the subject, which, though vague and equivocal, was calculated to serve as a salvo to the consciences of the voters in his favour, and to supply something like a plausible answer to the reproaches of their less compromising neighbours. The following address of Mr. PROTHEROE at the close of the poll will afford a striking view of the nature and probable effects of this struggle.

“The election for Bristol is over, and with it the high hope that I had entertained of becoming your representative in Parliament: but I use not the language, for I have not the feelings, of defeat and disappointment.

“This has been a contest not between individuals, but between principles; and our cause has been borne down by the weight of wealth and

commercial influence. Money has been poured forth like water in the purchase of votes, and undisguised dictation has made the elective franchise a mockery and a snare to the conscience. Perhaps it was too much to expect that the first struggle of the friends of humanity in this ancient seat of West India commerce could be suffered to succeed. The attempt was regarded, even by my own friends, as an act of absolute madness—yet what has been the result?—2,843 unpurchased and unbiassed votes, a number never before approached by an unsuccessful candidate, have been given in my favour; and the majority against me was only 338, when my friends ascertained that a large number of London voters had been engaged by my opponents, and were actually on their way down at an enormous cost. Under these circumstances they prudently advised me to retire.

“Gentlemen, such a defeat is in truth a glorious triumph to our great cause, and the sure presage of its ultimate success. Already it is felt and acknowledged to be the deadliest blow that was ever given to the slave system, and the character of our city stands redeemed and exalted. It matters little that my humble voice may not be raised in the new Parliament in defence of the oppressed. The cry of freedom is gone forth—the spirit of the people is roused—and the representatives of the people will do their duty.”

The progress of the contest roused into action the zeal, and called forth the talents of the friends of freedom, and many of the placards and publications were marked by great ability as well as an intimate knowledge of the question. It may be invidious to make selections, and yet from a letter to Mr. Pinney signed “*Libertas*,” which appeared in the *Bristol Mirror* of the 31st of July, we are tempted to preserve an extract.

“By the law of the colonies, slavery is a constrained servitude during the live of the slave. It is a service without wages. The master is the sole arbiter of the kind of labour to which the slave shall be subjected; and he can likewise confine, beat, scourge, and afflict the person of his slave. These powers of the master may all be exercised not by himself only, but by his representatives, and by every person, whether bond or free, who is clothed in any manner with his authority. The slave in the British colonies is at all times liable to be sold at the will of the master, in all respects as cattle or any other personal effects. He is also at all times liable to be sold by process of law for the debts of a living or of a deceased master, at the suit of creditors or of legatees. The slave may be mortgaged, demised, and settled for any particular estate or estates, while the master’s power of removal is despotic. The slave has no legal right of redeeming his liberty on any terms whatever, or of obtaining a change of masters, even when cruel treatment makes it necessary for his relief. Colonial slavery is hereditary and perpetual—the children as soon as born are slaves, and any black man is legally such, except he can legally prove his liberty. Marriage has no legal protection among them, and consequently has comparatively little existence; and they are deprived of all motive to industry for their master except the whip.

“This, Sir, you know is a correct though faint description of colonial

slavery, and this is that deplorable and disgusting state of society which you and your coadjutors in this election are combined to protect. In so doing, you are at variance not only with the whole of that precept of the divine law, which commands you to love your neighbour as yourself, but you are exposed to the prophetic denunciation which says, ‘Woe unto him that useth his neighbour’s service without wages, and giveth him not for his work.’

“I have sometimes been surprised to hear colonial planters, West India merchants, and you among the rest, express your approbation of the destruction of the slave trade. The very same arguments used to defend that infernal traffic are at this time employed by yourselves to protect colonial slavery. And why? Because the latter is a twin brother of the former. The West India interest may console itself as much as it pleases by execrating the slave trade, but I think it will require some extraordinary logic to prove that it is not at this time deeply implicated in the crime of dealing in our fellow creatures. The only difference between the merchant who carried on the African slave trade, and the merchant who buys or sells a human being at present in the West Indies, is this, the African trader first stole his fellow creatures from the land of their nativity and sold them in the West Indies, and the present merchants or planters buy and sell among themselves the very same beings, or their descendants, who have previously been the commodities of the African slave trade.”

“It is frequently asserted by persons on your side of the question, that the condition of the slaves is greatly ameliorated. I will admit this to be truth, but still the horrid cartwhip lacerates the flesh of the negro, and even the pregnant female slave is made to writhe under its torture in a manner which decency forbids me to describe. The Sunday market is not abolished, therefore the sanctity of the Sabbath is perpetually violated. The negroes are still the chattels of their owner, and can be seized and sold for his debts. The only consolation which this wretched race could obtain to relieve the misery of their bondage is religion; but even in this they are controuled and impeded by law, which inflicts on them imprisonment and stripes for its disobedience; places of worship erected for them by the British public are injured and closed, and useful missionaries, sent to instruct them, are incarcerated and murdered, being left to expire in loathsome dungeons, for no other crime than a determination to obey GOD rather than man; the former commanding His Gospel to be preached, and the latter forbidding it on pain of punishment. It is in vain for you to contradict this; I have in my possession abundant evidence to prove the truth of my assertion, and amongst it is the testimony of the Bishop of Jamaica, who declares that the planters generally are inimical to the instruction of their slaves.”

“On the day of Mr. Baillie’s public entrance, I went as many others did, to gaze at the show. Numbers, doubtless, were charmed with the display, whilst many others augured the certain success of your candidature. Far different from these were my feelings and thoughts. I stood in silence contemplating the procession, and whilst viewing it as it passed, I thought how many human backs had been lacerated—sighs

heaved—groans uttered—and sales of human beings effected, to have produced the ostentatious display! I turned away, Sir, from the guilty pageantry, and said ‘My soul come not thou into their secret, to their assemblage mine honour be not thou united.’”

“Whatever may be the issue of the present contest, as it respects the candidate who may be returned, I am certain that the glorious cause of negro freedom will have acquired increased and accelerated strength. The struggle has commenced in one of the strongest holds of West Indian commerce, and the shock of the conflict has been felt through the wide spread dominion of Britain. Other places, both cities and counties, have kindled their torch of freedom at our altar, and illuminated the elective franchise with its beams. The British Lion has been roused from his repose, and having shaken himself, has sent his roar across the Atlantic, intimating to the oppressor and the oppressed that the year of jubilee is at hand! In a shorter period than you imagine, the laurel of universal freedom will be in luxurious growth both on the heights of Jamaica and the plains of Barbadoes. Universal emancipation has hoisted its signal, and, like that intrepid commander, the thunder of whose cannon rolled so victoriously over the deep, has declared that ‘England expects every man to do his duty.’ Like the Persian army, for numbers and wealth, you have invaded the cause of freedom, but you have forgotten that you have a Thermopylæ to pass, at which is posted not a solitary Leonidas, but ten thousand times ten thousand of the same spirit, who, if they cannot return from the conflict with their shields, they will be conveyed home upon them. We are contributing to wipe away a great national stain, the blot of our commerce and the disgrace of our government. All England has its eye on the present struggle, anxiously awaiting the result. If you return your candidate to parliament your triumph will be short. The friends of freedom will organise—a progressive fund shall commence its accumulation—and at every succeeding election, as long as a shilling can be produced, will we expend it in the destruction of West India despotism, and the glorious cause of universal freedom!”

We cannot quit Bristol, however, without intimating to the supporters of the anti-slavery cause throughout the kingdom, that the friends who embarked with so much zeal and effect in this contest have done it at a personal sacrifice of a very serious description. They have themselves contributed largely to defray the legal expenses of the election, and none other were incurred; but there is still a considerable deficiency to be provided for, the pressure of which, those who possess the means and who have formed a due estimate of the importance of asserting the principles of humanity and justice on such an occasion, will, we are well assured, not be slow in assisting to lighten. The Electors of Bristol have fought the battle ably and well. But they ought not to be allowed to suffer beyond their fair share of inconvenience because they have stood in its forefront and have attacked the foe in his very citadel.

It would be endless to particularize all the instances in which public feeling has been signally excited on this subject during these elections, or in which it has triumphed. It has formed indeed the paramount and engrossing topic of interest, in conjunction with the question of

the India and China monopoly, the retrenchment of the public expence, and the corn laws. But it is in Yorkshire, the first and wealthiest and most populous of our counties, that the flame of anti-slavery zeal has burst forth with the most intense, and steadiest lustre, and has produced the most splendid as well as the most decidedly beneficial results. Mr. Brougham was richly entitled, on account of his public services as well as his supereminent talents, to the highest marks of distinction which a grateful public could bestow upon him; but it was on anti-slavery principles especially that he was invited, and has been chosen, by the free and unbought suffrages of thousands upon thousands of his fellow citizens, to succeed Mr. Wilberforce in representing the largest associated population in the British Empire. His last speech in Parliament operated like the electric spark, and the moment his name was pronounced as a candidate for Yorkshire, the train was kindled throughout that mighty mass of living intelligence, and he was placed by acclamation on the very summit of his worldly ambition. Enough for that object, if from the commanding elevation which he occupies, he shall be enabled to emulate his predecessor's achievements, and complete the work of justice and mercy which *he* was the honoured instrument of commencing, and of which he will live, we trust, to witness the final accomplishment.

“The triumph of these principles,” observed Mr. Brougham in his first address to the electors, “is now about to be achieved. I am only known to you by my devotion to the improvement of our species; by the love I bear to civil and religious liberty all over the world, by my inextinguishable hatred of slavery, under what name soever it may be veiled, and of whatever race it may be the curse.—If you place in my hands the sacred trust of representing you in the Commons House of Parliament, you arm me with power to complete the good work which we have begun together, nor will I rest from my labours until, by the blessing of God, I have seen an end of the abuses which bind England to the ground, and the mists dispersed from the eyes of the ignorant, and the chains drop from the hands of the slave.”

Language to the same effect was held to the thousands who assembled to hear him in different parts of the county;—and on the day of his election, after touching on a variety of topics, as the recent revolution in France, reform in Parliament, retrenchment, the corn monopoly, and the East India monopoly, on the necessity of extinguishing which last, for the sake of the distressed people of England, he dwelt with peculiar force;—but “I hasten,” he said, “to a topic on which we are all agreed—I mean to that detestable monopoly, which one and all of us, thank God, condemn and execrate. If, in matters of trade, I hold monopoly to be false policy, I hold a monopoly of freedom, which would not allow to be enjoyed by others, but seek to reserve it to themselves, the first, best, and most inestimable blessings that God has given to man;—if I hold commercial monopoly to be impolitic, the monopoly of freedom I hold to be impious and abominable. (Loud Cheering.) Slavery, which is the most accursed and unnatural production of crime, and the most frightful source of human misery, which degrades the slave, but not more than it degrades his master,—for I

never can hold the victim of oppression to be more debased than him who imperiously exercises oppression ;—(Great Cheers.) Slavery, that plant under which grows all that is noxious and detestable, for the description of which my own poor diction is wanting, and for which I must refer to him, who, as he was the most eloquent of bards, was also one of the wisest of men, and one of the fastest friends of freedom—that plant under which

“ All life dies, death lives, and nature breeds,
Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things,
Abominable, unutterable, and worse
Than fables yet have feign'd or fear conceiv'd ;”—

that plant, under which all that grows to defile the earth, to pest the air, and to desecrate the works of Providence, I have by these feeble hands, assisted to loosen by the roots,—and my exulting hope is—and that it is which fills my heart with gratitude to you, and with hope *for us all*—that, my hands being strengthened by yours, we shall succeed at last in tearing it up, and brandishing it in triumph over the heads of the tyrants.” [Mr. Brougham's voice, action, and look in this energetic passage, were said to be most powerful, and the cheering of the multitude tremendous.]

Mr. BROUGHAM alluded to the unanimity which prevailed among the other candidates on this question ; and it was certainly most remarkable and consolatory. Their pledges were almost as emphatic as his own. “ The foremost topic among us all,” said Lord Morpeth, “ may now be said to be the abolition of negro slavery, and it seems to be a matter in which we directly see our way ; and the obligations of religion forbid us to stop short.” Again, he observed, “ while as a patriot and a philanthropist I cannot help expressing my general wishes for the triumphant and bloodless march of freedom, in every corner of the globe—whether it sweeps away a Bourbon, a Don Miguel, or a Grand Turk—whether it inspires France, or revives Portugal, or regenerates Greece—we must not forget that it is a still more especial duty of our own to take care that the blessings of freedom should be extended and felt in our own dominions, and among our own fellow subjects. I am sure you all, gentlemen, desire and demand the speediest possible abolition of negro slavery.—(Cheers.) You have heard much to his credit from Mr. Duncombe—I believe you will hear from all the candidates, assurances of their concurrence in this Christian object.—(Cheers.) I believe this has not been, as somebody has hinted, the reason exclusively, yet certainly very signally, why you have claimed and secured for yourselves the consummate mind and unrivalled energies of Mr. Brougham ; (loud cheers) and happy and proud for you will be that day, fellow countrymen, when you will be able to reflect, that in consequence of your efforts, and of the efforts of those whom you have encouraged and incited, and in consequence too of your example, the slave, now groaning under a brutalizing bondage, will be able to drop his knee to thank heaven for its greatest blessing, and to spring again to the earth without a chain and without a master.”—(Reiterated cheers.) His Lordship gave it as his decided opinion that the East India monopoly should not be permitted to exist an hour after the expiration of its present charter, and in this

sentiment Mr. Duncombe and Mr. Bethell fully concurred. On our peculiar topic they were no less energetic and decisive. "There is one subject," said Mr. Duncombe, "to which I must allude, because I find I have been grossly misrepresented upon it, I mean the subject of colonial slavery. Gentlemen, I abhor colonial slavery. I will yield to no man in an anxious desire to see it abolished and extinguished, and my public conduct will shew the sincerity of my professions on this point. To represent me as favourable to slavery is the grossest calumny that ever was invented."

"Political liberty," observed Mr. Bethell, "is doubtless one of the greatest of blessings, and its excellence consists in this, that it is the only permanent safeguard of *personal* liberty: and if we are lovers of freedom, surely we ought not to be contented whilst so many of our fellow-creatures, nay our fellow-subjects, remain in the most brutalizing bondage. This subject has excited the highest interest; and the time has now arrived when Parliament must take some effective step to put an end to this abominable system; and I shall give my cordial aid to accomplish so desirable an object. Upon this subject, at least, we are all united, for in the hearts of Englishmen there is an innate hatred of slavery. The opinion of this county has been loudly and decidedly raised against the further continuance of this abominable system, and the British Legislature must take steps towards its final extinction."

In the midst, however, of so many subjects of congratulation, as respects the progress of our cause in the public mind, we cannot but mourn over the absence from parliament, we trust it is but a brief and temporary absence, of those tried and fast friends of our cause, Mr. William Smith and Dr. Lushington. We deem it to be a calamity to lose their public services at such a moment as this. We hail at the same time the return of many to Parliament who have already signaled their attachment to the cause of freedom, and their rooted detestation of negro slavery, and of numbers more who we trust will manifest equal zeal in this cause.

And now for further action. Parliament will meet ere long;—let its table groan under the accumulated weight of thousands of earnest prayers for the utter extinction of colonial bondage; and let them be accompanied by the earnest aspirations of every Christian, that He who has the hearts of all men in his hands, would incline the hearts of our rulers to "let the oppressed go free and to break every yoke," and to "send them forth from the house of their bondage." "For woe unto us if we wait for the plagues and the signs, the wonders and the war, the mighty hand and the outstretched arm!"

And let us hope that France having happily accomplished her own emancipation from lawless tyranny, will unite with us in wiping out, from her fair escutcheon also, the foul blot of slave trading and slavery;—will unite with us in breaking the manacles of the slave, and in consigning, by a solemn compact, the future dealers in human flesh, of whatever nation, to the merited fate of felons and pirates.

We all remember the eagerness with which, on the restoration of the Bourbons, the slave trade was revived in France, and the wicked connivance with which the barefaced violation by its subjects of the solemn

treaties with us on that subject, was overlooked and even protected. Shall we be blind to the retributive justice which has hurled them from a throne thus polluted by the guilt of tolerated rapine and blood?

III.—ADMINISTRATION OF CRIMINAL JUSTICE IN BARBADOES.

ON the 9th of June last, the Court of Oyer and Terminer and general Gaol Delivery was held at Bridgetown before the Chief Justice, Mr. Braithwaite. In his address to the grand jury, he observed, "the calendar, I am sorry to see, exhibits an appalling list of offences, and many of them of a very heinous nature." He might well say so, as no fewer than ten persons stood upon it indicted for murder, besides a still larger number for other heinous crimes. What became of the alleged murderers we are not told. Nine of them were slaves, and the tenth a white man named W. G. Mandeville. Of the fate of these indictments not one syllable is said in the newspapers of the island. Indeed after the second day's proceedings all further notice of the trials is suddenly suspended, for reasons which may be imagined but cannot with certainty be assigned. The last which took place on that day was the trial of a white man, James Curtis, for maltreating two slaves by placing irons on their limbs, and confining them in a room of his house. The jury continued inclosed till midnight of the following day, when they declared they were unable to agree in their verdict, and the Court was dissolved. Of the manner in which the accused murderers black and white were dealt with, as we have already stated, not one word is said. But with respect to the white, strange rumours are abroad, and we trust that strict inquisition will be made for the blood which he was asserted to have shed. The indictment, we understand, charged him with having, in the most wanton and unprovoked manner, killed a free black man of the name of Clarke, by deliberately blowing out his brains with a loaded musket, in the presence of several slaves, and of the wife of the murdered man, who herself, it is said, is also free. It is further rumoured that the bill of indictment was thrown out by the grand jury, because the evidence of slaves was inadmissible against a white, and because the unfortunate widow, though an actual witness of the atrocious deed, and in possession of her freedom, yet was incapacitated by a law recently passed in Barbadoes, and sanctioned by the crown, from giving evidence against a white man, because she had obtained her manumission in England, and had thereby evaded the island tax of 50*l.* levied on each act of manumission, and the payment of which was vindictively made by that iniquitous law, a necessary qualification for the right of giving evidence against whites in a court of justice. The whole of the record of the Barbadoes Grand Sessions of June, we trust, will be called for, and rigidly scrutinized by his Majesty's Government.

IV.—A SUCCINCT VIEW OF THE MEASURES PROPOSED TO BE ADOPTED BY HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT, AND OF THE MANNER IN WHICH THEY HAVE BEEN CARRIED INTO EFFECT BOTH IN THE CROWN AND IN THE CHARTERED COLONIES TO THIS TIME, AUGUST 20, 1830.

1.—*To provide the means of Education and religious Instruction for the Slaves.*

NEITHER in the Crown nor in the Chartered Colonies has a single legal provision been made for securing either the education or the religious instruction of the Slaves. Sir George Murray in his circular letter to the Governors of chartered colonies, of the 15th September, 1828, (See Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 52, p. 54,) urges it upon them with great force that *provision should be made for these objects by law*; and yet the new Consolidated Slave Code for the crown colonies, contained in the Order of the King in Council of the 8th of February last, and which is held out as the model of legislation for the chartered colonies, makes not the slightest provision on the subject. (See Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 58, p. 148.)

2.—*To put an end to Sunday markets.*

The Order of the 8th February last abolishes Sunday markets in all the *crown* colonies, and empowers the Governor to appoint another day for that purpose. Two of the *chartered* colonies, Grenada and Tobago, have also abolished Sunday markets. The others, instead of abolishing, have legalized and established them, only limiting their duration, in one colony, that of Barbadoes, to nine, and in other colonies to eleven o'clock. But even these enactments are altogether illusory, no relief being thereby given to the slaves, nor any boon conferred upon them, as will appear under the succeeding head.

3.—*To make Sunday, which has hitherto been to the slaves a day of labour in their provision grounds, henceforward a day of rest and religious observance, by allowing them equivalent time in lieu of Sunday, for cultivating their provision grounds and for marketing.*

In no one instance has this recommendation been complied with. In no colony, whether *crown* or *chartered*, has equivalent time in lieu of Sunday been given by law to the slave, so that the mere prohibition of Sunday markets, or the mere appointment of another market day, even where such prohibition and appointment have taken place, will not afford to the slave the opportunities of rest or religious observance, or the power of attending the market on any week day unless that day is secured to him by law. In fact, no equivalent time being allotted to him for that labour of raising provisions for himself and family, to which the Sunday has hitherto been devoted, he must of necessity still employ his Sunday for that object, otherwise he and his family must starve. This point will be found fully explained and proved in the Reporters, No. 41, p. 315—318, No. 52, p. 67, No. 58, p. 134—139, and No. 60, p. 196—199. It will be found further illustrated and proved at p. 19, 20, &c. of a pamphlet recently published by the Rev. Mr. Barry, a Methodist Missionary, from Jamaica, under the title of "a letter to Sir George Murray." What possibility can exist either of rest or religious observance on the Sabbath under such circumstances? And yet it is hypocritically argued

that to make the slaves religious, is a necessary prelude to their freedom; and that all idea of their emancipation must be postponed till this first step shall have been taken. But after seven years of promise this first step has not yet been taken in any colony, nor if left to the colonists themselves will it ever be taken. In order to education and instruction time is obviously required, and that time they have not given, and will not give, even to the children. The universal refusal of the colonists to grant to the slaves equivalent time in lieu of Sunday, when viewed in connection with the clauses, in the disallowed Acts of Jamaica, which prohibit the slaves from attending divine worship between sunset and sunrise (all their other time being passed in hard labour) proves most clearly, notwithstanding the professions of the colonists, that their real object is to prevent, not to promote education and religious instruction.

4.—*To admit the testimony of slaves in civil and criminal cases.*

In the new Order the evidence of slaves is made admissible in all the *crown* colonies in the same manner as that of free persons; except that a court or jury may advert to their servile state as affecting their credit. (See *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 58, p. 146.)

Of the *chartered* colonies Grenada and Tobago alone have admitted the evidence of slaves without restriction. In the other chartered colonies the restrictions imposed on that admission are of such a nature as to render their *apparent* concessions perfectly futile and valueless. (See *ibid.* No. 33, p. 180, No. 38, p. 266, No. 43, p. 348, &c.)

5.—*To legalize the marriages and to protect the connubial rights of slaves.*

The new Order of February last, legalizes slave marriages in the *crown* colonies, by all classes of religious teachers, it being provided however that such marriages shall not invest the parties or their progeny with any rights at variance with the owners title to them and their services. (See *ibid.* No. 58, p. 131, and 141.)

In none of the *chartered* colonies are either adequate facilities or sanctions given to marriage, on the contrary in all of them the most absurd impediments are interposed. (See *ib.* No. 29, No. 33, p. 179, No. 38, p. 265, No. 43, p. 347, No. 48, p. 279, and No. 60, p. 195.)

6.—*To prevent the separation of Families by Sale.*

The new Order in Council is a great improvement on the former Orders, inasmuch as it prohibits, in all the *crown* colonies, the separation of families, not by judicial sales only, but by sales of whatever kind. No adequate provision however has been made for obtaining and preserving a record of those family ties which the law forbids to be broken.

In all the *chartered* colonies the pretended attempts to remedy this evil, are in a remarkable degree evasive and worthless. (See *ib.* No. 18, p. 251—254; No. 19, p. 272, & No. 28, p. 85—90; No. 33, p. 179; No. 38, p. 264—274, and No. 52, p. 74.)

7.—*To protect the Slaves by law in acquiring, possessing, and transmitting Property.*

The new Order in Council confers on the Slaves in the *crown* colonies, the right of property; and the right also of prosecuting and defending

actions at law in respect to such property. Slaves however, there is reason to fear, are still debarred even in the crown colonies, as they certainly are in all the chartered colonies, from cultivating or possessing, buying or selling any of the staple articles of culture, such as sugar, coffee, indigo, cotton, &c. &c. &c. (See *ib.* No. 34, p. 191, and No. 58, p. 142.)

The legislatures of the various *chartered* colonies, have pretended to legislate on this subject, but their enactments are of the most ineffective and delusive description. (See *ib.* No. 29, p. 103; No. 33, p. 179; No. 37, p. 242; No. 38, p. 264—274, and No. 60, p. 201.)

8.—*To grant to the Slaves a right of redeeming themselves or any of their family, at a fair appraisement.*

In none of the *chartered* colonies is this right given to the Slaves.

In all the *crown* colonies the new Order has imposed the compulsory manumission clause (a clause however which falls far short of the Spanish law)—but it introduces some new and oppressive provisions to the disadvantage of the Slave. One is that if a donation shall be given to the Slave to enable him to purchase his freedom, the manumission shall be void. Another is that if an owner or manager shall prove, that within the preceding five years a slave had committed a theft, all further proceedings towards his manumission shall be stayed for five years. (See *ib.* No. 58, p. 132—145.)

9.—*To limit the power of arbitrary punishment possessed by the master and his agents, and to restrain its abuse.*

The new Order of February 1830, omits that clause in the former Order, which inhibited the master from inflicting punishment on his slave until 24 hours had elapsed—a most unhappy omission when the violent and impetuous habits of those who have the power of arbitrary punishment in their hands is considered.

The master, in the *crown* colonies, and by the legislatures of two or three of the *chartered* colonies, is limited to the infliction of 25 lashes at one time,—but in the chartered colonies generally, the power of punishment remains as it was. Not only may 39 lashes of the cart-whip be inflicted on any man, woman or child, for any offence or for no offence, and without being obliged, within that limit, to render a reason for the infliction; but the master may further imprison in the stocks or in the workhouse, for any length of time he may think proper, without being liable to any penalty for so doing. (See *ib.* No. 60, p. 205.)

10.—*To provide that a regular record shall be kept, and a regular return made of all arbitrary punishments by the master or his agents.*

The necessity of this record even in the *crown* colonies is confined to slaves employed in agricultural or manufacturing labour, (which does in point of fact limit it to *plantations*;) and it does not therefore extend to the case of mechanics, domestics, &c. not attached to plantations;—and yet these are still more exposed to the excesses of passion and caprice than even the field-slaves themselves. (See *ib.* No. 58, p. 141.)—In none of the *chartered* colonies is any return required of arbitrary punishments by the master, or even any adequate record of such punishments.

11.—*To abolish entirely the practice of flogging Females.*

In the *crown* colonies, female flogging is abolished—but it is not abolished in any one of the *chartered* colonies. The Assembly of Jamaica refused by a large majority, to enact that women should cease to be *indecently flogged*. (See *ib.* No. 29, p. 107.)

12.—*To abolish entirely the use of the driving-whip in the field, as a stimulus to labour.*

Of the *chartered* colonies, the Bahamas alone (where there never was any driving) has abolished the driving-whip. In the new Order for the *crown* colonies, there is a change of terms in the prohibitory clause on this subject which, it is feared, may open a door to abuse. The former Order forbade the use of “any whip, cat or other instrument of like nature,” “*for the purpose of compelling or causing any slave to perform labour of any kind or nature whatsoever.*” The present Order omits the clause in italics, and forbids the use of “any cat, whip or other instrument usually employed in the punishment of slaves;” instead of “*other instrument of like nature.*”—See *ib.* No. 58, p. 130—139.)

13.—*To appoint protectors of the Slaves in every Colony.*

This is done only in the *crown* colonies. The *chartered* colonies have all refused to appoint a Protector of slaves.

14.—*To provide that in future no person being a Protector 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.*

This has been carried into full effect in the *crown* colonies with respect to Protectors, but not with respect to *Assistant Protectors* (See *ib.* No. 58, p. 133). These are, to a man, Slave proprietors.

In the *chartered* colonies this proposed reform has had little or no operation hitherto—except that it is believed that the Government have not lately appointed Governors or Judges from among slave holders.

15.—*To provide that in questions involving the Slavery or freedom of individuals, the presumption of law shall be in favour of freedom.*

This rule has been adopted by Grenada, but by no other of the *chartered* Colonies. In the *crown* Colonies of Trinidad and St. Lucia, it is also acted upon.

16.—*To purify the administration of justice.*

No steps have yet been taken to this end.

No measures have been taken or even proposed by Government, for abating the intensity, or shortening the duration of that excessive toil, which is, at this moment, wasting negro life at a dreadful rate.

But even were this and all the other measures enumerated above, carried into full effect, it could only be regarded as a step towards that consummation which is never to be lost sight of, THE EARLY AND TOTAL ABOLITION OF SLAVERY THROUGHOUT THE BRITISH DOMINIONS.

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- I. THE REV. G. W. BRIDGES, AND HIS SLAVE KITTY HILTON.
- II. FALLACIOUS REPRESENTATIONS OF COLONIAL PARTIZANS.
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- V. MEETING OF PARLIAMENT.

I.—THE REV. G. W. BRIDGES, AND HIS SLAVE KITTY HILTON.

MUCH has been said of late respecting this gentleman, both in Jamaica and in England, to which we should hardly have deemed it necessary to advert, but for the light which the circumstances of the case are calculated to throw on the extraordinary state of manners and morals existing in this Island, and which may be regarded as the genuine result of that system of slavery which tends to corrupt the principles and pervert the feelings of the community of masters far more than those of the slaves. We give the facts as they appear in the newspapers of Jamaica.

On the 6th of July 1829, Mr. Pringle, the Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, addressed the following letter to Sir George Murray, the Colonial Secretary of State.

“SIR,—I am desired by the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society to convey to you the enclosed extract from a letter, which has recently been received from Jamaica, and which contains statements that seem to call for inquiry. The Committee do not vouch for the truth of these statements, but they know their informant to be respectable. They desire me to transmit, along with the extract, two Jamaica Newspapers, which seem guardedly to allude to the same transaction which is detailed in the extract.”

The extract was as follows, being taken from a letter dated in Jamaica, on the 19th May 1829, and received in London on the 2nd July 1829.

“The Rev. Mr. Bridges has been brought before a Special Court,* in St. Ann’s, for maltreating a quadroon female slave in a most brutal manner, and

* What the writer of this letter erroneously calls a Court, it clearly appears from the subsequent proceedings, was merely a meeting of the justices and vestry of the parish, convened as a Council of Protection, to inquire whether there was sufficient proof of cruelty in the case to justify a public prosecution. See the Jamaica Slave Act of 1816, § 25. The result of the inquiry therefore was not, properly speaking, an acquittal, but a decision that the evidence did not afford ground for a criminal prosecution by the parish.

acquitted by a decision of 14 against 4. I shall give the matter as I heard it, for no notice is taken of the trial in the newspapers. Bridges had ordered the girl to get a turkey for dinner, expecting a friend to dine.—In the course of the day he learnt that this friend could not come. He called the girl and asked her what was for dinner; she replied ‘the turkey.’ He immediately said, accompanying his words with a blow, ‘you d— b—, who told you to get a turkey?’—The blow blackened both the girl’s eyes, and set her nose in a flow of blood. The poor creature again said, ‘Massa, it was the last thing you told me to do this morning.’ He immediately called two men to cut bamboo rods and point them. She was then stripped of every article of dress, tied up by the hands, her toes barely touching the ground, and flogged until the back part of her, from the shoulders down to the calves of her legs, was one mass of lacerated flesh and gore. In this state she was locked up, but made her escape in the night, in a state of nudity, to a magistrate, who was about sending her back to Bridges.—On hearing that she was to be sent back to her master by this inhuman magistrate, she made a start from him and went to Mr. Cox (another magistrate), who detained her. Mr. Cox, as I am informed, said he never saw, in his life, a poor creature in so miserable a state from punishment. She was almost naked, and flogged from her shoulders to the calves of her legs. Mr. Cox, as Custos of the parish, had a court convened—he, with other magistrates, attending. After hearing the evidence on both sides, in which Bridges’ two servants admitted the severity of the punishment, and he, Bridges, acknowledged his having had her punished for her insolence; when he was asked if he did not see the punishment given, he said he was on a hill that looked down on the spot where it was done. Again, if he did not hear her cries? He said he could hear her, but that she was very insolent, and he gave orders for her to be punished. It was then put to the vote whether he should be prosecuted or not: 14 were against and 4 for prosecution. Mr. Cox, Mr. Hodgson, Mr. Austin, and another magistrate, were the four decidedly for laying the case before His Majesty’s Attorney General.”

The paragraphs in the Jamaica Newspapers which were sent along with the above extract as affording presumptive evidence of its general truth, were as follows:—

The first was an “Extract of a Letter from St. Ann’s, dated May 12, 1829.”

“I am sure that you will, as a friend to justice, rejoice with me at our worthy Rector having been yesterday acquitted by a Council of Protection, after a long and minute investigation of the charge of cruelty and maltreatment, brought against him by one of his slaves.”

The second was a letter addressed to the Editor of the Jamaica Courant, dated St. Ann’s, May 13, 1829, as follows:—

“SIR,—The serious charge that was made against a Clergyman of talent and respectability for maltreating a slave, adverted to in your publication of Monday the 4th instant, was duly and strictly investigated at the Court House on the 11th, and I have pleasure in informing you that your anticipations were realized. The God of Shadrach was with him: not a hair of his head is scorched. He has escaped unhurt, notwithstanding that nearly one-fifth of the furnace was tenfold hot. The numbers for and against the respectable individual alluded to were as follow:—Pro 14—Con 4.”

Copies of the whole of these communications were transmitted by Sir George Murray, to Lord Belmore, the Governor of Jamaica, inclosed in a despatch to the following effect:—

“My LORD,—I have the honour herewith to transmit to your Lordship the copy of a letter, which has been addressed to me by Mr. Thomas Pringle, describing himself as Secretary to the Anti-Slavery Society. Your Lordship will observe, that this Society, on the authority of an unnamed Correspondent, attributes to the Rev. Mr. Bridges, conduct of great cruelty and indecency towards a female slave: although, in making this statement, the Anti-Slavery Society does

expressly declare, that they do not vouch for its truth. The imputation, therefore, against the character of Mr. Bridges, is not only repelled by its own inherent improbability, but it is not sustained by any evidence, properly so called, or even by the assertion of any producible person. Your Lordship will also observe, that the anonymous author of this statement first represents Mr. Bridges to have been brought before a Special Court, and acquitted of the charge, and then states the decision to have been only that he should not be prosecuted. The former of these assertions must be incorrect, since, if any trial had taken place for this supposed offence, Mr. Bridges must, I presume, have been tried like any other person, either before the Court of Grand Sessions, or some Assize Court, by a jury of twelve men. The quotation from the Jamaica newspaper represents the proceeding to have taken place before a Council of Protection, which statement I therefore presume to be so far correct.

“The determination of the Council of Protection would seem, even from the statement of the Anti-Slavery Secretary, to have been in favour of Mr. Bridges, by a majority of fourteen to four; so that not only the personal character and sacred office of Mr. Bridges, but the solemn opinion of fourteen of the gentlemen composing this Council are arrayed in his favour, against an accuser whose name is not quoted, and for whose truth the Anti-Slavery Society declines to vouch.

“Under such circumstances, I might, in any ordinary case, think it quite unnecessary to institute any further inquiry into the transaction in question. But I conceive it is due to Mr. Bridges, and even to the Council of Protection, to afford them the opportunity, of which I am persuaded they will gladly avail themselves, to make their own vindication against a charge of so serious a nature, however unsupported by proof, and contradicted by fair presumption.

“Your Lordship will, therefore, transmit to Mr. Bridges, and to the Council of Protection, a copy of the enclosed documents, and of this despatch; and you will acquaint Mr. Bridges and the Members of the Council, that I shall be happy to receive any explanations which they may think it necessary or convenient to transmit to me through your Lordship.—You will also desire the Council of Protection to furnish you with copies of the examinations taken by them upon this case. It would be great injustice to Mr. Bridges, and to the Members of the Council of Protection, were I at present to entertain any distrust of the perfect propriety of their decision on the subject; but it will be the most satisfactory mode of proceeding to refer to the Attorney-General of Jamaica the information which may be received, desiring that gentleman to report to your Lordship his opinion, whether any sufficient grounds exist for instituting a further prosecution against Mr. Bridges, and, if so, whether the Attorney-General be precluded by the decision of the Council from instituting it? In the very probable event of the Attorney-General advising such a prosecution, it must, of course, be instituted.

“It is not without sincere regret, that I thus commit to your Lordship an inquiry, which must subject the Rev. Gentleman, above named, who has been implicated in this charge, to much inconvenience, and which may, perhaps, however erroneously, be thought to imply a distrust of the whole Magistracy of the island.—But I am not aware that there is any other mode of disposing of this complaint, by which I should equally consult the real interests of the Colony, or the personal reputation of Mr. Bridges and the Council of Protection.

“I have the honour to be, &c. &c. (Signed) G. MURRAY.”

It is remarkable that in all the copies of this letter which have appeared in the different Jamaica Newspapers, the date of it is wholly omitted. The letter was probably written in the month of July 1829. It was not acted upon, however, by Lord Belmore until about the 1st of May 1830, at least six or seven months after it must have reached him. About that time, it first made its appearance in the newspapers of Jamaica. The omission of the date was doubtless intended to prevent the delay in carrying Sir George Murray's wishes into effect from being perceived. But what caused the delay? Lord Belmore is best

able to answer that question. It is rumoured, however, that on first receiving it, his Lordship wrote to the Secretary of State suggesting the expediency of not prosecuting the inquiry, as the transaction had sunk into oblivion, and had much better not be revived. The result would indicate that this view of the case did not satisfy Sir George Murray, and that he had given peremptory directions to Lord Belmore to carry into effect the instructions contained in his first letter. That letter was accordingly communicated to the Custos of St. Ann's, with a request, that he would take measures for complying with the desire of the Secretary of State.

In consequence of this communication the gentlemen who had formed the Council of Protection on the 11th May 1829, when the charge against Mr. Bridges was first investigated, were summoned to meet. They accordingly met on the 14th May 1830, and after much discussion adopted the following Resolutions, viz. :

“That notwithstanding those sentiments of loyalty and attachment to his Majesty's Throne and Government, with which we have ever been impressed, we consider that we should be wanting to ourselves, to our stations, and to our country, were we not to express our surprise and deep indignation at the Letter of Sir George Murray, and the accompanying Letter, from a person styling himself the Secretary to the Anti-Slavery Society, which has been laid before us by his Honour the Custos.

“That we deprecate this interference of the Colonial Secretary as a gross violation of our just rights, and an attempt to destroy that constitutional authority with which we have been solemnly invested by the several branches of the Legislature, and by the confirmation of our gracious Sovereign; nor can we refrain from expressing our astonishment, that the Colonial Secretary should, a second time, irritate and wound the feelings of the Magistrates of this Colony, by an attempt to establish an inquisitorial jurisdiction over their proceedings.

“That this interference of his Majesty's Ministers is equally a subversion of every principle of British jurisprudence, for in all ordinary cases, and in all Courts of Law, it is indispensably requisite that every charge should be established on the oath of some *producibile person*. It is a thing unknown to the English Constitution, to entertain for a moment accusations which deprive the accused of the means of establishing his innocence, by exposing the fallacy or motives of the accuser; but, in the present instance, this wholesome principle is rejected, and it is with the most profound regret that this Meeting perceives a practice adopted by his Majesty's Ministers, which has hitherto been confined, among civilized nations, to the unhallowed cloisters of the Inquisition.*

“That of the Anti-Slavery Society, we admit no other cognizance than their avowed and implacable hostility to the Colonies, and their general treachery to the interests of the empire. We, however, deplore the influence which they appear to have gained over the several departments of Government, and the tyranny with which they exercise it. And it is with the utmost pain that we have to contrast the facility with which all communications from this illegal Society are received and acknowledged, with the neglect which the petitions and remonstrances of our Representatives in Assembly have suffered from the Ministers of the Crown.”

Notwithstanding the refusal of these magistrates to comply with the desire of the Secretary of State, the Attorney General of Jamaica ap-

* It is difficult to conceive in what respect the request, on the part of the Secretary of State, to be furnished with information of the proceedings of magistrates or courts of justice appointed by the crown, can be considered as violating any constitutional right. The due protection of the subject requires that the crown should have at all times access to full information as to the manner in which its own functionaries have fulfilled the duty intrusted to them.

pears to have got possession of the minutes of the evidence which had been taken on the 11th May, 1829; and he conceived that he was warranted on the ground of that evidence to prefer a bill of indictment to the grand jury, which assembled in Spanish-town on the 14th June, 1830, against the Rev. G. W. Bridges, "for maltreating a slave." The grand jury threw out the bill, and thus put a stop to all farther judicial inquiry.

A friend of Mr. Bridges, however, who assumes the feigned name of Byron, undertook to enlighten the public respecting the real circumstances of this case, and published the following exculpation of him in the Postscript to the Royal Gazette of the 12th June, 1830, two days before the meeting of the Grand Court by which he was to have been tried.

"The public attention is now occupied by the extraordinary proceedings of the Attorney-General against the persecuted rector of St. Ann's—a proceeding by which he seeks to supersede the decisions, the repeated decisions of the Council of Protection, convened, and reconvened, to perform the dirty work of the Anti-Slavery Society, the Macaulays, the Stephens, and their wretched spies! We have had access to the records of the Council of Protection of 1829, and now lay before our readers the real circumstances of this case. They were proved by the witnesses, on the complainant's own behalf, though it now seems the Crown officers take advantage of the long period which has since elapsed, and the circumstance of the most material witnesses being off the island, to establish a new case.

"The woman, Kitty Hilton, was proved both by her former, and present owners, to be of notorious bad character and evil propensities, and was ordered, for repeated insolence, to be switched with bamboos. No other negro was about the house, but an old watchman (for Mr. Bridges had European servants, to avoid, as far as he could, a repetition of the charge of being a slave-owner himself, which Mr. Wilberforce had discovered from an advertisement in a Jamaica paper of 1824, and which Mr. Wilberforce adduced in the House of Commons, for the purpose of invalidating the testimony of the author of 'A Voice from Jamaica'). There was, therefore, no person to hold the woman, nor was she in any way confined, but, with much insolent nonchalance, walked off to receive her punishment, at a short distance from the house, where her master remained until he heard her expressing her contrition, when he went on the lawn before the door, and called to the old man below to cease. The woman returned to the house certainly in a very dirty, ragged, and indecent state, and appearing thus before her master and some ladies staying there, he ordered her away to change her clothes, at the same time sending her a supply from a box of negro clothing, beside which he was standing, as she had complained of wanting them. A young lady, a visitor there, saw her at the time, as did also the governess in the family, and the white butler. The two latter are now unfortunately off the island, which makes the *re-investigation* of the case, at this distance of time, a case of peculiar hardship on the accused. The former is, however, still here, and the most material witness, as she saw her both *immediately before, and immediately after*, the punishment, before she had been tampered with by a party of *Methodists*, who reside on a property within two hundred yards of Mr. Bridges' house, and who are continually annoying him, by encouraging his people to run away. By these people she was advised to run away, as she had for years been in the constant habit of doing, and accordingly next morning she was missed. She walked *seven miles* to Mr. Raffington, who told Mr. Bridges of the circumstance, and advised his sending for her. Mr. B. did so, and sent a horse and side saddle, as Mr. Raffington declared she was suffering much from fever. In the same time, however, she had left his protection at Sea-View, and, contrary to his orders, had gone to his house on St. Ann's Bay; and thence away again to Mr. Smith, with whom she knew her master was not on friendly terms. Mr. Smith delivered her to the person who took the horse for her, with the usual letter interceding for her pardon. She came home late at night when the family had all retired, and Mr. Bridges being called up, ordered his white servant to

put her in charge of the watchman, whose fire was blazing in the yard; but he saw not the woman himself. Next morning it was discovered that she had *again* run away, and nothing more was heard of her till Mr. Cox wrote officially to say that she had appeared before him *sixteen miles off*, in the afternoon of the same day, in a wretched condition, and that he thought it his duty to send her before a Council of Protection. He accordingly immediately ordered her off to the workhouse, where she was again seen by Mr. Harker and the workhouse doctor, Mr. Stennett, after completing a journey of *more than fifty-seven miles*, in an incredibly short period, for one who assumed the wretched appearance described by those to whom she made her artful complaints!! She was at the same time suffering also under a virulent and disgraceful disease. Still, at the Council of Protection, in 1829, Mr. Stennett declared on oath that the marks of punishment did not equal those which 39 lashes with a whip would have inflicted. Within a few days she was also seen by various other persons, who had been in the habit of knowing her in her master's house, and who declared she looked quite as well as usual! She was allowed repeatedly to be at the house of Mr. Harker, and in conference with the numerous *Methodists* in St. Ann's Bay, whom she knew to be very hostile to her master, and who made her believe that if she could establish a *good case*, she would be made free, and he would be turned out of his living. The deputy clerk of the peace, who saw her surrounded by these *Methodists*, proved that she complained to him that she was *not used to such treatment and allowances as the workhouse afforded, particularly that she wanted coffee!*—and, strange to say, she some how or other contrived to be quite at large for several weeks, and to obtain such assistance as to perfect her plan of deception.

“The Council of Protection met within ten days of these circumstances happening. Mr. Bridges was very ill, unable to leave his bed; the woman's story was nevertheless heard, but without witnesses, *in his absence!!* and, of course, went forth uncontradicted; till another council was convened a month afterwards, when all the woman's witnesses, to prove her assertions, were in attendance; but they so *disproved* them, that the case was dismissed—and her own testimony being completely contradicted by all her own witnesses!!—for Mr. Bridges called none. She had stated that her master stood over her and beat her while the watchman stretched her; but it was ascertained that he remained in the house until he went out on the lawn to stop the punishment, and when even there, though within sight, was not within two hundred yards of her! By the *Custos of St. Mary's*, this circumstance was then turned into a serious and new charge against Mr. Bridges, of infringing the law, by *not* being present at the punishment!! The artful conduct of the woman was also made apparent by the circumstance of her applying only to those persons who she knew were most unfriendly to her master, who all espoused her cause most warmly, and who, even to the very last, were found in the minority of 4 against 14!!

“It is upon such grounds as these that the Attorney General of Jamaica seconds the efforts of the Anti-Slavery Society, and their base anonymous informer; seeking to ruin a persecuted individual by setting at nought the law of the land, and trying him a third time* in the absence of the principal witnesses, for what has been twice already declared to be no offence!!!

“We can trust ourselves to say no more, with

————— “Attornies General, awful to the sight,
As hinting more, unless our judgments warp us,
Of the Star Chamber, than of *Habeas Corpus.*”

We have thus laid before our readers the whole particulars of this transaction so far as they have yet been made public, and whatever may be the impression produced by them as to the *legal* guilt of the Rev. G. W. Bridges, they will at least establish a case against the state of society and manners in Jamaica, which it will not be very easy to get rid of. Any comment of ours would be superfluous. We

He has not yet been tried at all.

would only ask what must be the state of that society in which such a defence of a clergyman could be expected to avail in his favour? His anonymous vindicator, even assuming his *ex parte* statement to be true, has disclosed enough to decide that part of the question.* We wish, however, that he had condescended to tell us what has been the destiny of the wretched Kitty Hilton, since she was remanded in May or June of last year into the custody of her Reverend Proprietor. Is it true, as reported, that she has passed the interval in a workhouse, subjected to occasional flogging, and to hard labour in chains? Or how otherwise has she been disposed of? Or where, and in what condition is she at the present moment? The Attorney General must have it in his power to remove all doubts on these points, as he must have required her to be produced in court when the indictment was preferred against her master for the maltreatment she had received.

During the months of May and June last, the newspapers of the island were filled with discussions on this subject. With one exception, they appear to have taken a vehement part in favour of Mr. Bridges, who is held up as a grievously persecuted man; and yet not one of them that we have met with has ventured to deny the substantial correctness of the original statement which was communicated, by the Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, to Sir George Murray, on the subject.

* On this defence the "Watchman" observes, "Defend me from my friends was the exclamation of one who justly dreaded the eulogium of fools; and few impartial readers of Friday's Courant will deny that Mr. Bridges has now an excellent opportunity to ascertain its just value. The intended defence of him bears on its face such conclusive evidence of its untruth, and betrays such perfect indifference to the sufferings of the woman (whom it calmly describes as 'suffering under a virulent and disgraceful disease' at the time she received such severe punishment as to reduce her to the 'wretched condition' in which Mr. Cox saw her *some days after*) that we can hardly believe the writer of it" to be serious. "We could with very little trouble insert the entire statement, and by adding what the Courant has suppressed, and removing excrescences he has attached, exhibit the affair in a very different light. But justice forbids us to prejudge a case which is so soon to be submitted to the decision of a jury." "We therefore suspend our remarks, save in reference to the journey of fifty-seven miles, performed (and, as he states, partly on horseback) in the *incredibly short space of two days*, and alleged as a proof of the mildness of the punishment, a device so shallow that it can only be intended to mislead those who are unacquainted with the habits of the negroes, who, from the age of seven or eight years, are so accustomed to make long journeys on foot to the distant markets, that on Saturdays and Sundays they crowd the roads in every stage from health to extreme disease, coming from plantations from *ten to thirty miles* distant, and to which they must return on the same or following day. Nor is it less notorious that the *humane* owners of that *happy* and *contented* race do not conceive that flogging disqualifies the slave for immediate labour, so that unless the 'Bilboes' be put in requisition for increase of punishment, the culprit is *immediately set to work*.

"The allegation amounts to just this much—that the flogging inflicted upon the woman, not having deprived her of the use of her legs, the dread of further punishment urged her to seek the protection of a Magistrate.

"Judging from the specimen before us, we do not hesitate to assure our contemporary that his misrepresentations are more likely to injure than serve the cause he advocates. We advise him seriously not to increase by falsehood the indignation excited in the breasts of all *good* men by the misconduct of his patron. Pending the trial he may as well agree to a short armistice with truth."

There is abuse in abundance of that Society, and of Sir George Murray, and also of the Attorney General; but, setting aside the opprobrious apology quoted above, we do not find one line which asserts the innocence of the accused. It will mark the prevalent feeling in his favour, that on the very morning of the day on which the Grand Jury were to meet to decide on the indictment preferred against him, the following observations appeared in a popular journal, the Jamaica Courant, with the obvious intention of influencing their decision.

“ We have devoted, to-day, a large portion of our columns to the case of the Rev. Mr. Bridges, as we are anxious that the merits of this question should be brought in one view before the public. Two questions are involved in it—one, whether the Reverend Mr. Bridges is to be tried a third time* for the same offence, merely to gratify the Anti-Slavery Society in England; the other, whether the *Orders* of the Colonial Office are to supersede the solemn enactments of our Legislature,† sanctioned, as they are, by his Majesty. *The Grand Jury of Middlesex have a duty to perform to their country, and we have no doubt they will discharge it fearlessly and conscientiously, and convince the Anti-Slavery Society, as well as the hired and base spies of that body, that their wishes are not yet law in Jamaica.*”

“ The Reverend Rector’s principles, as an active minister of the established religion, and a zealous defender of the oppressed and traduced colonists, do him credit, and demand support from the inhabitants of Jamaica in particular; and we do sincerely hope, that he will receive that support which he so richly merits, to the confusion of his enemies.”

“ If we refer to Sir George Murray’s Dispatch on the subject of the St. Ann’s Magistrates, we shall be at a loss which most to *admire*—the undertoned contempt and dislike of the powerful party which he dares not openly disoblige—or the subterfuges by which he wishes to shift the odium of an unwarrantable act from his own shoulders, on those of *his Majesty’s Attorney-General of this Island*. Had Sir George Murray been acquainted with the laws and institutions of the island, he would not have hesitated, for one moment, to declare to that base faction, by whom he has been instigated, that his interference would be a direct violation of a positive law, to which his master, the King of England, had affixed his sanction.” “ There may be, indeed, some excuse for a man who accepts office, such as Sir George Murray, without knowing any thing of its duties.” “ But the Attorney-General of this island cannot, does not, plead ignorance. He mounts upon his official stilts, and declares he will set the popular voice at defiance—that his authority is paramount to the solemn acts of the legislature, and he considers it his duty to comply with the *orders* of the Colonial Secretary, in other words, he considers it necessary, for the preservation of his office, to lend himself to the views of a party. But we would ask, is nothing due to the land which pays him so liberally? Is nothing due to *its* rights and privileges? Is nothing due to the outraged feelings of its inhabitants? Or shall the officer, who is paid, fed, and fattened, on the small remains of its revenues, who is raised to that station as the chief conservator of peace, be allowed thus to sound the tocsin of discord and confusion? We say, that this act, on the part of the Attorney-General, appears to us to be nothing more, nor less, than an attempt to establish, in his own person, the long-sought for—the devoutly hated—the scorned—the scouted—ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE of PROTECTOR OF SLAVES! We dread the result of this interference of the Attorney-General, among our slave population,—they will see that *our* laws are of no avail—that an acquittal of a master, by a legally constituted tribunal, is despised—that a charge brought by *them*, however groundless, is eagerly laid hold of, to our injury—and every nerve strained in their favour, to support their cause, however unjust, and to crush the innocent! We ask, where is this to end? If the

* He has not been tried at all.

† There is no act, and can be no act, of the legislature forbidding the King to inquire into the due execution of the laws.

Attorney-General has the power of superseding a Council of Protection in this instance, he has the power to interfere with every other, past, present, or to come, and we leave the public to judge, where the confusion will end.—We need not tell them where it begins. But we deny his power,—we denounce it as a violation of our just rights, and a dangerous interference with our local institutions. We say distinctly, that actuated by an honourable and jealous feeling for the preservation of our rights, the House of Assembly enacted the 45th clause of the Slave Law, for the express purpose of preventing a protector, or an *Attorney-General*, from interfering with the decision of a Council of Protection.”*

“There can be but one opinion of the conduct and motives of the Attorney-General, in the contemplated violation of the rights of the subject, in the person of Mr. Bridges. It is equally plain that he is impelled by views of self-interest alone; for to use his own language, ‘He will not be deterred from his duty by popular clamour’—thus admitting the indignant feeling which has been raised on the subject throughout the island; but setting it at defiance! ‘That, as an officer of the Crown, he is bound to support the views of Government! and, though without hopes of success, will appeal to a Grand Jury to exonerate himself!’ To exonerate him from what? The Grand Jury cannot exonerate him from the charge of subserviency!—from the charge of aiding the enemies of the island!—from setting at defiance the public voice! or from the charge of acting in violation of the law of the land. No! the Grand Jury will fulfil the sacred functions for which they are impanelled. They will maintain the rights of the subject—they will exonerate, from oppression and tyranny, the man who has been already twice acquitted by his peers.”†

“Every one knows how severely the Rector of St. Ann has been persecuted by the Government at the instance of the Anti-Slavery Society. The prosecution in the name of Lecesne and Escoffery, was instituted not for any real injury done to these men, but to gratify the revengeful feelings of the anti-colonial party against the intrepid defender of West Indian character and rights.—The present prosecution is but a sequel of the unjust and oppressive injuries he has already suffered on the other side of the water; and it is now clear, that nothing but his total destruction will glut the vengeance of his *Methodistic anti-colonial foes*. It is time the voice of the public was raised in one simultaneous shout, which, vibrating through every part of the island, will serve to defend, in the person of the persecuted Rector of St. Ann, the rights and the privileges of all.—An appeal to a British public, in such a case, was never made in vain; and it is only characteristic of Britons, in their acknowledged detestation of tyranny, boldly to step in, and shield the man who is unjustly borne down by the strong arm of power.”‡

We subjoin some remarks of the Editor of the Jamaica Watchman on the same subject. On the 1st of May, he observes,

“The Jamaica papers, as might have been expected, now begin to teem with violent tirades and abusive articles against Sir George Murray, the Anti-Slavery Society, the Hon. A. Hodgson, and, as a matter of course, the Sec-

* The clause referred to, if it have the meaning here assigned to it, is a proof at once both of the insidiousness of colonial legislation, and of the carelessness with which the colonial laws were suffered to obtain the Royal sanction in time past. This act was passed in 1816. The 45th clause enacts “that no writ of *certiorari*, or other process, shall issue or be issuable to remove any proceeding whatsoever, had in pursuance of this act, into the supreme court of judicature, or any other of the courts of this island.”

† The Council of Protection had no power to try him, but only to inquire whether there was ground for sending him to trial.

‡ If it be asked why the Anti-Slavery Society should not have disclosed the name of their informant, it may be answered that had they done so, they would, most infallibly, have exposed him to a merciless persecution; from which the truth of his statement would have been no protection. His original communication, however, was, and now is, perfectly open to the confidential inspection of Sir George Murray, on his requisition to that effect. The extract from it, however, which was transmitted to Sir George Murray, was supported, be it remembered, by the two newspapers which accompanied it.

tarians, in consequence of Sir G. Murray's Letter to Lord Belmore, relative to the maltreatment of a Quadroon slave girl, the property of Mr. Bridges.

"Instead of meeting the charge in a cool, a calm, and dispassionate manner, and *endeavouring*, if possible, to prove to Sir George Murray and to the world the falsehood of the anonymous accusation forwarded to the Colonial Office, our great men, and big men, and clever men, have commenced to bluster, to brawl, and to defy: just as though abuse was argument, or obstinacy proof.

"To any man who has not allowed his passions to gain the ascendancy over his reason, it must appear at first sight extremely *strange*, to say the least of it, that a man, or set of men, whose conduct, according to their own account, has been so very correct and free from blame, should instantaneously take fire at the bare mention of their having acted with partiality; and instead of manifesting, by a full, free, and open examination of all the circumstances involved in that charge, the correctness of their conduct, attempt to shield themselves under the plea of its having been brought forward by an unknown and irresponsible individual."—"The Courant, as usual, is loud in its recommendation to the Magistracy of Saint Ann's to be *firm*, or, in other words, to be *obstinate*."

On the 19th of May, he thus comments on the refusal of the magistrates of St. Ann's, to furnish to the Attorney-General the evidence taken before them in the preceding year.

"To have forwarded to the Attorney-General the examinations that were then taken, would be to put into that officer's hands evidence on which he could, with great justice and propriety, ground proceedings at law, as well as to render notorious the facts of a case which reflects eternal disgrace, as well upon the individual whose conduct rendered such an examination necessary, as upon the majority of those who, as *honest men*, were called upon to administer justice between an inhuman master and an unfortunate suffering slave! It is downright nonsense to talk about 'gratifying the worst of our enemies by attempting to disturb the judgment already pronounced;' because if that judgment was calculated to '*bear the light*,' it would matter little how often it was disturbed; nay, the oftener it was disturbed, the more complete would be the triumph!—If Mr. Bridges be innocent, why such a decided disinclination to put the necessary papers into the hands of the Attorney-General? Why evince so much hostility to a reinvestigation? Why such an attempt to raise a cloud of dust about 'infringement of rights,' under which to hide the former dirty transaction? and why not openly and fearlessly meet and disprove the charges? But this cannot be done, and for no other reason but because they are known to be true; because it is a transaction over which it must be the anxious wish of every individual who has been engaged in it to throw an impenetrable veil; because the decision which was then made was not a decision upon the merits of the case! The question, with the majority, was not whether Mr. Bridges had maltreated his slave or not, for that was a fact too notorious to be denied. It was whether their decision in favour of the slave would not furnish the Saints in England with a strong argument against Mr. Bridges, and whether such a decision would not prove injurious to the colony? It was to prevent this being said that the Council of Protection voted for shielding the Rev. Mr. Bridges from the consequences of a public prosecution.

"No wonder that the Reverend Mr. Bridges has attempted to defend the system of slavery, and to prove that no cruelties exist in Jamaica—because he is himself a slave holder, and a cruel one too, as is proven by the proceedings of the Council of Protection held at Saint Ann's Bay."

"To designate the mild and friendly letter of the colonial minister an 'attempt to subvert our rights, and to set the laws at defiance,' argues a most '*iniquitous*' wish to pervert the plain meaning of a communication, which speaks volumes for the moderation of the minister, and but too clearly proves to what miserable expedients men are driven in the defence of a bad cause."

II.—FALLACIOUS REPRESENTATIONS OF COLONIAL ADVOCATES.

We have at various times produced striking proofs of the infatuated spirit of combined and determined hostility to the truth which actuates the great body of our colonial slave holders, whether in the West Indies

or in the Mauritius. TRUTH is what they naturally dread, as letting in light upon the abominations of their system. Hence the violence with which they resent any attempt to bring before the public the dark deeds imputed to a man, who like Mr. Bridges, has so identified himself with their cause, that his delinquences reflect discredit upon themselves. And hence also the eagerness with which they have circulated their proceedings in the case of Lieutenant Smith, at a cost probably to the pro-slavery fund, of not less than £2,000, merely in the hope of hiding its real merits from the public. Their whole imposing array of judicial and even legislative powers were brought to bear on this unfortunate individual, in order to entrap or terrify him into contradictions on collateral and immaterial points; while they studiously, and of set and premeditated purpose, kept out of view what was alone material to the vindication of their system—an inquiry into the truth of the brutalities Mr. S. said he had witnessed. With respect to these, they dexterously shun all approach to elucidation, hoping without doubt that these would be lost sight of in the overwhelming cloud of irrelevant matter with which they have contrived to obscure the only facts it was really of moment to investigate.

If, indeed, we were to select any single instance on which to ground a charge of wilful and deliberate misrepresentation against the general body of the Colonists; it would be their proceedings in this very case, by giving a costly publicity to which, they have been so blinded by their prejudices as to fancy, that they could either reconcile the people of Great Britain to their wicked system, or weaken the hands of those who have united to free their country from its pollution and its guilt.

In the same spirit have the Colonists hailed and heralded the impostures of such writers as Barclay, who, in his letter to Sir George Murray, published last year, has not scrupled to affirm, “that the Colonists are not unfriendly to the religious instruction of the slaves; but on the contrary, are anxious to promote it; but that they are naturally suspicious of teachers sent by societies, which scarcely disguise their enmity.” In commenting on this statement, the Jamaica Watchman, (in his paper of 28th April, 1830,) observes, that it appears “by a Report of the Jamaica Auxiliary Church Missionary Society, that the unfriendly disposition evinced to the members of the established church is just as great as towards the Sectarians. Speaking of Coley Estate, the property of Sir G. H. Rose, and others, situated in St. Thomas in the East, this Report says, ‘Of this station the Committee regret their inability to speak favourably. Mr. J. Wood, the catechist and schoolmaster reports that of 256 slaves, the number in attendance amounts to seventeen. These, with the addition of three children make a total of but twenty. On the Sabbath twelve adults and twelve children receive instruction. Mr. Wood further reports, that *he has not received the manager’s permission to catechise* (even to catechise) *on any property except that on which he resides.*—Should Mr. Barclay require further proof of the utter falsehood of his assertion, the Rev. S. H. Cooke, Rector of St. Thomas’ in the East, will be able to inform him whether any, and what proprietors of estates in a neighbouring parish,” (St. David’s) “positively refused to allow the negroes to be instructed, and drove the catechists off the properties.”—See also No. 56. p. 168.

But still more direct and unequivocal, in contradiction of Mr. Barclay's position, is the language of one of his own partizans, who, in the Jamaica Courant of the 2d of July last, thus expresses himself, forgetting, for a moment, that what he wrote might, perchance, meet other eyes than those of colonists.—“If any gentleman wishes to convert the heathen, or to teach them to read and write, let him first free them out of his own pocket, and then he may make a kirk and a mill of them. But for a Receiver, Attorney, or Overseer, to educate the slaves, under their management, before the proprietor is remunerated, is downright robbery or madness.”

The misrepresentations, however, of the Courant, or of such a man as Barclay, we can tolerate much more easily, for they are in due keeping, than we can the manner in which certain colonial clergymen so speak and write as to hide from view the abominations of the slave system; and who, at the very moment they are preferring claims on our liberality in order to promote the spiritual interests of the poor perishing slaves committed to their charge, conceal the fact, that the persons for whom they plead are deprived, by the iniquity of the laws and the cupidity of the planters, of all the benefits of a Christian sabbath. No one knows better, for example, than the late Rector and late Curate of St. Thomas in the East that the slaves have no sabbath. Yet we have heard from them of no remonstrances addressed to their own parishioners, who wickedly withhold the Sunday from their slaves; nor of any call upon the British public to exert themselves to obtain it for them. The latter of these gentlemen scruples not to pour into the ears of all who will listen to him, his tales of negro comfort and enjoyment, obviously mistaking that familiarity with the evils of slavery which serves to blunt the sense of them for their absence or abatement. It is easy to say that the slaves have all the external marks of comfort, are sleek, plump, and fat, and free from care. So doubtless might it have been said of Henry Williams, mentioned in our last number, (p. 356,) the day before his attorney sent him to Rodney Hall workhouse to be flayed alive with the cartwhip, because he *would* not cease to attend the worship of God;—or of Kitty Hilton, before Mr. Bridges had caused her to be lacerated with bamboo rods;—or of Eleanor Mead, the mother of nine children, before Mrs. Earnshaw inflicted upon her, by the hands of the driver, and with the aid of one of her own daughters, fifty lashes of the cartwhip, and then sent her to the workhouse to be again flogged; (No. 64, p. 345;)—or of Sam Swiney, (*ib.* p. 341,) who, for uttering a prayer to God, was sentenced by Mr. Finlayson, the Speaker of the Jamaica Assembly, to have his flesh cut with the lash, and then to be worked in chains fastened to a felon convict.—But we need not travel out of the parish with which he is best acquainted, for the disproof of those fallacious representations. How does he account for it, that with all the laudable zeal manifested by Sir George Rose for the religious instruction of his slaves, he should have been unable to effect his purpose, or even to screen the Christian part of them from persecution, on account of their religion, at the hands of the very managers of his property? Nay, how does he account for it, consistently with his glowing picture of negro felicity in St. Thomas in the East, that even on Golden Grove, the *crack* estate of the Parish, selected by the Bishop of Jamaica

and his clergy, as a model of humane and lenient management; (Reporter, No. 13, p. 191) the slaves should decrease? No one, however, can read the Bishop's report of that plantation without seeing at once the cause of such decrease, in the unintermitted continuity of the toil there exacted from old and young, from male and female, and even from children. Let any one read the picture drawn by the overseer of this estate—a man whom familiarity had rendered, like the clergyman in question, unconscious of its deformity. He does not seem, in the least, to be aware that the details he has given, will produce a different impression on the minds of Englishmen from that which they have produced on his own mind, habituated, as it has been, to the hourly sight of a state of things which absolutely levels his fellow-men with the beasts of the stall. But why did not the Bishop or this clergyman ascertain the progress of population on Golden Grove, before they suffered themselves to be deluded by such statements? In March, 1820, the number of its slaves was 717. In March, 1826, that number was reduced to 660, being a decrease of 57 in six years, or about $1\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. per annum; while the Maroons, in their vicinity, have been increasing during the same period at the rate of 2 per cent. per annum. And this is the decisive result of the system which Bishops and clergymen delight to eulogize! We doubt not indeed that the treatment is so much better on Golden Grove than on most other estates, as to appear to be in itself excellent, when it is only good by contrast with the general administration on the adjoining properties. It can only be owing to the lowness of the standard, by which, on looking abroad over the whole surface of society, men are habituated to measure human comfort, that any one could ever have exhibited Golden Grove as a proof of the humanity of the slave system. If this be its humanity, then are its tender mercies at the best cruel. Tried by a comparison with the sugar estates of St. Thomas in the East generally, we have little doubt that we should recognise a superiority of treatment on Golden Grove. But as on the whole population of that parish, including the negroes employed as domestics and mechanics, and in the culture of provisions, the rearing of cattle, and other lighter and less deathful employments, among whom there probably is an increase, the regular decrease from 1820 to 1826 has been 1 per cent. per annum, we may assume the larger decrease on Golden Grove to be below the average of sugar estates—a fact wholly at war with the flattering statements of this clergyman. And here let us remind him, and all his clerical brethren who adopt the same tone, of the responsibility they incur by such hasty and ill-considered representations. For however innocent may be their motives, and we do not impugn them, yet they must see that they have been led into fatal errors on the subject. It becomes them, therefore, to pause, and to reconsider the whole facts and bearings of the subject, before they venture again to use language, which, if incorrect, as we have shown it to be, is calculated most deeply to injure the professed objects of their benevolence, and to impede instead of promoting the diffusion of Christianity among them.

III.—PROTECTOR OF SLAVES IN DEMERARA.

IN our 2nd Volume, No. 43, (p. 352,) we adverted to the wages fixed

by the Protector of Slaves in Demerara, for the labour of slaves in picking coffee during the Sunday, namely, 8½d. for each basket of ten pounds, six such baskets being stated as an average day's labour. We then remonstrated against this regulation, shewing, by the most unquestionable testimony, that this was double the task which ought to be required of any individual, and that therefore, the Protector was guilty of an act of injustice and oppression in fixing the Sunday's wages on such a scale; it being obvious, that if the slave could easily pick six baskets of coffee a day, the wages assigned him would enable him to earn 4s. 3d. during the day; whereas, if the fact was that he could pick only three baskets by his utmost exertions, then, at the rate fixed by the Protector, he could earn at most only 2s. 1½d. per day.—In consequence probably of these remarks, a motion was made in the House of Commons on the 3rd of June, 1829, calling for the information on which the Protector "had proceeded in assigning, as a proper and moderate task, for a slave hired to labour on the Sunday in picking coffee, sixty pounds weight."

The return to this motion appears in a paper printed by order of the House on the 1st of July, 1830, numbered 583, and we must confess that it has struck us with some surprise. Sir B. D'Urban refers the Secretary of State to the Protector's clear and full explanation of the subject, which leaves him, he says, nothing to add but that it is evident, "*that the Protector never did assign sixty pounds weight of coffee as a task for the labour of a hired slave on a Sunday.*"

The Protector, in the letter which has proved so satisfactory to Sir B. D'Urban, reiterates this denial, adding that the only part of his correspondence which implies such a declaration, is a letter to the Governor's Secretary of 31st July, 1827; in which he had stated, that slaves "if industrious, may earn 4s. 4d. a day, being the lowest rate at which a dollar can be valued."

In the face of these peremptory denials, we beg the reader of them to turn to "Papers presented to Parliament by His Majesty's command," "in continuation of the papers presented in the year 1827," and there, under the head Demerara, and at the 145th and 146th pages he will find the following insertion *verbatim et literatim*.

"*Rate of wages fixed by the Protector for the labour of slaves in the picking of coffee or cotton during the time allowed them by law.* In obedience to the 9th clause of the Ordinance for the amelioration of the condition of slaves in this colony.*

"*Coffee.*—Two bits or eight pence halfpenny sterling for every basket of ten pounds."

"*Cotton.*—One bit or four pence farthing sterling for every basket of ten pounds."

"N. B. Six baskets of coffee is the average labour per diem.

(Signed)

A. W. YOUNG, Protector of slaves."

This notice was transmitted by the Protector to Sir B. D'Urban, as part of his half-yearly Report of the 1st of May, 1827.

Both Sir Benjamin and the Protector must have wholly overlooked this document, when they so strongly and positively denied the ever having assigned the picking of sixty pounds' weight of coffee as a rea-

* Meaning Sunday, the only day on which, there, any time is allowed them by law.

sonable task for a hired slave on a Sunday. Do not the words then convey the clear opinion of the Protector, that to pick 60 lbs. of coffee was only a reasonable, an average, task for a slave for the day? It has been proved, however, that the fair average task does not exceed half of that quantity. Now, supposing a master were to punish his slave for failing to bring him 60 lbs. of coffee each day during the week, and the slave were to complain to the Protector of the severity of the exaction, and the impossibility of a compliance with it, and that therefore he had been punished unjustly, would not the master be able to defend himself by a reference to the Protector's own authority—"You have proclaimed your opinion, that to pick 60 lbs. of coffee is an average daily task for a slave hired to do Sunday labour. If this be a fair task for Sunday, is it not also a fair task for Monday and for all the days of the week?"

Again, the Protector seems to admit that the slave ought to have a rate of wages for Sunday labour, which would allow of his earning 4s. 4d. a day. He has contrived, however, by the construction of his notice, that he shall not be able to earn more than 2s. 2d.

The Protector's excuse for his conduct, is, that the opinion he gave that a slave might earn 4s. 4d. a day, proceeded on the supposition of his being "impelled to be industrious by the prospect of gain,"* and not with a view of "assigning a proper and moderate task to the slave, such a task as he could with ordinary labour perform, but such as he may do with extraordinary inducement, without which he does not perform it." This however is a very bad reason for having stated the *average labour of a day* to be double that which is admitted on all hands to be the fair ordinary rate. As for saying he did not "assign" the extent of labour to be performed, it is a mere quibble. He assigned the proportion which the extent of labour ought to bear to the pay, and that proportion was unjust and oppressive.

"If it had been required," says the Protector, "to fix the rate of wages which slaves shall receive when working for individuals other than their owners, the case would have assumed a different bearing, and most probably the highest rate usually given in the colony would have been fixed as the minimum, in order to give them the benefit of any more advantageous bargain which they might make. The rate of wages which the Protector had to fix, affected, however, a class of persons standing in a more intimate relation to the slave, it must be allowed, than mere strangers, from whom was to be derived, as the only advantage, the simple amount of hire previously agreed on. I consulted with some of the leading men in the colony connected with coffee property, both as proprietors and attorneys, and generally with all within my reach who could afford information on the subject." "On these opinions and my own observations I regulated the lowest rate of wages."

The reasons given by the Protector, for his conduct, have proved as unsatisfactory to his Majesty's Government as to us. Sir George Murray, in a letter to Sir B. D'Urban, of the 2d Nov. 1829, thus animadverts upon them in a way certainly most highly honourable both to his judgment and his feelings.

"The considerations which Colonel Young adduces as elements of his calculation, the food, clothing, &c. which the slaves receive, and their interest in their owners' prosperity, are matters wholly extraneous to the duty which the

* So the Protector has discovered that adequate wages will "impel" a slave to perform twice the labour which a master could reasonably hope to extract by the whip. What will Major Moody say to this?

Protector had to perform. The rate of the wages of labour at any given time, is the sum for which labour can be had at that time, from persons who are in a condition to make an independent contract. The Protector's duty was to make known from time to time what that sum was. There could be no justification for making deductions from that sum on the ground of food and clothing, or the still more vague assumption of a common interest. The principle which His Majesty's Government have laid down, and on which the ordinance in question was founded, is, that the Sunday shall be wholly clear from the demands of the master. The Protector has annexed to his communication various opinions which he obtained from the 'leading men in the colony connected with coffee property, both as proprietors and attorneys.' The fallacious views which he has adopted are to be found in their letters. This can be matter of no surprise. Those gentlemen were the natural advocates of their own interests, and the trust of protecting the interests opposite to their own was not committed to them; but that consideration should have made the Protector a little more cautious in adopting or drawing inferences from opinions of theirs. You will be pleased to communicate a copy of this despatch to the Protector; who should understand that errors of such a nature as those on which I have been commenting, would, if repeated, abate that full confidence which it is necessary that His Majesty's Government should repose in any officer to whom they would feel themselves justified in intrusting the administration of the law for meliorating the condition of the slaves in Demerara."

If the reader will connect, with the above details, our former observations on the spirit in which the protectorate of Demerara had been conducted, (see No. 43. p. 355—358, No. 54. p. 142—145, and No. 64. p. 324.) he will be prepared to concur with us in thinking that a Protector, imbued with colonial feelings, and prejudices, affords but a mockery of protection, nay is, perhaps, worse for the slave than having no official Protector at all. In the present case, even a planter gives it as his clear opinion that a guilder, that is 17*d* sterling, is the lowest pay he had ever known given, or that ought to be given, for picking a basket of coffee, (p. 8). The Protector, however, instead of following this good counsel, actually cuts down the remuneration of the slave to one half of even this planter's recommendation, and makes the pay for a basket only 8½*d*.

III.—BARBADIAN ESTIMATE OF THE STATE OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE.

IN the Barbadian of the 13th July, 1830, we find the following sage editorial remark:—

"The Session of Parliament has probably by this time terminated. If nothing has been done for the relief of West India interests, we have at least reason to be thankful that no fresh blow has been aimed at it. Mr. Otway Cave's ridiculous attempt to rob the West Indians of their property, has been strangled in its very birth. In fact, the subject has become perfectly disgusting, we have reason to believe, to most people in England, and we trust that the late exertion made by Mr. Wilberforce and his friends, at Freemason's Tavern, was the last expiring effect of an exhausted faction."

Did we not say with truth, however Mr. K. Douglas may object, that the West Indians are labouring under infatuation?

IV.—MEETING OF PARLIAMENT.

THE Meeting of Parliament is fixed for the 26th of October next. The friends of the Anti-Slavery Cause, we trust, will be on the alert with their petitions for the early and utter extinction of Slavery.

THE
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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V.—DONATIONS AND REMITTANCES.

I.—ANTI-SLAVERY PETITIONS TO PARLIAMENT.

THE meeting of Parliament is fixed for the 26th day of October. It is hoped, and most earnestly requested, that those who intend to unite in imploring the early and utter extinction of Colonial Slavery, will transmit their petitions for both Houses of Parliament by that day, or as soon after as possible. No needless delay should be allowed to prevent the fulfilment of this sacred duty.

II.—ANTI-SLAVERY PUBLIC MEETINGS.

MEETINGS, for the purpose of promoting the abolition of Slavery, are now holding in various parts of the kingdom, and are likely to prevail very extensively. We can at present notice only two.

1. *Cork.*

The annual meeting of the Cork Anti-Slavery Society was held on the 21st of August, W. Crawford, Esq., in the chair, and was most numerous and respectably attended. So intense was the interest which it excited, that twice the number of persons whom it was possible to accommodate applied for admission. The proceedings manifested the very warmest feelings in the cause. The Chairman said, they were assembled to petition Parliament, to name a day when Slavery should cease. For his own part, he was utterly opposed to the recognition of the slave-holder's right of property ; and yet he was willing to tell the legislature, that there was no pecuniary burden he would not bear rather than that our unfortunate brethren should continue in Slavery. Mr. Philpot Leader and Mr. Callighan, members of Parliament for the City, expressed in energetic terms their detestation of Colonial Slavery, and their determination to aid to the utmost of their power in Parliament, to extirpate it. Mr. O'Connell, who was present, took the same

ground with his accustomed force ; and similar views were ably supported by the Rev. Mr. Mahony, and various other speakers. Mr. *Leader* urged upon the Irish members to unite their hundred votes in Parliament against this foul enormity, and against monopolies, whether in the West or the East. By Ireland especially, he said, ought this battle to be fought, not merely on the ground of religion and humanity, though these were paramount considerations, but on the ground of Irish interests. With a free and unrestricted commerce every stream in Ireland would be turned to profitable use, and its starving population be employed and fed.—We were advised, said Mr. *Beamish*, to apply ourselves to the relief of distress at home, and not to be wandering abroad in quest of it. But besides the illiberality of confining our philanthropy within the narrow circle of our own island, by our efforts to destroy Slavery and its attendant restrictions, we should more effectually relieve domestic distress than by any other expedient we could possibly resort to.—We were assured, said Mr. *Croker*, that the negro slave was better off than the Irish peasant. “I deny it—What would the poorest wretch in Ireland think, if he were to be told that his wife, the partner of his affection, was to be torn from his bosom and flogged on her bared body with such an instrument as this?” holding up a cartwhip to the view of the meeting. And yet in the Jamaica Assembly, during the last year, a motion which was made to substitute, for this tremendous instrument, the military cat, and to apply it to the female slaves with *decency*, was rejected by 28 to 12. “Let us terminate,” he added, “a system by which man thus tramples on his fellow man :

“Chains him and tasks him, and exacts his sweat
 With stripes, that mercy with a bleeding heart
 Weeps when she sees inflicted on a beast.
 ————— What man beholding this,
 And having human feelings, does not blush,
 And hang his head to think himself a man.”

—“Slavery,” said the Rev. *Horace Townsend*, “was incompatible with religious privilege. It wound its chain not only around the body, but the mind. The time was hastening on when the slave and the slave owner would stand before the bar of God ; when there would be neither Barbarian nor Scythian, bond nor free ; but each would appear in his own personal character, stripped of all adventitious circumstances of time and place, condition and circumstances. Let us then look no longer heedlessly on this great subject, but extend our warmest sympathies towards our fellow beings. Let us temperately, but decidedly lift up our voices in their behalf, and call on the legislature to declare Slavery a sin against God, and an outrage on the wellbeing of man, which ought to be utterly abolished : in no other way could it be effectually dealt with.” Mr. *Cummings*, while he held that the British nation shared in the planter’s guilt, and should pay its share of the retribution which was due to the slaves, was no less convinced that Slavery was wholly inconsistent with Christianity, and must be abolished with a due regard to the safety and wellbeing both of master and slave. Not only “the schoolmaster,” but the “bible” was abroad, and as far as the progress of knowledge was at all accompanied with the influence of Christianity, it must rise as a mighty and powerful flood, burst every

resisting barrier and sweep from the face of the earth every species of Slavery. Let the Colonists then be wise and in time contemplate the progress of this mighty power."—"We are told," said the Rev. Mr. Burnett, "not to meddle with vested rights: I have a sacred feeling about vested rights; but when vested rights become vested wrongs I am less scrupulous about them. The Charter of Runnymede disturbed many a vested right. In 1688, it was thought right also not only to disturb certain vested rights, but to sweep them all away. The union with Scotland and that with Ireland disturbed the vested rights of their respective parliaments. In fact the very framework of our constitution rests on the disturbance of vested rights. And look for a moment to the Continent! France, the other day, pounced upon a nest of slave dealers on the opposite shore of the Mediterranean, and she says nothing about compensation. Her troops cannonaded the country of the Dey, take his capital, enter his palace, gather up his gold dust, and send him about his business. That is the compensation they give him. I would not treat our poor planters in this way, nor do I say the case is precisely parallel; but still, I must protest against the abstract principle of respecting vested rights when those rights are founded in injustice and perpetuated by crime." Mr. Burnett concluded his speech, with reminding the meeting of their object—the urging Parliament to name a day when slavery should cease. To effect this object, he said, it was of the utmost importance that as many petitions as possible should be addressed to Parliament. "Let each parish in the country speak. Let each denomination of Christians in its distinctive capacity speak. Let every mouth in the community speak. We have too long trusted to others. We must now do something ourselves. We must arouse the public sympathy. We must enlist public feeling. We must create a moral storm. We must collect the elements of a moral conflict, and when we have prepared and presented them to the legislature, we must point to the portentous cloud; we must warn them of the bolt that slumbers in its bosom; and while it still thickens and darkens along the horizon, we must tell them, that unless they resolve, by bending before it, to deprive it of its power, it will come down and sweep along with it every vestige of the system they refuse to reform."—"I did not come here," said Mr. O'Connell, "to argue the question whether man may be the slave of his fellow-man; whether a man born of the same common parents, formed by the same great Creator, and redeemed by the blood of the same common Saviour, may become the goods and chattels of another. Slavery is not an offence to be tolerated; it is a foul crime to be abolished. It is the duty of every man to unite in extirpating this crime. The great majority of the English nation are disposed to countenance it no longer. In Ireland, this hostile feeling begins to spread far and wide. Let it not sink into inertness, but be brought into energetic action, and conveyed to the legislature in a tone that cannot be mistaken, and with a voice that will not be unheard. The value of associated exertion is well known in Ireland. I am anxious it should not be less successful in this than it has been in a different cause, but that he who has liberated himself may have the pleasure of striking the chain from others." Mr. O'Connell attacked the conduct of the United

States with great vehemence. "Here from this tribunal I raise my voice against the American independent, and I tell him he is a hypocrite. I stain his star-spangled standard that never was struck down in battle. I read in his bill of rights, his declaration of independence, that man has an infeasible right to freedom. He does not say the white man or the black man, the man of this country or of that, but emphatically *man*. And when I read this, I turn to the American and I tell him, that he has declared to God and man a lie, and before God and man I arraign him as a hypocrite. All Neptune's ocean would not wash out from America this stain." Mr. O'Connell proceeded to censure with almost equal strength of language, the supineness manifested, during the last Session of Parliament, by Anti-Slavery members and by Anti-Slavery Societies.—We do not quarrel with him for this strong censure, especially as he himself stands involved in it, and as we wish rather to hail his reprehension of past inaction as a pledge of future and combined and energetic effort, on the part of himself and of all who concur in his reprobation of slavery, as a foul blot on the national escutcheon. We also mourned at seeing the Session and the Parliament itself closing without having been marked by a single measure, for the benefit of the wretched slaves. On the contrary, we had to hear with pain, the loud claims of the Colonists for farther eleemosynary aid reiterated with scarcely an opposing murmur; and to see the Government and Parliament of this country, instead of redeeming their pledges for the extinction of slavery, almost on the point of adding to the burdens of the nation for the purpose of upholding that hateful system of crime which it has so loudly reprobated. Nay, we had even to listen with dismay, to language in the first minister of the Crown in the House of Commons, which involved a virtual abnegation of the solemn engagement of May 1823, to extinguish Colonial Slavery at the earliest safe and practicable period. Happily however, before Parliament had actually expired, the discouraging darkness of the scene was splendidly illumined by a burst of light; and the heart-thrilling appeal of Mr. Brougham, to Parliament and the nation, with the gratifying results which have followed it, has opened to us more cheering prospects. The nation is now awake to all the momentousness of the question, and we trust that Mr. O'Connell will be as strenuous on the floor of Parliament as on the platform at Cork in rousing any of his colleagues who may slumber at their posts.

2. *Bridlington Anti-Slavery Society.*

The annual meeting of this Society took place on the 27th of August, Archdeacon Wrangham in the chair. The object of the Society was declared to be the complete emancipation of 800,000 of their fellow creatures from the chains of slavery and oppression; and petitions to that effect were prepared for signatures, in the hope that the great moral Governor of the world would follow with his blessing the efforts of this and kindred associations. Mr. Sykes, M. P. attended on the occasion, as he had done the day before at a still larger meeting at Driffield, and laid before the assembly a remarkably able and luminous exposition of

the whole question. To transcribe his speech, would be to give, in a succinct and impressive form, the substance of many a lengthened statement spread over the pages of many a weary Reporter. The evils of Colonial Slavery, the reforms proposed with a view to its extinction, the defective manner in which those reforms have been executed even in the crown colonies, and the worse than defective, the delusive and deceptive manner, in which almost every attempt even at a shew of compliance has been conducted in the chartered colonies, are sketched with great clearness and force, and with strict regard to accuracy. Into the details it will not be necessary for us to follow him. They must be already familiar to all who read our work with attention. We will limit ourselves to a single extract from this excellent speech.

In repelling the charge of precipitation, fanaticism, &c., brought against the abolitionists by their opponents,—Mr. Sykes remarked, that “nearly forty years ago, a person of distinguished abilities,—one not carried away by enthusiasm, a practical statesman, one versed rather in expediency than principle, of great knowledge in all the branches of government, who held high offices in this country for years, in whom the patronage of Scotland was vested, in whose hands the government of India was placed, besides holding many important situations in this country,—Mr. Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville, introduced and carried through one stage a bill in Parliament, directly for the purpose for which we are now assembled, namely, to put down, in a given time, the evils of slavery. By that bill it was declared, that after a certain day, the 1st of January, 1800, all the children born of slave parents should be free. I only mention this to show, that when we are branded with the appellation of factious innovators, wild fanatics, and persons going on heedlessly and carelessly without looking to consequences, we may shelter ourselves under the authority of Mr. Dundas, who was not an enthusiast, nor a fanatic, not carried away by fanciful ideas, but who rested his views more upon trade, expediency, and political safety, than any person that ever held office in this country. If we are now pressing and calling upon Parliament, that slaves born after a certain day should have their freedom, we are doing no more in 1830, than Mr. Dundas in 1792 proposed to do in eight years from that time, now thirty years ago. I have not only the authority of Mr. Dundas, but of a distinguished nobleman now living, who, at the time when the Abolition Act was passed, thought it inefficient, and then proposed an amendment, that there should be a clause providing for the liberation of the then existing slaves;—I allude to the then Lord Percy, now the Duke of Northumberland. I therefore say, we are not to be charged with any precipitation. Can any one seriously talk of precipitation, when the subject has been fifty years under consideration,—when most of the slaves of that day have, happily perhaps for themselves, ceased to live, and thus escaped—the only escape they had,—from cruelty, oppression, and misery,—shall it be said we are precipitate, if now we declare that our measures shall be prompt, and that we will delay no longer?”—“Slavery cannot possibly co-exist” said Mr. *Sandwith*, “with Christianity. Its mild and humane genius levels itself against the tyranny which would elevate one portion of the community on the utter ruin and degradation

of another. It stands opposed to the system of caste in the East, to the slavery of colour in the West. It is its light which has flamed into the dungeon of the negro slave and shewn the poor captive his fetters and his wrongs." "Slavery is also incompatible with the very nature of man and the welfare of society. The inextinguishable mind of man can never be wholly enslaved. Attempts may be made to crush it, but it will burst forth like a smothered volcanic fire and dissolve the fabric of society."—The Rev. *J. Sykes*, of Hornsea, bore testimony, from personal observation, during several years that he was stationed on naval service in the West Indies, to the degraded and demoralized conduct of the slaves, and the cruel and coercive system to which they were subject. The Rev. *J. Powell*, a Methodist minister, in a brief and energetic speech, observed with much effect, on the justice of the cause in which they were engaged. It was the cause of righteousness and humanity, one which they might expect God to bless; which would be a blessing to the nation; and in which their example would be beneficially followed by other countries. He regretted the unwillingness shown by Sir R. Peel, in his very last speech in Parliament on the subject of slavery, to abolish it. The time had, therefore, arrived for the country to declare itself, and to remove by prudent but decisive interference, so abominable a nuisance."—He held in his hand a copy of the recent resolutions on Negro Slavery by the Wesleyan Conference, which were exceedingly stringent and to the purpose, and by which their congregations universally were invited to present petitions to both Houses of Parliament. In conclusion, he declared the readiness of the Wesleyans as a body, to agitate the subject by petitions and by every other lawful means, until the voice of humanity prevailed in the Senate.

The general purport of the resolutions adopted at this meeting, and at various other meetings in Yorkshire, and elsewhere, and particularly in the Parish of Marylebone in London, and at other places near the Metropolis, has been "to pledge those present to seek the immediate abolition of Colonial Slavery; to rest satisfied with no inferior improvement in the condition of the slaves; and to unite in petitions to Parliament to that effect."

III.—LECTURES ON SLAVERY.

THE Rev. Benjamin Godwin, an Independent minister of Bradford, in Yorkshire, and one of the tutors of an academy near that populous place, has just published the Substance of four Lectures, which he delivered with great acceptance at Bradford, York, and Scarborough, and of which we gave a brief sketch in the Supplement to our 60th Number for May, 1830. Having read this work with care, we are enabled to recommend it to our readers at large, and particularly to Anti-Slavery Associations, as a well digested compendium of the facts and arguments connected with the interesting topic which it professes to elucidate. The views of the writer are enlightened and comprehensive, and they are developed with a vigour and perspicuity, and with a soundness of principle and depth of feeling, which are in the highest degree credit-

able to him. We hail this publication as a desideratum of great moment at the present crisis of the Anti-Slavery cause, and we announce it to all our friends in every part of the kingdom, as a valuable guide in the deliberations of every public meeting convened for the consideration of that most important question, and as a text book richly fraught with materials for those who may wish to emulate, in the same mode of benevolent exertion, the labours and success of this able and estimable minister of Christ. Others indeed; and among them we would particularly distinguish the Rev. Mr. Marsh, formerly of Colchester, now of Birmingham; have already entered with zeal, and with eminent advantage to the interests of humanity, upon this line of service, and will continue, we trust, their powerful advocacy, until the nation is effectually roused to fulfil its obligations to the oppressed and outraged negro.

We subjoin a compressed view of the contents of Mr. Godwin's volume, in the hope of thereby stimulating the appetite of our readers for its perusal.*

Lecture First:—Contains a GENERAL VIEW OF COLONIAL SLAVERY, comprising Africa and its Slave trade;—the British Slave Colonies, their inhabitants, productions, mode of culture, and mode of subsistence;—the characteristic features of Colonial Slavery;—the proceedings in Parliament respecting it in 1823;—and general remarks.

Lecture Second:—Exhibits THE EVILS OF SLAVERY; shewing their extent;—the horrors of the Slave trade;—the forced labour of slaves and its severity;—their wretched and unprotected state as to food, and as to punishment, including the driving system;—the evils also arising from the inadmissibility of their evidence; from the difficulty of obtaining redress; from the disregard and disruption of their domestic ties; from their destitution of education and religious instruction; and from their general degradation;—shewing also the demoralizing effects of Slavery on master and slave;—the general licentiousness attending the slave system;—its evils, physical, moral, political, financial and commercial;—and its national guilt.

Lecture Third:—Gives a View of THE UNLAWFULNESS OF SLAVERY; considers the arguments in favour of it drawn from the alleged happiness of the Slaves, and the alleged interest of the master in their wellbeing;—proves the unlawfulness of Slavery; as a violation of natural rights; of charity; of justice; of the British Constitution; and of international law;—refutes the pleas in its favour drawn from the inferiority of the Negro race, from the sanction of Acts of Parliament, and from the authority of Scripture; and establishes its utter repugnancy to the spirit and genius as well as to the precepts of the Gospel.

Lecture Fourth:—Treats of THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY; including the origin of the Slave trade and the extent of misery flowing from it;—gives a brief view of the measures which terminated in its abolition in 1807; of the measures subsequently adopted for abolishing Colonial Slavery: viz. the resolutions of Parliament in 1823, and reforms proposed in consequence;—and of the opposition of the Colonists to

* The Lectures are preceded by a table containing a statistical view of the slave colonies of Great Britain. The work is published by Hatchard.

Reform; with their treatment of the missionary Smith.—It then gives a Summary of the reforms that have been effected;—and closes with a view of the obligations of this Christian nation toward the Slaves, with a loud call upon all classes to fulfil those obligations.

IV.—DR. WALSH'S VIEWS OF SLAVERY IN BRAZIL.

(Continued from the Supplement to No. 61. for June, 1830, p. 284.)

WE continue our Extracts from Dr. Walsh's most interesting work entitled "Notes on Brazil;" and we add, in the margin, Notes of our own to prove the identity of British with Brazilian Slavery in genius and spirit, in law and practice.

5.—Unprotected state of the Brazilian Slave.

"If a slave has produced his master ten children, he may demand his freedom; but these and similar regulations are so constantly evaded, and have been so seldom enforced, that they are a mere dead letter. To restrain his violence, a master is liable to a fine for ill using his slave, but no part of it goes to the unfortunate sufferer. He can even be compelled to hand over the slave to another master, on proof of ill usage; but though the most glaring outrages are committed every day, the law is never enforced, and the slave has no alternative but running away.*"

"In the 'Journal do Commercio,' and the 'Diario,' there are always ten or twelve advertisements of 'escravos fugidos—run away slaves.' When they abscond, they generally betake themselves to Corcovado, or the contiguous mountains, and here, armed with spears, they attack travellers, and live by plunder. The beautiful road leading along the aqueduct is infested with these fugitives, living in a state of nature, and many robberies have been lately committed there. The police is particularly employed under an officer, called Capitao do Mato, or captain of the woods, hunting them down; and in a dense thicket, in the chain of hills just behind Rio, a whole colony of these unfortunate beings was lately found in the greatest misery. When brought back, besides the punishment of flogging, they are distinguished by a very extraordinary looking mark. An iron collar is firmly rivetted on their necks, from which a long bar projects at nearly right angles, terminated at the other end by a cross, or by a broad earl, so as to resemble a fleur-de-lis. The intent of this is as well to stigmatise them as fugitives, or deserters, as also to impede them in their flight, as the iron bar entangled in the bushes would soon cause the collar to strangle them, if they attempted to force their way through the underwood. Sometimes the extremity of the bar is terminated by five fingers, and this implies that the slave had carried off with him some property, and so was a surripio, or thief, as well as a fugidio. The multitudes of slaves seen thus neck-fettered in the streets, is a proof of the numbers who are continually attempting to escape, and also a proof how intolerable is the state of existence in which they find themselves."†

6. Alleged happiness of Slavery as compared with freedom.

"Nothing can be more unfounded, or, indeed, more absurd, than to say, they are reconciled and happier in slavery in America, than in freedom in their own country. They seem to have as keen a sense of bondage, and to repine as

* See this feature of slavery daily exemplified in the columns of the Jamaica Gazette, with all its hideous enumeration of brands, and scars, and blotches, and lacerations, and mutilations which distinguish the apprehended runaways from each other only by marks and signs of misery.

† See Sir G. Murray's graphic description of these instruments of torture as used in the Mauritius, in the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 52, p. 71.

bitterly at their lot, as any white men, in the same state in Africa; indeed, if we might judge from the effects, still more. I have never heard that suicide is common among the unhappy Europeans, detained in slavery on the Barbary coast; it is the daily practice in Brazil. Besides the instances I have mentioned elsewhere, the harbour is constantly covered with the bodies of blacks, on whom no marks of violence are found, and who are known to have thrown themselves in, to escape from insupportable life. This is particularly the case at Bota Fogo, where several respectable persons have told me they frequently encountered black bodies when they went to bathe. I have seen them myself left by the tide on the strand, and some lying weltering just under our windows.”*

7. An affecting case of Suicide.

“But we were all eye witnesses to a very striking and melancholy fact of this kind. One evening, some policemen were conducting a woman to the calabuço, along the road leading to Cateté. Just when they came opposite our door, where there was an open descent to the strand, the woman suddenly rushed down the rocks and cast herself into the sea. The place in which she fell was too shallow to drown her; so, after lying on her face a moment, she again raised herself, and rushing forward into deeper water, she sunk, and disappeared. The policemen made no attempt to save her; but Mr. Abercrombie ordered some of the blacks of our house to follow her. They immediately did so, brought her up apparently dead, and carried her into our hall, with her head hanging down and exhibiting the supposed mortal symptom of froth collected on her lips. The negroes who humanely saved her, supposing her dead, threw her down on the bare stones, just as they would be treated themselves; and she lay there like any other worthless and despised object: but, on examining the poor creature, we had reason to suppose it was still possible to restore suspended animation; a bed was therefore brought, on which she was laid, divested of her wet and tattered garments, and wrapped in a warm blanket. Friction, and other usual means, were then resorted to; and after being persevered in for some time, she shewed symptoms of returning animation. She was seized with convulsions, succeeded by a violent shuddering: then ejected a quantity of water from the stomach, opened her eyes, and muttered some incoherent words, and, at length, fell into a slumber, from which she awoke in a sensible state.

“She gave the following account of herself.—She was a native of Minas, on the coast of Guinea, where she was one night seized in her hut, dragged on board a slaver, brought to Rio, and sold at the Vallongo. She was then baptized at the church of the Candellaria, by the name of Francisca, and brought by her master, a captain Philipe, to his chacara, near Bota Fogo. She was employed in washing, which she willingly performed; but her master treated her with the greatest cruelty and inhumanity, and, in proof, she shewed her arms and side, which were greatly swelled and inflamed from the effects of blows she had received a few days before. She could endure it no longer, and she fled to the woods. Her master immediately gave sixteen milreis to the Capitao do Mato; she was pursued and overtaken, and was on her way back to her former state; but she conceived such a horror at again returning to encounter the brutality she had before experienced, that she determined not to be brought home alive; so in passing along the shore, where there is an opening to the sea among the rocks, just opposite our house, she rushed down, and hoped she had effected her purpose.†

“She appeared very grateful for the kindness with which she was treated, so different from any thing she had ever experienced in Brazil before, and proposed to do any work with alacrity to which she was put; but when we spoke of her returning to her master, she expressed a degree of horror, both in her looks and manners, that amounted to distraction, and seemed to think she was but little

* Similar instances abound in the British slave colonies, and to this day, even in Barbadoes, the oldest of them, as we shall have occasion to shew.

† See for examples in the British colonies, No. 20, p. 292, &c. and No. 32. p. 162 and 172.

indebted to those who saved her life, if she was again to be given up to that suffering, than which loss of life was more tolerable.

“The next day I went to Bota Fogo, to learn something of her master, and to interest some friends in her behalf, who, I knew, were very kind and humane. But a slave, I found, was no legitimate object of compassion; and they, whose deepest sympathies would have been roused for a white European so circumstanced, had not the smallest for a black African. In reply to my statements, I was assailed with stories of the wickedness and worthlessness of the race in particular to which she belonged. I inquired if they were addicted to theft, or other immoralities; it was admitted that they were not, but they were notorious for a practice equally dishonest, that of cheating their masters, who had paid their money for them, by daring to kill themselves when life was no longer tolerable. I further learned, that her master could come and claim her, as he would his horse or his mule; that she could be sent to the calabouço, to be first punished for her dishonest attempt on her own life, and then restored to him, to be dealt with as he pleased.*

“In effect, in a day or two, her master did come and claim her, and his claim could be no more resisted, than if he had demanded any other article of his property. Her arm and side were still greatly inflamed, but she had no alternative, and was obliged to go away with a stern fellow sent for her. All that could be done, was done by his Excellency, Lord Strangford. When a slave flies and returns, or is brought back, he endeavours to procure the interference of some one, who becomes his *podrinho*, or sponsor, and intercedes for his forgiveness. If the person consents, he is always sure the fugitive will be forgiven, for it is considered a high offence to refuse. This kind office Lord Strangford undertook, and secured the poor creature from present punishment, but could be no protection against future cruelty, which, no doubt, will end in determined suicide.”

8. Overwhelming Horror of Slavery.

“This horror is carried to such an extent, that the slaves not only kill themselves, but their children, to escape it. Negresses are known to be remarkably fond mothers, and all I have seen confirms the observation of others; yet this very affection impels them to commit infanticide.† Many of them, particularly the Minas slaves, have the strongest repugnance to have children, and practise means to extinguish life before the infant is born, and provide, as they say, against the affliction of bringing slaves into the world. Is it not a frightful state which thus counteracts the first impressions of nature, eradicates the maternal feelings from the human breast, and causes the mother to become the murderer of her unborn offspring?

“The yearning after liberty is the strongest feeling of a negro's mind. It is usual with people, at their deaths, to emancipate their slaves, particularly ecclesiastics, as if to make an atonement for having kept them in that state, as long as they could hold them in their grasp. Slaves, who have expected this, and have had their hopes frustrated, sink rapidly under the effects of a bitter disappointment, and die of broken hearts. An incident of this kind occurred at S. José, a few days before my arrival. An ecclesiastic in the Minas Geraes died, and all his slaves were emancipated by his will. It is requisite, however, to pay a certain duty on such manumission, and as no provision had been made in the will for this, it was necessary to sell one or two of the slaves to pay for the rest. One of them was brought to S. José, where he sank rapidly under the feelings of disappointed hope. He refused to take any sustenance, and it was necessary to have his mouth held forcibly open by other blacks, while it was poured down his throat; but he persisted in his determination to emancipate himself, as he said, and in a short time he succeeded. He was buried, as well as I remember, the day before we arrived.

* This is British as well as Portuguese colonial law. See Mr Stephen's *Delineation of Slavery*, vol. 1. chapter iii. and Appendix No. 1. See also No. 5, and No. 16, *passim*, No. 64, p. 345, &c. &c.

† See Nos. 20, p. 292, and No. 32, pp. 162 and 172.

“But this irrepressible horror at a state of slavery, is the parent sometimes of the greatest crimes; and when negroes expect a testamentary freedom, they anticipate the time by the premature death of the testator; and thus, a humane and benevolent intention is often the cause of the death of the intended benefactor, and becomes a frequent incentive to poison and assassination. I knew a man in the Organ mountains, who displayed a most frightful picture of the effects of slavery in the different relations of life. The man’s name was Felice, a gamelleiro, or one who undertakes to cut down woods, to convert the timber into gamellas, and sell them through the country. He was a mulatto, the son of a white man by a negro slave. You will suppose that his bondage ceased at his birth, and that the offspring of a white man could not be the bondsman of his parent. No such thing; he was liable to the condition of his mother, and the father kept his own son a slave, to sell him, or dispose of him, as he would his mule. Being ill, however, and near to die, he made his will, left his child his freedom, and apprised him of it. After some time, he recovered, and having some dispute with his son, he threatened that he would alter his will, and that he should be sold with the rest of the stock. This his boy determined to prevent, assassinated his father in a wood, got possession of the will, demanded his freedom, and obtained it. This circumstance was perfectly well known to every body in the neighbourhood, but no process was instituted against him; and I saw him every day driving his mules, loaded with gamellas, and not chargeable, as I could hear, with any other delinquency, except the horrible one of having murdered his father to obtain his freedom.”*

9. *Slavery interminable—its dehumanizing and demoralizing effects.*

“The circumstance that particularly struck me in Brazil, was the interminable period to which the offspring of a slave is doomed to bondage, from generation to generation. It is a taint in the blood, which no length of time, no change of relationship, no alteration of colour, can obliterate. Hence it is that you see people of all hues in a state of bondage, from jet black to pure white. On the ecclesiastical estates, every precaution is taken to preserve the original colour; and when, from an intermixture of white blood, the complexion of the children is become too light, they endeavour to restore its darkness, by obliging the fair slaves to intermarry with those who are blacker than themselves; the good fathers being alarmed at the prospect of keeping, in a state of slavery, human faces as fair as their own.†

“I one day stopped, with a friend, at the house of a man on the road to Tijuca, to obtain some refreshment. In the garden, at the back of his venda, we saw some young negroes playing about, and among the rest, a very pretty white boy. He had a soft fair face, light curling hair, blue eyes, and a skin as light as that of a European. Attracted by the very engaging little fellow, I caressed him, and inquired of the man of the house, if he was his son. He said not; but that he was the son of an Englishman, and his slave, and he mentioned the name of his father. Shocked and incredulous, I denied the possibility of his father’s knowing that the child was in bondage; but I was then informed, that the father not only knew it in this instance, but that in other cases, he was known to sell his own white child along with its mother! Oh, my friend; here is a picture of slavery! Here is the story of Mr. Thomas Inle actually revived, and a European in the nineteenth century, selling a mother, with whom he had lived as with a wife, and enhancing her value, by selling his own son along with her.

“If then we put out of the question the injury inflicted on others, and merely consider the deterioration of feeling and principle with which it operates on ourselves, ought it not to be a sufficient, and, indeed, unanswerable argument, against the permission of Slavery?”

“The exemplary manner in which the paternal duties are performed at home, may mark people as the most fond and affectionate parents; but let them once go abroad, and come within the contagion of Slavery, and it seems to alter the very nature of a man; and the father has sold, and still sells, the mother and

* See No. 20, p. 293—295.

† See No. 20, p. 295 and 296, and No. 32, p. 165 and 166.

his children, with as little compunction as he would a sow and her litter of pigs; and he often disposes of them together.*

"This deterioration of feeling is conspicuous in many ways among the Bravilians. They are naturally a people of a humane and good-natured disposition, and much indisposed to cruelty or severity of any kind. Indeed, the manner in which many of them treat their slaves is a proof of this, as it is really gentle and considerate; but the natural tendency to cruelty and oppression in the human heart, is continually evolved by the impunity and uncontrolled licence in which they are exercised. I never walked through the streets of Rio, that some house did not present to me the semblance of a bridewell, where the moans and the cries of the sufferers, and the sounds of whips and scourges within, announced to me that corporal punishment was being inflicted. Whenever I remarked this to a friend, I was always answered that the refractory nature of the slave rendered it necessary, and no house could properly be conducted unless it was practised; but this is certainly not the case; and the chastisement is constantly applied in the very wantonness of barbarity, and would not, and dared not, be inflicted on the humblest wretch in society, if he was not a slave, and so put out of the pale of pity.

"Immediately joining our house was one occupied by a mechanic, from which the most dismal cries and moans constantly proceeded. I entered the shop one day, and found it was occupied by a saddler, who had two negro boys working at his business. He was a tawny, cadaverous-looking man, with a dark aspect; and he had cut from his leather a scourge like a Russian knout, which he held in his hand, and was in the act of exercising on one of the naked children in an inner room; and this was the cause of the moans and cries we heard every day, and almost all day long.

"In the rear of our house was another, occupied by some women of bad character, who kept, as usual, several negro slaves. I was awoke early one morning by dismal cries, and looking out of the window, I saw in the back yard of the house, a black girl of fourteen years old; before her stood her mistress, a white woman, with a large stick in her hand. She was undressed except her petticoat and chemise, which had fallen down and left her shoulders and bosom bare. Her hair was streaming behind, and every fierce and malevolent passion was depicted in her face. She too, like my hostess at Governo, was the very representation of a fury. She was striking the poor girl, whom she had driven up into a corner, where she was on her knees appealing for mercy. She showed her none, but continued to strike her on the head and thrust the stick into her face, till she was herself exhausted, and her poor victim covered with blood. This scene was renewed every morning, and the cries and moans of the poor suffering blacks, announced that they were enduring the penalty of slavery, in being the objects on which the irritable and malevolent passions of the whites, are allowed to vent themselves with impunity; nor could I help deeply deploring that state of Society in which the vilest characters in the community are allowed an almost uncontrolled power of life and death, over their innocent, and far more estimable fellow creatures.†

"You will allege, perhaps, that chastisement in this way may be often quite necessary, though it be sometimes abused, and carried to an excess; but what will you say when I tell you, that they frequently perish under this infliction of evil passion, and negroes every day are sacrificed not so much as delinquents punished for offences, as victims offered up to the revenge or malice of their masters. A Portuguese merchant was pointed out to me at the Alfondega, as a remarkable example of this. He had ill used a black so as greatly to exasperate him; and as he was not his master, the slave was not in the same per-

* Instances of the same kind frequently occur in the British colonies at this hour: see No. 20, p. 296 (note), and No. 32, p. 166 and 167. A recent case in Barbadoes we have in reserve.

† Our pages abound in illustrations of this characteristic feature of colonial slavery: see Nos. 5 and 16 *passim*; No. 27, p. 28; No. 43, p. 362—367; No. 44, p. 380—392; No. 47, p. 462—468; No. 63, p. 309; No. 64, p. 341 and 345; No. 65, p. 356 and 357; and No. 66, p. 373.

sonal awe of him, and he struck him in the face in a sudden fit of passion. The merchant said little about it at the time, but the inexpiable insult of receiving a blow from a negro slave rankled in his heart. He some time after applied to his master to sell him, but as he was a good negro, for whom he felt a regard, he declined, till he was offered a considerable sum, which he thought it not prudent to refuse. The money was immediately paid, and the slave transferred; but the moment his new master obtained possession of him, he sent him to the calabouço, or place where the slaves are punished. Here he obtained an order, as is usual, from the intendant of the police, for three or four hundred lashes, or as many as he might think necessary; and he had him flogged every day with such severity, that he gradually sunk under the punishment, and the merchant never thought his affront expiated, till he saw his dead body sent in a mat to the burying ground of the Misericordia.

“Sometimes the gratification of these passions is too sweet to be intrusted to other hands, so they take it into their own, and of this several stories were told me; I shall mention one:—A family was about to remove to the country, and the master ordered one of his slaves to prepare the carriage. The slave, as often happens, had some attachment which he did not wish to leave, and neglected the orders; and when they were repeated in a more peremptory manner, he took an axe, and in a sudden fit of frenzy or despair, attempted to cut his master down. He was seized and disarmed; but he was not sent to the calabouço, where it was said his punishment would not be sufficiently severe; so he was tied up in a cellar in the house, where the master every day inflicted the chastisement with his own hands, and never took him down till he was dead. This was universally known, and mentioned to me as rather a more salutary and effectual way of domestic punishment, than sending to the calabouço. The master suffered nothing in public estimation, and was never called to any account for the murder.

“The wretched slave often anticipates the result by inflicting death upon himself in an extraordinary manner. They have a method of burying their tongue in their throat, in such a way as to produce suffocation. A friend of mine was passing through the carioca, when a slave was tied up and flogged. After a few lashes, he hung his head apparently lifeless, and when taken down he was actually dead, and his tongue found wedged in the œsophagus, so as completely to close the trachea.”—Vol. ii. p. 32—359.

10. *The Slave Market.*

“The place where the great slave mart is held, is a long winding street called Vallongo, which runs from the sea at the northern extremity of the city. Almost every house in this place is a large ware-room, where the slaves are deposited, and customers go to purchase. These ware-rooms stand at each side of the street, and the poor creatures are exposed for sale like any other commodity. When a customer comes in, they are turned up before him; such as he wishes are handled by the purchaser in different parts, exactly as I have seen butchers feeling a calf; and the whole examination is the mere animal capability, without the remotest inquiry as to the moral quality, which a man no more thinks of, than if he was buying a dog or a mule. I have frequently seen Brazilian ladies at these sales. They go dressed, sit down, handle and examine their purchases, and bring them away with the most perfect indifference. I sometimes saw groups of well-dressed females here, shopping for slaves, exactly as I have seen English ladies amusing themselves at our bazaars.

“There was no circumstance which struck me with more melancholy reflections than this market, which I felt a kind of morbid curiosity in seeing, as a man looks at objects which excite his strongest interests, while they shock his best feelings. The ware-rooms are spacious apartments, where sometimes three or four hundred slaves, of all ages and both sexes, are exhibited together. Round the room are benches on which the elder generally sit, and the middle is occupied by the younger, particularly females, who squat on the ground stowed close together, with their hands and chins resting on their knees. Their only covering is a small girdle of cross-barred cotton, tied round the waist.

“The first time I passed through the street, I stood at the bars of the window

looking through, when a cigano came and pressed me to enter. I was particularly attracted by a group of children, one of whom, a young girl, had something very pensive and engaging in her countenance. The cigano, observing me look at her, whipped her up with a long rod, and bade her with a rough voice to come forward. It was quite affecting to see the poor timid shrinking child, standing before me, in a state the most helpless and forlorn, that ever a being, endued, like myself, with a reasonable mind and an immortal soul, could be reduced to. Some of these girls have remarkably sweet and engaging countenances. Notwithstanding their dusky hue, they look so modest, gentle, and sensible, that you could not for a moment hesitate to acknowledge, that they are endued with a like feeling and a common nature with your own daughters. The seller was about to put the child into all the attitudes, and display her person in the same way as he would a man; but I declined the exhibition, and she shrunk timidly back to her place, and seemed glad to hide herself in the group that surrounded her.

“The men were generally less interesting objects than the women; their countenances and hues were very varied, according to the part of the African coast from which they came; some were soot black, having a certain ferocity of aspect that indicated strong and fierce passions, like men who were darkly brooding over some deep felt wrongs, and meditating revenge. When any one was ordered, he came forward with a sullen indifference, threw his arms over his head, stamped with his feet, shouted to show the soundness of his lungs, ran up and down the room, and was treated exactly like a horse put through his paces at a repository; and when done, he was whipped to his stall.

“The heads of the slaves, both male and female, were generally half shaved; the hair being left only on the fore part. A few of the females had cotton handkerchiefs tied round their heads, which, with some little ornaments of native seeds and shells, gave them a very engaging appearance. A number, particularly the males, were affected with eruptions of a white scurf, which had a loathsome appearance, like a leprosy. It was considered, however, a wholesome effort of nature to throw off the effects of the salt provisions used during the voyage; and, in fact, it resembled exactly a saline concretion.

“Many of them were lying stretched on the bare boards; and, among the rest, mothers with young children at their breasts, of which they seemed passionately fond. They were all doomed to remain on the spot, like sheep in a pen, till they were sold; they have no apartment to retire to, no bed to repose on, no covering to protect them, they sit naked all day, and lie naked all night, on the bare boards or benches, where we saw them exhibited.

“Among the objects that attracted my attention in this place, were some young boys, who seemed to have formed a society together. I observed several times, in passing by, that the same little group was collected near a barred window; they seemed very fond of each other, and their kindly feelings were never interrupted by peevishness; indeed, the temperament of a negro child is generally so sound, that he is not affected by those little morbid sensations, which are the frequent cause of crossness and ill temper in our children. I do not remember that I ever saw a young black fretful, or out of humour; certainly never displaying those ferocious fits of petty passion, in which the superior nature of infant whites indulges. I sometimes brought cakes and fruit in my pocket, and handed them in to the group. It was quite delightful to observe the generous and disinterested manner in which they distributed them. There was no scrambling with one another; no selfish reservation to themselves. The child to whom I happened to give them, took them so gently, looked so thankfully, and distributed them so generously, that I could not help thinking that God had compensated their dusky hue, by a more than usual human portion of amiable qualities.

“A great number of those who arrive at Rio are sent up the country, and we every day met *cofilas*, such as Mungo Park describes in Africa, winding through the woods, as they travelled from place to place in the interior. They formed long processions, following one another in a file; the slave merchant, distinguished by his large felt hat and *puncho*, bringing up the rear on a mule, with a long lash in his hand. It was another subject of pity to see groups of these poor creatures cowering together at night in the open ranchos, drenched with

cold rain, in a climate so much more frigid than their own."*—Vol. ii. p. 323—8.

11. *Free Blacks and People of Colour.*

"The number of free blacks and mulattoes is very considerable already in the country. It is calculated of the former, that there are 160,000; and of the latter 430,000, making about 600,000 free men, who were either slaves themselves, or are the descendants of slaves. These are, generally speaking, well conducted and industrious persons; and compose indiscriminately different orders of the community. There are among them merchants, farmers, doctors, lawyers, priests, and officers of different ranks. Every considerable town in the interior has regiments composed of them; and I saw at Villa Rica two corps of them, one consisting of four companies of free blacks, and the other of seven companies of mulattoes. The benefits arising from these, have greatly disposed the whites to consider the propriety and necessity of gradually amalgamating the rest with the free population of the country, and abolishing for ever that outrage upon the laws of God and man, the condition of a slave."—Vol. ii. p. 365, 366.

12. *Brazilian Abolitionist.*

"José Bonafacio's last effort in the constituent assembly was on the subject of slavery; he drew up an address, in which he makes an energetic appeal to them to abolish gradually a state which, contrary to the laws of God and man, a person is made a thing, and property claimed in that in which another can have no property; and he clearly proves, that the cultivating the soil by slaves is the bane of the prosperity of Brazil. Before he could pronounce this address, the assembly was dissolved, and he was arrested and exiled. It was not, however, lost; for the manuscript was left with a friend in Brazil, who published it when he was gone."—Vol. i. p. 239, 240.

V.—DONATIONS AND REMITTANCES

In aid of the Funds of the Anti-Slavery Society, from July 24 to September 4, 1830.

	£.	s.	d.
Rev. W. Stephen (annual subscription)	0	10	0
Birmingham, West Bromwich, &c. Female Society for the Relief of British Negro Slaves (donation)	50	0	0
J. F. Moore, Esq. ditto	1	0	0
Mr. G. Drow, Auchtermuchty (payment)*	0	4	6
Mr. Hopkins, Chipping-under-Edge (annual)	0	5	0
Thomas Proctor, Esq. Selby (donation)	4	0	0
Westminster Ladies (payment)	4	13	0

* Though the Anglo-African slave trade has now ceased, and the perpetrators of that crime are liable to be punished with a pirate's death, yet our colonies have continued to exhibit abominations of the kind described above equally revolting in their circumstances. See No. 18, p. 254, 257, and 258; No. 19, p. 272—274; No. 20, p. 290; No. 24, p. 388, and Slave Colonies of Great Britain, p. 92.—Indeed, before the passing of Dr. Lushington's consolidated Abolition Act of 1825, whole bodies of slaves had, in some cases, been forcibly torn from their homes, in colonies, where, from the unfitness of the soil for sugar, they had enjoyed comparative relief from the severity of coerced labour; and had been transported to the colonies of Demerara and Trinidad, where, from various causes, but especially from the increased exaction of labour in the culture of sugar, they perished in great numbers. One of the objects of Dr. Lushington's Act was wholly to suppress this intercolonial slave trade, perhaps the most cruel of any. The Colonists, however, have been loud in their clamours against it. In deference to them a bill was brought into Parliament last session, but afterwards withdrawn, to be renewed in the present, containing some very objectionable clauses, and tending to relax instead of to render more rigid the provisions of Dr. Lushington's Act. Any attempt to renew it, we trust, will be sedulously watched.

	£.	s.	d.
West Ham and Plaistow Ladies (payment)	0	12	11
Mrs. Ovington, Camberwell ditto	0	3	6
Mr. W. G. Gibson, of Saffron Walden (annual)	1	1	0
Tottenham Ladies (payment)	2	12	0
A. F. (donation)	180	8	0
Robert Bevan, Esq. (annual)	2	2	0
Gracechurch Street Ladies (payment)	0	15	9
Calne Association ditto	2	2	0
Fordingbridge, ditto ditto	0	12	3
Clapham Ladies (donation)	19	0	0
R. Reynolds, Esq. (annual)	1	0	0
Leek Association (donation)	12	9	6
Manchester Ladies (payment)	8	1	0
Peckham, ditto ditto	4	2	8
Rev. W. Hancock, Kilburn (annual)	1	1	0
Liskeard and East Cornwall Association (payment)	8	11	0
Newcastle on Tyne ditto ditto	7	2	0
Robert Forster, Esq. Tottenham (annual, 2 years)	2	2	0
Rev. E. G. Marsh, Hampstead (annual)	1	1	0
H. Wedgwood, Esq. ditto	1	1	0
W. A. Garratt, Esq. Lincoln's Inn ditto	2	2	0
John Cardale, Esq. Bedford Row ditto	1	1	0
C. E. Rumbold, Esq. M.P. (annual, 2 years)	4	4	0
John Kitching, Esq. Tottenham (annual)	1	1	0
W. Smith, Esq. Upper Seymour Street (annual, 2 years)	4	4	0
W. W. Whitmore, Esq. M.P. ditto	2	2	0
Rev. Robert Aspland, Hackney ditto	2	2	0
R. S. Gwatkin, per Hatchard, a donation	3	3	0
Rev. W. Dealtry (annual, 3 years)	3	3	0
T. S. Rice, Esq. M.P. ditto	3	3	0
Dr. J. Pye Smith (annual)	1	1	0
W. Evans, Esq. M.P. (annual, 3 years)	6	6	0
Rev. J. Ivimey (annual)	1	1	0
Miss M. Davidson, per Mr. Nisbet ditto	2	2	0
J. M. Strachan, Esq. ditto	2	2	0
Thomas Sturge, Esq. ditto	2	2	0
Miss P. Dawes ditto	1	1	0
Southampton Ladies (payment)	2	2	0
Birmingham A. S. Society ditto)	23	14	0
Mr. Joseph Sharples, Hitchin (annual)	2	0	0
Mrs. Eliz. Wheeler, ditto ditto	1	0	0
Rev. Tho. Morell, ditto ditto	0	10	0
Rev. W. W. Pym, ditto ditto	1	0	0
Mr. W. Lucas, ditto ditto	1	0	0
Mr. Joseph Lucas, ditto ditto	1	0	0
Mr. W. Exton, ditto ditto	1	0	0
Misses E. S. & M. Wheeler, ditto, ditto	1	0	0
Mr. John Thompson, ditto ditto	0	10	0
Mr. Samuel Allen, ditto ditto	1	0	0
Mrs. Ovington, Camberwell (payment)	0	7	0
Leominster, Hereford, contribution from	10	0	0
Kendal A. S. Association (payment)	3	18	0
(donation)	10	0	0
Mrs. Kidd, Cleck-heaton, ditto	10	0	0
Friends, Society of, from a subscription raised to aid in promoting the total abolition of the Slave Trade and Slavery	500	0	0
Rochester A. S. Association (payment)	2	2	0

ERRATUM.

In part of the impression of No. 65. p. 372, l. 22, for *Protector* read *Proprietor*.

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

No. 68.]

OCTOBER, 5, 1830. [Vol. iii. No. 20.

I.—LEEDS ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING.

II.—DEVIZES ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING.

III.—LAWS AND MANNERS OF JAMAICA ILLUSTRATED :—

1. PORT-ROYAL COUNCIL OF PROTECTION.
2. ST. GEORGE'S COUNCIL OF PROTECTION.

IV.—STATE OF SOCIETY AND MANNERS IN BARBADOES ILLUSTRATED.

V.—ANTI-SLAVERY MEETINGS.

I.—LEEDS ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING.

ON the 22d of September a General Meeting of the inhabitants of Leeds and its vicinity, was held in the spacious area of the Coloured Cloth-Hall, the Mayor, Christopher Beckett, Esq. in the chair; for the purpose of considering the propriety of an address to the King, and a petition to both Houses of Parliament for the total abolition of Negro Slavery. The number assembled on the occasion amounted to about 6,000 persons, and among them were Lord Morpeth, and Mr. Brougham. Mr. Duncombe and Mr. Bethell were necessarily absent, but had expressed their warm approbation of the object of the meeting. We can only give a very brief sketch of the proceedings.*

MR. GEORGE RAWSON, in an impressive speech, contended that the only course which now remained for the friends of the African race, was to urge upon Parliament, by all constitutional means, the total abolition of slavery in all parts of His Majesty's dominions. Their object, he said, was the entire extinction of slavery; and in this object they would persevere, undeterred by difficulties, unmoved by obloquy, unseduced by sophistry, until their fellow subjects of every shade of colour in every part of the world were raised to their just rights as men and as the denizens of a free state. On his motion, seconded by Mr. Alderman HEY, it was unanimously resolved, "That the slavery of our

* It may be proper to mention, that the resolutions on the subject of Colonial Slavery, passed at a meeting at Leeds, on the 21st July, 1830, and inserted in our number 64, p. 344, were resolutions not of the Leeds Anti-Slavery Society, but of the Protestant Dissenter's Anti-Slavery Association, meeting at Leeds. We mention this circumstance because we are desirous not to appear to rob them of the credit of those excellent resolutions.

fellow men is abhorrent to every principle of humanity and justice, not more oppressive and cruel to the slave than disgraceful and demoralizing to the master, and utterly inconsistent with the sentiments and constitution of this free country.”

The Rev. THOMAS SCALES took an able review of the nature and effects of slavery, and of the abortive measures which had been proposed for its amelioration, and observed, that we might safely leave the system of slavery to the arguments urged by its own advocates in its defence, and which, when properly weighed, went the length of establishing every position of its adversaries. The cause of abolition had gained something by the efforts of its friends, but much more by the evidence furnished by the planters themselves, and which proved incontrovertibly that such was the miserably degraded state of the Colonial slave, that he could only be happy in the degree in which he was reduced to the condition of a brute beast. His was a permanent misery on which light dawned not, and on which hope shed no cheering light. He had succeeded to a long and sad inheritance of woe, and had only the prospect of transmitting the same hard fate to his innocent children. His very bones and sinews, his wife and children, were not his own but another's.—The motion of Mr. Scales, seconded by J. MARSHALL, Jun. Esq., went to express regret at the little benefit derived to the slaves from the Parliamentary measures of 1823, and the conviction that no effectual reform was to be expected from the proprietors of slaves, and that Parliament must interpose its authority in order to afford to their wrongs the only adequate redress; namely, the utter extermination of Negro Slavery. It was carried unanimously.

The Rev. R. W. HAMILTON moved an address to His Majesty which was also carried unanimously, and which he supported by an argumentative speech of considerable effect. In particular, he appears to have very happily exposed some of the stale but popular arguments of the West Indians in favour of their system, drawn from the inferiority of the negro race; from their miserable state in Africa, and their happiness in the West Indies, superior to that of the British peasantry; and from the scriptural sanction given to slavery. The address, after the usual congratulations to His Majesty on his accession, thus proceeds:—

“We cannot but express our deep regret and disappointment that the efforts of his late most Gracious Majesty King George the Fourth, and of Parliament, have been productive of so little benefit to that unfortunate class of your Majesty's subjects, the Negro Slaves.

“We exult in the institutions of that civil liberty, and the frankness and generosity of your Majesty's character, by which we are permitted and emboldened to declare our decided and uncompromising conviction, that the unhappy and injured beings who toil in our colonies, are just as much entitled to liberty as either the peasants or the princes of England; and that we have no more right to hold them in a state of slavery, than they have to reduce us to the same condition; and that every principle of justice and religion, as well as the spirit of our free constitution, and the dictates of a sound and enlightened policy, demand that they should be totally and for ever emancipated.

“We therefore earnestly entreat that your Majesty would be pleased

to direct your Ministers to adopt, with the aid of Parliament, every measure which can be resorted to for annihilating a system, so degrading to humanity, and so unworthy of a civilized age; and we cannot forbear humbly expressing to your Majesty our decided conviction that nothing will amount to a just redress of these wrongs, short of the final and utter extermination of Slavery; and that all other expedients for its amelioration would be nugatory.

“We implore your Majesty, in justice and mercy, the peculiar attributes of your crown, to extend your protection to these unfortunate beings, and their innocent, but ill-fated offspring, reduced to, and retained in, a state of Slavery, from our want of justice and virtue, and not from their own demerits, assured that it would add another gem to the Crown of England, and your Majesty’s name would be handed down to posterity as the friend of the oppressed and the benefactor of mankind.”

Mr. GEORGE WAILES moved that petitions should be presented to both Houses of Parliament for the total extinction of Negro Slavery, and supported his motion by a detailed view of the history of this great question from the time it was first brought before the public in 1787, to the present hour.

Mr. ROBERT JOWETT, in seconding Mr. Wailes’s motion, which was unanimously agreed to, dwelt on the impolicy of slavery; on the evils arising to our commercial interests from the West India monopoly; and on the waste of treasure and still more of life caused by the maintenance and defence of this cruel system; and he closed with a solemn call on the meeting not only to address the Throne and to petition Parliament on the subject, but to offer up their supplications to the King of kings imploring him to influence the hearts of our rulers that this great iniquity might be removed from us.

Mr. E. BAYNES, Jun., moved a vote of thanks to their County Members for their pledges of support to the Anti-Slavery cause, and especially to Lord Morpeth and Mr. Brougham for their presence on this occasion. It was a most striking proof of the state of the public mind, not only that their four representatives were united on this question, but that not one solitary voice among the hundreds of thousands collected at York and elsewhere, to listen to their representatives on their canvas and at their election, not one solitary voice from the Humber to the Tees, was raised to palliate the horrors of slavery or to avert its doom. He thought that though the social degradation and physical evils of slavery were most deplorable, the slaves having no more civil rights than the cattle of the field, and their females being subject to the foul abomination of the lacerating cart-whip in a state of all but utter nakedness, there was something still more intolerable in that marring of the image of God impressed on the soul of man, in that quenching of the sacred light of reason, in that almost absolute obliteration of the mental and moral faculties of its victims, which marked this fell system. And this their degradation to the level of the brute, was pleaded by the planters as a proof of their incapacity of moral and intellectual culture! But the Missionaries of Christianity, as the Rev. Richard Watson had eloquently expressed it, “had dived into that mine from

which we were told no valuable or precious stone could be extracted, and they have brought up the gem of an immortal spirit, flashing with the light of intellect, and glowing with the hues of Christian grace.”—He then adduced in proof of the utter hostility of the planters to the religious instruction of the slaves, notwithstanding their professions to the contrary, the extract from the Jamaica Courant contained in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 66, p. 384.

The Rev. JOHN ANDERSON, a Wesleyan minister, in an able and animated speech, expressed his utter detestation of slavery, a state equally at variance with the dictates of humanity and the precepts of religion. He exhorted them not to be content with making speeches. Actions and not words were required. He would say to them—do! do! do! and would urge them never to relax their efforts till the whole British empire formed one Anti-Slavery Society, and until the accursed name of slavery was erased from its code of laws.

LORD MORPETH said, that his object in presenting himself at this meeting was twofold; first, to prove that however little qualified he might be to serve this cause he felt no lukewarmness in promoting it; and secondly, to learn the wishes of his constituents, on a point which so deeply interested them. He came, therefore, not to speak, but to hear. He alluded to the difficulties of the question, and said that he alluded to them in order to express his opinion, that those difficulties, whatever they were, ought not to damp their zeal, but to stimulate them to prepare to meet and to overcome them. In this temper he should address himself to the question when it came before Parliament, and he trusted that their efforts, and those of Parliament, would be crowned with an issue, which should be satisfactory, full, and final, as well as just and beneficent to all parties concerned. The dispensations of Providence, always in silent operation, had lately spoken audibly to the world; and though it might be presumptuous to interpret their motive, or anticipate their cause, it did not seem presumptuous to assume that in the effort to accomplish the purpose of the present meeting—in labouring for the abolition of human suffering, and the diffusion of human happiness—they were pursuing the path of true wisdom and of national prosperity. He concluded with expressing his fervent wish for the final and complete success of the cause in which they had embarked.

MR. BROUGHAM said, that ready as he should always be to listen to the instructions of his constituents, and to give them all due weight even when they differed from his own views, it was a cordial gratification to him to receive them, when they commanded him to do that very thing, which of all others, he was inclined to do. If there was any one of the eloquent speeches he had heard that day, to which he more entirely assented than another, it was that of Mr. Anderson, who had lately addressed them, and who had attended an Anti-Slavery meeting for the first time. He had attended many such, and he would shortly have to attend, not an Anti-Slavery Society, but an assembly which had hitherto been more remarkable for upholding Slavery than for putting it down. The last time he had sat in that assembly he had begged to call its members to pledge themselves in the next session, not to abolish slavery, not to put down the flogging of females, not to put down

the lacerations of the cart-whip, not to put down the unutterable oppression of man by man, but only to pledge themselves that they would take the subject once more into their serious consideration; and by a large majority his motion had been rejected. His experience, therefore, of Slavery as well as of Anti-Slavery meetings led him to concur heartily in Mr. Anderson's counsel, to have as our motto, not "say, say," but "do, do." He illustrated the difference by contrasting the warm speeches of candidates on the hustings with their lukewarm conduct in the House of Commons, which justified him in saying, that the pavements of hustings in general throughout England were formed of the fragments of broken promises. Even the first and almost universal promise, made by all candidates, of attending in their places in Parliament to do the work of the people, was one of the first and surest to be violated. To all such he would now give fair notice, that on the subject of Slavery, he hoped to afford them an opportunity of redeeming their pledges to their constituents. He looked forward to the approaching session as most important, so far as that great cause was concerned; for if ever the voice of the country was raised clearly, unequivocally, and universally on any one subject, it had now been so raised on the subject of Colonial Slavery. And if after it had been so raised nothing was done, then should we be a degraded people, a poor, spiritless, powerless set of constituents, who could not make the very members we had returned to Parliament to perform our work, or rather the work of heaven, for which we had sent them thither; thus treating with contempt the suffrages to which they owed their seats, because they hoped not to meet their constituents again for the next six years to come. Mr. Brougham then adverted to the Bill for amending the Consolidated Slave trade Abolition act, (alluded to in our last No. 67, p. 403, note) which was brought into the House last session and was likely to be renewed in the next; and trusted that both in and out of Parliament the progress of such measures would be sedulously watched.—He proceeded to express his confident hope of better things than they had hitherto witnessed; and trusted, that consistently with a due regard to the rights of property, and first of all of the property a man has in his own life and in his own limbs, we should at length succeed to break asunder, in peace and tranquillity, those bands by which the slave is made miserable and the master wicked, and thus happily achieve the greatest and most glorious triumph, which the enlightened benevolence and justice of a great and free and virtuous people ever did achieve. He then pronounced a glowing eulogy on their precursors in this great cause, on Granville Sharpe, Mr. Fox, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Clarkson, and above all, and over all, that venerable man, whom it was his glory to have succeeded as their representative, Mr. Wilberforce, who, though he had withdrawn from public life, retained the entire vigour of his mental faculties, and the warmest feelings, both of benevolence to his fellow-creatures and of piety towards God; and whose latter end formed so great a contrast to the latter end of those who had extracted from the sufferings, and built upon the wretchedness, of slaves the splendour of their own private fortunes. Of him we might truly say:—

“ For him no wretch is born to work and weep,
 Explore the mine or tempt the dang’rous deep ;
 But on he moves towards his latter end,
 Angels around befriending Virtue’s friend ;
 Sinks to the grave with unperceived decay,
 While resignation gently slopes the way ;
 And all his prospects brightening to the last,
 His heaven commences ere this world be past.”

Mr. JAMES RICHARDSON then moved, that the Committee of the Leeds Anti-Slavery Society should adopt the measures best calculated to ensure from every parish or township in the county of York, similar addresses and petitions ; stating that the continuance of Negro Slavery was a great constitutional and moral wrong, and urging in the strongest manner that immediate measures should be adopted for the total abolition of Slavery ; an example, which, he trusted, would be followed by every other county and town and parish in the kingdom. The motion being seconded by Mr. J. CLAPHAM was carried unanimously.

The VICAR OF LEEDS moved a vote of thanks to the Leeds Anti-Slavery Committee, in whose proceedings he heartily concurred, which was seconded by the Rev. JAMES FAWCETT, and passed unanimously. Thanks were also voted, on the motion of Lord MORPETH, seconded by Mr. B. SADLER, to the Mayor for his conduct in the chair.

II.—DEVIZES ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING.

A highly respectable meeting was held at Devizes on the 17th of September, J. S. Fuller, Esq. in the chair, to consider the subject of Negro Slavery ; at which there was a display of energy, both intellectual and moral, which has seldom been surpassed. It would scarcely be possible without transcribing into our pages the whole of the interesting proceedings of the day, to do any thing like justice to those who, on that occasion, stood forward to advocate the cause of the oppressed slave. The utmost we can effect is to give a faint outline of them.

The Rev. R. ELLIOTT informed the meeting, that he and his friends were influenced in calling it by a deep and growing repugnance to slavery, and a firm and settled conviction that that evil ought not to exist, especially in any part of the British dominions. This feeling was not founded upon any isolated facts of the cruelty attending slavery, but on a view of the intrinsic evil of a state which gives to man the power of exercising cruelty over his fellow. Such a state was incompatible with our holy religion, and with the merciful spirit of him who came to give deliverance to the captive, and to open the prison doors of them that were bound. The law of God was expressly against the man-stealer ; and if it were said we had done with man-stealing, yet, were not the men found in our hands whom we knew to have been stolen ? He then proceeded to shew that this system was as much opposed to constitutional law, and as revolting to humanity, as it was contrary to religion and to sound policy. After drawing a striking picture of the more prominent features of slavery, and refuting some of the popular sophisms on the subject, he asked, what it was we now had to propose ; and to this question he replied, “ the utter extinction of slavery.” It was idle to talk

of amelioration to men who like the legislators of Jamaica, refused to enact that women should cease to be indecently flogged. The object of the Society was to assist in procuring, by every proper method, the utter extinction of Negro Slavery in the British Colonies. We had heard much of *gradual emancipation*; but we now found that the true meaning of gradual emancipation, was perpetual slavery.—The frightful anticipations connected with the abolition of slavery, were, in his opinion, without foundation. Human nature was the same everywhere. Man with a black skin, was as capable of feeling a kindness, as man with a white skin. The experiment had been made, and it had been found to answer.—But how were the slaves to be then governed? By passing such legislative provisions and restraints as should put the liberated Negroes under the authority and protection of just and equal laws. The object in short of this Society was to assist in procuring, by every proper method, the utter extinction of Negro Slavery in the British Colonies.—But what, it might be asked, was to become of the planters themselves? Let their claims be calmly considered; and if they sustain loss, let them be remunerated. We did not wish to be guilty of injustice in the exercise of our compassion. There was a strong moral feeling alive in this kingdom, which was growing stronger and stronger every hour; and which could hardly fail to make the Negro free. And if this was not done for the Negro, he would ere long do it for himself. “Every effort to keep these miserable captives in ignorance, must in the end fail. Their oppressors may persecute and murder our Missionaries: they may try to extinguish the light of truth, although they may as well attempt to extinguish the sun! But the slave will acquire knowledge; and knowledge is power; and that power will exert itself to break the chain that binds him; and if this must be the alternative, (which may God prevent) the Negro will be free!”

The Rev. Mr. JOHNSON entered at considerable length and with much force into the same views of the subject, and detailed with great effect and with suitable comments, some of those acts of atrocity recorded in the Anti-Slavery Reporter, which the cruel state of Colonial law permits to be perpetrated either with entire impunity, or with such slight penalties, as scarcely to afford any protection to life or limb. The contemplation of these authenticated horrors led him to press the immediate abolition of Slavery; and this he was the more anxious to do when he saw a religious society, supported by many of the dignitaries of the Church of England, owning plantations cultivated by slaves driven to their labour by the whip, and liable to all the debasing effects of this cruel system; a course in which, if they persisted, they would bring down from heaven a curse rather than a blessing.—As to the hope of preparing the slaves for freedom by religious instruction it was vain. Christianity for example, teaches that all men are brethren; that there is neither bond nor free, but that all are one in Christ. No, says the planter; to preach such doctrine is treason against the majesty of the whites; and the Rev. Mr. Harte was deemed guilty of an unpardonable offence for administering the Lord's Supper to black and white at the same table and at the same time.—But we were told the slaves were not prepared for emancipation. What then was it which now restrained them from

acts of violence? You say the arm of power. And would not the law restrain them from doing mischief to themselves or others as effectually *after* as *before* emancipation; *after* having multiplied their motives to gratitude and peaceful conduct, as while still groaning under oppression? Of this he could have no doubt. But if not, still *we* were bound to do *our* duty—to act justly, and to exercise mercy, and to leave the issue to God. “Let us then,” he said in conclusion, “take up this question with the warmest zeal; let us never more be satisfied with empty promises, but in a firm and constitutional manner, call upon the Legislature, to wipe off from the page of our history this accursed stain. Let us use our utmost efforts that every parish in the land may hear of the wrongs of our sable brethren, and rise to redress them. They are bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh; and methinks, with imploring looks, they exclaim—Come over and help us. The blood of martyred Missionaries calls upon us—not to avenge their murder, for they know who has said, “vengeance is mine, and I will repay, saith the Lord”—but to vindicate the wrongs of suffering humanity, and to remove the impediments which Slavery presents to the spread of the Gospel, and the progress of true religion among the heathen;—nor ever rest,

“Till man nor woman under Britain’s law,
Nor son nor daughter born within her Empire,
Shall buy, or sell, or hold, or be a Slave.”

The next person who addressed the meeting was the justly celebrated Colonel NAPIER, the author of the history of the late peninsular war, which it is impossible to have read without admiring the power of intellect, the acuteness of observation, and the manly independence of mind which it displays. He came forward, he said, with reluctance, not because he was lukewarm in a cause which he held to be pure even to holiness, but because he was unused to take a part in popular meetings. Nevertheless, being called upon, he would not shrink from avowing, publicly, sentiments and principles which he had never hesitated to express in private, sometimes perhaps, more warmly than the occasion called for.

“First then,” he said, “I hold Slavery of every kind in abhorrence; but, most especially, do I abhor domestic Slavery. We have seen the people of a neighbouring country rise, as one man, and shed their blood like water, to avoid political oppression. Gloriously have they effected their object! and greatly and justly has the world applauded their heroic action! But, in modern times, what political bondage can be for a moment compared, as an evil, to the harrowing oppression of domestic Slavery? The former, indeed, forbids men to meddle in public affairs, and thwarts them in the exercise of their just rights; but the domestic slave dare not move his person, but as his master directs; he dare not publish his thoughts, speak or make a sign of discontent, or even of joy; he dare not even sigh over his unhappy fate; lest his offended tyrant should crush him, body and soul—his body with the torture of the whip, his soul with the degradation. Domestic Slavery, then, is a great and dreadful evil, which it behoves every good man to endeavour to abate. But, on a subject of this nature, it is better to argue than to declaim; and it is unnecessary to appeal to the passions

in favour of a cause, which is founded upon the plainest principles of justice and humanity. The subject is one, no doubt, affording a wider scope than any other, for appeals to the passions; but it is, fortunately, also the one which needs them the least, being founded on the plainest dictates of justice and humanity. Hence, I shall not here have recourse to any of those stories of appalling atrocities, committed by slave-holders, or, rather I should say, by slave masters, for many slave-holders are very humane men, who have never been near the scene of those abominations which we have all heard and read of, even too often for the tranquillity of our own minds.—Such stories, when truly related, and well authenticated, are, no doubt, necessary to rouse the feelings of indolent and unreflecting persons; and the publication of them inflicts some punishment upon the perpetrators of such enormities, when they can be no otherwise reached than by holding them up to the indignation of the virtuous part of the world. But, as parts of the argument against domestic Slavery, they are wholly unnecessary. That argument rests upon the broad and deep foundation of general and immutable principles. We may be told, and we are continually told, that the stories of cruelty and oppression which are published, are false, exaggerated, distorted, and discoloured. I can believe it.—A great question like the Abolition of West Indian Slavery, which has been agitated for years; which excites so many passions and involves so many interests; must of necessity be exposed to exaggeration. And what then? Shall it follow that Slavery is not a great and dreadful evil! Sir, if I hear that a woman heavy with child has been lashed to death, and that on enquiry I find she was not with child, and did not die of her tortures, but that if she had been so situated, and had so died, it would only have been an unfortunate result of the legal exercise of a power which wicked and infamous laws had conferred upon her master, am I not to denounce the horrid system? Am I, because the story is not accurately told, to refrain from exclaiming against the horrid system, under which such villany *may be perpetrated*? Am I not to declare that domestic Slavery is a great and terrible evil, which it is the duty of every good man to abate? Sir, there is an omnipotent Being above us, who has, I will not say, taught, but who has forced us, in spite of our wayward dispositions, to feel that virtue and vice are not indifferent to him; that the first is pleasing, the second displeasing to his nature; and mankind, in every age and every part of the world, have believed that a strict reckoning will be held hereafter, when rewards exceeding the dreams of poets, and punishments the very thought of which causes the soul to shrink, will be distributed according to our merits. Yet, in despite of this universal feeling, and this universal belief, the power of doing wrong being granted to man, wrong always has been committed: there is, at least, as much of vice as of virtue, there is as much of oppression and cruelty, in this world, as there is of kindness and charity. What do I infer from this? Why, that as such is the imperfection of man in general, that neither the promised reward for virtue, nor the denounced vengeance for vice, avails to prevent him from doing evil, when he has the power, it is impossible to believe that the slave-holder (who has already so grossly violated natural justice, as to hold his

fellow-being in bondage,) having the power to oppress and misuse, will not oppress and misuse his slave; that having the power to be cruel, he will not also have the will. Admitting, therefore, that all the tales of horrors committed in the West Indies, which we have *yet* heard, were utterly untrue, we might still be assured, from a consideration of the nature of man, that there was sufficient foundation to expect them; aye, although they were fifty times as numerous, and, if possible, related circumstances fifty times as atrocious. And this I hold to be so certain, and my position so immoveable by argument, that if an angel were to stand before me at this moment, and assert the contrary, I would turn away, fearing and doubting, that although clothed in the glorious light of heaven, the coming was from hell! I recur then to my original assertion, that Slavery, and more especially domestic Slavery, is a great and terrible evil, which it is the duty of every good man to abolish; and in this feeling, I propose that it be a fundamental principle of this Society that Slavery is no longer to be regarded as a condition capable of being rendered tolerable by regulation, but as a crime to be suppressed, an outrage on our professed principles as Christians to be renounced, and a foul stain on the national character, to be wholly and for ever effaced."

The motion being seconded by the Rev. Mr. NOBLE was carried unanimously.

WILLIAM BLAIR, Esq. entered fully into the whole question, giving a comprehensive and luminous view of it in its principle and its details, its tendencies and effects, its abstract nature and its practical influence; exhibiting it as so unnatural and degrading, so opposed to the love of God and man, so destructive of human happiness both here and hereafter, and so full of horror, as to convince every candid mind that such an abomination ought to be swept from the face of the earth with the least possible delay. Even Sir Robert Peel was forced, while giving a paramount weight to the claims of the planters, to admit, that if the poor slave were ever to ask him by what title he was held in bondage, he feared he should not have one syllable to say in self-justification. Thus, it was only by an oblivion of the grand fundamental principles of truth and duty, that the enormities of the system could be palliated or endured for one moment. Abstracted indeed from all consideration of consequences, personal slavery was revolting and detestable, a sin against human nature, which all good men should unite in extirpating; treason against the very law of man's existence, robbing him of his right to life, limbs, and liberty, to the labour of his hands and to the worship of his God, in short, of his birthright—the very charter of his being. Neither the solemn dicta of a minister of state, nor the alleged omnipotence of acts of parliament, nor treaties however guaranteed, nor claims of chartered rights and vested interests however urged, can be allowed to come into successful competition with the sacred, universal, immutable right to personal freedom, inherited by every child of man. As to the claims the planters might have, he neither asserted nor denied them. Whatever they were, they attached not to the poor slave, but to other parties, and were wholly subordinate to the claims of the slave, which were independent, primary, and paramount. Besides, in what chapter of the British con-

stitution should we find a warrant for making the colour of a man's skin the proof of guilt and the ground of punishment, or for giving to the white a monopoly of freedom, and to the black the whip, shackles, and a dungeon?—In turning to the practical part of the subject, he wholly repudiated that low and gross view of the subject which looked only to the slave's physical wants and the externals of his happiness, and heeded not his moral and mental degradation to the level of the beasts of the field. But even the assertion of his physical comfort was a lie. The slaves were over-worked and under-fed, and harshly used, as was proved by that undeniable test of physical comfort, the state and progress of population, and which shewed that there was in the system some fatal blight tainting the very vitals of society, and withering the very springs of existence; so that, were this system permitted to continue, the victims of it would at length find repose where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest; the silence of death would reign over these lovely regions; while the graves of the millions of our fellow-creatures who had worn out their lives there in bitter bondage, would be the eternal monument of our shame. And this depopulating effect of the system was the more remarkable when contrasted with the rapid increase of the same race when free. The progress of population in Hayti, as compared with that of Jamaica, was such as to raise the positive waste of negro life in the latter to about 350,000 human beings in twenty years. This was frightful. In the Mauritius, Guiana, and other places, the decrease was still more appalling. But enough had been said to shew the necessity of the most strenuous exertions to effect the speedy overthrow of this monstrous system. Half measures and palliatives would no longer suffice: we must seek the entire and speedy removal of this mass of misery and guilt. We were all involved in its criminality if we did not do all in our power to that end. The blood of our brother would cry against us to heaven; and while there was a righteous Governor of the universe, it would not cry in vain, if we did not relinquish the guilty gains of oppression. "Raise him then from the depth of his degradation, and shed on him the light and consolations of the Gospel; and impart to him with his civil rights the sympathies and charities of social life. And let not such feelings evaporate in words, or even in petitions. If the Parliament will not heed these, you have a remedy in your own hand. Abjure the use of slave-grown sugar—for it is the sugar above all which kills the slave—and you will assist in sealing the death warrant of slavery. While you consume this production of slave labour, you are paying your quota towards that million and a half which goes annually, in the shape of drawbacks and protecting duties, into the coffers of the slave-holder. It is nothing less than the price of blood, and a direct bounty for keeping the poor slave in bondage.—Another most effectual means of advancing the cause of emancipation, will be to establish Anti-Slavery Associations in every town and village throughout the kingdom, and to diffuse information as extensively as possible. Thus we may hope that the nation will awake—that it will arise in all its moral and religious might, and decree the extinction of slavery throughout all the dominions of the British Crown."

Impressive addresses followed from the Rev. Mr. Rogers, the Rev.

Mr. Bunce, the Rev. Mr. Newton, the Rev. Mr. Keene, Mr. Saunders, and Mr. Phillips, of Antigua. But our limits are exhausted, and we must draw to a close; merely noticing that the petition agreed to, contains, among others, the following passages—

“That they consider this state of society as directly opposed to every principle of religion, justice, and humanity; and that it ought not therefore to be tolerated under any plea of amelioration, inasmuch as that which is palpably unjust in itself, cannot be rendered otherwise by merely lessening the degree of its enormity. And even if mitigation could justify its existence, it is altogether hopeless to look for such mitigation from the Colonial Legislatures.

“They therefore abandon the hope of accomplishing any alleviation of the horrors of slavery, and conceive that its total abolition is the only effectual mode of relief to the slaves, and of wiping away this foulest blot on our national honour—this daring outrage on the laws of God; and they leave it to Parliament to estimate and discharge any losses that may accrue to the West India planters by the legislative extinction of slavery; but that no plea of this kind ought to delay this act of national justice, or prevent the immediate adoption of such measures as shall be deemed most advisable, for the speedy and total extinction of Negro Slavery, in all the dependencies of the British Crown.”

III.—LAWS AND MANNERS OF JAMAICA ILLUSTRATED.

1.—*Port Royal Council of Protection.*

The following piece of intelligence is taken verbatim from the Royal Gazette of the 3d July, 1830.

“At Port-Royal, on June 19, a special bench of magistrates assembled, consisting of his honour the Custos, and E. B. Warren, W. Hyslop, and H. Fraser Leslie, Esqrs. Justices, to inquire into complaints preferred by certain slaves from Dallas-Castle estate against their overseer, Mr. Stevens. A gang, twenty-four in number, including men, women, and children, all appeared before the justices, and, with the exception of the children, severally stated their complaints. They were heard at length, and afterwards the bookkeeper, who had been called down as a witness at their own request, was sworn, and denied the whole statement preferred against the overseer in the clearest manner, to the satisfaction of the bench. The chief grounds of the dissatisfaction of the people were, that the time allowed them for their meals, &c. at breakfast and dinner (which it was proved on oath exceeded the time allowed by law,) was not sufficient—that they were not taken care of when they were sick, but made to work, and that TWO HOGS had been killed!!

“Mr. M'Cunn, the attorney, was sworn, and proved that every comfort was afforded to the people—that the hot-house had every article that was required for it, and that the people were discharged from it according to the directions, from time to time, of the doctor, who regularly visited the property; that Mr. Stevens, the overseer, had been there for seven or eight years, and was a *mild, humane man*, and that he, who the negroes knew was the attorney, never received any com-

plaints whatever, although they were constantly coming to him for supplies, &c. The gang generally admitted 'that they were well fed, &c.' but 'that they wanted a new Busha, (overseer) and would not serve under the present one, a woman declaring that she would die before she would return to the estate.' Every one of them actually shewed the greatest insolence to their overseer, in the very face of the magistrates!!

"The bookkeeper also stated on oath to the Court, that he was satisfied it was but a conspiracy to get the overseer discharged, if possible, and mentioned several expressions he had heard in the field to that effect, and that the *ringleader* was a *runaway*, generally speaking.

"The records also shewed that the greater number of these people had been *twice* before the justices with similar complaints, and admonished not to persist in making them without just grounds.

"Mr. Stevens, the overseer, having requested permission (for his own character) to address the magistrates, declared what had been proved by the bookkeeper, and in the most satisfactory manner shewed that there were no grounds of complaint whatever. The negroes had more indulgences than those on the other properties in the neighbourhood; and in regard to the two HOGS alluded to, they had been killed for *destroying the grounds*, and injuring *the corn and coffee-pieces*, after repeated remonstrances from him. When they were killed, he asked to whom they belonged, but, as no one would claim them, they were burnt. The whole gang were a turbulent and dissatisfied set, and were so known by the other slaves on the estate. The bench, after a long deliberation, decided that the complaint was *most frivolous and groundless*; and his honour the Custos, in an impressive manner, pointed out to them their very improper and almost rebellious conduct, adverting to the admonitions they had received from him on former occasions years ago. He stated to them that whilst the law provided that their complaints should always be patiently heard, it wisely directed, that if their complaints *were groundless*, they should meet with a suitable punishment for making them. *It was necessary, for the well-being of the island, that complaints like these should meet with exemplary punishments, to deter a repetition of them.*—To that end, the principal actor (*the runaway*) was sentenced to fifty lashes, and the four next men to thirty-nine lashes publicly, and three of the head-women of the gang to three weeks' hard labour in the workhouse, and the remainder were severely admonished.

"Mr. Justice Hyslop likewise recommended the people to be guarded in their conduct in future, pointing out to them that, if they persisted in their riotous conduct and behaviour to their overseer, some of them might be brought to an ignominious end. The law, and the magistrates appointed to deal it out, would always protect them, if protection was necessary; but would punish them whenever they should conspire, by falsehoods and improper motives, to prefer frivolous complaints against white or other persons in charge of them. The proceeding was under the 28th and 103d clauses of the Act; and the Clerk of the Peace took down notes of all that passed, and of the evidence given, by the desire of the magistrates.

"A finer gang we never saw; and their appearance alone was almost

sufficient to rebut any charge of harsh or improper treatment—and we cannot help admiring the impartial and firm manner in which the justices acted, and the decision they came to. These frivolous complaints are daily increasing, and, unless a check is given to them, they may slowly amount to an alarming magnitude; for, as in the present instance, a gang may leave an estate for days, when they want a new overseer, with false complaints, and go to a magistrate; the proprietor, therefore, loses their labour, incurs a heavy expence, and a body of magistrates are occupied for four or five hours in investigating the charges, which turn out to be such as cannot but be deemed wanton and frivolous—and for such conduct a soldier or sailor would be doomed to receive a heavy punishment at the halberds, or, perhaps, suffer death.”

Thus far the statements and the comments of the Royal Gazette.

And yet on this estate, the humanity of whose management is so much vaunted, the negroes are decreasing. In the space of ten years too it appears to have changed its proprietors at least four times, so that the overseer has had a firmer tenure of *his* authority, than the owners of *their* property; a circumstance which must have set him free from much of supervision or control. What an illustration does this circumstance afford too of the gross fallacy of those representations, made on oath before the Privy Council in 1827, by the Demerara and Berbice planters, Mr. Macrae, Mr. Macdonnell, Major Moody, and others, respecting the closeness of the ties which bind the master and slave to each other—indeed of the general delusion practised on the public by the Colonists. The slaves of Dallas-Castle had four different owners in ten years, to all of whose varying humours, caprices and interests, if resident, they must have been successively subjected; or if absent, to those of their hireling representatives; without any means of appeal or redress but at the risk of what the Royal Gazette deems the salutary infliction of fifty lashes of the cart-whip, ordered by some magistrate, himself a slave-holder, who may rejoice in the opportunity of thus repressing in his own gang the disposition to prefer like “frivolous complaints” against himself. And in such a case, be it remembered, the slave has no ulterior remedy. However injured he may have been by the overseer, or however unjust may have been the infliction of the magistrate for the mere act of complaining, (slave evidence being wholly shut out) he has no means of appeal or redress.—In the present instance the only exculpatory evidence in favour of the overseer, was that of his employer, who though testifying generally to his mildness and humanity, yet, not being resident on the estate, could be no witness to the facts occurring there; and that of his bookkeeper, whose entire dependence on the overseer made it perilous for him to testify otherwise than favourably. Had he done so, he would have been as effectually shut out from all future employment in Jamaica, as if he had been branded in the forehead as a felon, or convicted of being a saint.—The Clerk of the Peace, it is said, took notes of the evidence by desire of the magistrates. We trust that those notes will be called for by the House of Commons. Till then, we are unwilling to make the comments which even this *ex parte* and manifestly partial statement, published, with the

usual fatuity to serve some blind purpose, suggests to the disadvantage of the administration of Colonial justice.

2.—*St. George's Council of Protection.*

An additional Postscript to the Royal Gazette of the 7th August, 1830, has just reached us, and we insert the following extract from it, as a further illustration of the state of law and manners in Jamaica. A letter, it seems, had been sent by the Rev. Stewart William Hanna, Island Curate of St. George's, to the Editor of the Royal Gazette, containing a case of cruelty to a slave. The Editor refused to insert it; and insinuated against Mr. Hanna a charge of saintship, and a design to serve the purposes of the Anti-Slavery Society. Mr. Hanna, however, was sufficiently firm not to be intimidated by such language, and he procured the insertion of his letter in the Kingston Chronicle; the Editor of that paper justifying its insertion as being the production of a respectable clergyman of the established Church, and as calling for just and fair investigation. It has since appeared, as already stated, in the Royal Gazette. It is to the following effect:—

“SIR,

“It is well known that one of the principal charges, brought forward by the Anti-Slavery men and their adherents in England against the West Indians, is to this effect:—‘That from the state of the Colonial laws, and their defective administration, the slave, when wronged by the free man, cannot obtain legal redress.’ It is not my wish to join in such a cry, nor is it my design at present to advocate either the principles or the conduct of any party whatsoever. But, Sir, when a case falls under my observation, in which a slave *has been* grossly injured by a free man, *has* sought legal redress, and *has been* denied it, then I hold it to be a matter of duty to put forth every effort on behalf of the oppressed, however slight the chance of ultimate success, as I am equally satisfied it is the interest of every honest and independent Colonist to second my endeavours.

“A Council of Protection assembled on Friday the 9th inst. in this parish, to investigate a case of alleged cruelty, in which the Overseer of Windsor Castle estate (Mr. William Ogilvy Chapman), was the offending, and a slave belonging to the same property, the aggrieved party. The following is a list of the Magistrates and Vestrymen who composed the council: The Hon. JOHN BELL, Custos. The Rev. M. C. BOLTON, Rector. JAMES SHENTON, ROGER SWIRE, THOMAS P. ROGERS, ADAM GRAY, Esqrs., Magistrates. JAMES MAXWELL, JOSIAS BOWYER, GEORGE HELPS, FRANCIS GUSCOTT, Esqrs., Vestrymen.

“The evidence adduced was substantially as follows:—

“For some trifling neglect of duty the man had received, by the Overseer's direction, a severe, though not an illegal flogging,” (that is to say, not more than thirty-nine lashes.) “This was on Saturday; June 26th. In a state of great suffering, he proceeded to the nearest magistrate, Mr. Shenton, the proprietor of Dover estate, to complain of the treatment he had received. Mr. S. on inspection, found the man's hinder parts so completely covered with blood, as to prevent his accurately ascertaining the extent of injury sustained. He, however, advised him to

return home, as no sufficient cause appeared to call for legal interference. The poor man, who is a carpenter, followed this advice, and remained in his house until Monday morning, when he proceeded to the workshop, and endeavoured to resume his work. The gang of carpenters and coopers was shortly afterwards ordered to the beach to ship sugar, but the wretched condition of the sufferer compelled him to remain. About three o'clock in the afternoon, Mr. Chapman went into the workshop, and finding him there, demanded why he had not accompanied the gang. The poor man answered, that his wounds had prevented him. This reply, it would seem, exasperated the Overseer, for he ordered him to be confined in the stocks forthwith, and *placing his hands behind him, with difficulty, though having the assistance of the hot-house doctor, forced a pair of tight handcuffs on his wrists.* The very slave assisting remonstrated against this barbarity; but in vain. Thus mangled and manacled was the wretched negro compelled to remain from four in the afternoon of Monday until seven o'clock on Wednesday morning! On that day Mr. Shenton summoned all the parties to appear before him, and he has stated on oath that the man's hinder parts were in three different places, each of considerable extent, not merely 'cut' or scored, but in the actual condition of 'raw flesh;' and further, that his hands, from the extreme tightness of the manacles, *'were swollen to twice their ordinary size.'* Yet the five last named on the list of members, who composed the Council of Protection, subsequently summoned to investigate the case, have resolved that the matter is unworthy of farther notice, and, accordingly, all hope that the demands of justice may be satisfied is for the present at an end. It is not, Sir, my wish to animadvert upon the conduct of these gentlemen. I am willing to believe their's to have been an error rather of the head than of the heart, and that they did not wantonly sacrifice their better feelings at the shrine of unmanly apprehension or selfish expediency. Be this, however, as it may, I write not with the intention of canvassing their motives or their conduct, but in the hope that these lines may meet the eye of his Majesty's Attorney General for this island. Him I would conjure, by the impartial spirit of the British Constitution, by virtue of which he holds his office—by all the obligations of religion and morality—by the common feelings of our common nature, not to let this matter terminate here, but to stretch forth the protecting arm of the law on behalf of this poor oppressed negro. It will, perhaps, be said, that the case mainly rests upon testimony not admissible by law, namely, that of slaves. In part it certainly does, but so much circumstantial evidence may be collected, and that, too, of a nature so satisfactory (look for example at the testimony of Mr. Shenton to the maimed and lacerated condition of the sufferer), that little doubt can be entertained of the feasibility of bringing home the charge to the offending party. Let the attempt be made: Justice—Humanity—the best interests of the colony, appear to demand it. Success no man can command, but even failure in a good cause brings with it a rich reward.

“Perhaps the question may be asked—Why does the writer of these lines interfere in matters of this kind? Is he not a minister of the Gospel of Peace? It is, Sir, for this very reason that he feels himself

especially called on to interfere. Were this a matter of political expediency merely, or did it involve the discussion of the question of Slavery in the abstract, he should have been silent; but believing that a wanton act of cruelty had been committed upon a helpless slave, and seeing the wheels of justice at a stand, did he not again attempt to put them in motion, he should ill deserve the name of man, and still less to hold the office of a minister of that religion, whose Divine Author's great design was to bind up the bleeding wounds of misery, to heal the broken-hearted, and to bid the oppressed go free.

Your obedient Servant,

STEWART WILLIAM HANNA,

Island Curate of St. George."

"St. George's, July 20, 1830.

Two members of the Council of Protection, Mr. Gray and Mr. Maxwell, attempt a vindication of their vote on this occasion, but, though held up as complete, by the journalists of Jamaica, nothing can be more feeble. They admit Mr. Hanna's facts; that for some neglect of orders the slave, who was the head cooper of the estate, was punished with whipping by the overseer, and for refusing, or as the slave alleges, being unable to proceed to work, the overseer applied handcuffs to his wrists behind his back, and ordered him to the stocks on Monday at 3 P. M. where he remained till Wednesday at 7 A. M. when "the hot-house doctor came and informed him that the prisoner's wrists were swelled and painful." On this he was released. In the interim the prisoner's wife went and complained to the Custos, who wrote to Mr. Shenton, to have the matter investigated. Mr. S. examined the man, and "found his wrists tumified." A Council of Protection was called. Ten were present. The five first names voted for laying the matter before the Attorney General, the five last against it, and thus there being no majority the matter dropped. These last five, the defence says, "*did not altogether exculpate Mr. Chapman, but, after taking all circumstances into consideration, thought he had acted more from an error of the head than the heart.*" They would, therefore, have thought it right to reprimand him.—But even this was not done.

All this, say these two gentlemen, they doubt not, will be contorted into some unheard of species of cruelty by our Anti-Colonial friends.—But it needeth not. The admitted facts of laceration and torture, for some offence too trivial to be even named, speak for themselves.—The conclusion of the address to the public of Jamaica by these two slave protectors deserves to be recorded. It is as follows:—

"We regret exceedingly, that a clergyman of the Established Church," (meaning Mr. Hanna,) "should identify himself with a faction that seeks the destruction of the Colonies, or that he should have taken such a zealous part in a political matter, of which he could have only a confused and superficial knowledge by retail. He ought to recollect that he was sent here not to destroy Temples, but to build them up; not to weaken the fabric of our institutions, assailed by every heartless demagogue, but to add strength and unanimity to them, to preach peace and good-will to men, and a cheerful obedience to constituted authorities. We are as feelingly alive to the melioration of our slaves, and at all times ready to punish wanton severity, as any class in the country,

but the rude materials, of which our population are formed, require no small degree of firmness and consistency to maintain the authority of a manager. We have nothing to fear from Anti-Colonial virulence, if we are true to ourselves—once divided, with so many irresponsible incendiaries amongst us, and we shall soon see our enemies triumph, and this beautiful island, now the seat of peace, happiness, and plenty, become a sterile desert.”

IV.—SOCIETY AND MANNERS OF BARBADOES ILLUSTRATED.

A gentleman of the highest credit visited Barbadoes in the early part of the present year. During the short time he was there, he made notes of what he saw. We are permitted to make a literal transcript of such of these notes as appear likely to interest our readers, and to throw light on the state of society and manners in that island. We abstain at present from any comment upon them, only premising, that we entertain the most entire confidence in the accuracy and fidelity of this gentleman's statements.

“One of my first objects was to learn from the slaves themselves how far they had benefited by the efforts to introduce education; and I visited the Colonial School, under the patronage of the Bishop, and a committee of the chief persons of the island. Here, I understood, are from 150 to 200 boys. The children appeared to have great pains bestowed upon them by a worthy and persevering master, and to make as much progress as European children would, surrounded by the same disadvantages. They were, as I thought, particularly expert in arithmetic. I was, however, much disappointed to find upon a close enquiry, that these children, with the exception of perhaps three or four, were *exclusively* the children of free people of colour. The children of slaves on this island receive instruction only in a catechetical form; in some instances they are taught to *repeat* hymns, but these opportunities for instruction are wholly confined to Sunday mornings in all the places which I saw and visited, except one instance, in which the slaves were assembled *occasionally* under the parlour window, and sang a hymn.

“I enquired of all the slaves I could get an opportunity of conversing with, as to their having any knowledge of letters; and was certainly a good deal disappointed and mortified to find, that with a very, very small exception, I believe confined to two or three individuals, I met with no slave who could read. These were slaves that held some places of more than common importance in the establishments of persons of consequence in the island who bore a high character for great humanity and benevolence, and whose slaves shewed, by their appearance and manners, that their masters were so distinguished.

“As to the means afforded the slaves of religious worship, I fear that little can be said. I was several times at the churches on the island; and, with the exception of the slaves who attended their masters and their families, and remained with the carriages during the service, I never saw any one slave there, nor could I find that they did ever attend. I did not go to the Wesleyan or Moravian meeting houses, (the former rebuilt since its destruction, and liberally subscribed to by many of the persons who assisted in destroying it.) One person I was credibly informed, who was one of the very first in the work of destruction, has since died, and left all his little property to repair the evil he had committed, and appease his conscience.

“I visited a few estates, on which I understood a sermon is read by the manager, and the usual devotional exercises gone through as contained in the ritual of the church of England, to which the slaves are invited.

“In one instance I was present, and was gratified by observing the quiet and orderly behaviour of all the slaves during the time, which lasted for nearly two hours. The service was performed by the owner of them; his wife acting as clerk, in a very condescending and kind manner: but the gross ignorance in which these

poor things are kept, leads me to doubt whether many of them had the power to comprehend that which was thus presented to their minds.

“As it regards their happiness and contentedness, it may be sufficient to relate two facts. One is, that I heard it complained of by most respectable persons, that the male slaves were continually quarrelling about their wives, of whom there were numerous instances of one man possessing from two to seven; and the consequent dreadful immorality in both sexes is matter of notoriety.

“I could not hear that marriage was encouraged amongst them, except by the Moravians, who are most indefatigable on this subject, as well as all others, in order to assist and raise the condition of their coloured brethren: nor was I able to ascertain that more than a few instances of an union of this nature had taken place, and these were generally if not entirely the result of the diligent, persevering efforts of the Moravians.*

“There is also another source of complaint on the part of the planters, which is, the loss they sustain by the extent to which self-destruction is practised amongst the slaves; it being by no means an uncommon thing to find *valuable* slaves hung to a tree or destroyed in a well, in the early part of the morning. On most of the estates I was shewn the stock of negroes in the same manner as an English farmer shews his horses and cattle, and with the same view of gaining credit for the management of them.

“I was anxious to ascertain how far the slaves benefited by the sale of the commodities which I was told were grown on the small portions of ground allotted to them near their dwellings; but which, in the course of my visits to different estates, I could discover to be only partially the case, many being certainly without this provision.

“I was likewise often assured, that the market of Bridgetown was thus supplied; and in order to be satisfied, I attended at the usual place of sale frequently, and took pains to inquire of individual slaves offering either fruits or vegetables &c. for sale, from what estate they came, and was grievously disappointed to find that they almost all had their mistress with them, to receive the amount of the sales made; or what was more common, that the major proportion of them were free coloured people, and consequently small cultivators, and not slaves.

“I find upon inquiry, that the produce which a slave may have, is always under the control and absolutely in the power of the master, if he chooses from any motive to exercise such a power.

“I went into many of their huts, which are built of mud and thatch, sometimes of stone and slate; they contain one room only for the whole family, with very little furniture, and they appear to own very little apparel.

“It seemed rather a curious custom to me as an Englishman to find that the usual place of rest during the night for the domestic slaves was on the floor of the landings: the men on the lower and the women on the upper floor, a custom better suited to a hot climate than to ours.

“I am inclined to believe, that notwithstanding the dreadful power possessed by the owners and managers of slaves over their poor pitiable fellow-men, this power is not so often exercised in overt acts of violence as might be apprehended; but almost every estate appears to be furnished with a place of confinement, to be used at the will of the master. This usually dismal room is provided generally with a pair of stocks, and a wooden or iron bedstead; the stocks are placed so as to enable the prisoner either to sit or lie on the bedstead. The duration of the confinement is determined by the arbitrary will of the master or overseer. Once for the negligence of some domestic concern, and an impertinent answer, a slave was confined three days and four nights, and I left him still in confinement.

“Being at home at my lodgings, I was alarmed by the most dreadful howling; and starting up, I got to the window, in time to see a free black mason, or plasterer, inflicting some severe blows with his fist upon the bosom of a female negro slave, about sixteen or seventeen years old, who, I heard, was his own daughter. This girl had been before serving him and another man with mortar, which she carried up a high ladder; and on inquiry, I learnt that not being quite so quick

* But even the Moravian marriages have no legal sanction in Barbadoes.—(Editor.)

as he wished in supplying them, one of them descended, and gave her a severe beating, in the manner I have just described. I immediately ran out of the house to save her from further suffering, but was agreeably surprised to see a number of individuals apparently with the same intention going towards the spot. I thought as a stranger it would be better for me to allow them to remonstrate with the barbarous fellows; but what was the horror I felt when I found that their object was not to exclaim against such treatment of the poor girl, but to tell her that they would not, and could not bear such a howling near them. Some of the tenants, accompanied by our landlady and several slaves, were there, and loudly swore at the girl, telling her they would have no such noise there, as a gentleman, (meaning a friend of mine, who was suffering from great weakness,) was very ill in the next house.

“Once it happened that I lodged at a house in Bridgetown, and was attracted to the window, whilst dressing in the morning, by piteous and loud cries. On looking out, I saw in a yard below, the mistress of the house, a free woman of colour, cauing a female slave about twenty-two, very severely with a small bamboo cane, in a state of elasticity we never see them in this country, and about the size of a black-lead pencil; in which castigation she struck both fore stroke and back stroke on the unprotected shoulders, breast, back, and face of the poor girl, who leaned against a post in the yard to support herself while she received the cuts, (about thirty.) I knew it would be useless to interfere, and therefore only determined, if possible, to learn the cause of such a dreadful flogging. Very opportunely, I met the poor black girl going to market; and asked her what very bad thing she had done to make her mistress so angry? She replied, ‘Yes, massa, I am very sorry, I did indeed break the tea-cup.’ Her mistress afterwards allowed to me that this was the cause for which such a flogging was inflicted. I took particular notice of her neck and breast, which were swollen all over in a pitiable manner; and the weals on her neck were nearly or quite the size of my little finger.”

[The remainder of these notes, with our observations upon them, will appear in our *next* number.]

V.—ANTI-SLAVERY MEETINGS.

A variety of meetings have been held in various parts of the United Kingdom, and many more are about to be held, which it will be scarcely possible for us to notice particularly. Our friends in the country therefore must attribute any omissions of which we may be guilty to their true cause, the absolute impossibility of our keeping pace with the kindling eagerness of the public, to combine their efforts in the great work of extinguishing Slavery root and branch from every corner of the British Empire. Besides the meetings already announced, others have taken place at Belfast, Bray, Buxton, Greenwich, Tottenham, Ilfracombe, Melksham, Colchester, Peckham, Bridlington, Ipswich, Nailsworth, Chipping-Norton, Hook-Norton, Banbury, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Beverley, &c. &c., and are preparing at Wandsworth, Staines, Brentford, Mile-End, Leicestershire, Rutlandshire, Wansford, Northamptonshire, Gloucester, Oakham, Boston, Spilsby, Wainfleet, Alford, Louth, Horncastle, Hertfordshire, Penzance, Truro, Petersfield, Croydon, Stroud, Cambridge University, Witham, Maldon, Bocking, Braintree, Bristol, Reading, Wallingford, Plymouth, Wellington, Exeter, Taunton, and many more places than we can now name.

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I.—STATE OF SOCIETY AND MANNERS IN BARBADOES ILLUSTRATED.

WE continue our extracts, on this subject, from the notes of a traveller who visited Barbadoes early in the present year.—(See our last Number, p. 422—424.)

“ I had occasion to pass the greater part of one day on board a vessel lying in the bay ; and whilst there, we were boarded by a very comely youth, of good features and engaging manners, who came on some business to the ship. I asked him from whence he came, what his name was, &c. ; which questions led him to give the following description of himself : ‘ I am,’ said he, ‘ the illegitimate son of ————, esq. by a coloured woman ; I live on his estate, and am his slave.’ I was surprised and shocked at the unnatural proceeding of a man keeping his own son as a slave ; but much more so when he added, ‘ I should certainly have been starved, if it had not been for the compassion of some who knew me.’ He shewed me his naked body, cut, scarred, and bruised from the waist upwards in a horrible manner. A creditable person on board the vessel assured me he had known this young man for several years ; and that he could assert the dreadful narrative to be correct. I determined to pay a visit to this fellow Christian, whose heart had become thus callous by a familiarity with tyranny ; but was dissuaded, by an assurance that it would produce no other effect than the increased ill usage of the poor young man.

“ During my residence in the island, I made the acquaintance of a middle-aged and very respectable man, who assured me that he had given up a very lucrative situation for a small stipend, upon which he now subsists, because he could not conscientiously be concerned in slavery ; and he added, ‘ if I dared, I could relate circumstances which would make every hair you have on your head stand on end ; but if I were to do so, and it became known, my name would be held up to odium, and would be made to stink all over the island ; and I cannot do without the scanty subsistence that I now get.’ He also added, that he had the offer of another very good situation as a manager ; but preferred poverty and an easy conscience to this horrible employment.

“ Upon diligent and repeated inquiry, I found that during all the time I was in the island, the prison was nearly filled with blacks, and contained no white person ; and also that no trial in which a slave was plaintiff was instituted ; and indeed, that such a thing was never expected to occur, nor did any one seem to conceive it possible.

“The Barbadians allowed, that is, some of them who are amiable and considerate, except as far as they are under the influence of the baneful practice of slavery, that the slavery of Barbadoes was less severe and degrading, sometimes they added, even less horrible, than in some other places, especially the Mauritius; and that the children were at an early period taken from their mothers, and placed in the nursery, and that they are not afterwards allowed to be with them. They added, that they thought the plan very preferable to our English plan with the poor people, as the mothers had no time to attend to their wants. Some few admitted, that a system of free labour would be much better both for the labourers and masters, and that they earnestly desired it.

“It is by no means uncommon to see white persons box the ears of their slaves, or even knock them down sometimes, in a very brutal manner.

“I also discovered, that it was a decided loss of caste if a white person associated as a visitor with persons of colour, even free and of unblemished character.

“I never saw any slave at work *in the field* for their masters on the Sabbath, nor was I aware that they worked *all night*.”

Our traveller further states, that the first impression made on his mind, on his visit to Barbadoes, “was the degree of animal comfort apparent in the embonpoint and general cheerfulness of the slaves.” Indeed, he says, he could not possibly avoid observing it, as it was constantly pointed out to him, frequently with the observation, “that the slaves were much better off than the poor people in England.” The comparison, however, he says, “appeared to him altogether improper.” “Had they said, You see that the slaves are as well provided for, and much in the same way, as our horses in England, the observation would have been more just and appropriate.” He notices, also, having seen a slave festival, and, he says, “it was afflicting to contemplate a number of human beings, arrived at maturity, tumbling about like children, fiddling and dancing, being an assemblage of the most inharmonious and discordant sounds.”

Nothing can be more calm and dispassionate than the tone of this traveller, and considering the short time he was on the island, and the consequently superficial view he had it in his power to take of the state of society and manners, he is certainly, in proportion to his opportunities, an accurate observer.

We know that Barbadoes, notwithstanding its peculiarly harsh laws, and its frequent cruelties in practice, is placed in circumstances more favourable to mere animal comfort, and to native increase, than any other of our sugar colonies. One cause of this will be found stated in a former Number of our work, No. 41, p. 316. “In Barbadoes,” we there observed, “the slaves are chiefly fed, not by provisions raised on their 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. And the masters, in Barbadoes, concur with the authorities in declaring, that it requires one-third of the labour of the year to raise the food necessary for the purpose.” That is to say, 103 week days are given to raise the food of the slaves, Sunday also being free from field labour and left pretty much to the slave’s disposal. But this is four times the number of days, which, exclusive of Sunday, is given to the slaves in Jamaica, and six or seven times the number of days allowed to the slaves in Trinidad. In this single circumstance we have enough to account, both for the increase and the embonpoint of the Barbadian slaves, as compared with those of the other islands. But

this is not all that is comparatively favourable in the *physical* state of the Barbadian slave. We have seen that it is sugar culture which operates the most powerfully in destroying slavelifc. Now the circumstances of Barbadoes necessarily confine within narrow limits the growth of sugar, and a much larger proportion of the soil, as well as of the slaves' time, is devoted to raising food in Barbadoes than elsewhere.

In 1829, the slaves of Barbadoes amounted to 81,902. The quantity of sugar imported thence into Great Britain and Ireland, in that year, was 299,190 cwt. being at the rate of a little more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ cwt. for each negro. The imports in the same year, from Trinidad, amounted to 394,448 cwt. being, for its slave population of 23,000, at the rate of upwards of 17 cwt. for each slave, nearly five times the rate of production in Barbadoes. This larger proportion of sugar culture involves too the necessity of continuous night work in Trinidad, while, in Barbadoes, the labour of the sugar crop is in many, perhaps in most cases, not protracted beyond 8 or 9 o'clock at night. In this limitation our traveller concurs with Mr. Clarke, the attorney of the Coddington estates, (No. 45, p. 423) though it may be presumed that on these estates, as well as on that of the humane proprietor, with whom our traveller resided for a short time, there is less of night work than on most other estates.

Here, then, we have several material circumstances in favour of the Barbadian slaves; first, the vastly greater portion of time which is taken from the severity of sugar culture, and given to the comparatively easy work of growing provisions for their own consumption; and, next, as a consequence of this, the abridgment of night labour, and the more abundant supply of food. And such is the effect of these circumstances, arising not from the voluntary policy of the master, but from the necessity of the case, that while in the colonies of Trinidad, Demerara, St. Lucia, Grenada, St. Vincents, Jamaica, &c. the slaves are decreasing, some in a higher, and some in a lower proportion, in Barbadoes there is annually a considerable increase.

What an additional proof have we here of the destructive nature of sugar culture, as it is conducted in our slave colonies generally, as well as of the cruel parsimony which in Jamaica, Trinidad, and many other colonies, so abridges the time given for the growth of food, as to half starve the slaves, and to force them, in order to sustain life at all, to devote the Sunday to toiling in their provision grounds.

But, putting aside this single circumstance of a comparatively abundant supply of food, is it possible to view without horror the picture drawn, by our calm and candid witness, of the state of debasement to which the 82,000 slaves, inhabiting this small island, are reduced. The deplorable neglect of education and religious instruction; the degradation of the human animal to the level of the horse or the ox; the absence of the connubial tie, and the general prevalence of polygamy and licentiousness; the cruel treatment of the slaves producing by its very terror, as in the Brazils, (see No. 67, p. 397,) the frequency of suicide; their total destitution of all rights of property, indeed of all civil rights whatever; their miserable lodging and clothing; the unlimited power of arbitrarily punishing them possessed by every miscreant in the community;

the brutal violence to which all of them, men and women, are liable; the extinction in masters of the parental affection under the withering influence of slavery; and the degradation inflicted, even on the free, by the slightest taint of African blood;—all these bitter fruits of slavery are exhibited even in the brief and cursory notes of this temporary resident. And had his residence been prolonged, he would doubtless, have had better opportunities of realizing the portraiture of Barbadian policy towards the slave population, so ably and graphically drawn by Mr. Dwarris, himself a large slave holder:—"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." "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." "On the trial of a criminal slave, no indictment is preferred, no bill found by the grand jury." "On conviction, sentence of death must be passed without an appeal—the execution takes place without delay;—and there being no assigned place for the execution, the wretched convict is fastened to the nearest tree, unless, which frequently happens, the owner of the soil is at hand to prevent it. In such cases 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."

If any thing could add to the horror of this picture, it is that these wretched and unprotected beings, liable to be thus maimed, mutilated, dismembered, and hanged over a tree, or a lamp-post, are nevertheless represented by the same Mr. Dwarris as frisking and dancing, and dreaming away life, "ignorant of their own unprotected condition, and of the fury of the laws."

But there remains another circumstance to which the fatness and sleekness of the Barbadian slaves may be traced. We mean the circumstance, that they are beginning to be reared like pigs or calves of the stall, for sale to the planters of Trinidad and Guiana. As in the United States, many of the planters of Virginia derive their income from breeding slaves for the southern market, where slave labour is more in demand, and slaves fetch higher prices; so Barbadoes is becoming a nursery for supplying the waste of life in the deadly sugar plantations of Demerara and Trinidad. This new slave trade has already commenced. Under the protection of a clause in the Consolidated Abolition Act, which permits a master to take with him to sea certain domestic servants, an export trade in slaves has of late been going on from Barbadoes to other colonies, in contravention of the abolition acts. Such a trade is piracy by law, and is liable to be punished as such; and yet it has hitherto been carried on with impunity; and even where the clearest evidence of guilt has been produced before Barbadian grand juries, they have dared to throw out the bills of indictment. We call

the attention of our friends in Parliament to this evil, and intreat them to take effectual measures for its repression, though we are persuaded that the only effectual measure that can be adopted to that end is the extinction of slavery itself; to which consummation, as the only cure of all the varied evils of this monstrous system, we trust we shall speedily come. Of the prevalence of this particular evil, the cruel slave trade carried on from Barbadoes, there is, we believe, in the possession of his Majesty's Government abundant evidence. It was called for in the last session of Parliament, but has not yet been produced.

II.—STATE OF LAW AND MANNERS IN JAMAICA ILLUSTRATED.

1. *St. George's Council of Protection.*

OUR readers cannot have forgotten the account which appeared in our last Number, of the conduct of a Council of Protection, in the parish of St. George, in regard to a case of cruelty to a slave, which, in despite of the general obloquy caused by it, the Rev. Mr. Hanna, a clergyman of the church of England, had the Christian courage to denounce to the public and to the authorities of Jamaica. Our account was taken from the Royal Gazette of that island. Since its publication, we have received the files of the Watchman, which throw fresh light on this atrocious transaction, not less atrocious as it respects the overseer who committed the act of cruelty, than as it respects those members of the Council of Protection, who refused to send its perpetrator to his trial, and the community at large, who, if we may judge from the tone of the public press in Jamaica, appear to have applauded the unrighteous decision. "The Watchman" agrees with us in thinking that the statement of Mr. Hanna is made out in its very fullest extent, by the reluctant admissions of the two protectors, who undertake, while they pour discredit and contumely upon him, to vindicate their own conduct. Their defence, he maintains, "proves to demonstration not only that the overseer, Mr. Chapman, had been guilty of an act of gross cruelty towards an unprotected negro, but that our Councils of Protection are and ever will be, to all intents and purposes, a solemn mockery of justice, a veil wherewith to hide from the eyes of the people of England the cruelties which almost daily occur in the plantations of this island, and a means of saving from merited reproach, scorn, and contempt, the inhuman monsters who outrage every feeling of mercy, humanity, or compassion, by their barbarous and brutal conduct." He then carefully collates Mr. Hanna's statement with the admissions of these protectors, and clearly establishes the correctness of the former, showing that the unfortunate negro had been punished in a manner, which even these two gentlemen feel themselves compelled "strongly" to "deprecate." They do not deny, nay, they fully admit, that the negro was most severely flogged in the first instance (Mr. Shenton, the magistrate, indeed, had testified that the man's hinder parts were so cut and scored as to be in the actual condition of raw flesh, and so covered with blood as to prevent his accurately ascertaining the extent of the injury); and they also admit that he was subsequently confined in the stocks, with his hands, for forty hours, torturously manacled behind him.

But what was the particular crime which called for such signal vengeance? "The Watchman" makes it out satisfactorily, even from the designedly confused account of the two protectors, to have been this.—The cooper with his associates had been hard at work, but without the express order or permission of the overseer, during the dinner interval, in hauling up a boat on the beach. They were thus engaged from "shellblow," that is from noon-tide when "the field negroes" were called in from work, till they again "were turning out to work." They then came home "with an expectation of having the hour and a half (of their own time—their usual interval of labour) which they had lost, repaid." This the overseer refused to allow them, which would have been punishment enough for having expended their own time laboriously though without express orders. But this he deemed not enough. He also mercilessly flogged the head cooper for his venial error. "The Watchman" then adverts to the only circumstance of extenuation adduced by these gentlemen, and "to which they cling as does a drowning man to a feather," namely, that on the day of his flagellation, the negro had gone to the bay, a mile distant, to assist the seamen to launch a boat, and had afterwards gone on board to eat breakfast with them, and he states it as a notorious fact, that the pain arising from such a flogging, is not always so severe at the time, or soon after, as after the lapse of a day or two; so that the sufferer might be able to creep to the bay and eat his breakfast there on Saturday, and yet be wholly unable to go to his work on the Monday; for failing to do which, he was then put into the stocks and cruelly manacled.

Having explained these points, "The Watchman" then proceeds to ask Messrs. Gray and Maxwell "how under all the circumstances of the case, consistently with their oaths; with their professed willingness 'to punish wanton severity' whenever brought under their notice; with their being 'feelingly alive to the amelioration of the slave,' or with a regard for the claims of suffering humanity; they could, contrary to evidence, to the loud calls of outraged justice, and to the undoubted right of the slave to have his wrongs redressed, declare by their votes, that the circumstance was of so trifling a nature as to be unworthy of further notice!"

"It is in vain," he adds, "that these gentlemen attempt to gloss over the matter by deprecating the conduct of Mr. Chapman, or by identifying Mr. Hanna with, as they are pleased to term it, 'a faction that seeks the destruction of the colonies,' and reading him a lesson as to what he ought or ought not to do. Abuse of the Anti-Colonists has too often been resorted to in cases of this kind to be of any service, and its adoption on this occasion but too clearly proves that all is not right."

"Well may they endeavour to explain away facts, which have occasioned, according to their own showing, 'such grave and ambiguous remarks throughout the island,' and which only require to be known, in order to satisfy any reasonable man that in the case before us there is developed a most daring and unheard of species of cruelty and oppression.—We say explain away, for it is all that these guilty advo-

cates of an inhuman system can do.—They cannot—they dare not—deny the correctness of the statements. Look at Mr. Shenton's evidence :—' The man's hinder parts were in three different places, each of considerable extent, not merely *cut* or *scored*, but in the actual condition of *raw flesh*; and his hands (which had been pinioned behind him) from the extreme tightness of the manacles *swollen to twice their ordinary size*.' In this state, with his feet in the stocks, he was compelled to *sit*, for lie down he could not, his hands being pinioned behind him, for forty hours, upon hinder parts that are described as having been in the state of raw flesh, without a possibility of changing even for one moment his position; nor would he, at the expiration of that time, have been relieved, had not Mr. Chapman learnt that his wife had proceeded to Mr. Shenton's to complain.—And when relieved, in what state was that unfortunate creature's posteriors? Let Mr. Chapman tell. We know, and others may conceive!—But what signifies all this? The negro who underwent these sufferings, like the rest in the island, is happy and contented; a sleek, fat, well-fed and well-clothed peasant, who prefers belonging to a kind humane master to being free, and of the *blessings* of whose condition this circumstance affords a pretty decent sample."

We think we may now leave this transaction to make its own impression on the minds of our readers.

2.—The Case of Henry Williams.

Our readers will also without doubt, recollect the case of Henry Williams, a Methodist slave, of which an account is given in No. 65, p. 356, 357. No one can have read and forgotten it. The details of the case, it now appears, had been communicated by the Methodist committee to Sir George Murray. Sir George, with the humanity which distinguishes him, transmitted them to the Earl of Belmore, inclosed in a remarkably calm and temperate despatch, dated May 6, 1830, to the following effect :—

"Your Lordship will perceive, in the statements which have been made to the Missionary Society, by Mr. Whitehouse, one of the Missionaries, that Mr. Betty, who is represented to be a magistrate in Jamaica, is accused of extreme oppression and cruelty towards a slave, named Henry Williams, attached to an estate, called 'Rural Retreat' of which Mr. Betty has the charge, as attorney of the proprietor. The statements also imply that Mr. Betty's conduct was, in some degree, instigated by the Rev. Mr. Bridges; and this latter gentleman is himself accused of having caused a slave, named George, who was a member of the Wesleyan Society, to be flogged, although this slave was not the property of Mr. Bridges, but of a person who is described as 'Mrs. S.'

"It would be with great regret and reluctance, that I should admit the supposition that any foundation exists for attributing to either of these gentlemen the proceedings or the motives imputed to them; but I feel it impossible, in justice to them, or to the Colonial Magistracy, of which one or both of them are members, to receive these statements without apprising them that such have been

made, and giving them an opportunity to vindicate their character.—Your Lordship will, therefore, transmit copies of the enclosed papers to each of the parties accused, together with a copy of this despatch, and acquaint them that you are ready to receive any communications, which they may wish to make upon the subject.

“If your Lordship shall, in consequence, receive explanatory statements from them, you will, with the assistance of your confidential legal advisers, examine these statements, for the purpose of ascertaining whether it be necessary to inquire further into the truth of the account given by Mr. Whitehouse, and to call upon him to substantiate it; and you will, so far as may appear to you to be requisite, communicate the answers of each party to the other, for the purpose of enabling yourself to judge between them, and to transmit to me your report and opinion, together with the materials on which they shall have been founded.”

The reply of Mr. Bridges has not been made public. That of Mr. Betty, (the name, it seems, of the merciless persecutor of Henry Williams), is addressed to Lord Belmore, and contains a positive refusal to enter into any explanations. He sets out indeed, by solemnly denying, what no one had accused him of,—his having exercised his authority on this occasion, in his character of magistrate. It was not alleged that he had punished Henry Williams in his capacity of magistrate, but in that of attorney for the lady in Scotland, whose slave Henry Williams was. “Whenever,” he says, “I have found it necessary to punish slaves under my care, I have done so according to the provisions of the slave code.” “This charge,” he flippantly proceeds, “seems to have acquired greater importance from my having presumed to chastise a slave who holds some official situation under Mr. Whitehouse. I was certainly not aware, that these preachers possessed any power to transfer to the tabernacle, the obedience which slaves owe to their masters; but if this be the case, it would be only fair, that some public notice should be given, so that persons in ignorance, like myself, may be able to avoid interfering with such hallowed characters. Hitherto slaves, when they had suffered any grievance from their overseers, or others, have appealed to their master or his representative, from thence they had a further appeal to the magistracy, and their complaints were often carried to the Governor. But now there appears an attempt to interpose a new authority, superseding all others, and one of a most mischievous tendency—when, instead of negro complaints, receiving a sober and dispassionate consideration, they are to be disposed of according to the caprice of some low, ill-disposed fanatic. If such doctrine be not put down, there is an end of that control, without which slavery cannot exist.

“The statement of Mr. Whitehouse is such a compound of the grossest falsehood and misrepresentation, mixed up with a very slender portion of truth, that it is difficult to separate the ingredients. I certainly did confine Henry Williams in the St. Thomas in the Vale workhouse, for disobedience of my orders, in fact, openly setting me at defiance before the rest of the slaves. I had an undoubted right to do so, and I do not consider myself responsible for that act. That the

slave became sick there, and that I removed him, is equally certain; and, had he died in confinement, these canting hypocrites would have reproached me with having been the cause of his death, although an able medical person regularly attends the establishment.

“Referring to the melancholy picture which Mr. Whitehouse has drawn of the St. Thomas’ in the Vale workhouse, I preferred that place of confinement because I knew that it is under very judicious management—that proper and sufficient food is supplied, and whether the prisoners be poor or rich they have nothing but the prison allowance—whilst at St. Ann’s Bay the discipline is more relaxed, the friends and acquaintances of the prisoners have access to them, and, what is still more objectionable, they are exposed to the mischievous counsels of canting Methodists. I am sorry to speak with harshness of any set of men, and, until the present time, have never come into contact with sectarianism; but twenty-three years experience, and the visible alteration in the manners and habits of the slaves within the last ten years, teach me that these dissenting preachers will, inevitably, bring the country to ruin, especially if their most improbable calumnies are countenanced by the highest authorities in the state.” Watchman of 17th July, 1830.

After some details, laudatory of his own humanity, he goes on to say:

“Conscious that I have done nothing deserving reproach, I am ready to meet any charge which may be preferred against me in a court of justice, where my actions will be investigated before a legal tribunal of twelve honest men; but with all the deference I feel for the Colonial Office, I never will consent to answer interrogatories.” Ibid.

“The Watchman” in making some comments on the remarks of another Colonial newspaper, the St. Jago Gazette, respecting this correspondence, writes to this effect, in his paper of the 14th July, 1830:

“The Gazette observes, ‘Our readers will perceive from Mr. Betty’s reply to his Excellency Lord Belmore, who made the communication to him, that he has denied the truth of Whitehouse’s allegations; and from Mr. Betty’s well known character for honour and integrity, which he has borne for a long series of years, we cannot doubt that when the matter is properly investigated, their falsehood will be completely exposed.’

“Now, *our* readers will perceive, that so far from Mr. Betty’s letter to the Earl of Belmore, containing a denial of Mr. Whitehouse’s statement, it, in point of fact, corroborates it.—For example, Mr. Whitehouse charges Mr. Betty with having threatened to send Henry Williams, a slave belonging to Rural Retreat plantation, then under his management, to Rodney Hall workhouse, if he should hear that he (Henry) went to the chapel again—with having actually sent the above-named negro to the workhouse, and with punishing him for saying that he could not give up his religion. To this, Mr. Betty replies, ‘I certainly did confine Henry Williams in the St. Thomas’ in the Vale workhouse, for *disobedience of my orders*, in fact, for openly setting me at defiance, before the rest of the slaves. That the slave became sick there, and that I removed him, is equally certain.’

“After an acknowledgement of this kind, nothing remains but for Mr. Betty to state (what he appears very desirous to keep back) the

nature of the orders which he asserts Henry refused to obey. He is also silent as to the punishment said to have been inflicted. This, however does not surprise us; on the contrary, we are only surprised that he has acknowledged so much;—enough indeed to lead to the conclusion that ‘when the matter is properly investigated, their truth will be completely established.’

“To return to the St. Jago Gazette. Its editor goes on to say, ‘On a former occasion we observed that the eager attention which the Colonial Office paid to complaints of this nature, was a complete proof of its being governed by Mr. Stephen; and this affords another confirmation of the justice of our remark—that the Colonial Minister was too much guided and led astray by the machinations of our enemies.’

“That the Colonial Office is under the government of Mr. Stephen, and that the Colonial Minister is guided and led astray by the machinations of our enemies, because he listens to the representations made to him on behalf of suffering humanity, is a deduction *quite natural* to a slave-holder, whose interest it is to perpetuate the present inhuman system, and to treat as ‘calumnies’ and ‘falsehoods’ every complaint of that kind, must be admitted. It is not, however, *quite clear* that it is *correct*. Nor should we have supposed that the editor of the St. Jago Gazette, would condescend to make use of such an old thread-bare, common-place, assertion, in defence of a gentleman of Mr. Betty’s ‘honour’ and ‘integrity.’

“‘We know,’ (observes our contemporary) ‘the St. Thomas in the Vale workhouse to be a well regulated and *humane house of correction*, in which *every indulgence and comfort* are granted to those confined therein,’ and then he adds, by way of qualification, (and a very necessary one we think it is,) ‘that is consistent with the nature of the institution, as a place of confinement for runaway and unruly slaves.’ But let us look at Mr. Betty’s account of this place—‘I preferred’ (he says) ‘that place of confinement’ (the St. Thomas’ in the Vale workhouse) ‘because I knew that it was under very *judicious* management—that proper and sufficient food is supplied, and whether the prisoners be poor or rich, they have nothing but the prison allowance, whilst at St. Ann’s Bay, *the discipline is more relaxed, and the friends and acquaintances of the prisoners have access to them.*’ Ergo, St. Thomas in the Vale is the worse of the two; the seat of the greatest darkness, and therefore, I sent Henry Williams there, knowing that he would be much more cruelly punished.

“‘Such studied and mischievous misrepresentations’ (continues Mr. Lunan, the editor of the Gazette), ‘on the part of the Missionary preachers, will soon, however, counteract their own designs; for every sectarian must now be considered as a spy in the land. Some, indeed, may be innocent, but from the difficulty of discovering those who are so, all will be suspected, and every man who has the least regard for the peace and welfare of the Colony will now watch them as enemies; and be slow to encourage them.’

“Short as is this paragraph, and mild the language in which it is couched, it nevertheless contains, in the first place, an unfounded assertion that the Missionaries are guilty of ‘mischievous misrepresenta-

tions;’ and in the next, an admirable sample of Colonial *justice*. ‘Some, indeed, may be innocent, but from the difficulty of discovering those who are so, all will be suspected.’ Now, we should be glad to know how our contemporary would like to have his conduct and that of his friend, tried by this rule, which he has thought proper to lay down, and by which the guilt or innocence of the Missionaries is to be ascertained.”

“It also remains to be shown in what respects the Missionaries have been guilty of misrepresentation.—Assertions are not proofs; and we should hope, for the honour of Mr. Lunan, that he is prepared to substantiate the charge he has so gravely brought forward. From another quarter it would be treated with contempt. Coming, however, as it does from the custos of St. Catherine’s, who is also a Member of Assembly, it is calculated to mislead. Under such circumstances, then, we must be excused for leaving out of sight, for the present, our oft-expressed respect for that gentleman, and telling him that either he must produce his proofs, or sit down under the odious charge of having hazarded an assertion which, to say the least of it, is not true.”

3. *Police of Kingston.*

The Watchman of the 10th July, 1830, contains the following case of outrageous cruelty, combined with a gross violation of the sanctity of the Sabbath :

“Yesterday morning, William Henry Hall, esq. a magistrate of this city, preferred a complaint to the sitting magistrates, J. Smith, and J. Nethersole, esqrs. against Mr. W. J. Harvey, a white person, employed on the wharf of Messrs. John Wilson and Co., for cruelty towards two negro men slaves belonging to the drogging (coasting) schooner Judith Farmer, lying along-side that wharf.

“Mr. Hall stated, that about six o’clock on Monday afternoon he received information that two negroes had been flogged in the workhouse early that morning, by order of Mr. Harvey, their owner, and on their return to the vessel, that they were chained down to the deck by the wrist, where they remained the whole day, with the lacerated parts exposed to the heat of the sun. He then proceeded to the wharf with two constables, and, on going on board, found the negroes still chained on the deck. They had on only their shirts. He ordered a pair of pantaloons to be given to each of them, and desired the constables to release them from the chain, and to take them to the cage; at the same time, warning Mr. Harvey, the owner of the slaves, and Captain Bacon, the commander of the schooner, to appear on the following morning before the sitting magistrates.

“Captain Bacon, the commander of the vessel, stated, that on Sunday morning, the two men present, Bush and Bull, left the vessel with two other negroes, named John Uter and William: that they returned on board early on Monday morning, and resumed their work. Shortly after, Mr. Harvey came on board, and on demanding their reasons for not loading the vessel on Sunday; they answered, that they thought it very hard they were not to be allowed even one Sunday; they were not insolent. Mr. Harvey then seized them; and placed them in a boat, for the purpose

of giving them a flogging in the workhouse, to which place he took them. When he returned on board with the negroes, (about seven o'clock the same morning,) he ordered witness to chain them, which he did. Mr. Harvey came on board several times during the day, and saw where the negroes were lying, and the naked state in which they were, but gave no orders that they should be removed out of the heat of the sun, or that pantaloons be put on them. Bush and Bull remained in that exposed situation from about seven o'clock in the morning, till six in the evening, when the magistrate and constables released them. He had no fault to find with the negroes; they certainly were not the very best of negroes, Bush was a little trickified, but generally he had no fault to find with them. They were flogged and chained for no other offence than for not loading the vessel on a Sunday.

“ [During the examination, Mr. Harvey whispered something twice or thrice to Capt. Bacon, who answered, ‘I must speak the truth, Mr. Harvey;’ for doing which he has since been discharged.]”

“ There were several other witnesses present ready to corroborate the statement of Mr. Hall and the Captain, as well as to prove Mr. Harvey’s general cruel treatment of the negroes under his control, but the magistrates refused to examine them.

“ Mr. Smith (one of the magistrates) said, he conceived that Mr. Harvey acted *very properly* in correcting his negroes as he did. He was of opinion, that it was highly necessary that they should have been on board on Sunday; and, with regard to their being exposed to the sun all day, he knew that they *preferred* being in the *sun* than to be in the *shade*. In fact, he *knew it*, and therefore dismissed the complaint.”

The proceeding in this case was vindicated by other newspapers, and particularly by the Courant. In reply to them, the editor of the Watchman puts the following stringent questions :

“ 1st. By what law was Mr. Harvey authorised to punish, by the infliction of thirty-nine lashes each, two men, merely because they would not work on the Sabbath-day?

“ 2d. Was it necessary to ensure obedience, after they had been flogged, to handcuff them to a chain cable, on the deck of a vessel, from seven o'clock in the morning, till half-past six o'clock in the evening?

“ 3d. Was it, or was it not, cruelty to confine them, in the manner described, during the whole day, in a hot sun, in a state of partial nudity, at the risk of their lives?

“ 4th. What would have been the consequence, had it come on suddenly to blow (as it is *said* to have done on the day previous) half a gale of wind? And whether such an event might not have been attended with the loss of those unfortunate individuals’ lives?

“ If Mr. Harvey, or the magistrates, will reply satisfactorily to these questions, we will then acquit the former of the charge of cruelty, and the latter of having outraged common sense, by declaring that he acted *very properly* in correcting his negroes as he did!

“ But, observes Mr. Smith, ‘it was highly necessary that they (the negroes) should have been on board on Sunday.’ In making this observation, did Mr. Smith reflect for one moment *why* they were not on board on that day? Or will he pretend to say that he was at the time

ignorant of the reason? If he was, we are not, and it is this.—They were not on board on *Sunday*, because had they been, they would have been compelled to load the vessel on that day. Granting, however, that it is necessary that *some* person should remain on board the vessel, we are inclined to inquire where was the necessity for the whole of the negroes being on board? *Sunday*, it is well known, is said to be a day of rest to the slaves, as well as to the free. The wharves, and other places of business, are, or *ought to be*, closed on that day. All that was necessary then, was for *one* or *two* men to remain on board the *Judith Farmer*, to take care of her, and the others were certainly entitled by law, as well as custom, to go on shore and employ their time as they pleased. The Captain, be it recollected, stated, that the vessel was made fast to the wharf, and that a negro man, his own property, and a negro boy belonging to Mr. Harvey, remained on board with him all *Sunday*. In the present instance, however, we find Mr. Harvey going round, on the *Saturday*, to the different wharves from which his vessel, the *Judith Farmer*, had to take goods, and requesting those goods to be left on the bridge of the wharf, so as to enable him to employ his negroes on *Sunday* in taking them off, and therewith loading his vessel! In order, then, to avoid what they very properly considered a hardship, namely, loading the vessel on *Sunday*, the negroes went away, and did not return until six o'clock the following morning. For this *heinous* crime, two of these men received thirty-nine lashes each, and were handcuffed to the chain cable of a vessel in Kingston harbour, until liberated by a magistrate; and yet this is the kind of conduct that Mr. James Smith and Mr. John Nethersole attempt to justify, and to examine and decide upon which they, as magistrates, meet and award JUSTICE by dismissing the complaint.

“But, further observes Mr. Smith, ‘with regard to their (the negroes) being exposed to the sun; I know that they prefer being in the sun than to be in the shade.’ Without inquiring from whence Mr. Smith drew his *stock* of information, we must be allowed to say, that his assertion is inconsistent with truth; the negroes do not prefer the burning heat of the sun, to the refreshing coolness of the shade; and of the correctness of this assertion, one day’s observation of the negroes in this town will satisfy any impartial man. Had he said, that from being *compelled* to be almost always in the sun, they can bear the heat better than any other class of the inhabitants, he would have been nearer the truth; but we have yet to learn that the *being obliged to bear* is synonymous with *being fond of*; and we are inclined to believe that Mr. Smith would soon be of our way of thinking, if he had ten of the thirty-nine lashes on his posteriors which were inflicted upon Bush and Bull, and be placed on the deck of the *Judith Farmer* in a broiling sun, for two hours, with his colleague by way of companion!

“The plain simple fact is—the magistrates who sat on this occasion, like most Jamaica magistrates, look upon the negroes as being little better than beasts of burden; and they will allow almost any crime committed against them to pass unheeded, and consequently unpunished! After the sample that we have seen of these *gentlemen* in Saint Ann’s, in this town, and in other parishes of the island, are we not justified in

again declaring that impartial justice never has, nor ever will be, awarded that much injured and unfortunate race of men under the existing regime?"

In the next number of the Watchman, the subject is resumed.

"In our last," says the editor, "we offered a few remarks on the conduct of Messrs. James Smith and Nethersole, the magistrates who decided that Mr. J. W. Harvey had acted properly in inflicting thirty-nine lashes each on two negro men belonging to him, and afterwards handcuffing them to the chain cable of the schooner Judith Farmer, from seven in the morning till half-past six o'clock in the evening. We also stated, that the Courant had suppressed every part of the evidence which went to fix the charge of cruelty on Mr. Harvey, and that its object evidently was to justify that *gentleman's* conduct on the ground that the punishment was mild, and no more than the negroes deserved. Since then, we have received a letter from Capt. Bacon relative to the subject, in which he clearly shews how shamefully his evidence has been falsified and garbled, and language put into his mouth which he never uttered, in order to give a colouring to this infamous transaction.

"The fact of Capt. Bacon's being immediately discharged, proves to a demonstration that the individual who regards the solemn obligations of an oath as being paramount to personal interest, is not the kind of character likely to do well in Jamaica!

"Capt. Bacon observes, 'Mr. Harvey asked me on Monday night what kind of testimony I intended to give, and, on my answering him I could not tell, I would answer *truly* to whatever I was asked; he replied, then I do not think you will be a friend of mine, and I must get some other person to plead for me.'

"Finding that Capt. Bacon was not to be *tampered* with, Mr. Harvey immediately determines upon pursuing the line of conduct almost invariably pursued in cases of this kind—that is, in attempting to throw discredit upon his testimony, by making it appear that his having been discharged was the reason why he spoke as he did; or, to be more plain, that he was actuated by vindictive motives in stating what he did, because he had been discharged. This ground, we are, however, glad to perceive, had been rendered untenable by Capt. Bacon's explanation.

"It further appears, that it was the constant practice on board the Judith Farmer to punish the negroes in this dangerous as well as inhuman manner. With all due deference, however, to the *profundity* of Messrs. Smith and Nethersole's wisdom, we must be allowed to say, that not only is it not the practice on board of droggers to confine negroes in this manner, but that it is also repugnant to the spirit of our *much boasted* slave law; and that consequently no man, whatever may be his rank or condition, has a right to treat his slaves in the way that Mr. Harvey has done.

"That Mr. Harvey is as cruel a slave-owner as any in the city of Kingston, if not in the island of Jamaica, is a fact too notorious to be denied, even by his champions. Nor is it irrelevant to the subject to mention a circumstance, which must go to justify the negroes for having left the schooner, after they had done that which alone they are required on board of other droggers to do, and ought to do on Sundays, namely,

washing the decks. It is this: they had been employed from *six* o'clock on the Saturday morning until *two* o'clock on Sunday morning in loading the *Judith Farmer*, with only two intervals, during which they took their breakfast, consisting of corn-meal and mackarel, at seven o'clock in the morning, and their dinner of the same kind of food, at seven o'clock in the evening. Yet, although they had been worked till two o'clock on Sunday morning, they were required by their *humane* owner to turn to work again at seven o'clock; and to avoid which, they went away, and were subsequently punished in the manner already described. So much for the *propriety* of that gentleman's conduct, and the *justice* of the magistrates' decision! And here we leave this subject, with an assurance to John Nethersole, and James Smith, esqrs. that they are quite at liberty to snarl and shew their teeth, (for more they cannot do,) whilst we proceed in the discharge of our duty, regarding their malice with contempt, and their want of common humanity and common sense with pity!"

4. Vere Quarter Sessions.

In the Watchman of the 7th August, 1830, we have the following communication:

"On Tuesday, the 24th ult., the following trial took place before Justices Holmes, M'Leod, Lewis, and Mr. Sconce, at the quarter sessions, in the parish of Vere.

"A negro man slave, belonging to the Bog Estate, in that parish, named George Anle, was brought to the bar, charged with holding and attending nightly meetings, in defiance of the 51st clause of the island slave law. Prisoner pleaded Not Guilty.

"Mr. Syers, overseer of the Bog, sworn. On Monday, 21st June, a man was sent to me by the driver, as being a preacher about our negro houses. He was decently dressed, and had on a black coat. I talked a little with him, and then ordered him off the property.

"Head driver sworn. I have seen prisoner stand up, and pray; did not see any pulpit. I sometimes go to hear him, and plenty others go. Some pray. We meet on Sunday afternoons; I sometimes stay till all is over; it is not later than eight or nine o'clock. Never see or know him to get any money. I go to hear prayers, and to pray to God. Never knew the negroes to neglect their work, or turn out later in the mornings in consequence.

"John Chambers, head watchman of the Bog, and a Christian, sworn. The prisoner is a preacher; he has been in the habit of praying many years. Since old massa's time, myself and others go and hear him; they meet on Sunday afternoons, and Friday nights, at dark; can't say the time; the candles were lighted. We did not know it was any harm to go and hear of our duty to God. I have seen the prisoner preaching; I can't say what time when we break up. Prisoner never had a book. We all sang hymns also. There was never any money collected; never saw or heard of the prisoner getting paid for his preaching, either by money, fowls, pigs, or any other thing else.

"The driver was here called upon to give the prisoner a character. Prisoner is a carpenter; a very good working man, a moral man; never knew him to get into faults, or run away; always pleased every one."

“The prisoner was here asked what he had to say in his defence. He said he attended church and chapel whenever he could himself, and heard the good word; he thought it was no harm to tell it to his fellow-slaves, and to pray with, and for them, that God may bless them all.

“The court then addressed him, saying, that the jury had found him guilty of preaching; and as such, and in order to deter others from the like, the sentence of the court was, that he should be taken to Clarendon workhouse, and there placed to six months’ hard labour.”

5. *Defence of the Rev. Mr. Bridges.*

It is a further proof of the zeal with which the cause of inhumanity is upheld in Jamaica, that the Courant, the paper in that island, which is regarded as the organ of the assembly and of the colonial party generally, has introduced the following shameless libel on the Bishop of that island, because he appears to have been scandalized at the conduct of the Rev. Mr. Bridges. It is inserted in the Courant of the 7th July, and forms the leading article of the paper of that day:—

“We understand,” says the editor, “from authority on which we can rely, that the Bishop, backed by Mr. Anti-slavery Secretary Pringle’s influence with the crown office, has obtained the Attorney General’s garbled documents against Mr. Bridges, which Lord Belmore, it seems, very judiciously refused; and that the prelate intends to attempt the utter ruin of that persecuted gentleman and his family! We know not what inquisitorial power the Bishop possesses under a law blindly assented to by our legislature; but we are quite certain that the House of Assembly never contemplated bestowing such power on any man. And, after all, what has Mr. Bridges done? We know what he has done to serve the colony, and we know that it is that alone which stirs the bile of his malignant oppressors. But let us ask, what is the outward and visible plea for all this persecution? *Why, he did what every owner of a slave is daily obliged to do: he ordered an insolent slave to be punished with switches; and the slave was suborned by the Methodists to declare that she had been punished overmuch. A council of protection examined the slave, and investigated the matter within a few days of its being inflicted; when, if severe, it would have been visible on her person. No such violence appeared. The woman was detected in the grossest deception and falsehood, and the rector stood perfectly acquitted of the malicious charge. His enemies, the Methodists, represented the matter in their own way to the Anti-slavery Society; and Mr. Hugo James (the Attorney General), we suppose, to gratify that respectable body, indicted Mr. Bridges a twelvemonth afterwards. The grand jury, after minute investigation, threw out the bill on the clearest evidence. The Bishop, to satisfy his episcopal spleen, and wreak his vengeance on a clergyman who rejected his chaplaincy, now seeks to deprive him of his bread on the ground of an offence which three tribunals, composed of honest men, have declared on their oaths that he did not commit! Will Jamaica permit this? Never.*

“But we happen to have some little information as to the domestic lives of this said Bishop and his clergy, and with some degree of confi-

dence we will ask the Bishop whether he never ordered a servant to be punished, not *with switches*, but with the *cart-whip*, and with thirty-nine lashes instead of five? Did the venerable archdeacon, at a certain tavern on the north-side, never take the law into his own hands and punish his servant *himself*, and then give him sundry dollars to proceed one stage further with him? Did the very Rev. the D. of —, never chastise a servant in the fancy line? We could cite many more, even among the clergy. Then what has Mr. Bridges done in comparison to all this? Why is he the man whom the mild, the charitable, the benevolent Bishop of Jamaica, said he would drive off the island, when he himself first set foot on it, because he was a ‘pamphleteering parson?’ Such were his very words—that is, because he had defended the character of the colony against Wilberforce and his infamous crew. The Clergy Bill and the Bishop’s authority expire with the present year. Will Jamaica foster a man who entertains feelings like these? Let her look to this—*We shall.*”

We think it honourable to the Bishop that he should have become the object of calumny to the partizans of colonial abuses. It is the fate which all, who will honestly perform their duty as public functionaries, must expect to encounter; and he only shares the lot of those who have preceded him in that righteous course.

The statements of the Courant, in exculpation of Mr. Bridges, are some of them so obviously untrue, so opposed to the unquestionable facts of the case, that we must believe that the charges preferred against the bishop and archdeacon, with a view of relieving the imputations on Mr. Bridges from a share of their enormity, by associating others in equal guilt, to be equally false and unfounded. If those charges were even true, they might tend to prove the hateful nature of slavery, but they could do little to clear the character of Mr. Bridges.—There is one part, however, of the Courant’s defence, for which we thank him, because there he is a competent and credible witness. “After all,” he says, “What has Mr. Bridges done?” “Why,” replies the editor, “*he did what every owner of a slave is daily obliged to do.*” That is to say, he flogged his female slave on the bared body with bamboo rods, till her back was covered with gore. Surely there must be somewhat of exaggeration in the testimony of this eager partizan of Mr. Bridges. Surely there must be *some* owners of slaves in Jamaica who do not daily thus disgrace themselves. But even if we assume, that in the too zealous advocacy of his friend he has surpassed the limits of truth, yet, if his statement is to be regarded as even approaching those limits—he gives a still more revolting representation of Jamaica law and manners, than even we should have dared to exhibit.

III.—JAMAICA ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY PROPOSED.

IN the Watchman, of the 31st July 1830, is inserted a letter to the Editor, from a HATER OF SLAVERY, to this effect;—“What think you of the propriety of establishing an ‘Anti-slavery Society’ in this island? It might inspire our brethren in England with more ardour, in fighting for the abolition of slavery, to know that they had *spies* on the spot to

give information on which they might depend." The reply of the Editor is as follows:—"We cannot, in justice, be averse to a proposition in itself so liberal, and so consistent with the spirit of humanity. Nay, the subject is one that has occupied the minds of several influential persons, and we can find no reason operating against the formation of such a Society."

IV.—ANTI-SLAVERY MEETINGS.

It would be beyond our power, and would far exceed the capacity of our pages, to enter into any detailed account of the various meetings which have taken place during the current month, with a view to promote the early and entire extinction of negro slavery. We must of necessity content ourselves with seizing on any circumstances of a new and important character which may have occurred to throw additional light on the question, or to give additional confirmation to the established facts and relations of the subject. It is in this view that we are led to single out the particular occurrences to which we are now about to advert.

A meeting was held at IPSWICH, on the 24th of September last, which was very numerous and respectably attended, and where resolutions were adopted, and petitions framed, in unison with the now prevailing sentiment—that it is the imperative duty of this Christian nation to put an end forthwith to the crime of colonial slavery. One of the speakers, on that occasion, was the Rev. Mr. ORTON, who, after a residence of about six years in Jamaica, as a missionary, in connection with the Wesleyan Methodists, lately returned to England, in the hope, through the divine blessing, to repair his shattered constitution. Our readers are already conversant with Mr. Orton's labours and sufferings in the service of his Master, and of those outcasts from the pale of humanity, for whom that Master shed his blood—the negro slaves of Jamaica. In the zealous discharge of his missionary duties, he was necessarily brought into close contact with slavery, and had a full opportunity of estimating its real nature and effects. His courage and constancy, and at the same time his meekness, in circumstances of peculiar trial and of persecution; the admitted uprightness of his character; and his disinterested devotedness to the cause of Christian truth, are pledges for the correctness of his representations, especially as he has had full means of verifying them, so as to escape those illusions which a hasty and cursory view of the facts, for which he makes himself responsible, might possibly have caused. We give, therefore, the substance of his personal testimony on this subject, with more than ordinary confidence; and with no less confidence do we recommend it to the attentive consideration of our readers.—Mr. ORTON said, he came forward with much diffidence, particularly on account of the peculiar circumstances in which he stood. It had been his lot, as a Minister of the Gospel, to suffer from those who were opposed to the religious instruction of the slaves. He, however, could conscientiously disclaim any thing like vindictive feeling, and trusted that, in the midst of severe persecutions, he had been influenced by

that Christian principle which led him to commiserate the condition of his worst persecutors, and sincerely to pray for those by whom he had been despitely used. And he assured the meeting, that nothing short of a sense of duty, arising from an utter abhorrence of Slavery, produced by personal observation, would have induced him to come forward in compliance with the pressing invitation he had received to lend his feeble aid to a cause which had for its object the extermination of a system so fraught with evil. He had had many painful opportunities of witnessing the horrors of slavery. He had heard the clanking of the chains of the poor negroes; he had listened to their heart-rending shrieks under the lash of the whip; nor had he become callous to them, as might be the case with some long accustomed to view, and to participate in, and to profit by, such scenes of human misery. His hatred to it as a most brutal system, had increased in proportion to the length of his acquaintance with it. It had been suggested by one of the preceding speakers, that slavery was *bad in principle*, and *cruel in practice*; he desired to corroborate those sentiments. They were all agreed that slavery was *bad in principle*. How many of our fellow men were deprived by it of the common rights of God's rational creatures. Having no property even in their own persons or in their families, parents and their offspring being the common chattels of their owners, they were subject to disposal, and liable to painful separations at the mere caprice, or convenience of the master. He had frequently witnessed, with feelings of the highest indignation, the sale of human beings in the public market, consisting chiefly of the Marshal's seizures for debt, upon whom violent hands had been laid under the most painful circumstances, and who were thus dragged to the market and sold to the highest bidder. Neither could the slave legally acquire property of any description; and thus he was made to endure more than the common curse of man. His *brow sweats* by excessive toil under a burning sun, where nature had provided, by rapid vegetation and the fruitfulness of the earth, for the incapacity of man intensely to toil in such a climate. The unhappy result was, that thousands dragged out a miserable existence, and that there was a most prodigal waste of human life; and all this for the pecuniary advantage of a few individuals, the labourers themselves having nothing in the form of equivalent for such a cruel extortion of severe and uncompensated toil.—Slavery was not only *bad in principle*, but *cruel in practice*. Of this the British public heard something, but very partially, and they had been grievously misled by misrepresentations; though he felt disposed to give slave-owners residing in England, credit for ignorance of many abuses practised towards their own slaves. But those who have had opportunities of witnessing slavery in its undisguised state, not in its holiday attire, not veiled by preparatory arrangements from the view of an unexpected visitor; such persons could alone see and hear and know the horrors of slavery. The excessive labour extorted from the slave is certainly one of the worst features of this cruel system. Various statements had been given as to the number of hours the slave had to be employed for his master; he would state, and that without any fear of successful contradiction, that calculating from the time the

negro is called from his rest by the smack of the whip, or other signal, he is employed for his master, taking the average of the year round, from fifteen to sixteen hours every day. He had been in the habit of travelling much in the night, or early in the morning, and had frequently observed the negroes on the stir, and travelling to the field between the hours of three and five o'clock; and had witnessed the flogging of slaves before five in the morning for not being earlier at their work. He had also seen them in the field, during crop time, as late as nine or ten o'clock at night; and all this exclusive of the constant night work going on during crop in the mill and boiling-house. At least in some instances, he could say, from his own knowledge, that the hours of employment were excessive and cruel, and they might be so in all with impunity. It was almost unnecessary to dwell upon the coercive measures adopted for obtaining such excess of labour; it was well known that the whip was the constant and only stimulus to compel them to toil beyond the capability of nature itself. This instrument, of which he gave a description, when adroitly applied, cuts most severely, literally lacerating the flesh at every stroke. He, however, felt some satisfaction in stating, that this awful instrument was growing into distaste, and he could confirm a statement that had been made to the meeting as to the humane conduct of Mr. Barrett, a member of the Jamaica Assembly, who had spoken in the strongest terms against the use of so horrible an instrument, and had prohibited the use of it on his own estates entirely, not allowing it to be used even in driving his cattle. He had the honour of being acquainted with that gentleman, and had been in the habit of visiting his estates as a Missionary, and he had every reason to believe that the cart-whip was never used on Mr. Barrett's property. It was however enough for the point in question, that such a foul weapon might be, and was actually used, at the pleasure of any individual, to lacerate cruelly the person of a helpless fellow creature.—The want of proper support and care was also a species of cruelty connected with slavery. Slaves in Jamaica were not supported from the store houses of the estate, but had allotments of land which they must cultivate for their support. These negro grounds were very frequently at a great distance from the estate on which they lived, varying from two to six or even ten or fifteen miles from their residence. To raise provisions on these grounds for their support, they were allowed by the law of the island one day in the fortnight, having to travel to and from the distances stated. The consequence was, that a considerable portion of their little time and strength was taken up in going backwards and forwards; add to which, in crop, which lasted nearly half the year, and during which, they worked half the night as well as all the day, they seldom had an opportunity of going to the grounds when so distant, so that these frequently went to ruin, the provisions were stolen, and the negro was dispirited, and became quite reluctant to attempt to restore his land under such discouraging circumstances. There was, however, a small portion of pickled herrings served out to them, and occasionally, to women advanced in pregnancy, and children, an allowance of corn-meal or oat-meal.—In visiting the negro huts, many scenes of wretchedness were presented, in old and disabled negroes,

solely affected with scorbutic humours, so that in some instances their limbs were literally rotting from their bodies. It must be admitted that this may be partly owing to neglect on the part of the negroes, but in most instances it arose from a constitution injured by excess of labour and poorness of living.—Slavery was also most injurious in its moral influences, it corrupted the morals, induced idleness, theft, debauchery, and duplicity, all of which strongly characterized the Negro Slave, particularly petty theft, (if so it may be called) it being difficult to convince a slave that there was any moral evil in taking his master's provisions. Slavery interfered too with the religious privileges and advantages of the negroes, depriving them of their Sabbaths, which must necessarily be occupied in cultivating their grounds or bringing down their provisions to market; and too frequently many are employed for a great portion of the Sabbath attending to sundry matters upon the estates. The apprehension of punishment expressly inflicted for attending the means of grace operates very seriously against the religious instruction of the slave; many very distressing and well authenticated instances of such persecution were upon record, some of which had come under his own immediate notice. By the provisions of the slave law of Jamaica, mutual instruction amongst the slaves was entirely prohibited, and this law had in many cases been most rigorously and painfully enforced. There could not be a greater hindrance than this to religious instruction; many slaves from previous instruction being quite competent to teach, and in general astonishingly apt in communicating knowledge to their fellow negroes. In fact, in a thousand forms over which, under existing circumstances, there could be no control, did the hateful system of slavery obtrude itself upon the full and proper discharge of ministerial duties, and the religious privileges of the slave. He was quite aware that many gentlemen residing in England were desirous to afford every facility for the religious instruction of their slaves; but their benevolent designs were thwarted by their agents, and they were in fact deceived, in many instances, by statements the most incorrect. It became therefore the duty of every man, and especially of those under whose observation many of those evils had passed, on the principles of common humanity and Christianity, to lift up their voice against a practice so unjust in itself, and so baneful in its tendencies. Mr. Orton, in conclusion, observed, that he trusted every exertion would be made for the immediate and entire abolition of Slavery. It was not a question of intricacy whether the cruel system of slavery should be exterminated, but one of common sense and of common humanity, on which the meanest and most illiterate were capable of deciding. He hoped the utmost efforts would be made to rouse the British public in general, on a question in which every man, nay, every woman, was deeply concerned. And he trusted that the mass and weight of the petitions, bearing the cries of Great Britain and Ireland, against oppression and cruelty, to the ears of the British Legislature, would impel them to the adoption of decided measures, for the full accomplishment of an object so desirable, and so long prayed for—the utter extinction of British Colonial Slavery.

At COLCHESTER a similar meeting was held, on the 28th of Sep-

tember. On this occasion, a zealous friend of the Anti-Slavery cause, Mr. BLYTH, suggested a serious difficulty which was likely to arise in carrying into effect the measure of entire and immediate emancipation. It was this—"As there was no poor laws in the West Indies, what provision would be made for the support of the slaves generally, and especially of the old slaves? Would they not be turned out to perish with hunger or disease, unless some provision were made for them? How were they to be fed and clothed, when no longer fed and clothed by the owners?"—We did not perceive that any distinct solution was given to this difficulty. It may be of use, therefore, to make a few remarks, in order to obviate all apprehensions of the same kind, which may suggest themselves to well meaning, but ill informed friends of our cause. Let us take, as an example, the agricultural slaves of Jamaica, and let us consider how they are sustained at the present moment. The missionary Orton has already thrown light on that question. As to what they receive from their masters, it may be thus estimated:—herrings, at an annual cost for each slave, of 8 or 10s.; seven yards of coarse Osnaburgh, and three yards of coarse baize, at an expense of 9 or 10s. more; a hat, and other small articles, which may cost 2s. to 2s. 6d., making in all from 20s. to 22s. 6d., being a very liberal estimate of the master's annual supply of food and clothing for each slave. With these exceptions, the whole of the slave's subsistence, and that of his family in Jamaica, is derived from the produce of his own labour in the provision grounds during the 26 days in the year, which, besides Sundays, are by law directed to be allowed to him for this purpose. If, however, by the employment of time equal to half a day in the week, exclusive of Sunday, a slave and his wife can now raise food to sustain themselves and their children, it is obvious that when they have twelve half days in the week, besides Sunday, for the purpose, they will not be likely to suffer from the pressure of hunger; or if they do, it will be clearly their own fault. But it will be said, that land is *now* given them by their masters, but *then* the masters will not be bound to give them any. True;—but there is the whole soil of the island, which now supports them; and which produces vast quantities of sugar, coffee, and other articles in addition to their food. What is to become of it? If the present proprietors continue to occupy and cultivate it, it is plain they will require labourers, to whom they must pay reasonable wages for doing so; and where are such labourers to be found, but among the former slaves? Or they must parcel it out, and sell or rent it to their former bondmen. Or they must abandon it entirely. In either case, the liberated negroes will enjoy abundant means of obtaining food and other comforts, in proportion to the labour they choose to exert; and that labour, we may rest assured, will not fall below the measure of their wants. No one has ever asserted that the liberated Haytians ever experienced the slightest difficulty in providing themselves with abundance of food, and with the clothing they required; and nothing can prove more decidedly the absence of any thing of that distress or discomfort, of which Mr. Blyth is apprehensive, in case even of sudden emancipation, than that while the slaves in Jamaica decrease, notwithstanding all the herrings and clothing their masters give them; and the

Haytians, while slaves, also decreased rapidly; yet that, since their emancipation, the Haytians have been doubling their numbers in about 20 to 22 years. All such fears as those of Mr. Blyth may therefore be dismissed as utterly vain. As for the old and infirm, they are now generally maintained, not by their masters, but by their own feeble exertions, aided by the kindness and bounty of their relatives.

V.—SERMONS ON SLAVERY.

WE are anxious to call the attention of the ministers of Jesus Christ throughout the land, whether they belong to the Established Church, or to any of the bodies dissenting from it, to the duty which devolves upon them at this moment of rousing their congregations to a just sense of the iniquity of colonial slavery—that grand national iniquity, which must bring down, upon our unfeeling and obstinate perseverance in it, the judgments of God, as certainly as they were executed upon the hardhearted and unrelenting monarch of Egypt; who, in despite of repeated calls and warnings, and portentous inflictions, still refused to “LET THE PEOPLE GO.” We noticed, on former occasions, the sermons of the Rev. C. Townsend, and the Rev. Mr. Marriott, the Rev. R. Watson, and the Rev. A. Thompson on this subject. We have now to announce a sermon preached on the 26th of last September, at Bunting Chapel, Mary-le-bone, by the Rev. S. C. Wilks, entitled, “The Duty of prompt and complete Abolition of Colonial Slavery;” which we strongly recommend as a most powerful and energetic appeal to the national conscience. It is prefaced by a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. It is published for Hatchard, and may be also had at the Anti-Slavery office. We can do no more than cite two or three brief passages as a specimen of the spirit which animates this discourse. After an exposition of the evils of slavery which is just and impressive, he tells us that there are Christians, even in this metropolis, who talk of “*their slaves*,” and of the happiness of their condition. May not such be asked—“Are their limbs their own? Can you not buy them, can you not sell them, like brute beasts? Can you not tear their wives and children from them? Do you not work them under the lash? May not you stripe them till their quivering flesh calls to heaven in vengeance on your head? May you not imprison them, and put them in the stocks, at your pleasure? May you not sell their sons and daughters to a stranger? And may not even your hired agents, your menial servants, do all this at your bidding? You say you are kind to them; but how know you this? Can you control the far distant agents of your authority? Can you hear their groans and sorrowful sighings across the Atlantic? Your intended kindness may never be heard of by them; besides, you may sell them, and soon you must die, and what cruel master may they not have after your death? or you may contract a debt, and they may be seized and put up to auction, and scattered to distant parts to discharge it. And all this you call happiness! Would you be happy thus circumstanced? Would you be happy to be a bondman yourself, and see your children condemned for no crime to the same hereditary inheritance of tears?”

He exhorts his hearers to make themselves “fully acquainted with the subject;” to take it up on Christian grounds alone; not to suffer themselves to be deceived by partial statements, or to be diverted from the extirpation of slavery itself by any promises of amelioration; not to be seduced into admitting the right of one man to hold another as a slave; to urge the necessity of prompt and speedy measures for its utter extinction; to employ their earnest and unceasing prayers in behalf of those “desolate and oppressed” outcasts; to aid the cause by their unwearied exertions and liberal contributions; to abstain from the use of articles which grind down the life of the slave in their production; and to unite in petitions to the legislature until not one slave shall exist in the British dominions. And, in conclusion, he thus addresses them:—

“By your love then to your Saviour; by your sense of gratitude to Him for his mercies to yourselves, to your souls and bodies, to your beloved offspring, and to all that are dear to you; I beseech you remember these your brethren in bonds as bound with them. Look forward with hope to the blessed day when, no longer smarting beneath the scourge, but as free and happy villagers, under the wholesome and mild restraint of law, they shall repair to their daily labours, and reap honest wages, and buy bread for their children with the fruits of their industry; when also they shall call those children their own, and not the slaves of another; when they shall have the comforts of a Christian Sabbath, and go to the house of God to join in the prayers and praises of their fellow-worshippers in every land; when, in place of the horrible licentiousness which now prevails, both among Blacks and Whites, marriage shall be encouraged, and its ties be every where rendered sacred; when the younger women, now too frequently trained to the service of vice, shall live in meekness and purity as disciples of Christ; when the Christian minister or missionary shall no more be subjected to lawless violence or legal persecution, no more languish with fever in the noisome prison-house, or sink a blessed martyr for the name of his Saviour and love to those for whom he shed his blood, but be received and cherished as the servant of Christ and a harbinger of mercy to mankind; when the Bible shall be in every hand, and all be permitted and encouraged to read it; when even in this now desolate part of the Messiah’s heritage, the Saviour shall see of the travail of his soul and be satisfied; when master and servant shall rejoice together in their common Lord, and meet as brethren at his holy table; when these sable sons of Ethiopia shall stretch out their hands to God; and, to conclude all, when that blessed day shall dawn when ‘the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever, King of kings, and Lord of lords.’”

May multitudes of the ministers of Christ follow the example, and imitate the fervour of Mr. Wilks in this sacred cause!

VI.—MAURITIUS REGISTRY AND SLAVE TRADE.

OUR readers are aware how entirely and exclusively the suppression of the slave trade in the Mauritius depends on the regularity and strict-

ness with which the registry of slaves is kept. We have shewn to what an extent the slave trade was carried on in that island down to the year 1825, through the designed neglect and consequent disorder of that record. Government being at length convinced of this, on the 30th January, 1826, a fresh order in council was issued, for instituting a new and more rigid system of registration, and the most pointed orders were given by Lord Bathurst for its correct and systematic enforcement. This duty was emphatically pressed upon the attention of the colonial authorities, as a point of indispensable obligation and paramount importance. But, this notwithstanding, it would appear from a document lately furnished to the House of Commons, that disorder and irregularity still prevailed there, and that consequently the slave trade, which nothing but an accurate registry, it was admitted on all hands, could prevent, must also still prevail there. The document to which we allude, is entitled "An Abstract of the latest returns from each of His Majesty's slave colonies, (including the Mauritius, and its dependencies, and the Cape of Good Hope;) of the slave population, distinguishing the sexes, specifying the precise date to which such returns have been made up in each colony respectively, and the date also at which they were received into the Registry office, in this country." This document was ordered to be printed on the 16th July, 1830, and is numbered 674. The facts disclosed by this document are these: the registered returns of slaves in the Mauritius, under the new order in council, for the year 1826, were males, 47,657; females, 29,117, total 76,744. (Mark the disproportion of sexes as proof of slave trading!) Now these returns, which ought to have been made to the registry office in England, in 1827, were not received there till the 18th February, 1829. What could have caused such a delay, if all was fair and regular, and free from any collusive alterations with a view to prevent inconvenient discoveries and discrepancies, admits, we presume, of easy explanation. But until it is explained, considering the system of fraud and imposture which was carried on in that colony for so many years, and which rendered abortive the first registration act to any one of its remedial purposes, we must retain some lurking suspicions that all is not as it should be.

But besides this, the return for 1826 is the latest that has been made. The new act, however, which then came into operation, peremptorily required, that the future returns, instead of being *triennial*, as formerly, should be *biennial*. There ought, therefore, in order to comply with the provisions of the law, to have been a return for 1828, as well as for 1826. But on the 8th July, 1830, no such return had arrived at the registry office in this country. What are we to think of these irregularities, after all the overwhelming proofs which the Mauritius have already supplied, of a firm and well-organized conspiracy among the whole community of slave holders and slave traders in that island to defeat one of the most solemn of the enactments of the British legislature—the abolition of the African slave trade? We trust His Majesty's Government have already been looking to this matter; if not, we shall deeply regret the oversight.

But this is not the only thing in the document before us requiring explanation. From the Bahamas there is no return later than the 1st of

January, 1825, nor from Dominica and Jamaica since 1826, nor from Trinidad, the Cape of Good Hope, (where the great disproportion of sexes is also most suspicious,) and the Virgin Islands, since 1825. What account is to be given of these negligences and irregularities? All transfers of slaves in these islands, including the Mauritius, must have ceased to be lawful since the time when the returns ought to have been furnished; and the slaves who have been made the subjects of such unauthorised transfers, must have legally become forfeited to His Majesty.

VII.—THE SLAVE TRADE AND COLONIAL SYSTEM OF FRANCE.

THE French *Moniteur* of the 27th of September, contains the following statement of what passed in the Chamber of Deputies, on the 25th :

General Lafayette ascended the tribune, and spoke to the following effect:—"I trust the Chamber will not object to my availing myself of the relation which the subject now before us (which was some question relative to the pecuniary arrangements with Hayti,) bears to the actual condition of our remaining colonies. I deeply regretted, at the time of the Constitutional Assembly, that we had not persisted in our intentions of placing free men of all colours on the same footing as to civil rights. I could have wished, also, that we had rigorously prohibited and adopted measures for the gradual enfranchisement of the slaves. We might thus have prevented the evils which have since occurred. And since that time, have we not had to deplore that consular and imperial system which sent our best troops to perish in the fatal expedition to St. Domingo; and which committed the double crime of attempting to re-establish slavery, and reviving the slave trade, at a time when no French capital was embarked in it? At present, we find ourselves in these points behind the United States and England, who have assimilated the trade in slaves to piracy,—certainly the only effectual means of repressing slavery, as the guilty can now secure themselves against pecuniary loss. In order to avoid the inconvenience of tedious discussions, I request the Minister of the Marine, whose sound views on the subject I am well acquainted with, to inform us positively what is the determination of Government on the questions both of the slave trade and of the condition of the free people of colour in our colonies."

The Minister of the Marine said, "I quite concur in the views of justice and humanity of the illustrious General who has just addressed the Chamber. It is the purpose of Government to present to the Chambers a law for inflicting the punishment of piracy on those who engage in the infamous slave trade. I must admit, that in spite of the measures of prevention adopted by the Government, though the trade has diminished, it still exists. The punishment of piracy can alone be adequate to its entire repression. It might be said to the honour of France, that of all the maritime nations of Europe, France was, at this present moment, the least addicted to this odious traffic. As to the free men of colour in the colonies, the Government has recognised the principle that there shall no longer exist any differences in the civil condition of the free. Accordingly, a law which should be presented, would afford the

opportunity of consecrating the principle, that all the free, of whatever class or colour, should be equal in the eye of the law."

We congratulate France, and the world at large, on these gratifying declarations.

VIII.—ON FRAMING PETITIONS TO PARLIAMENT.

AN address to the public, on the subject of slavery, from the pen of Mr. Edmund Clarke, of Truro, has it seems been widely circulated. We insert part of it, as entitled to general attention at the present moment.

"As it is intended again to apply to Parliament on this momentous subject, it is desirable not only that petitions should be forwarded early in the session, but that they should possess such characteristics as will ensure their success.

"They should be directed to one object:—they should convey, in reference to that object, the temperately expressed, yet importunate requirement of the whole British community.

"Should the forthcoming petitions against Slavery possess these two features, the abolition of that odious crime must speedily be accomplished. These are not times in which a Ministry, a body of Representatives, or a House of Peers would withstand such an appeal as this!!

"What is the object to which the prayer of every petition should be directed? It is that *an early day be fixed, after which Slavery in the British dominions shall utterly and irrevocably cease.* Let all the minor details of policy, commerce, finance, and compensation be deferred to the consideration and adjustment of government; while the public solicit the early extinction of Slavery as a measure of paramount, stern, and uncompromising justice!

"To make amelioration any longer a prominent object will be delusive. To obtain the mitigation of Slavery, it now appears indispensable to abolish Slavery itself. The experience of the last seven or eight years has demonstrated the folly of expecting any valuable improvement from the colonists. Their principles have been perverted, and their feelings have been obdurate by a long and demoralizing familiarity with the system in which they have been tutored; so that every meliorating provision will be rendered nugatory by the habits and imagined interests of the very men who must be its executors. Besides, the time consumed in obtaining, or endeavouring to obtain amelioration, is so much lost to the ultimate design of abolition. For the last mentioned reason, it is inexpedient to render the emancipation of slave children, at birth or any other time, a separate object of solicitude; to say nothing of the difficulty of providing for children whose parents would remain slaves, or of the injustice and cruelty of retaining a parent in bondage while his offspring is declared free.

"Should any object to immediate emancipation, it is replied, that justice to the slave, and regard to his owner's interests, both require it. If we have wronged the former by enslaving him, he ought to be instantly liberated. To make him toil for the purchase of his freedom, under the idea of preparing him for his recovered rights, would seem to add insult to injury. The proprietor represents his property as depreciated by the agitation of the subject. For his sake, then, let the question be set at rest as early as possible, and he will instantly know what ulterior measures his interests require him to pursue.

"Besides, the advocates for gradual emancipation must admit that every process, however long its course, must at some time or other reach its termination. Has not the slave for years been graduating for his freedom? Did not the abolition of the trade in 1807, proclaim to him the approaching extinction of the slave market and of slavery itself; and have not eight years nearly rolled away, since the far-famed resolutions of Parliament announced to him our determination to lighten, and then remove his chains? Surely it is time, even on the gradual scheme, to bring Slavery to a close!

"But will it be *safe* to emancipate immediately? The answer is unhesitatingly affirmative; and the following reasons will form its justification. 1. For many years past, both the slave and his owner have had reason to be assured that Sla-

very must ultimately cease; and therefore the minds of both have been long undergoing an anticipatory preparation. 2. Almost every slave has been more or less accustomed to certain modes of labour, comparatively un compulsory, which must render him at any time easily convertible into a free labourer, willing to serve for a fair remuneration, and to subsist contentedly on the produce of his industry. Some, for instance, have worked by task, others have hired themselves to various occupations on paying their owners a certain compensation;—many have been habituated to the milder form of domestic servitude; while the great body of predial slaves, after all their whip-driven toils in the field, receive no wages, but still labour for their subsistence by cultivating the small portions of land allotted to them under the name of provision grounds. 3. There are already in the colonies, 90,000 free people of colour, a greater number than the whole of the whites, most of them intelligent and respectable, and in some islands possessing half the property. 4. A considerable portion of the slaves have, with the encouragement of some proprietors, and notwithstanding the violent opposition of others, been brought under the elevating and holy influences of true religion. 5. All experience teaches that acts of justice and humanity, such as the immediate liberation of the enslaved would be, may at any time be performed with safety. 6. Numerous cases of immediate emancipation have taken place, under great diversity of circumstances, not only with safety but with advantage to their owners. In proof of this, reference may be made to various publications.

“On the grounds briefly stated, it is hoped that all the petitions of the empire will concur in the one just, humane, patriotic, politic, safe, and more than all, the Christian entreaty, that after an early day, Slavery may be no more!!

“As to the second character which it is desirable that the proposed addresses to Parliament should assume, it is only requisite that every friend of the negro should employ a small portion of effort in his immediate locality; and the elements of British and Christian feeling will kindle in every place, and burst forth in one sacred and universal flame.

“The trifling expense and trouble of circulating pamphlets, and preparing petitions on parchment or paper, will surely be incurred without regret. Every city, town and village, will doubtless come forward, while every Christian congregation, of every denomination, in every town and village, will present its own petition to both Houses of Parliament.

“And why should not the number be increased by a separate petition, either to Her Majesty or to the Legislature, from British *females* of every town, village, and congregation? Do not the over-wrought and unrecompensed labours, the unfeeling violations of maternal tenderness, the wretched indecencies, the brutal floggings, and other heart-rending woes to which their negro sisters are subjected by slavery, constitute a case for whose effectual relief the daughters of Britain, virtuous, happy, and free, may laudably exert their utmost sympathy and zeal.

“Ministers of the Gospel! Disciples of Jesus! Friends of man! Patriots! Fathers! Mothers! Brethren! Sisters! Come forward—be in earnest! Your country is disgraced by holding 800,000 of her subjects in a slavery more cruel and grievous than that of pagan antiquity! Religion is outraged! Justice and humanity weep! Resolve to seek redress. Convince the legislature that while respectful, you are earnest; that while obedient for conscience’ sake, you are determined to employ every religious and constitutional means till the crime of Slavery be abolished. Christian! let your petition to an earthly power be accompanied with prayer to the Supreme Director of all; and the cause of righteousness *must* prevail. The sighing of the prisoner, and the groan of the captive shall be heard in heaven; and the decree shall go forth,—‘Thus saith the Lord of hosts, even the captives of the mighty shall be taken away, and the prey of the terrible shall be delivered.’

EDMUND CLARKE.”

“*Truro, Oct. 7, 1830.*”

THE
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I. THE QUESTION CALMLY CONSIDERED—WHAT WILL BE THE PROBABLE CONSEQUENCES, AS AFFECTING THE PUBLIC PEACE OF THE COLONIES AND THE WELL-BEING OF THE SLAVES THEMSELVES, OF THE EARLY AND ENTIRE EXTINCTION OF COLONIAL SLAVERY, BY AN ACT OF THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT?

A GRAVE question has arisen among the best friends of the anti-slavery cause, as to the FITNESS of the slaves for the freedom which it is now the general wish of the British public to communicate to them. There are many decided enemies of the colonial system, who, while they fully admit its criminality, and assert the full right of the slave to his liberty at the very earliest period which may be compatible with his own well being, yet assume that his immediate or even very early emancipation, would necessarily be attended with injury to himself and with great danger to the public peace. Laying aside all consideration of the master's pecuniary interests; which forms a separate and distinct subject of discussion; we mean now to confine our view simply to this point: What are the effects which an early or immediate emancipation of the slaves would be likely to produce on their own happiness and comfort, and on the peace and good order of society, supposing the legislature of this country were to pass a law for enfranchising the whole of the slave population; and supposing, moreover, that the proprietors of the slaves were to make no attempt to resist the execution of that enactment. We add this last condition, because we believe, that in the case of a parliamentary emancipation of the slaves, the only source of real injury to the well-being of the slave, or of real danger to the public peace, would be found in the contumacious resistance of the masters to the execution of such a law, and in their reluctance to forego those powers of arbitrary coercion and punishment, which they could then no longer legally exercise.—We are here supposing the case, not of a convulsive struggle, on the part of the oppressed negroes, to break asunder the odious and cruel relation of master and slave; but of a legislative enactment which should dissolve it in the same calm and peaceful manner, in which any proprietor might say to his own slaves,

“ You are free;—you are henceforward the masters of your own time, use it for the benefit of yourselves and your children, and be obedient subjects of the laws of the land, to which you must now look for protection; and regard me as a friend ready to aid and to counsel you on all occasions;”—Can any one believe for one moment that the slaves, whom a master should thus address, instead of being grateful for the boon of freedom which he had conferred upon them, would proceed to acts of violence and outrage, of pillage and massacre? It would be absurd to suppose that such would be the issue of this act of beneficence, even if there were no force in the laws which protected the peace of the community, nor any vigilance or activity in the executive government, and in the police which administered them.

Let it be carefully kept in mind, therefore, that the emancipation, the safety of which we have to consider, is not an emancipation to be violently wrested, by the slave, from the opposing and conflicting master, but legally conferred upon him by the authority of a parliamentary enactment, which the master, as a faithful subject, would not only be bound to obey, but to aid in carrying into effect. That the public safety, as well as the benefit to the slave, of such a measure, might be endangered by a determined resistance on the part of the master is not denied.—But can we suppose it possible, that if such an act of Parliament should have passed, a handful of white colonists in the West Indies would be so blind to the consequences of their desperate folly, as forcibly to resist its due execution; and thus to enter into a hopeless and ruinous conflict, not merely with their emancipated bondmen, now armed with a legal title to freedom, but with the whole power of the British empire?

The evils which the colonists affect to dread, from such an emancipation of their slaves, are of two kinds—first, civil insubordination, tumult, and disorder issuing in pillage, conflagration, and massacre; and, secondly, the deterioration of the slave’s condition, and his return to all the miseries and privations of the savage state. In argument, it has been hitherto assumed by the colonists as indisputable, that such would necessarily be the consequence of an immediate or even very early emancipation of the slaves; and we must admit that not a few of those who are decided enemies to colonial slavery, both in its principle and practice, have far too readily yielded their assent to this unwarranted assumption. We call it *unwarranted*, because we are not aware of any attempt having ever been made to prove its truth. But, surely, all who assert the radical injustice of colonial slavery; and that the slave has an undoubted right to his freedom, provided it may be safely granted to him; are bound scrupulously to examine the justice of this only plea for prolonging his bondage for a single hour, and should demand the most rigid proof of its truth from those who advance it, before they consent to recognise its validity as a ground for retaining, in a state of abject slavery, 800,000 of their fellow creatures.—But where are we to find the proof of the confident and unhesitating assumption, that the extinction of personal slavery, by law, is likely to produce such disastrous effects as are commonly attributed to it? We know of none; and we call, therefore, on those who, on such a plea, would retard, for a single hour, the deliverance of their fellow-subjects from a state of cruel thralldom, if they

have any such evidence in their possession, to produce it without delay. We are acquainted with no such evidence. We know even of no single case in which an emancipation of slaves, proceeding from the legal authorities of the state, and unresisted by violence on the part of the masters, has led either to public disorder, or to the unhappiness and discomfort of the slave, or to the deterioration of his moral, intellectual, and political condition. If there be such a case, let it be stated and proved.

We might here close the discussion.—Those who agree in the utter injustice of colonial slavery, and the indisputable right of the black no less than the white to employ his time and labour for his own benefit, will not deny that, if we consent to prolong this injustice, and to withhold this right, we are bound to produce some satisfactory justification of our conduct, beyond vague surmises of possible evil, unsupported not merely by the general current of past experience, but by a single fact to give to such surmises even the colour of probability.

But though the burden of proof, in this case, thus rests entirely with the opponents of early or immediate emancipation, yet we will not limit ourselves to the simple denial of their unfounded assumption; but proceed to prove, by an induction of undeniable facts, not only that there exists no good ground on which to pronounce the slaves unfit for the immediate enjoyment of their personal liberty, but that there are ample grounds for a directly opposite conclusion. What we undertake to show is, that their emancipation, by an act of the legislature, peaceably acquiesced in on the part of the masters, is a measure pregnant with no public danger, and with no injurious consequences to the well-being of the slaves themselves.

We would premise that, in the whole of our slave colonies, including the Cape of Good Hope, and the Mauritius, there are at the present moment about 108,000 whites; 144,000 free blacks and persons of colour; and 813,000 slaves. Excluding the Cape and the Mauritius, and confining the enumeration to our slave colonies in the West, the population will stand nearly thus:—57,000 whites; 100,000 free blacks and persons of colour; and 702,000 slaves; independently of the amount of the naval and military forces employed in colonial service.

Now, these 100,000 free black or coloured persons, existing in the British West Indies, (being nearly double the number of whites)—what is their origin, and how have they attained to a state of freedom? They are, almost all, either slaves that have been emancipated by due course of law, or the descendants of such. But has any inconvenience arisen from the emancipation of this large body of persons? Has any public disturbance, or any peculiar evil to the slaves, resulted from it? We believe not. We certainly have never heard of any such result; or even that any such result has ever been attributed, by the colonists themselves, to the liberation from personal bondage of these 100,000 individuals.

Of this large number, 40,000 are to be found in the single Colony of JAMAICA. But who has ever heard of any civil disturbance caused by this body, although they out-number the whites, in the proportion of nearly three to one? Or who has ever heard of the general prevalence of distress among them? On the contrary, it is admitted, on all hands,

that as citizens they are peaceable and loyal in their demeanour: and that they are increasing daily, in number, in wealth, and in respectability. They have not only been put in possession of personal liberty, but they are armed and drilled for military service, and form in fact, the efficient militia force of the colony. Can it be shewn (it never has been shewn) that they have abused either their liberty, or their military equipment and array, to the disturbance of the public peace; or that the subsistence of themselves and their growing families has been derived from any other source than their own exertions, in such paths of industry as the oppressive restrictions under which they are placed by the whites have left open to them?

Nor is this a mere inference of ours. At the close of the session of 1824, when the community of Jamaica had been disturbed, for months, by vain and unfounded rumours of servile insurrection, a committee of its legislative Assembly drew up an elaborate report on its internal state, which concludes with this remarkable testimony to the good conduct of these freed people: "Their conduct evinced," not only "zeal and alacrity," but "a warm interest in the welfare of the colony, and EVERY WAY identified them with those who are the most zealous promoters of its internal security." And yet these are all either emancipated slaves or the descendants of such!

The Island of TRINIDAD is a still stronger exemplification of our general position. There the free black and coloured population, being either emancipated slaves or their descendants, amount to at least 16,000 or 17,000, while the white inhabitants are not much more than a fifth part of that number, namely, 3,500. They are also armed and disciplined, and constitute the main strength of the colonial militia. But has there ever been heard even a whisper impeaching their loyalty, or charging them with any disturbance of the public peace? Or since they have been emancipated have they been suffering severe privations from want of the necessaries of life? The official reports from the colony, signed by the Treasurer of it (Reporter, No. 19, p. 278) state that no funds have been there raised for the support of the poor; in short, that there is no pauperism in Trinidad.—Again, can it with truth be affirmed, that this wide spread system of emancipation has tended to throw back the subjects of it into the barbarism from which they have emerged: on the contrary, the very opposite effects have followed. They are daily growing in number and wealth, in knowledge and respectability. Half the property of the colony is estimated to be in their hands; and they are advancing rapidly in all the arts of civil life.

We might go through every colony in the West Indies, one by one, and exhibit, on the same unquestionable official authority, results precisely similar; but we will cite only one other instance to the same effect, the colony of GRENADA. The enfranchised population in this colony is more than four times as numerous as the white population, amounting to 3,700, while that of the whites does not exceed 800. These emancipated persons, in 1823, presented to the Colonial Assembly a petition, representing their unimpeachable loyalty and general good conduct, the largeness of their contributions to the colonial revenue, and their importance to the defence and security of the colony; stating also the fact, (and

of its truth the Assembly were very competent judges) that no small portion of the property of the colony, and in particular, that two-thirds of the property in its capital town, belonged to them. This petition having been taken into consideration, a resolution was adopted by the Assembly, that the free coloured inhabitants of these colonies were a respectable well behaved class of the community, were possessed of considerable property, and were entitled to have their claims viewed with favour.

But notwithstanding these proofs of the beneficial effects which have resulted in these colonies, and in every other slave colony belonging to His Majesty, from the legal emancipation of so many individuals from personal slavery; it is well known that these emancipated persons have been made to labour under many and grievous disabilities. Though delivered from the coercion of the cart-whip, and left to employ their time and talents, for their own benefit, in any line of industrious occupation which is open to them, yet their exertions have been cruelly fettered by exclusion from many lucrative branches of employment, reserved exclusively for the whites: and they have been denied all participation in many of the civil and political rights of their white fellow subjects; having been disqualified, whatever might be their wealth or intelligence or respectability, even for sitting on juries; or for exercising the elective franchise; or for filling even the lowest civil or military office; and having also been subjected to a variety of other painful and degrading distinctions. Of this injustice they have from time to time complained, but their complaints have always been preferred with good temper and moderation. Their appeal from the selfish policy of the colonial authorities has ever been, not to physical force or to outrage of any kind, but to the justice of the king and of the British parliament. Their representations, backed by their uniformly good conduct, have at length induced the ministers of the crown to use the legislative power they possess, in certain colonies, in redressing their grievances, and in raising them to an equality of those civil and political rights of which they had been most unjustly deprived by their brother colonists. This act of justice, tardy though it has been, cannot be too highly commended, while it furnishes a most instructive precedent as to the safest and most effectual means of redressing that still more grievous species of oppression under which the enslaved population continues to labour.

On the 13th of March, 1829, a brief but decisive Order in Council was issued, which at once abolished all the civil and military disabilities that had so long oppressed the free black and coloured population of Trinidad. It ordained that "every law, ordinance, or proclamation in force within that island, whereby His Majesty's subjects of African birth or descent, being of free condition, are subject to any disability, civil or military, to which His Majesty's subjects of European birth or descent are not subject, shall be, and the same and each of them are and is for ever repealed and annulled."

About the same time a similar Order was issued in favour of the freed slaves of St. Lucia, who are four times as numerous as the white inhabitants. And on the 29th of January 1829, another Order was issued, raising a population of about 30,000 persons at the Cape of Good Hope, consisting of native Africans, and other free persons of colour, from a

state of destitution of all civil, and of almost all personal rights—from a state, in short, nearly bordering on slavery, and in some respects, worse than slavery—to the possession, “in the most full and ample manner,” of “all and every the *rights, privileges, and benefits* of the law, to which any other of His Majesty’s subjects lawfully residing within the colony, are or can be entitled.”

We do not know, but we presume, that the same measure of justice has been extended to the free black and coloured inhabitants of the Colonies of Demerara, Berbice and the Mauritius, which are equally under the direct legislative authority of the crown with the Cape of Good Hope, Trinidad and St. Lucia. Although no similar Order, as affecting the three former Colonies, has reached us; yet we cannot doubt that the just and liberal policy of His Majesty’s Government has embraced them also.

Here then by a single Order in Council, or rather by the *fiat* of the Colonial Secretary, have 75,000 emancipated slaves or their descendants been raised, at once, from a state of extreme civil and political degradation, to the full enjoyment of all the rights, privileges and immunities of the dominant whites, whose prejudices have not only not been consulted, but greatly outraged, by the measure; but who nevertheless have prudently and silently acquiesced in an act of justice, which they could neither prevent nor evade. This measure must have been peculiarly grating to the pride of the white Colonists, as may be inferred from the determined resistance, made by most of the Colonial legislatures, to the repeated recommendations of the crown to raise the freed population to the enjoyment of their rights as British subjects. Nothing less, therefore, than an irresistible act of the supreme legislative authority, rendering hopeless all opposition, could probably have effected this great change. But that authority has accomplished it at once, with perfect ease, and without the very smallest public disturbance, or private inconvenience or injury. The freed population have exulted indeed, but they have respectfully abstained from all offensive expressions of exultation; and the whites, however mortified, have been so prudent, in this instance at least, as to give no loud voice to their discontents.

Can it be denied that such a precedent is highly important, when we are considering the best means of effecting such Colonial reforms as are violently opposed to Colonial prejudice? In *this* case all collision which could compromise the public peace was prevented by the clear, decisive and uncompromising Order of the government, speaking with an authority which could not be resisted without incurring the guilt of rebellion;—while the due execution of it was secured by its placing the parties intended to be benefited by it, at once, in a capacity to comprehend and to vindicate their rights, and to repel by law every attempt to withhold or infringe them.

In the Chartered Colonies, however, to which Orders in Council do not extend, there are 70,000 emancipated slaves or their descendants, who continue in the same abject and degraded state, from which the enfranchised population of the Crown Colonies have been recently elevated, by means of such an Order, to the enjoyment of all the rights of British subjects; a change which has been effected without any danger

or difficulty. Now let us suppose that Parliament were to adopt the very words of this Order in Council into one of the statutes of the realm; by that single Act of ten or twenty lines might the whole of these 70,000 persons be at once raised, without danger, and even with manifest advantage to the public peace as well as to their private and personal interests, from their present degrading and oppressed condition, to the full enjoyment of all the rights to which they are most justly entitled, but which are now both unjustly and injuriously withheld from them by their fellow Colonists. No graduation is needed here; no previous mitigations are required. At least, so thought his Majesty's Ministers with respect to the 75,000 enfranchised persons, in the Crown Colonies, whom they have admitted at once, and without an hour's delay, to the full benefits of the British Constitution. Indeed it is only by pursuing such a course that evil can be averted. Suppose the 40,000 emancipated slaves of Jamaica to continue to demand, of the whites of that island, the restoration of their just rights, and their deliverance from the galling and oppressive disabilities and degrading distinctions which injure and irritate them; and suppose the 15,000 whites to continue, as heretofore, to resist this just demand, or to make only such partial and inadequate concessions as convey insult in their very terms, will not bad feelings be mutually excited, and dangers generated and ripened, until, as formerly in Hayti, all parties are involved in contention, calamity, and ruin? An Act of Parliament of a few lines would settle the question at once and for ever; would at once and for ever put an end to all collision, and dissipate all danger from this source. The peace of the chartered Colonies also would thus be solidly secured, and the 70,000 enfranchised slaves they contain, no longer depressed and discouraged as at present, would, by their rapid advance in industry, wealth, and intelligence richly reward the state for this measure of too tardy justice.

But to return from this digression, which however will be found in the sequel to have been by no means foreign to the main subject of our inquiry, it may be proper to ask, how it was that these 100,000 enfranchised slaves, now inhabiting our West Indian Colonies, (who, as we have seen, have generally conducted themselves with propriety, and many of whom have recently been admitted to all the rights of British subjects) were *prepared* for their enfranchisement. We hear much of the necessity of previously preparing the slaves for freedom. We are told, they must be made Christians before they can cease to be slaves. We will not now stop to inquire whether the true way to win them to Christianity be, to keep them in slavery, instead of setting them a Christian example, by fulfilling that simple precept of the religion we would recommend, of acting towards them as we should wish them to act to us, that is, with justice and mercy, and thus restoring to them the personal liberty of which they have been most cruelly and unchristianly deprived. We will not now stop to make this inquiry, however pertinent it may be, but will pass on to remark, that, most assuredly, in the case of these 100,000 persons, who have shewn themselves so deserving of liberty and so fit for it, there was no such preparation as is now assumed to be indispensable. Those who made *them* free, dreamt of nothing less than of christianizing before they manumized them; and indeed we have sufficient evidence that, in the West Indies, Christian

slaves are rather objects of persecution than of special favour and encouragement. But, in truth, the enfranchised population of the West Indies, who have hitherto conducted themselves so well, were so far from receiving any preparatory instruction in religion and morals to fit them for freedom, that by much the greater part of them have owed that freedom to their being the objects or the offspring of a licentious intercourse. We shall not be supposed, by this remark, to detract from the supreme importance of Christian instruction to the slave as well as to the free; but we are anxious to expose the hypocrisy of those, who, while violating every principle of Christianity by holding their fellow men in bondage, will clamour for the necessity of previous Christian instruction, to fit their wronged slaves for a freedom which they only desire, by this stale pretext, to postpone for an indefinite period.—In fact, it is among the very persons, who having been liberated from their personal bondage before they had received a particle of Christian instruction, and having thus the time, which as slaves they had not, to attend to the hearing and reading of the word of God, that Christianity is now most successfully winning its way. And by this we may be assured, that it is only when the fetters which bind the minds, still more than the bodies, of the hapless slaves shall be broken, that a rational hope can be entertained of the generally efficient reception of the Gospel among them.

We have now shewn that there are already, in our West India Colonies, 100,000 emancipated slaves or their descendants, who have been admitted to the enjoyment of their personal liberty, without abusing it, either to the disturbance of the public peace, or to their own detriment; and who, instead of retrograding into barbarism, are advancing daily in wealth, civilization and knowledge.

And what reason is there to suppose that, if another 100,000, or 500,000, or 700,000, were raised, by the same peaceful and legitimate means, and with a similar acquiescence on the part of the now dominant whites, to the state in which the 100,000 already emancipated slaves are placed at this moment, they would act a different part, or be swayed by different motives, or pursue different ends, from their fellows who have preceded them? They would be restrained from crime by the same control; they would seek their subsistence and that of their families by the same means; they would aspire after advancement in the same way; they would welcome with the same gladness the heralds of divine mercy; and they would rapidly advance, as their fellows have done and are doing, in all that can elevate and dignify the human character.

But not to confine our view to the case of the slaves already enfranchised in our own slave Colonies, let us look abroad, and see what light we may derive from facts occurring elsewhere.

Let us first take the case of SIERRA LEONE. The population of that place is chiefly composed of emancipated slaves; of slaves emancipated in circumstances the most unfavourable, and yet emancipated suddenly;—raised, in a moment, from chains and fetters in the loathsome dungeon of a slave-ship, and, not only transferred into a state of personal liberty, but put into possession, at once, by law, of the rights and privileges of British subjects. From 25,000 to 30,000 of these African slaves, in

the lowest extreme of degradation and wretchedness, in a state of utter nakedness, savageness, and barbarism, have, during the last 15 or 20 years, been there introduced at once to the enjoyment of British freedom, and to the protection as well as to the restraints of British law. And this change has taken place without a single tumult, without one hour's disturbance of the public peace, or one act of civil insubordination, beyond the ordinary average of crime existing in all communities of men. And this tranquil dissolution of the bonds of slavery has been effected too in a colony where the disproportion between white and black is not as five, ten or twenty, but as 100 and 150 to one. And these emancipated slaves have lived, and are now living in comfort, on the fruits of their own industry. They are not retrograding but rising in the scale of being. They are acquiring knowledge and civilization. They are receiving the healing influence of Christian light. They are submitting cheerfully to all the ordinary restraints of civil society; and they are even taking a part in the administration of those laws which yield themselves protection, and in the maintenance of the peace and good order of the Colony, on which they feel that the continuance of their own blessings depends. (See Reporter, No. 59.)

In Mr. Barclay's fallacious introduction to the mass of misrepresentation by which he labours to defend the abuses of the Colonial system, he traces its past evils and cruelties to the hard necessity imposed on the planters to have recourse to such harsh expedients, by the crowds of "Savage Africans who were poured into Jamaica." And yet at Sierra Leone, though crowds of the same class, crowds of "savage Africans" in precisely the same state of debasement, have been poured into it, no such necessity has been felt. Immediately on their manacles being struck off, they have been put into possession of their personal liberty; they have not been subjected either to the whip, or to the chain, or to the fetters, or to the coerced labour, or to the exclusion of their evidence, or to the privation of all rights of property, or to the denial of the marriage tie, or to any other of the cruelties and abominations which Mr. Barclay himself admits were resorted to in Jamaica, and continued there to a late period, in order to secure the quiet submission of these "savage Africans" to the exactions, and extortions, and tortures of the still more savage Europeans who kept them in bondage. Why could not these "savage Africans" have possessed their liberty without abusing it, in Jamaica as well as in Sierra Leone? Why, but because the Colonists thought nothing of the demands, either of mercy or of justice, of religion or of morality; but only how they could contrive to extort, from the lacerated thews and sinews of their hapless and helpless victims, the means of gratifying their sensuality and their avarice.

Look at the suddenly emancipated slaves of Sierra Leone, and compare their state of innocuous freedom, their adequate supply of the necessaries of life, and their advancing improvement, with the wretched thralldom, the abject dependence, and the crushed and prostrate spirits of the slaves in Jamaica, and say whether the former have not benefited by their emancipation; and whether the latter also would not benefit, by an immediate admission to the enjoyment of the same personal liberty

which has been imparted to their brethren at Sierra Leone, without any disturbance of the public peace, or any injury to themselves.

It is vain to say that the cases are not parallel. They are only not so because that of Sierra Leone is an infinitely stronger exemplification of the safety of immediate emancipation, and of the fitness of the slaves for freedom, than any which the existing state of the slave population in our West India colonies could furnish, if they were all to be emancipated to-morrow.

But let us travel back to the western side of the Atlantic.

With respect to BRAZIL, we have the testimony of that correct and diligent inquirer, the Rev. Dr. Walsh, that there are in that province 600,000 enfranchised persons, either Africans, or of African descent, "who were either slaves themselves, or are the descendants of slaves." These are represented by him, generally speaking, as "well conducted and industrious persons, who compose indiscriminately different orders of the community. There are among them merchants, farmers, doctors, lawyers, priests, and officers of different ranks. Every considerable town in the interior has regiments composed of them." The benefits arising from them, he adds, have disposed the whites to think of making free the whole negro population, and "abolishing for ever that outrage on the laws of God and man, the condition of a slave."—*Walsh's Notes on Brazil*, vol. ii. p. 365.

In the single island of CUBA, there are also about 150,000 emancipated slaves or their descendants, whose conduct and whose circumstances form an additional corroboration of the perfect safety to the public peace, and of the benefits to the emancipated individuals themselves, which have attended their deliverance from the yoke of personal bondage.

In consequence of the revolution in COLUMBIA, all the slaves who joined the Columbian armies, and who were considerable in number, were declared free; and on the 19th of July, 1821, a decree of the General Congress of Columbia ordained, that from that day forward no slave should be born in Columbia. A fund was at the same time established for redeeming from year to year all who still remained in slavery—1st, of $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. on all property of those who die, leaving lawful descendants; 2d, of one per cent. on all property of persons dying and leaving lawful progenitors; 3d, of 3 per cent. on the property of persons dying and leaving only collateral heirs; and 4th, of 10 per cent. on all property bequeathed to those not of kin. And it was further decreed, that this tax should continue to be exacted, and to be applied exclusively to this single object, until slavery should be extinct in Columbia. The period of that extinction, we understand, is now rapidly approaching, its progress having been greatly accelerated by the voluntary enfranchisement of their slaves by many proprietors. All distinctions of colour among the free have also entirely ceased.

Our readers are already well acquainted with the remarkable case of MEXICO; as given in the Report of Mr. Ward, the Mexican envoy; from which it appears that extensive plantations of sugar and coffee are worked in that province by gangs of emancipated slaves, voluntarily

enfranchised by the owners both of them and of the soil, and who now employ them in labouring for wages, chiefly by the piece, in carrying on cultivation, and in particular the cultivation and manufacture of sugar. To the interesting details which Mr. Ward has given on this subject, he subjoins the following striking observation:—"The most remarkable circumstance in this case is, the total abolition of slavery in a district where such a mass of colonial fruits is produced; and the success with which the introduction of free labour has been attended. It is this which has induced me to lay these observations before his Majesty's Government."—See Reporter, No. 51, p. 56.

Nor is this all. On the 15th of Sept. 1829, a decree was issued by the Mexican government, declaring that "Slavery is for ever abolished in the republic; and that consequently all those individuals, who, until this day, looked upon themselves as slaves, ARE FREE."

We have never heard that any of these decrees of universal emancipation, whether immediate as in Mexico, or prospective as in Columbia, has ever been attended with any disturbance of the public peace, or with any injury to the emancipated slaves themselves.

We omit a great many instances of the enfranchisement of bodies, or gangs of slaves by the benevolence of individual proprietors, such as the case of a body of slaves of a large South American proprietor (Count Torur), in the valley of Aragua, related by Humboldt (see Society's 2d Report, p. 175); that of the slaves manumitted by a Quaker of the name of Samuel Nottingham, in Tortola, (See Debate of 15th May, 1823, Appendix, p. 234) and in Jamaica by another Quaker, of the name of David Barclay; and that of the American refugees removed to Trinidad and now settled there, and recently put into possession, in common with all persons of free condition of whatever colour, of the same rights as the white inhabitants. (See Reporter, No. 31, p. 156, and No. 43, 353.) We omit these and various other instances of the same kind, in different parts of the world, though they are very material to the question at issue, in order to come to a case which is still more directly in point, we mean that of the French colony of Guadaloupe.

GUADALOUPE, in common with all the colonial possessions of France, partook of the convulsions with which the revolution of 1792 so violently agitated the mother country. And in that colony the contests of the partisans of royalism and democracy, and those of the white and coloured colonists, were carried on with a fury which could not fail to excite the slaves, who, from time to time, were called in to aid the contending parties. No insurrection, however, properly servile followed; and the slaves who were not converted into combatants continued their usual labours. In February, 1794, the French convention passed a decree, giving liberty to the slaves in all the colonies of France. This decree was carried into effect in Guadaloupe, under certain local regulations called *La Police Rurale*, which was administered, in the different districts of the Island, by commissioners appointed by the government. By these regulations, the labourers were entitled to a fourth part of the produce of the estate which they were employed in cultivating, independently of their food, which was wholly furnished from the estate. The only deductions to which this fourth part was liable, before it was di-

vided in fixed proportions among the labourers, were the expenses of a medical attendant and medicines, and of packages for their own share of the produce. All other expenses of every kind, including taxes, were to be defrayed from the other three fourths. The shares of labourers absenting themselves from labour were to be reduced in proportion to the length of their absence, and the sums thus deducted were to be added to the shares of those who had laboured regularly.—Under these regulations agriculture appears to have flourished, after a vigorous government had repressed the furious intestine commotions among the different political parties of whites, and between the whites and the free people of colour; and in April 1801 we have an enumeration of the plantations then under cultivation, amounting to 390 of sugar, 1,355 of coffee, and 328 of cotton, besides 25 pasture or grass farms. In the succeeding year, on the peace of Amiens, a powerful French force was sent to take possession of Guadeloupe, and to reduce the negroes to their former state of slavery. This attempt was resisted on the part of the negroes, and it was not till after a severe struggle, and dreadful slaughter, that they were again brought under the power of the cart-whip; for what will not men who have once felt it endure, to escape that calamity? The accounts from the island immediately preceding this event were most satisfactory. The reports of the commissioners of different cantons to the local government speak of the tranquillity which reigned in the agricultural districts, and on the plantations; and the government, on the other hand, in its circular addresses to the commissioners, dwell upon it most anxiously and sedulously as an essential part of their duties, that while they enforce order and regularity among the labouring classes, they should maintain their just rights, and secure to them the full measure of the remuneration to which they were entitled for their labours; punishing with exemplary severity proprietors who should be guilty of any failure in this respect, or of any other conduct towards the labourers which should be inconsistent with the claims of humanity and justice. The regulations by which the rights and privileges of the labourers were guarded were ordered, by the law, to be translated into the creole dialect, to be posted up in conspicuous places, and to be read and explained once a month on every estate. We have before us a letter addressed by the supreme council of the colony, in February 1802, to the Commissary Valluet of the canton de Deshayes, to this effect: “We have received, Citizen Commissary, your letter of the 6th instant, with the different returns relating to the payment of their FOURTH, to the cultivators. We perceive with pleasure that you have devoted your attention to this most essential branch of your administration. It is in exercising this justice towards the men whose sweat is the source both of our private and public wealth, that you can alone acquire a right to exert your authority to enforce upon them the due performance of their duties. Continue, Citizen Commissary, to maintain that order in your canton which now reigns universally throughout the colony. We shall have the satisfaction of having given an example which will prove, that all classes of people may live in perfect harmony with each other, under an administration which secures justice to all classes.”

In the *Moniteur* of 19 Germinal, an 10, (April 1802) there is inserted

a communication from Guadaloupe, dated in the preceding February, stating that all was perfectly tranquil in that colony, and that, although there existed some anxieties,* yet every thing promised the peaceable reestablishment of lawful authority." (Meaning doubtless, the restoration of slavery and the cart-whip.) "Cultivation," the writer adds, "has never been discontinued, and although the last sugar crop happened to be not very productive, yet there is now considerable produce in hand, and the next sugar crop is likely to be large."

In about two months from the date of this communication, a powerful French force under Richepanse disembarked in Guadaloupe; and, in a short time, by the indiscriminate massacre of all who opposed his purpose, he reduced the whole body of the surviving negroes, whom the law of 1794 had emancipated, and who, during the intermediate eight years had been in the legal possession of their personal liberty, to their former cruel and abject bondage; an object the attainment of which is said to have required the sacrifice of nearly 20,000 negro lives.

This result, unfortunate as it was, does not prove the unfitness of the slaves of Guadaloupe for the liberty that had been granted to them; and which, as we have seen, was granted under circumstances of public disturbance, particularly unfavourable to their quiet enjoyment of its blessings. When we take into view all those circumstances, it is impossible not to feel that the case of Guadaloupe is so far from justifying the anticipations of our opponents, that it furnishes an undeniable confirmation of the general view we have ventured to give of this subject, namely that an act of emancipation by the supreme government, in quiet and peaceful times, accompanied by such precautionary measures as would be obviously expedient, and not resisted but acquiesced in by the masters, might be carried into complete effect, without the slightest danger to the public tranquillity, and with the most unquestionable advantage to the slaves themselves.

There remains one other case, and that by far the strongest, which we must invoke in support of the view we have taken of this question. Indeed it is the very case which is most frequently adduced by our opponents as demonstrating the dangers to the public peace, as well as the ruinous consequences to the slaves themselves, which are likely to follow from an act of the legislature which shall at once restore to them the possession of their personal liberty, and insure to them the fruits of their own industry:—which shall raise them from the condition of chattels, of mere beasts of burden, to the condition of men, of rational agents, free to employ their time and their strength, their powers of body and mind, not for the benefit of another, but under the protection and restraint of just and equal laws, for their own.

The case to which we allude is that of HAYTI.

It was our intention to have entered at large into the elucidation of the facts connected with this grand experiment, but in the very outset of our inquiry we met with so correct and luminous a history of it in a pamphlet published in 1824 by Mr. Clarkson on "the practi-

* These anxieties appear to have been caused by apprehensions, excited among the negroes by the news of the peace of Amiens, lest France should restore slavery among them.

capability, safety, and advantage of emancipation," that we found we could not do justice to our cause more effectually than by abstracting a great part of his statement, having first taken the pains to verify it by a reference to the authentic documents from which he has drawn his materials.

When the French Revolution took place, the free people of colour of St. Domingo, many of whom were persons of property and education, petitioned the National Assembly, that they might enjoy the same political privileges as the whites. In March 1790, the Assembly adopted a decree on the subject, but worded so ambiguously that, in St. Domingo, the whites and the people of colour interpreted it each in their own favour. This gave rise to animosities between them; disturbances ensued, and blood was shed.

On the 15th of May 1791, another decree, in more explicit terms, declared that the people of colour in all the French islands were entitled to all the rights of citizenship. This decree, on arriving at the Cape, produced an indignation almost amounting to frenzy among the whites. The two parties armed against each other; and camps began to be formed; and massacres and conflagrations followed. The report of these occurrences led the Assembly to rescind the decree they had passed in favour of the free people of colour.

The news of this repeal enraged the people of colour as much as the former decree had done the whites, and hostilities were renewed. On this, the National Convention resolved to readopt their former decree of May 1791; and they appointed Santhonax, Polverel, and another, to repair as commissioners to St. Domingo, with a large body of troops, in order to enforce the decree and to keep the peace.

During the interval which had elapsed from 1790 to the time of their arrival in 1793, the island had presented a dreadful scene of carnage caused by a civil war, not only between the whites and the people of colour, but between the different parties of whites. And it was at this time, namely, in 1791 and 1792, before the emancipation of the slaves had been contemplated, that the great massacres and conflagrations, which make so frightful a picture in the history of this island, occurred; and all of which were caused not by giving liberty to the slaves, but by quarrels between the white and coloured planters, and between the royalists and revolutionists, who, to wreak their vengeance on each other, called in indeed the aid of their slaves. And even as to the bodies of armed Negroes who then filled the North, in particular, with terror and dismay, Malenfant affirms that they were originally put in motion by the royalists in order to put down the revolutionists; and that even when Jean François and Biassou commenced their insurrection there were many white royalists with them, and the Negroes wore the white cockade.

In the year 1793, the same divisions and conflicts continued, notwithstanding the arrival of the commissioners; and, on the 20th of June, a dreadful commotion took place at Cape François, the seamen and the white inhabitants being ranged against the people of colour, who were afterwards joined by the insurgent blacks. The battle lasted two days; the arsenal was taken and plundered; some thousands were killed in the streets, and more than half the town was burnt. The com-

missioners, who were spectators of this horrible scene, and who had tried in vain to prevent it, escaped unhurt, but were left upon a heap of ruins, with little more power than their commission gave them, having only about a thousand troops at their command. They determined, therefore, as the only way to restore order, and to maintain their own authority, to call the slaves in the neighbourhood to their aid, promising to give freedom to all who should range themselves under the banners of the Republic. This was the first proclamation by any public authority for emancipating any part of the slaves in St. Domingo. The result of it was, that in the North a very considerable number of them joined the Republican cause and became free.

Soon after this transaction, Polverel, leaving Santhonax at the Cape, went in his capacity of commissioner to Port au Prince, in the West. Here he found things quiet, and cultivation flourishing. He also visited the South. He had not, however, been long there, before the slaves, having become acquainted with what had taken place in the North were so excited that he was convinced their emancipation could not be prevented nor even long retarded; and that it was necessary for the safety of the planters, as well as for the public peace, that it should be extended to the whole of the slaves in the island. Accordingly, in September 1793, he issued a proclamation to that effect, dated from Les Cayes. He exhorted the planters, if they wished to avoid the most serious calamities, to concur in the measure. He caused a registry to be opened to receive the signatures of those who should approve of it; and it is remarkable that all the proprietors in the South inscribed their names. He then caused a similar registry to be opened at Port au Prince for the West, and there the same disposition was found to prevail. All the planters, except one, gave in their signatures.—While these measures were in progress, in the month of February 1794, the French Convention passed a decree abolishing slavery throughout the whole of the French Colonies. Thus the Government of the mother-country confirmed the freedom bestowed by the commissioners, removing all doubts of its validity, and completing and consolidating the emancipation of the whole slave population of St. Domingo.

It was about this very time that the British Government began its senseless and wicked crusade against liberty in St. Domingo, which, while it greatly impeded its progress, by the prolongation of intestine war with all its evils, was productive only of defeat, disgrace, and disaster to this country, and of an enormous waste of British life and British treasure.

Having thus given a concise history of the abolition of slavery in St. Domingo, let us inquire how those who were liberated conducted themselves after this entire change in their situation.

Colonel Malenfant, who was resident in the island at the time, has made us acquainted with their general conduct. "After this public act of emancipation, the Negroes remained quiet both in the South and in the West, and they continued to work upon all the plantations. There were estates, indeed, which had neither owners nor managers resident upon them, for some of these had been put into prison by Montbrun; and others, fearing the same fate, had fled to the quarter which had just been given up to the English. Yet upon these estates, though

abandoned, the Negroes continued their labours, where there were any even inferior agents to guide them; and on those estates, where no white men were left to direct them, they betook themselves to the planting of provisions. But upon all the plantations where the whites resided, the blacks continued to labour as quietly as before." A little further on in the work, ridiculing the notion entertained in France, that the Negroes would labour from no motive but compulsion, he takes occasion to allude to other Negroes, who had been liberated by the same proclamation, and asks "how did Toussaint succeed? How did I succeed also before his time in the plain of the Cul de Sac, and on the Plantation Gouraud, more than eight months after liberty had been granted to the slaves? Let those who knew me at that time, and even the blacks themselves, be asked. They will all reply, that not a single Negro upon that plantation consisting of more than four hundred and fifty labourers refused to work; and yet this plantation was thought to be under the worst discipline, and the slaves the most idle of any in the plain. I, myself, inspired the same activity into three other plantations, of which I had the management."

Such was the conduct of the Negroes for some time after their liberation, as far as we have the means of knowing it; and it may be presumed that if, during the years 1795 and 1796, any thing had occurred in the way of outrage, the public would have heard of it.

We come now to the latter part of 1796; and it is evident that from this time there was no want either of industry or of subordination in those who had been emancipated. "The colony," says Malenfant, "flourished under Toussaint. The whites lived happily and in peace upon their estates, and the negroes continued to work for them."—Now Toussaint came into power, as general in chief of the armies of St. Domingo, in 1796, and remained in power till the year 1802, or till the invasion of the island by Leclerc. Malenfant means therefore to affirm, that from 1796 to 1802, a period of six years, the planters kept possession of their estates, and lived upon them without disturbance; and that the negroes, though they had been all emancipated, continued to labour. Can any account be more favourable than this, and especially after so sudden an emancipation, and under such unpromising circumstances as those in which it took place?

General Lacroix, also, who published his "Memoirs for a History of St. Domingo," in 1819, informs us, that when Santhonax, who had been recalled to France by the government, returned to the colony in 1796, "he was astonished at the state in which he found it on his return." This, says Lacroix, "was owing to Toussaint, who, while he had succeeded in establishing perfect order and discipline among the black troops, had succeeded also in making the black labourers return to the plantations, there to resume cultivation." The same author tells us, that in the next year (1797) the most wonderful progress had been made in agriculture. He uses these remarkable words: "The colony," says he, "marched, as by enchantment, towards its ancient splendour; cultivation prospered; every day produced perceptible proofs of its progress. The city of the Cape and the plantations of the north rose up again visibly to the eye." Now it is clear, that unless the negroes, who

were then free, had done their part as labourers, both by working industriously, and by obeying the rules laid down for them by authority, cultivation could never have prospered in the manner described.

General Vincent, who now lives at Paris, was a colonel, and afterwards a general of brigade in St. Domingo. He was stationed there during the time both of Santhonax and Toussaint. He was also a proprietor of estates in that island. He assisted in planning the scheme of its agriculture after the abolition of slavery, and was one of the great instruments in bringing it to perfection. In the year 1801, he was sent by Toussaint to Paris, to lay before Buonaparte the new constitution which had been agreed upon in St. Domingo, and arrived there at the moment of the peace of Amiens. Here he found, to his surprise and grief, that Buonaparte was preparing an immense armament for restoring slavery in St. Domingo. He lost no time in seeing the first consul, and had the courage to remonstrate against the expedition; telling him, that his army would most assuredly be destroyed by the climate of St. Domingo, even if it could be doubted whether it would not be destroyed by the blacks. He stated, as another argument against the expedition, that it was totally unnecessary; for that every thing was going on well in St. Domingo; the proprietors were in peaceable possession of their estates; cultivation was making a rapid progress; the blacks were industrious, and orderly and happy. He conjured him, therefore, not to reverse this satisfactory state of things. But his efforts were ineffectual. The mind of Buonaparte had been poisoned by the misrepresentations of the Colonists. The expedition proceeded, and the scene, described by General Vincent, was speedily changed into one of carnage and devastation. But this was not the fault of the emancipated negroes, but of their former masters. It was owing to the prejudices of the latter, nay, to their importunate solicitations, that this fatal invasion took place. Such prejudices, however, are common to almost all slave owners. Accustomed to the use of arbitrary power, they could not brook the loss of their whips. Accustomed to look down upon the negroes as an inferior race of beings, as mere reptiles of the earth, they could not bear, well as these had conducted themselves, to come into that familiar contact with them, as free labourers, which the change of their situation required. They considered them, too, as property lost, but which was to be recovered. In an evil hour, they prevailed upon Buonaparte to undertake to restore things to their former state. The expedition at length arrived upon the shores of St. Domingo,—and a scene of blood and torture followed, such as history had seldom if ever before disclosed; and compared with which, though planned and executed by whites, all the barbarities said to have been perpetrated by the insurgent blacks, amount comparatively to nothing.* At length, however, the French were driven from the island, and the planters, who till then had retained their property, were for ever stripped of it.

The thorough devastation which had taken place at St. Domingo, the destruction of houses, sugar-works, &c. and the dread of another inva-

* The planters, and not the French troops were the authors of tearing to pieces the negroes alive by bloodhounds, or of suffocating them by hundreds at a time in the holds of ships, or of drowning them in whole cargoes, by scuttling and sinking the vessels.

sion, necessarily prevented the pursuit of the cultivation of articles for export, on the same scale as before. To secure their liberty and independence, was now their paramount object; and their fixed determination was, on the first appearance of an invading enemy, to set fire to the towns, and to destroy all means of shelter on the plains, betaking themselves to the mountain fastnesses. Their agricultural labours were greatly regulated by this policy. Still there has been no want of subordination or industry among them. They or their descendants are the persons by whom St. Domingo has still been cultivated, and they follow, at this very moment, their occupations with as peaceable a demeanour, and with as great a share of personal comfort as any other free labourers in any other quarter of the globe. But of this, more hereafter.

We have now seen how the emancipated negroes of St. Domingo have used their liberty, from the year 1793 (the era of their general emancipation) to the present day, a period of thirty-seven years.—An important question here seems to force itself upon us, What were the measures taken, after emancipation, to secure tranquillity and order, and to rescue the planters and the colony from ruin? One of the first steps was to draw up a code of rules to be observed upon the plantations. These rules were printed and made public. They were also ordered to be read aloud to all the negroes, in their own dialect, upon every estate, at short and fixed periods. The preamble to these regulations, while it proclaimed freedom to all, insisted upon the necessity of industry in all, without which every thing would go to ruin.

These rules underwent various modifications from time to time, but their general object was to prevent oppression on the part of the master, and to secure good order and to stimulate industry on the part of the labourer. They took away from the master the use of the whip, and of the chain, and of every other instrument of correction, either by himself or his authority: in short, all power of arbitrary punishment, under severe penalties. On the other hand, that a just subordination might be maintained, all labourers offending against the established rules, or not performing their contracts, were to be brought before a magistrate, who should examine the case, and decide it according to fixed principles.

Among plantation offences, idleness on the part of the labourer was one. A man was not to receive remuneration for labour which he did not perform. Another offence was absence without leave, which was visited with fine and imprisonment. One-fourth of the produce of the soil was assigned to the labourer, independently of his food, which was raised on the estate; a constitution of things, which with certain modifications, still continues.

And have we not here a case analogous to that which we are now considering? Let us remember that the number of slaves liberated by the French decrees in St. Domingo alone, was little short of 500,000 persons, and this emancipation was obviously attended with far more hazard to persons and property, and with far greater difficulties, than we have any reason to expect in our own islands. By the decree of Polverel, sanctioned afterwards by the convention, the slaves were made free at once. No notice was given of the event, and of course no preparation could be made for it. They were released suddenly from all their former

obligations and restraints. They were let loose with all the vices of slavery upon them. What was to have been expected but the dissolution of civilized society, and the reign of barbarism and terror?

The island at this juncture too, was a prey to political discord, civil war, and foreign invasion. The slave owners were politically at variance with each other, as they were white or coloured persons, or republicans, or royalists. They were quarrelling and fighting with each other, and shedding each other's blood. The English, at the same time, who were in possession of the strong maritime posts, were alarming the country by their incursions. The slaves, unfortunately, had been taught to imbibe the political animosities, and to take the side of their respective masters, and had been familiarised to scenes of violence and bloodshed. Now the emancipation proposed in our colonies, is proposed under circumstances wholly dissimilar. Who then will affirm, that there can be any thing like the dangers and difficulties, in emancipating our slaves, which existed in St. Domingo when the slaves were made free there; and yet how well did their emancipation work previous to the arrival of Leclerc?

But what is now the actual state of things among the emancipated slaves of St. Domingo? Are they a turbulent and disorderly set refusing to submit to lawful authority? Are they suffering distress from any want of the necessaries and comforts of life? Or have they retrograded into a state of barbarism and incivilization? A direct negative must be given to all these questions, if we may rely, not indeed on the *inferences* and *reasonings* of Mr. Mackenzie, the late Haytian Consul, but on the *evidence* he has given us. An analysis of that evidence will be found in our Reporter, No. 55, and the force of it is materially strengthened by his two volumes of "notes" subsequently published. The result of the whole, as regards the bulk of the Haytian population, the labouring classes, may be thus summed up.

The Haytian laws have utterly abolished Slavery. They proscribe and wholly abolish the use of the whip, both as a stimulus to labour and as an instrument of punishment. They give to the whole body of the people the same equal rights. Every man is admissible to all offices, whatever be his colour. The law is the same for all whether it punish or protect. The rights of property are inviolable, and every individual has the free and uncontrolled power of disposing, as he pleases, of whatever belongs to him. The system is becoming general of dividing the land into small allotments, where the Haytian farmers cultivate provisions and other articles, and rear cattle, pigs, poultry, &c. for their own use or for sale. Labourers are hired by the day or week, weekly labourers being paid on Saturday. On large estates, contracts are entered into between the proprietors and labourers, for a certain term, of one, three or five years, renewable with mutual consent; one fourth of the produce being secured to the labourers, who are also fed from the estate, and who have Saturday and Sunday entirely to themselves, with garden grounds to cultivate on those days if they think proper; while the proprietor or renter pays all out-goings except labour, and provides for medical attendance and medicines, and for the care of children. The legal punishments for offenders are fine and imprisonment. Corporal punishments are by law wholly abo

lished.* Men and women labour together without distinction, but the men in larger proportion than the women, who are generally charged with the duties of the kitchen. The labourers are punishable, by fine and imprisonment, for not fulfilling their contracts; or for absenting themselves without leave, except on Saturdays and Sundays, from the estate on which they have contracted to labour; or for changing their place of abode without a passport; and they are prohibited from keeping shops or exercising trades without a licence, as indeed all persons are; such licences being, in Hayti, one main source of revenue.

Such is the general condition of the agricultural labourers of Hayti, in point of law, even according to the evidence to be found in the official report of Mr. Mackenzie. He no where ventures to tell us that they are over-worked or under-fed. Indeed, the very contrary may be inferred from the whole of his writings. We hear not one syllable from him of their want or distress, or of the severity of exaction, or the cruelty of treatment to which they are subject.—But if, turning our eyes from the agricultural class, we take a view of the general state of society in this community of emancipated slaves, we shall find that they have made such advances in the improvement of their social and political institutions, as infallibly indicate great progress in the arts of civilized life. The documents produced by Mr. Mackenzie prove that Hayti possesses a regular constitution of government; a code of laws evidently founded on good sense and justice; an adequate administrative system of jurisprudence; a fiscal establishment, which appears to be well regulated and effective; a well disciplined military force; and a police which seems to give security to person and property. The whole of its laws too are clearly and intelligibly expressed, so as to be level to the capacity of the most ignorant, and, being printed and universally circulated, are accessible to all; so that every Haytian may easily make himself acquainted with all his social, civil, and political rights, relations and duties, while every thing connected with them is open also to the examination and criticism of strangers.

This view of the state of Hayti seems to us fairly deducible, from the official documents contained in Mr. Mackenzie's report; and yet it describes the state of a body of about a million of emancipated slaves or their descendants, who, when first emancipated, were in a still more deplorable state of barbarism and incivilization than can be justly predicated of the 800,000 slaves existing in our colonies at this moment. And this is the testimony of an unwilling and hostile witness; and though on that very account it is the more valuable as far as it goes, yet it may be presumed to be less favourable than an *impartial* witness would have furnished. Such impartial and unprejudiced testimony, of a date considerably posterior to that of Mr. Mackenzie, and after the effects produced by the sense of security, derived from the recognition of their

* The law is as follows: "Except in the case of lawful defence, he who shall voluntary wound or even *strike* any one, shall be condemned to a fine of 100 dollars and eight months imprisonment; and the penalty will be doubled where the assault has been committed on women, or aged persons above sixty, or children under fourteen; and even this will be increased if the violence has been committed by a master on his apprentice or *hired labourer*."

independence, in exciting exertion among all classes of the community, had begun to be visible, is now in our possession. But we must reserve for a subsequent number, the full view we have it in our power to give of the actual condition of the emancipated slaves of Hayti at this moment.

In the mean time, may we not appeal to those who have followed us in our statements, whether we have not satisfactorily demonstrated the propositions with which we set out; and shewn, that is to say, that when an emancipation of slaves has proceeded from the supreme authority of the state, and has been peaceably acquiesced in by the masters, there has neither been any disturbance of the public peace, nor any inconvenience or distress to the slave, nor any relapse into his original barbarism. And why should we apprehend dissimilar results now?

Take, for example, the actual situation, as to the means of subsistence, of the great mass of predial slaves in the island of Jamaica. Besides Sunday, they have twenty-six days in the year allowed them for raising the food required to support themselves and their families; their children, from the early age of five or six, aiding their labours in the provision grounds. The only food given them by their masters consists of a few herrings, which cannot be considered as food, but as mere seasoning. At the present moment, therefore, the predial slaves of Jamaica generally are supported by their own labour, during time equal to one half-day in the week, besides Sunday. If by the labour of that one half-day, they are now, as Mr. Barclay tells us, amply supported, where can be the difficulty of their finding abundant means of sustentation when they shall have twelve such half-days in the week besides Sunday in which to labour? To talk of their starving or suffering privation under such circumstances, is altogether absurd. Though now employed for their master, in the exhausting labour of the field under a tropical sun, for five days and a half at least in the week, during which they are driven by the whip; they continue to feed themselves and their families, as the planters tells us, plentifully, "by the labour of a single half-day in the week;" yet they would have us to believe, that having the entire command of the time now given to the master, as well as of that fragment of it which is called their own, they will suffer from want. But besides this, will the labour of man lose all its value in the West Indies, when he has ceased to be a slave? Will not contracts for labour be as possible, between the owners of estates in Jamaica and their emancipated slaves, as between the planters of Trinidad and the free labourers in that island? Is there any thing which would render such an arrangement as is detailed in the note below,* impracticable in

* In a paper, printed by order of the House of Commons, on the 14th of June, 1827, No. 479, there is given the testimony of Robert Mitchell, Esq. a planter of Trinidad, of nearly thirty years standing, and who was also the civil superintendant of a considerable body of free blacks settled in that island. The account he gives of them is—that each of these emancipated slaves possessed an allotment of land of his own, which he cultivated, and on which he raised provisions and other articles for himself and his family, his wife and children aiding him in the work. A great part, however, of the time of the men (the women attending to the domestic menage) was freely given to labouring on the neighbouring plantations, on which they worked, not in general by the day, but

Jamaica, although it is found to work so well in Trinidad? What part of the field labour of the plantations in Jamaica may not be equally made the subject of agreement between the owner of the soil and the labouring class; whether it be the felling and clearing of woodland, or the digging of cane holes, or the planting of canes, or the successive weedings of them, or at length, the cutting of them for the mill? And could there be any difficulty in fixing a fair price for these different processes? None whatever. None is experienced in Trinidad. Nor is any experienced in Jamaica itself. Nothing is more common, in Jamaica, than for the owner of a jobbing gang to contract with the proprietor of a sugar estate, for a stipulated price per acre, to execute a variety of these operations. Would there be any more difficulty in contracting with twenty of the emancipated slaves, or with one on behalf of the twenty, to perform, at certain rates, certain quantities of work, the due division of the price being settled by themselves? This is rendered particularly easy in Jamaica, where the exact size of every cultivated field is accurately known, to a rood or a perch; and where the slaves on every estate know well the quality of the soil, and therefore the quantity of it which, for example, could be dug up into cane holes by them in the course of a day. All this is so obvious, that it need not be farther insisted upon; and its practicability is too well established, in the instances of Trinidad and Mexico, Guadaloupe and Hayti, to permit a doubt to rest upon it.

By specifying this particular mode of obtaining the labour of emancipated slaves, it is not intended to imply that there are no others. Individual ingenuity, goaded by self-interest, will modify according to circumstances the arrangements and contracts between the parties. It will obviously be the interest of the proprietor of the soil to attract labourers to his estate, or to retain them upon it if already fixed there. And it will be the interest of the labourers to retain possession, on fair terms, of their domicile, in the midst of their relations, and of the provision grounds they have been accustomed to cultivate for their subsistence, and every tree in which their own hands may have planted. A reasonable rent for these possessions might easily be fixed, and would be paid out of the remuneration to which they would be entitled for any labour they might perform upon the estate; or the general rate of that remuneration might be modified, in consideration of continuing to

by the piece. The rates, at which they contracted to perform such labour, are given. Mr. Mitchell calculates by the quarrie of land, equal to three and one-fifth English acres; and in Trinidad currency, bearing the proportion to sterling of 225 per cent. The quarries, in his statement, being reduced to English acres, and the currency to sterling, the following are the prices which he has told us these emancipated slaves receive for their work, and which, according to him, was well executed:—

Cutting Ratoon canes, by the acre	. . .	£2 10 0	sterling
Cutting Plant canes	ditto . . .	3 1 2	—
Planting canes	ditto from	£15 12 6 to 18 15 0	—
Felling high woods	ditto . . .	2 10 0	—
Cutting a cord of wood, 6 feet high, 8 long, and 4 wide, by the cord		from 0 2 8 to 0 3 2	—

At these rates, Mr. Mitchell adds that they can earn as much as four shillings a day, but frequently do not earn more than two.—(p. 5.)

them these advantages. All these matters would soon be arranged, if there were a willingness on the part of proprietors to adjust them on reasonable and equitable principles. For what can the proprietor of the soil desire more than that his land should be cultivated? It can make no difference to him whether it be done for his own profit, by labourers fairly remunerated, or by the labourers for themselves, they remunerating him by a rent for the use of the soil they cultivate?

But it is not our intention, at present, to touch on the case of the proprietors of estates, or on the advantages or disadvantages which they would incur by the proposed change of system. We are prepared, indeed, to show that the advantages of it to them would be great.—But we must defer the consideration of that part of the question, having fulfilled the only task we undertook to perform, which was to quiet the fears of such of our friends as apprehend evil, to the slaves themselves, from that kind of emancipation which alone has been thought of, an emancipation by laws which masters and slaves must equally obey, by showing them that such a change involves no ground of alarm for the well-being of the slave; that it will not be likely to lead to any violation of the public peace; that it cannot produce to him either difficulty or distress; and that it will not tend to retard, but to promote his physical comfort and his moral and intellectual improvement.

A comparison of the progress of population among the free and the enslaved classes in our colonies, is the best answer which can be given to all those groundless apprehensions which would connect with the acquisition of his freedom, the deterioration of the condition of the emancipated slave. (See Reporter, No. 13, p. 193; No. 23, p. 354; No. 26, p. 14; No. 31, p. 155; No. 40, p. 295; No. 44, p. 374; No. 54, p. 146; No. 62, p. 285—291; No. 66, p. 385, &c. &c.)

As for the young children, and the old and infirm, about whom, in case of emancipation, so many humane fears are expressed, be it known that at the present moment, upon the plantations generally, (still taking Jamaica as our example,) these do not now derive their support from the masters. The young children derive it from their parents, and the old and infirm from their relations, chiefly their children. The means of continuing to afford that support would evidently not be diminished, but greatly increased by emancipation.

II.—DONATIONS AND REMITTANCES

In aid of the Funds of the Anti-Slavery Society, from September 4, to November 4, 1830.

	£.	s.	d.
York Association (payment)	13	13	6
Huddersfield Association ditto	5	4	3
Bridlington Association ditto	5	0	0
Ralph Leicester, Esq. 67, Portland Place (annual)	2	2	0
Chipping Norton Association (payment)	0	12	6
Camberwell Association ditto	0	4	0
Banbury Association ditto	1	1	0
Halifax Association ditto	7	7	0
Bridport Association ditto	1	3	6
E. Carroll, Esq. (annual)	1	1	0

	£.	s.	d.
Rev. M. M. Preston (donation)	5	0	0
A Friend at Fife ditto	1	0	0
Richard Peek, Esq. Coleman Street (annual)	1	1	0
William Peek, Esq. ditto ditto	1	1	0
James Peek, Esq. ditto ditto	1	1	0
Brighton Association (payment)	3	16	0
Ditto ditto (donation)	1	14	0
Percy Ibotson, Esq. Poyle, near Colnbrook (annual)	1	1	0
Joseph Wilson, Esq. Clapham ditto	5	5	0
Isaac Crewdson, Esq. Manchester (donation)	10	10	0
Joseph Crewdson, Esq. ditto ditto	10	10	0
Wilson Crewdson, Esq. ditto ditto	10	10	0
John Hoyle, Esq. ditto ditto	10	10	0
George Hadfield, Esq. ditto ditto	10	10	0
Manchester Association (payment)	33	19	0
Anonymous (donation)	0	5	0
Wellington (Somerset) Association (payment)	1	19	6
Rev. G. Burder (donation)	1	0	0
Hanley and Shelton Association (donation)	10	10	0
Ditto ditto (payment)	6	1	4
Francis Wedgwood, Esq. (donation)	3	8	8
Colchester Association (payment)	29	18	6
W. S Hathaway, Esq. (annual)	3	3	0
Chelmsford Association (payment)	15	14	0
Reading Association ditto	5	8	3
Stowmarket ditto ditto	20	0	0
Tewksbury and Cheltenham Association (payment)	5	0	0
Ditto ditto (donation)	15	0	0
A Hater of Oppression	100	0	0
Derby Association (payment)	22	4	0
Samuel Thorowgood, Esq. (annual)	1	0	0
Messrs. H. and S. Blanch, Glastonbury (donation)	1	0	0
Hertford Association (payment)	5	6	0
Miss Pringle, Yair, N. B. (donation)	1	0	0
Nottingham Association (payment)	8	9	9
Salisbury Association (payment), by Mrs. Pearson	5	11	0
Pontefract Association ditto	10	0	0
A. B. (donation)	10	0	0
R. W. Cox, Esq. Lawford Hall, Manningtree, Essex (donation)	25	0	0
I. A. by T. F. B. (donation)	1	0	0

III.—MR. STEPHEN'S SLAVERY DELINEATED.

WE have never had a more grateful office to perform than that of announcing to our readers the publication of the 2nd volume of Mr. Stephen's "Slavery of the British West India Colonies delineated, as it exists both in law and practice." The first volume, as our readers know, was a delineation of that state in point of *law*,—the present is a delineation of it in point of *practice*. We hail its appearance at this crisis of our cause as a token for good; but must limit ourselves at present to this brief notice of its publication, and with earnestly recommending it to general perusal, as a most masterly and triumphant and unanswerable exposition of the practical horrors of the Slave system. No one, we think, can read this work, without uniting in the universal cry of the nation for the abolition of colonial slavery.

THE
ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

No. 71.]

NOVEMBER, 20, 1830. [Vol. iii. No. 23.]

I.—STATE OF LAW AND MANNERS IN JAMAICA ILLUSTRATED.

1.—TESTIMONY OF THE REV. JOHN THORPE;—2. CASE OF ELEANOR MEAD;—3. ST. GEORGE'S COUNCIL OF PROTECTION, AND THE REV. MR. HANNA;—4. CASE OF GEORGE ANGLE, BELONGING TO J. MORANT, ESQ.—5. ST. ANDREW'S SESSIONS, A NEW CASE OF PERSECUTION; CONCLUDING REMARKS.

II.—SLAVE TRADE AND SLAVERY OF THE MAURITIUS.

III.—ANTI-SLAVERY PETITIONS TO PARLIAMENT.

I.—STATE OF LAW AND MANNERS IN JAMAICA ILLUSTRATED.

1. *Testimony of the Rev. John Thorpe.*

THE Rev. John Thorpe, now the Curate of Wigginton, in the county of Oxford, occupied the situation of Curate in the parish of St. Thomas in the East, in Jamaica, under the Rev. Mr. Trew, the Rector, from 1826 to 1829. At several public meetings, and especially at Cheltenham on the 7th of October last, he has taken occasion to bear his testimony to the nature and effects of colonial slavery as it exists at this moment in this the largest slave colony in his Majesty's dominions. Those who have the happiness of knowing the sound judgment and unimpeachable integrity of this pious and exemplary clergyman, and the spotless character he has borne both at home and abroad, will best appreciate the value of that testimony, the substance of which we shall now lay before our readers with an entire conviction of its truth, derived not only from the confidence we repose in his deliberate statement of facts, but from the perfect agreement of that statement with the mass of evidence on the same subject which has already appeared in our pages.

Mr. Thorpe said that his views of slavery arose from his constant residence in an agricultural part of the island of Jamaica. In stating those views and the facts by which they were supported, he disavowed all hostility to the Planters, many of whom he respected—his enmity was to the system, which, with a corrupt foundation, was upheld by corrupt means. He would premise that the law regards the slave as a mere chattel—he may be bought, sold, transferred, leaved upon, or bequeathed. The *Jamaica Gazettes* teem with advertisements announcing the sales of negroes, many of whom have been seized by virtue of the Deputy Marshal's writ, and some given to pay arrears of taxes due by the estate to which the slaves may belong. Few owners reside on their properties, but manage them by an attorney (or land agent), who has the general care of several—under him is an overseer (or bailiff) for each estate—under the overseer are book-keepers—and under these as many drivers as there are gangs of negroes. The drivers are blacks, the

others whites. Such are the actual managers—now for their mode of management. This briefly is compelling the slaves to work by the cart-whip, an instrument with which a very severe wound may be inflicted. Indeed it lacerates the flesh most terribly. The law allows the whites, except the book-keepers, to order thirty-nine lashes to be inflicted, on any slave, provided the effect of former punishment shall not remain, and ten to be given by the drivers, if in their opinion the punishment is called for. The mode of administering it is, by holding the victim down on the ground, and as he lies extended, the lashes are inflicted on his bared body. After this, which may be called the legal flogging, the poor wretch, Mr. T. has understood, is not unfrequently scourged with the prickly branches of ebony, quantities of which are collected for this atrocious purpose.—Mr. T. knew an overseer in the neighbourhood, who having neglected his business, was reproved by the attorney, which so irritated him, that he sought amongst the slaves under his charge, some objects on whom to wreak his vengeance. Three were singled out, and received a tremendous punishment. They complained to the attorney; who, on inquiry, found them blameless in the matter. The overseer was dismissed; but he was appointed to another and a larger estate.—On passing through a town, Mr. T. heard cries: he went to the spot and found a negress tied up by the hands, while a driver was flogging her—on asking the white man, who stood by, what was her fault; he replied “he did not know—his employer had sent her there to be flogged.”—A brother clergyman left Mr. T.’s house early one morning, and missing his road, unexpectedly arrived at an estate where he saw the overseer “occupying himself with flogging a number of women.”—Mr. T. knew of a slave who from severe punishment died. The coroner’s inquest sat. It was endeavoured to be proved that he died from disease: but the case was so barefaced, that the coroner and jury, themselves planters, gave a verdict of wilful murder. The man was brought to trial and was acquitted,—from what cause he could not precisely say; but he believes, from the inadmissibility of the evidence of the negroes, who alone witnessed the fact. Mr. T. afterwards saw this man with a party of his fellow-overseers, received into their society as if nothing had happened.—In every parish there is a workhouse, or more properly a gaol; the receptacle of negroes convicted of idle or refractory conduct, and sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour. He never could forget his sensation on entering, soon after his landing, one of these miserable abodes. The filth was disgusting—the dens dark, while their wretched inmates driven out, and arranged on each side for inspection, in their half naked state,—their wild stare,—and woeful appearance—scarcely resembled human beings. But the workhouse is not for these only, but any owner or his deputy may send a negro there, when anxious to give him a severer punishment than ordinary, with an order to that effect, which never fails to be executed, and generally without any inquiry being instituted as to the offence.—He knew a carpenter slave who being pressed by his attorney to labour in the field, refused, on the ground of its being unusual thus to employ a tradesman, his age and infirmities being superadded; and stated that if he would allow him, as he had formerly done, to hire himself out by the

day, he would bring any reasonable wages he required. The attorney would not swerve from his purpose, and the slave persisting in his refusal was confined in the workhouse, and twice severely flogged; besides being worked with the gaol gang, who, chained together in pairs by a collar fastened to the neck, repair to their daily labour attended of course by the driver, who is not sparing of his cart-whip. Mr. T. saw him use it on one poor infirm fellow, who, not keeping up the trot at which they were going, in changing the scene of their labour, received this sensible hint from his merciless taskmaster.—One observation he must be allowed to make; many overseers might be humane and abhor an act of cruelty; what he complained of was, the intrusting of arbitrary power to men of like passions with ourselves; and he adduced these facts as its necessary results. For let it be remembered that the case he had mentioned, came incidentally to his knowledge, and afforded a fair specimen of what is constantly recurring, and what must recur so long as this uncontroled power, the very essence and support of slavery, is committed to the planter.—Such facts served to lift up the curtain with which the planters studiously veil the cruelties of their system, and to expose to our view some of its terrible enormities, the full amount of which are known only to Him who maketh inquisition for blood, and who forgetteth not one cry of these poor oppressed Africans.—Much is said of the careful attention paid to the sick; he believed it to be true on properties possessing a humane attorney or owner; but he had seen hospitals which, from their heat and effluvia, he should deem far more likely to create disorders than to cure them. Some of the sick were lying on benches made for their reception, others on the floor, with no covering but their tattered clothes, and no couch but the bare boards. Then their aged people are made watchmen, some of whom suffer great privations, and who live on remote and scattered parts of the estate, in miserable sheds, not so good as gypsy tents, to guard the provisions and sugar canes of the property; while even their hoary hairs, in case of supposed offence through neglect or otherwise, do not protect them from the merciless lacerations of the cart-whip.—He knew one, formerly a valuable slave, who was sent to a distance, and almost starved, that he might be prevented preaching to his fellows.—The slaves, divided into gangs, each gang attended by a driver and his cart-whip, work from the earliest dawn of the morning to the decline of day, averaging about thirteen hours daily throughout the year; out of which time half an hour is allowed for breakfast, and two hours in the middle of the day; but this time he had known abridged under a press of business, and much of it was consumed in going from and to the scene of their often distant labours. It was not, however, of their daily labour he complained so much as that, during the crop time, which lasts generally about six months of the year, this labour is protracted on most estates through every alternate, and on others where slaves are more numerous, through every third night. This is a cruel part of the system, and must tend to shorten life; especially as, when heated by labour, they are exposed to the chilling and unwholesome night air and heavy dews, which not unfrequently engender decline and hasten death.—Another crying evil of the system is, that a slave cannot manumit him-

self, even though through industry he may have saved a sufficiency for his ransom. If he be a respectable and faithful slave, he is told he cannot be spared; and even where a slave is permitted to purchase his freedom, he is often obliged to obtain another to fill up his place.—It may be asked, what compensation has the negro? His owner allows him weekly six salt herrings, a woman the same, a child three, with a few yards of coarse woollen and linen cloth yearly, barely sufficient to cover them, with a hat for the men, and a handkerchief for the women. Then a certain portion of land, generally unavailable for other purposes (certainly for sugar canes), on which the slave is to cultivate his vegetable provisions; only twenty-six days in the year are allowed him for this cultivation, which obliges him to trespass on the Sabbath. It sometimes happens that the negroes raise a little poultry, and occasionally kill a pig, which, with their surplus provisions, they bring to the market to sell or barter for salt meat, fish, or better clothing than their allowance affords.—The decrease of the negro population is most fearful; but can we be surprised that the rigorous exaction of labour, through 13 hours of every day, and for 5 more making 18 hours a day during half of the year, with no rest on the Sabbath to recruit wasted strength, besides the attention to domestic concerns, which must increase fatigue and abridge the hours of repose—can we be surprised that this exhaustion of strength should produce as its result misery and death? It is proved, by authentic documents, that the maroons of Jamaica rapidly increase—and what does this show but that, within the atmosphere of freedom, the principle of animal life is vigorous and prolific, while within that of slavery it sickens, and withers, and dies.—The market day in Jamaica is the Sabbath;—the consequent desecration of this holy day is awful. Often had he returned from an almost empty church, and passed the market, where hundreds of slaves were collected, merged in all the secularities of life, and indulging in all the vices of their corrupt nature. After stating this, the degraded state of their morals may be easily imagined. Marriage is comparatively unknown, and illicit intercourse prevails. In a recent report of a society established in his parish, for the religious instruction of the slaves, it is mentioned as a cause of exultation, that, during the two past years, since the society had existed, the number of legitimate children had increased, so that they were then in the proportion of one to nine of the whole black population. This one fact speaks volumes, and this debased state of morals is fostered by the evil example of the whites, who almost all live in sin. The white planter lives at the great house of the estate, where reside also a number of females of colour, most of them belonging to the property. The licentiousness prevailing in consequence, he need not depict; but he would excite the sympathy of the females before him in behalf of their degraded sisters, who were constrained by their bonds to dwell in these haunts of iniquity, and became, from a moral necessity, the victims of their master's passions; who, by withholding instruction, concealed from them the guilt of their conduct, while they hid their atrocities from the people of England by specious names. And to undeceive many, he would observe, that a housekeeper is considered a necessary appendage to a white man's establishment, an individual

whom, in England, we should designate by a far more just though more opprobrious title.—If such, then, be their moral, what must be their religious state? True, the Gospel has visited the heart of many a negro, but their numbers bear no comparison to the mass of the uninstructed; and how should they, when religious instruction is so much discouraged? In his parish, *the most improved in the whole island*, there were indeed 54 estates permitting the ministers of the established church to communicate religious instruction; but, with the exception of three, stipulating that it should be merely oral, and in all cases appointing *one half hour* once a week during the noontide, a time when, from weariness and hunger, few could avail themselves of it. In fact, as a Jamaica proprietor, well acquainted with the operation of this system, told him, “It was a mere farce.” But even this instruction, thus limited and deficient, was actually denied to 11,451 slaves, on 46 estates in the parish, who enjoyed no opportunity of instruction whatever. Nor can the negro receive instruction to any practicable extent on the Sabbath. One of the members of the House of Assembly stated, “that the slave must work on that day or starve;” and the scantiness of Mr. T.’s congregation, amounting, on an average, to only 80 out of 6000 at least, while at the same time they were anxious for instruction, confirms the statement.—Remember, then, the slave is considered as a chattel, liable to the cruelty of the cart-whip, and the chains of the workhouse;—that he endures excessive and unrequited toil,—that he cannot manumit himself;—that he is demoralized and brutalized,—and then acknowledge that slavery is a monster, whose existence ought no longer to be allowed.—The Rev. gent. then observed, that what he had seen of the industry of the negro when employed for himself, fully proved that free labour was practicable, and that, were the negro freed, he would not starve as some feared. He also related an affecting anecdote of a female slave, who, having been stolen in Africa, and sold in Jamaica, was under the usual treatment of the planter, hateful, hating, dishonest, and revengeful; she became the property of a clergyman, under whose mild treatment and Christian instruction her dispositions altered, exhibiting all the faithfulness, tenderness, and sympathy, of which the heart is capable.

2. Case of Eleanor Mead.

In the Reporter, No. 64, (p. 345,) we gave an account of the treatment, by a lady of Jamaica, Mrs. Earnshaw, of an elderly mulatto slave, named Eleanor Mead, the mother of nine children, who for some trivial offence had been severely lacerated with the cart-whip, in the presence and by the order of her mistress; a daughter being compelled to assist in holding her parent, prone on her stomach, to the ground, while the driver, a male, inflicted on her bared hips, according to the uncontradicted evidence of the slaves present, 58 lashes, being 19 more than even the liberal law of Jamaica allowed. Our readers will, probably, recollect the various other disgusting circumstances which served to mark the grossness of manners, and the perfect hebetude of feeling, even in ladies, which result from the every day practices of slavery. The magistrates to whom Eleanor complained having no evidence but

that of slaves, as to *excess* in the number of stripes, were obliged to dismiss the complaint, and to send her back to her exasperated mistress. On her return, a hoe was put into her hand, and she was ordered into the field, to the labour of which she was wholly unused, having always been a house servant. She refused—for this offence she was sent to the work-house, with the former excoriations unhealed, to receive 39 lashes more, and to be put to hard labour in chains for a month. She was stopped in her way thither by a magistrate, and, after an inquiry which fully established these facts but produced no other result, this poor weakly woman, as Mr. Barrett called her, was again sent back to the estate to endure the tender mercies of her mistress, who, notwithstanding all that had passed, had made herself amenable to no law.—The reader ought to refer to our former number, in order to be prepared for what we have now farther to relate respecting this wretched victim of the unrelenting and merciless spirit of this oppressive system. In the Royal Gazette, of the 21st of August last, we find an account of a trial which took place at the Quarter Sessions, held on the 10th of that month, at Falmouth, before the custos and five other magistrates, to the following effect :

“Eleanor Mead, a mulatto woman slave, belonging to Colchis estate, was arraigned for an assault on her overseer, and for refusing to do the duty of the estate.

“A number of witnesses, who had been cited to attend on this case, were, on the motion of the Defender of Slaves, ordered to withdraw to an adjoining room.

“James M'Claren, overseer on Colchis estate, deposed that the prisoner would never turn out to work in the morning;* he told the driver that he would punish *him*† if *she* did not turn out to work at the proper time in the morning, but to no purpose. As she would not turn out in time, according to his orders, he gave her twenty lashes. After she had received the punishment, she went on in a most violent manner to witness, who went over a wall, and she followed him and took hold of him round the waist; witness shoved her away, and told the driver to send one of the people and put her in the stocks; she refused to go as long as witness was within hearing, saying she would not go. After breakfast he found that the negro, whom he had sent with her, had taken her to the stocks; he then put her in, and kept her there till shell-blow; when the driver came to receive orders, he went with him and took her out and told her to go to her work; she had been in the stocks from half past seven till ten o'clock; did not hear any thing more of her until he heard that she had been taken up at Falmouth as a runaway;* does

* It seems, therefore, that this “poor weakly woman,” who had always been a domestic, and had borne nine children, on going back to the estate in the month of May last, was forced to labour in the field; and, as we are afterwards told, in the severest description of field labour, being made to work in “the *Great gang*,” otherwise the *holing gang*. There is something perfectly ludicrous, were there room for any feeling but that of indignation, in indicting this poor persecuted wretch for an *assault* on the overseer, with whip and stocks and driver and gang at his back. The assault was *his* not hers, as we shall see.

† Observe the chain of plantation discipline.—If the labourer does not turn out, or does not work, the driver is flogged. Will the driver have much tenderness towards those for sparing whom his flesh is to be torn?

* The poor creature, become an object of persecution to her mistress, the at-

not know who committed her, but she has been most annoying to him all along; gave her every chance to work quietly, but she would not; she has frequently told witness that she *could not* and would not work for him; witness was alarmed when she laid hold of him, and pushed her away with his hand." Cross-examination—"Does not remember when she returned to the estate; he did not order her to work until the day after she returned from Falmouth; the assault occurred in the field about seven o'clock in the morning; it was in a cane-field away from the negroes; she followed witness through the interval; it was not to implore him to have mercy upon her; he put her in the stocks for having laid violent hands on him and refusing to go to work; had she gone to her work, such would not have been the case. Witness did not recollect her saying any thing, but she was in a violent rage at the time."

"Allick Graves,† *does not know the nature of an oath*, but, being admonished to speak the truth, he stated that he remembered, when she came from Falmouth, she went to her work in *the great gang*; remembers her being flogged the last time; she was flogged for not turning out in the morning; she turned out after sunrise, she was punished for not turning out earlier;‡ witness (as driver) was directed to give her twenty stripes; after she was flogged, said she would not follow, or work with the gang; did not see her lay hold of the overseer; she would not turn out in the field sooner; *she gave as a reason that she had several young children, and had to procure breakfast for them; they were mostly grown up*; she would not go to the stocks at first; when witness was going to take the prisoner out of the stocks, Mr. M'Claren said that, if she would go quietly to her work, he would not trouble her any further; she has refused to go on with her work when tying canes in the field; *thinks her the most weakly brown woman on the estate*; when she was put down she took the flogging; but she said she would not stay in the field.

"Mr. Sloy (superintendent of the workhouse) proved that she had marks of punishment upon her when committed to the workhouse.

"The Custos, in addressing the Jury, stated to them the opinion of the court, that the assault had not been proved; but observed that it was not to be considered as a guide to them; that he perceived men of sense

torney, and the overseer—seeks a temporary relief from her sufferings in flight, and is retaken and committed to jail.

† The driver, a slave belonging to Colchis. His evidence is received against his fellow-slave, but is inadmissible against a free person.

‡ There is here a note by the Jamaica editor to this effect:

"From half-past four to five is the usual time for commencing labour, and by far the most pleasant period of the twenty-four hours."

We will not stop to notice all the inferences to be deduced from this incidental remark. To commence labour at half-past four, the slave must have been up at half-past three in order to prepare breakfast and get to the field; but the toil of this "*most pleasant period*" of the day, the editor well knows, gives no exemption from toil, even under the blaze of a tropical sun, and till night-fall, and even long after; thus fully establishing the fact, that, including the time of crop, the labour of the field slaves in Jamaica is equal to an average of 16 hours a day throughout the year, as Mr. Stephen, in his recent work, has amply proved.

and experience in the box, and he left it to them to judge of the evidence as it had come before them.

“The jury then retired and were absent from the court about two hours, at the conclusion of which a proposal was made to empanel a new jury, to proceed with the second trial of this woman,* which was objected to by the Defender of Slaves, as not being compatible with the 79th clause of the Slave Law, which allows due notice before a slave can be put upon his trial.

“Mr. Jackson observed, that he would suggest to the court to put the second trial off for the present, as the jury were retired on a verdict that might involve the life of the prisoner.† Mr. Frater (the prosecutor) would no doubt acquiesce in what he now proposed.

“Mr. Frater said, that he had no objection; that he had not come there with any vindictive feelings against the prisoner, but it had been shewn by the evidence of the overseer, how far he was justified in what he had done; in fact, he had no objection that the prosecution should be withdrawn altogether.

“The Clerk of the Peace then proposed the jury being recalled, and a juror withdrawn, which was agreed to by their Honours, and it was done accordingly. This conduct of Mr. Frater seemed to give very general satisfaction in the court, and we trust that it will annihilate the party bickerings, that beset the better feelings of the inhabitants of the parish of Trelawny.

“After the jury were discharged, his Honour addressed the prisoner as follows:

“Eleanor Mead, you came down here some time ago to complain of harsh treatment, and I then admonished you to go home and do what was required of you. I cautioned you to take care of yourself; however, after you went home, you refused to do your work, and gave a great deal of unnecessary trouble, and it clearly appears that you are a very quarrelsome woman: your master has come forward to-day, and has interceded for you; and this is an evident proof that he has no vindictive feeling towards you. I am perfectly satisfied, that if you return to your duty, both your master and mistress will see strict justice done towards you. [Here the prisoner manifested her turbulent temper, and insisted to go out of the dock, notwithstanding so benevolent an expression of feeling in her favour, not only by her master, but by the whole auditory. This unruly conduct was checked by his Honour, who told her that she must not depart this court under her present

* It is not said what the crime charged in this second indictment was, probably *running away* from happiness and comfort.

† This remark of Mr. Jackson may not be very intelligible to our readers.—He alluded to the clause in the slave act, under which this wretched woman was tried, namely, clause 47, which enacts, “that if any slave shall assault or offer any violence or otherwise to or towards any white people or persons of free condition, such slave upon due and proper proof shall, upon conviction, be punished with *death, transportation, or confinement to hard labour for life*, or for a limited time, according to the nature of the offence, as the court shall in their discretion think proper to inflict.” So that it was actually the life of this miserable creature which was aimed at in this judicial proceeding.

angry feelings.—She was then discharged, but said she would not return to the estate.]

“ This woman’s countenance is a complete index of her temper ; her features seem to be constricted by the indulgence of the darker passions. She is a personification of the passion of Hate, and, from what she publicly evinced in the court, she seems not to be imbued with the most distant feeling of generosity.—Court adjourned.”

These closing remarks of the Editor, or Reporter, are doubtless intended to operate unfavourably to the wretched sufferer in the mind of the English reader ; but they have, very probably, no foundation, except in prejudice, and in the desire to blacken her character, and thus to relieve her persecutors from some of the odium which cannot fail to attach to their conduct, and still more to a state of law and manners such as is here displayed.

The case is the more striking, because we find in the 12th clause of that very act of 1816, by which this woman’s life was put in jeopardy, a provision which seems to have slept very soundly, while the 47th clause retained its full vigour and activity. This 12th clause enacts, “ in order to give further encouragement to the increase and protection of negro infants, that every female slave who shall have six children living,” “ shall be exempted from all hard labour in the field or otherwise ; and the owner of such female slave shall be exempted from all manner of taxes for such female slave,” &c. This is one of the pretended ameliorating acts of Jamaica. We see how it works. It is a dead letter. It was made for England, not for Jamaica. Eleanor Mead, the mother of nine children, is sent to work in the *great gang!*

And the result of all is, that the wretched Eleanor Mead is again placed under the care of Mrs. Earnshaw, and Mr. Frater, and Mr. Maclaren ; of the very persons who, after having embittered her days by flagellation, and chains, and stocks, and oppressive toil, now sought to terminate them by a premature death.

We shall close this atrocious case, (a case involving not particular individuals only, but the whole frame and structure of Jamaica slave law and Jamaica society, in the heavy charge of cruelty and oppression,) with some remarks upon it which appear in the “ Watchman ” of that island, of September 12, 1830.

“ In our paper of the 5th instant, we noticed the conduct of Mr. Frater and Mrs. Earnshaw, in reference to the brown woman (Eleanor Mead) belonging to Colchis estate. Since then we learn that this female has been sent to the field, and for being late in turning out, was *again* whipped, which so irritated her, that she assaulted the overseer, for which crime she has been committed for trial at the next Slave Court.

“ If any circumstance was required to prove the existence of cruelty on the part of Mr. Frater and Mrs. Earnshaw towards this unprotected slave, or to demonstrate the kind of spirit by which they are actuated, that circumstance is to be found in the conduct which we have just mentioned.

“ From the nature of the evidence given before the Council of Protection, and the hostility which Mrs. Earnshaw appeared to entertain

towards this woman, we were half disposed to think that to the existence of the 'green-ey'd monster' was that hostility attributable. Since then circumstances have come to our knowledge which satisfy us of the truth of the supposition, and at once explains a paragraph to be found in Eleanor's testimony, namely, that 'she had been sent to the field by her *mistress* once before, but that her *master* took her out;' from which it is plain that this woman had been the object of Mrs. E.'s hatred long antecedent to the death of her husband. Allowing, however, that Mr. Earnshaw had cohabited with this woman during his lifetime, is that any reason why this unfortunate creature (who, when the condition of the slaves in this island is considered, could scarcely have dared to resist the desires of her master,) should still suffer for a crime, the guilt of which is chargeable upon the man solely, who, taking advantage of her condition, drives her to the commission of a crime which, notwithstanding the frequency of its committal, is not less repugnant to the laws of God, than destructive to the morals of men?

"To what extremes the passion of jealousy will drive an ignorant and illiterate woman (for we are informed that Mrs. Earnshaw can scarcely read or write) has been seen. How far that passion, assisted by revenge for the *exposé* which has been made, will drive her, remains to be seen. Of this, however, Mrs. Earnshaw and Mr. Frater may rest assured, that their conduct, in reference to this woman, will be narrowly watched and made public. If the laws are insufficient to protect the unfortunate slaves from the tyranny of such owners as Mrs. Earnshaw, the press is all-sufficient to expose their conduct, and to hold them up to the detestation of the world. This we are determined to do, and this we will do, despite of every thing."

3. *St. George's Council of Protection—Rev. Mr. Hanna.*

In our number 68, we gave a statement of the Rev. Mr. Hanna, a respectable clergyman of the Church of England, respecting a case of extreme cruelty which had occurred in his parish, and the impunity that had attended it. We also inserted the impotent defence set up for the conduct of the Council of Protection by two of their body, who, however, did not impugn, but admitted the truth of the allegations of Mr. Hanna to their full extent. But Mr. Hanna is not less the object of bitter persecution because his facts cannot be denied. The whole ire of the Jamaica press, with a single exception, is turned, not on the overseer who inflicted the acknowledged cruelty; not on the five magistrates who dismissed the sufferer's complaint unredressed, though its truth was incontestably established; but on Mr. Hanna who exposed the atrocious transaction to the public indignation, if not in Jamaica, at least in England. In the Royal Gazette of the 7th of August, we find him arraigned for conduct the most unconstitutional and monstrous—for having interfered between master and slave, and between both and the courts of justice—conduct directly leading to anarchy, insubordination, and insurrection. The Courant is still more virulent, and attacks not only this part of his conduct, but his reprehensible rigour in the performance of his clerical duties. "He refused to baptize," says the Courant, Dr. Robertson's child, "because one of the sponsors was a *batchelor*." The reply of a

friend of Mr. Hanna, that the proposed sponsor was not only a bachelor, but living in open concubinage, and the father of a family of coloured children, and therefore not a fit person to engage on behalf of the child, to "renounce the pomps and vanities of this wicked world, and all the sinful lusts of the flesh," seems to have added greatly to the unpopularity of this faithful clergyman.

The following are some of the remarks of the "Jamaica Watchman" on the whole of this affair:—

"In our paper of the 21st ult. we adverted to the oppression which had been exercised towards a negro slave in the parish of St. George, and to which our attention was drawn by a 'Notice to a Correspondent,' which appeared in the Gazette of our Royal contemporary of the previous week, as well as by various reports which were then current.

"On that occasion we promised, that so soon as a statement of the circumstances was received, it should be laid before them. The receipt of a letter from St. George's on Monday evening, enables us to redeem our pledge, and affords us the opportunity of inquiring if any reasonable creature can peruse that communication without having his feelings harrowed up? The individual who can peruse such a statement without feeling something more than indignation rising within him, cannot possibly be possessed of natural feeling! What! a slave to be severely punished, and, because upon being ordered to proceed to a distant spot to labour, he pleads his still bleeding wounds, is to be incarcerated from Monday evening until Wednesday morning, his feet thrust into the stocks, and his hands reversely manacled by a pair of hand-cuffs? Is this the punishment which has been described as being too trifling in its nature to be further noticed? What became of the feelings of those five gentlemen (and they too, we suppose, are proverbial for tenderness and good nature), when they came to such a determination? Surely they will not pretend to assert that the charge was not proven! Was not the testimony of Mr. Shenton, a respectable magistrate, sufficient to urge them to drag the oppressor before a higher tribunal? It undoubtedly was. Those gentlemen, however, thought otherwise. They considered it better to decide that the case was unworthy of further notice, than that injured justice should be satisfied—a slave should have his wrongs avenged—or the white oppressor receive that punishment which his crimes so loudly call for.

"Of what avail are Councils of Protection, falsely so called, when, as in this and a variety of other instances, the offender is sure to be acquitted;—when a deaf ear is turned to the complaints of the suffering, unprotected negro; and those complaints are declared unworthy of further notice;—when men who are either slave-owners or slave-drivers, and who are themselves guilty of maltreating and oppressing the negroes belonging to them, or under their management, constitute them?

"The dearest friends of the oppressor are often called upon to decide between him and a slave whom he has maltreated. In a case of that kind, is it to be supposed that they will, by their decisions, place him within the reach of the law officer of the Crown? Assuredly not. Nor can it be otherwise, until another class of persons is admitted to a share

of that power, which is, and has been, monopolized by a favoured few. Here we have a Council of Protection (what a *strange* name), two of the members of which vote in an unaccountably *strange* manner, and then, *strange* to say, put forth, by way of defending their conduct, a letter which most powerfully witnesses against them.

“What shall we think of men who can lead us to suppose, that the absence of the wretched sufferer from his work on Monday, after receiving severe flagellation on the Friday preceding, ‘was the result of a concerted plan,’ as he had been (what think you, reader?)—*pleasuring* on board a drogger, not forty-eight hours before!

“What shall we think of men who can describe the result of Mr. Shenton’s examination of the sufferer, with such a milk and water phrase as this—“his wrists *were found tumified,*” when that very Mr. Shenton *made oath* before these gentlemen, that the man’s back parts were ‘*scored like raw beef,* and his hands swollen to *double their natural size!*’

“What shall we think of men who inform us, that the poor negro, while suffering under the effects of previous punishment, was confined in the stocks (thus irritating his fresh and bleeding wounds) ‘with handcuffs on his wrists behind his back,’ (how admirably expressed!) ‘from 3 P. M. on Monday till Wednesday at 7 A. M.,’ and then with unblushing effrontery step forward and declare that they considered ‘*a smart reprimand* would not only have a salutary effect’ upon the overseer, ‘but *would answer all the ends of justice,* and be a *warning* (what a terrible warning!) to others not to commit themselves in a similar way!’

“What shall we think of magistrates who would not and did not vote for the prosecution of an individual, whose conduct ‘they yet strongly deprecate,’ and who had been guilty of treating his wretched fellow being ‘in such a manner as had never before come within their knowledge, during a long and intimate intercourse with slaves!’”

The following is an extract from the letter of the correspondent alluded to:

“Some time in the month of June, a negro slave, belonging to Windsor Castle estate, in this parish, received, by the orders of the overseer, a very severe punishment. Conscious of not having committed a very great error (it having been a mere slight dereliction of duty for which he underwent so severe a chastisement) he repaired to James Shenton, Esq. a magistrate of the parish, to whom he preferred his complaint. And what was the result? Such was the state of the part affected, that Mr. S. could really come to no conclusion as to the *extent* of the punishment inflicted; the *nature* was that of unwarrantable severity. This gentleman very properly advised the negro to return to the estate, which he did. It appears, also, that though labouring under such sufferings, he did not omit to return to his appointed place for labour; but, on making his appearance there, he was instructed that he and his fellow-workmen were ordered to repair to another place to perform some work of the estate. This was on Monday. Feeling himself still labouring under the laceration, he was unable to comply with the order, and remained there until about the close of the

day, at which time, being missed by the overseer, he was desired to state the cause of his absence. The poor negro pleaded his wretched state, and offered his wounds as a defence. For thus pleading, he was immediately thrust into the stocks—and, by main force, the negro's hands were tightly handcuffed behind him—in which state, from the close of Monday until sometime early on Wednesday, he remained writhing under the severest agony! I have heard that Mr. Shenton saw the man in this state, or rather he has deposed, on oath, 'that such was the state of his hinder parts, that the place affected appeared as raw meat sliced; and his hands, from the reversed confinement, enlarged to a bulk that can readily be conceived.' With these facts before him, he immediately resorted to the means of convening a Council of Protection, which assembled about the commencement of this month. The Custos, the Hon. J. Bell, was present. He was assisted in this important duty by the rector of the parish, and the following magistrates:—Messrs. Rogers, *Gray, Swire, *Maxwell, *Bowyer, Shenton, *Guscott, and *Helps. Certainly, no other evidence could be admitted but that of Mr. Shenton, the rest who saw it *being slaves!* and although he was clear and positive in his statement, on a division, whether the oppressor should bear the penalties of the law—the five gentlemen, whose names are thus marked *, put an end to the proceedings by declaring *that the trifling nature of the circumstance required no further notice!* And thus did the labours of the Council of Protection terminate.

"I shall offer no observations."

4. *Case of George Anclé, a slave belonging to Bog Estate, in Vere, the property of John Morant, Esq.*

We gave, in our No. 69, the case of this negro, a carpenter, who was tried at the Vere Quarter Sessions, in July last, found guilty of *preaching* to his fellow slaves, and sentenced for this offence to six months' hard labour in the workhouse. In the Watchman of the 11th of September is contained a letter addressed to Mr. Morant, the proprietor of the Bog Estate, now, we believe in England, to this effect:

"It was my intention to have handed you an account of your slave, George Anclé, as I received it from two respectable persons who were present at the trial; but I have been spared the trouble of so doing by some person or persons, who prompted by the feelings of humanity, have done it in a much more able manner than I could.* I have, therefore, only to relate a few more particulars, which, most probably, will not reach you in any other way. A woman of the name of 'Richards,' was taken up as well as 'Anclé,' and both of them confined. She is a Methodist—Anclé is a Baptist; and I understand that on the day of trial, the 'Custos,' after some conversation with your Attorney, Mr. Bayly, handed this woman her manumission paper, with a severe reprimand for her conduct, and discharged her.

"Report says, that the late Mr. Richards left her free. If so, why has she been kept in bondage upwards of two years since his demise?"

* The writer alludes to the account which we have already inserted in the Reporter, No. 69.

Surely she ought to be recompensed for her services on the property during that time. But this I must leave, and proceed to inform you further of George Anle subsequent to his trial. The poor man took a few necessaries with him to the workhouse, to comfort him in his deplorable situation, of which he was quickly robbed, and since which he has been exceedingly ill. And now, Sir, if death should be the consequence of his sufferings, I would humbly ask—Who is to answer for his life? The watchman who informed against him? The attorney and overseer who prosecuted him? The jury who gave their verdict against him? The judge who awarded the sentence? Or will his blood be upon his own head for daring to worship his God, and invoking others to follow his example?

“Perhaps, Sir, you are not aware of the loss you sustain by this event; from what little I am acquainted with a sugar estate, I know the value of tradesmen on the property, especially a good carpenter bearing a good character; and if an overseer does not know how to appreciate their services, he is very unfit for his business.

“In conclusion, Sir, as the Clarendon Workhouse is not much out of my way, I shall take every opportunity of ascertaining the state and condition of this good man, and informing you of the same through the medium of ‘THE WATCHMAN.’ “I remain, Sir.”

We subjoin some of the remarks of the Editor of the Watchman on this horrifying transaction:

“It has become common with the M^{rs}Queens, the Barclays, and other hired defenders of the existing system of Colonial oppression, to assert that the planters are not inimical to the religious instruction of the slaves, but that they object to that instruction being afforded by Secularians, because they receive money from, and consequently deprive the negroes of their little earnings, injure their healths by nightly meetings, and afford, under pretence of religious worship, opportunities for communicating designs of a nature dangerous and destructive to the well-being of the island!”

“As the general decent appearance of slaves attached to dissenting congregations, together with their proverbially industrious and peaceable habits completely disprove the latter assertions, we shall confine ourselves to the following:—‘The planters are not inimical to the religious instruction of the slaves,’ and adduce another fact in support of the position which we some time ago assumed, that the assertion was false, and only put forth as an excuse, or palliative, for the disgraceful system of opposition, so foolishly manifested towards the industrious and indefatigable propagators of Christianity in this island, not connected with the Established Church.

“As we have, upon former occasions, noticed at large the remarks of Mr. Barclay, we shall content ourselves with bringing forward, as they come in our way, facts which go to prove (in opposition to that gentleman’s declaration) the presence of a decided hostility to the dissemination of religious knowledge among the slaves, and the obvious determination of the planters to prevent, by every means in their power, the spread of that knowledge, which they *pretend* to wish their negroes to possess.

“Connected with this determination of the planters, is the charge of cruelty: for surely it must be cruel to punish a negro for worshipping his Creator according to the dictates of his own conscience: unless, indeed, it is intended to be maintained that the *soul*, as well as the blood, bones, and sinews of the negro, is the rightful property of his master, and that as a matter of course he can and will keep the former in darkness, as well as the latter in bondage; contrary to every principle of reason, justice, or humanity.”

After detailing the facts of the case, as we have already detailed them, and which he says “shew how much truth there is in the assertions of Mr. Barclay, and how much dependance is to be placed in the declarations (however solemn) of men who ‘love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil,’ and who are therefore desirous to perpetuate a system fraught with so much mischief to themselves, and injury to those who are its unfortunate victims,” the Editor of the *Watchman* thus proceeds:

“Remarks upon this sentence we shall not make, because they are unnecessary. The man who can peruse the testimony of the several witnesses, the declarations of the prisoner himself, and reflect but for a moment upon the truly praise-worthy and Christian spirit by which this poor negro was actuated, and not feel his blood boil within him at the reflection that for the manifestation of a degree of charity and Christian benevolence truly admirable, he has been sentenced to hard labour for six months in a workhouse, must certainly be void of feeling, and dead to the best sympathies of our nature!

“Mr. Morant, no doubt, supposes that his negroes are happy and contented, and living in the enjoyment of liberty of conscience. The foregoing, however, but too clearly proves that he is mistaken! Benevolent and kind as he is, too kind to entertain for a moment the supposition that one of his negroes is doomed to six months’ hard labour in a workhouse for endeavouring to make his fellow-slaves better men and better servants, and worshipping in company with them the Being that gave them existence, we may conceive his astonishment when roused from his pleasing slumber by ‘*The Watchman*,’ (which will be sent him,) he perceives that the fancied happiness of his slaves was at best but a dream, and that whilst he has been reposing on the *artful* representations of his underlings, the iron yoke of tyranny, and, worst of all, religious tyranny, is pressing hard upon those whose comfort and happiness he is bound, by every principle of justice, to attend to and ensure.”

5. *St. Andrew's Sessions—a new case of persecution.*

The Royal Gazette of the 11th of September last, contains the following intelligence:—

“A full bench of magistrates sat on Tuesday, the 7th of September, at the Court-House, Halfway-Tree, in the parish of St. Andrew, viz.—Justices Robert Smith, James Smith, C. S. Cockburn, and J. Wiles, Esqrs.

“Their attention principally was called to a case relative to three slaves from Mount Industry, one of whom had already been committed for trial, for a violent assault on his overseer, while discharging the duties

imposed on him by the orders of his employer, Barnaby Maddan, Esq. for a violation of the 50th and 51st clauses of the Slave Law.* That highly respectable and well-known humane owner, Mr. Maddan, † with his overseer, were in attendance. The case, however, was not proceeded in further than that one of the slaves, Bull, was remanded, and the other, Romeo, committed for trial at the next Slave-court. This line of proceeding was unanimously adopted, on the Deputy Clerk of the Peace, Mr. Clement, submitting the affidavit of the overseer, Mr. Ouens, to their worships' consideration. The affidavit contained three distinct charges—one, that Bull was (after repeated orders to the contrary,) discovered in the act of preaching to a concourse of slaves in his negro-house, at a time he should have been at his work in the field; another, that Romeo (in opposition to the orders he had also received,) was discovered preaching to an assemblage of slaves, at two o'clock in the morning, of another date, dressed in *the habiliments of a priest*; and the other, that the head driver, Richard, who had had the confidence of his owners and overseer for some years past, had violently assaulted Mr. Ouens, because, forsooth, he (the overseer) detected Bull and Romeo in their improper practices. Mr. Clement submitted, with reference to the 50th clause, that Bull should be remanded (notwithstanding that clause gave power and jurisdiction to any two justices to proceed summarily to punish him on due conviction,) until the case of Romeo, and that of Richard, were disposed of in the Slave-court, as it was unquestionable that the two latter were triable there under the 51st clause; and Richard

* These iniquitous clauses are as follow, viz.—

“L. *And whereas* it has been found that the practice of ignorant, superstitious, or designing slaves of attempting to instruct others, has been attended with the most pernicious consequences, and even with the loss of life: *Be it enacted*, That any slave or slaves, found guilty of preaching and teaching as Anabaptists, or otherwise, without a permission from their owner and the quarter sessions for the parish in which such preaching and teaching takes place, shall be punished in such manner as any two magistrates may deem proper, by flagellation, or imprisonment in the workhouse to hard labour.

“LI. *And whereas* a practice of nightly and other private meetings has frequently taken place amongst the slaves in several parts of this island, and which have been unknown to the owner, attorney, or other person having charge of the slaves of the property, and as such meetings are injurious to the health of the slaves, and of dangerous tendency: *Be it enacted by the authority aforesaid*, That in future all such meetings shall be deemed unlawful, and the persons who shall or may attend them, shall be liable to be apprehended and taken before any magistrate of the parish wherein the offence shall be committed, and, if any person of free condition attend such meeting, and it appears to the said magistrate, on the oath of the person accusing the party, that he or she is guilty, he or she shall be committed to gaol to be tried at the next quarter session for the parish for the said offence, and, if convicted thereof, he or she shall be sentenced to imprisonment in the county gaol for such period of time as the justices, before whom he or she shall be so convicted, think proper to direct, not exceeding three months: And if the offender be a slave, he or she shall be tried at a slave-court, and, if convicted thereof, he or she shall be sentenced by the said court to *hard labour for such time as the court shall think proper to direct*, or to receive such other punishment by flogging, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes *at one time*, as the court shall order and direct.” (This seems to imply, that the court may award several such inflictions, if they be given at different times.)

+ Mr. Maddan is not the owner, but only the receiver of the estate, on which their are seventy slaves.

also, under the 47th.* Mr. C. conceived it his duty thus to address their worships, because he wished them to proceed with the utmost precision and deliberation; the more especially so, as there was a matter (which he would only at the present moment assert to be one of the most officious and intruding nature, that perhaps was ever before attempted, towards the subversion of all local constitutional authority, and the right of ownership of slave property,) connected with this case, on which, in the discharge of his duty, he might hereafter be called upon officially to animadvert, and bring before another tribunal. Mr. C. would not then go into the particulars of what the matter alluded to was, but would briefly refer to an article, or rather an address, in a late public print, from an individual whose authority and conduct, as assumed and exercised in the production alluded to, would doubtless be questioned and considered of in another jurisdiction! He was satisfied that the production in question was too well already circulated by the channel of its publicity to require a further identity, and he was equally satisfied that their worships, without giving it any further consideration for the present, would exercise their usual sound and honest discretion in then disposing of the case in the way submitted. Accordingly, their worships then ordered that Bull should not be tried summarily at present, but remanded until the trial of Romeo and Richard should be disposed of next month. Mr. Maddan was asked (in order to save the property from the inconvenience of the loss of their labours,) if he would enter into bail to produce Bull and Romeo at the trial; but that gentleman declined, observing, that after his own admonitions and his own orders had been so disregarded," (the slaves choosing to obey God rather than man. See Acts iv. 19.) "he would not interpose. They were consequently put in custody. We observed, as Mr. M. was leaving the Court-house, that Romeo and Bull dropped on their knees, requesting his pardon, and excusing themselves for having acted as they did under the advice of others. They said he was a 'good Massa Trustee, and they begged him hard.'—Mr. M. could only say to them he could not interfere, but they would have justice dealt to them. He was sorry they had brought themselves where they were."

So far the Gazette.—Our readers will perceive that the head and front of these men's offence is meeting together for the purpose of praying to and praising God, and for imparting to their fellow-slaves the knowledge they themselves have acquired. We shall soon learn the result of this persecution.

In the mean time the newspapers are filled with discussions on the subject. The following letter of the Rev. T. Morgan, the senior Wesleyan Missionary, has appeared in the *Watchman* of the 4th of September, dated two days before; being, we doubt not, the obnoxious letter alluded to above by Mr. Clement.

"Having heard that Richard Shroeter, a slave belonging to B. Maddan, Esq., and a Member of the Methodist Society, was in the gaol of this city, I visited him this morning, for the purpose of ascertaining the cause of his imprisonment, Richard, it appears, being the driver,

* See above, p. 484, Note.

had frequently been charged by the Overseer not to allow Methodist prayers at the negro houses, which caution was on Friday morning last renewed. On that occasion he retired to his house, ate his supper, and was about going to bed, when he heard the noise of children, and, on opening the door, and inquiring what was amiss, he was told by some of the children that *Busha* (the overseer) was chasing them. On observing to the children that they were mistaken, he was accosted by the overseer, who charged him with allowing 'Methodist prayers' to be kept at the negro-houses, contrary to his pleasure. He was then ordered by this *Gentleman* to accompany him to the house of prayer, which he did. On finding, however, that the praying negroes were dispersed, the overseer commenced an assault, and struck the negro repeatedly. Richard then requested him to desist, and in his defence held the aggressor by the sleeve of his upper garment; but denies most distinctly the charge of having struck him. The sick nurse was present, and witnessed the whole affair. The next morning Richard was taken with his fellow-slaves, William and Edward, who are also members of the Methodist Society, to Halfway-Tree workhouse, and on Monday the former was removed to the gaol of this city.*

"These facts, which were stated to me by the negro himself, in the presence of one of my colleagues, I send for insertion in your paper."

On the 13th of September, there appeared in the *Jamaica Courant*, the organ of the colonial authorities, the following leading article:—

"On Friday morning last, Mr. Morgan, one of the Wesleyan Preachers in this city, called at the gaol, and applied for permission to visit one of the slaves confined there, by order of the magistrates, but declined to name the party to whom he wished to have access. The gaoler pointed out to this *Reverend* intermeddler, that according to the gaol regulations, no one was permitted to visit prisoners under commitment between the hours of 9 A. M. and 5 P. M. without an order from a magistrate. This was a poser for the old fellow, who sulkily walked away, expressing his determination to find his way *into* gaol, in spite of the magistrates. This, we believe, he will very shortly accomplish; but his deliverance therefrom may not be so easily effected as he imagines. We would advise Mr. Morgan to bear in his remembrance the fate of Mr. Smith in Demerara."

In the Watchman of the 15th, an answer to this statement, from two Methodist missionaries, Mr. Morgan and Mr. Pennock, was inserted. They affirm, that on the morning of the 10th, they called at the gaol to see a slave, a member of their society, named Richard Schroeter, in order to administer to him that spiritual instruction and consolation which, in his present unfortunate circumstances, were so highly necessary. But they were told at the office that no persons were allowed to visit the prisoners between the hours of nine and five, when Mr. Morgan observed,—“as that is the case, we will call again after five this evening.” They were then told by the white person in charge of the prisoners, that he was “under orders to prohibit their visits altogether.” To which, all that Mr. Morgan replied was, “that is what we wished to

*To be tried, we presume, for his life, under the 47th clause of the act of 1816.

know;" and then departed without uttering another syllable, or expressing "any determination to find his way into gaol in spite of the magistrates." If, however, it is added, "either Mr. Morgan or any other Wesleyan missionary get into gaol for 'righteousness' sake,' they will trust in that God who preserved Daniel in the lion's den, and count neither *life* nor *liberty* dear to them, when God can be honoured by the sacrifice of either. As to Mr. Smith of Demerara, to whose fate the Courant refers them, he was generally regarded in the Christian world as a martyr to intolerance, oppression, and cruelty; and should *they* be doomed to the same fate, they would neither murmur nor repine at their lot; so that it was idle to hold Smith up as an object of terror to them." The Courant, however, does not confine his bile to the sectaries, as may be seen by his abuse of the Rev. Mr. Hanna, and his virulent attacks on Mr. Wildman, for his present *evangelical* mode, as he calls it, of managing Papine Estate, and his folly in "teaching the young idea to shoot," and in labouring to convert his slaves.

The effect of the above illustrations will be greatly strengthened when we come to consider a volume just laid on the table of the House of Commons by Sir George Murray, being a detail of his further abortive efforts to bring Jamaica and the other colonies to some sense of their duty. But we must suspend for the present any analysis of this instructive volume, or of Mr. Stephen's admirable work, to which we briefly adverted in our last number. In the mean time, "the Watchman" shall aid us to express the view we take of the subject. (See his paper of the 16th of June, 1830.)

"Had proofs been wanting of the utter inutility of Councils of Protection—of the absolute necessity for the admission of slave evidence (unshackled by certificates from *Rectors*)—and of the impossibility of obtaining justice for the slave, and the absurdity of talking about ameliorating his condition without such admission of his evidence—the case of Mr. Bridges has furnished them abundantly, since no one can doubt that had slave evidence been admissible, this 'amiable' personification of *truth* and *mercy* would have met with justice, and not impunity. As it is, the whole affair assumes the character of an open contest of falsehood, prejudice, and tyranny against justice.

"The recent development of Jamaica liberality, will, we have no doubt, be productive of much good to the cause of the oppressed classes in this island. The ministry and people of England will no longer be in doubt as to the cause and nature of the opposition shown by the Colonists to every attempt or proposition tending to relax the iron grasp of Colonial tyranny.—Sir George Murray will now see the futility of issuing instructions for the investigation of slave questions by *Councils of Protection*, and of expecting a Jamaica Grand Jury to find a true Bill, in such a case, against an avowed defender of the Jamaica system. He will no longer leave the trial of such charges to men whose interests, and, (considering that many of them are Americans and other foreigners,) we may add, prejudices prompt them to oppose the British Government, and who (even though uninfluenced by such motives,) *dare not* convict the criminal, lest he, in retaliation, should expose *their* liability to a similar ordeal, or the Colonial Press mistake them for good men, and abuse them accordingly. Conscious of the impropriety of their individual conduct, they cling together for mutual protection; and should any of their misdeeds transpire and give rise to the semblance of a legal inquiry, the pack commence, at full cry, a clamorous protest against the 'invasion of their rights.'

“With such materials composing the *majority* of our Senators and Civil Authorities, it cannot occasion much surprise, that Sir George’s recommendation to do justice to a slave, should be met by clamorous insult;—that the minorities who presumed to vote, with some regard to conscience, on the late Councils of Inquiry, should be denounced as the personal enemies of the accused;—that Mr. S. M. Barrett should have raised the voice of humanity in vain, against the shameless violators of her sex’s modesty; or that the Grand Jury of Middlesex has ignored the Bill against the *author of the ‘Voice from Jamaica.’*”

“To succeed in its humane views, the British Government must adopt another line of policy from that hitherto observed. The contemplation of unrestricted authority has so long been familiar to the mind of the planter—he has so long revelled in the power to ‘excite terror and inflict pain;’ with no opposition to his will, save ‘supplications, by which insolence was elated, and tears, by which cruelty was gratified;’ that the puny despot now views complaint as open rebellion, and legal investigation as an infringement on his ‘vested rights.’”

II.—MAURITIUS, AND MR. TELFAIR.

WE beg to inform our correspondent J. P., as well as all others who may be disposed to make the same inquiry, that they will find in the Reporter, No. 62, a brief but decisive reply to Mr. Telfair’s bulky pamphlet, as far as it was required to vindicate the account we had given in preceding numbers of the state of slavery and the slave trade in the Mauritius. Besides this, they will find in our No. 69, p. 449, strong ground, in the neglect and irregularity of the Slave Registry, for suspecting that things have not been materially reformed in that island, in respect to the effectual prevention of the piratical slave trade. And if that only effective means of repressing the slave trade be neglected by the authorities there, what hope can be fairly entertained of improvement in the state and condition of the slaves?

But a still more complete answer to every attempt to deliver the Mauritius from the opprobrium justly affixed to it, as the most noted of all the colonies for the iniquity of its laws and the cruelty and oppressiveness of its practice, will be found in the papers laid three or four days ago on the table of the House of Commons by Sir George Murray, to which we have already alluded, and of which we hope soon to be able to give an account.

ANTI-SLAVERY PETITIONS.

SINCE Parliament has assembled, the number of petitions for the early and entire abolition of Colonial Slavery, which have been presented to the House of Commons down to the 17th instant inclusive, is 2089. Events, with which all our readers are well acquainted, may cause the postponement, for a short time, of the multitude of petitions which still remain to be presented, and which all breathe the same earnest prayer.

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The "ANTI-SLAVERY MONTHLY REPORTER" will be forwarded to 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, on application at the Society's office, No. 18, Aldermanbury. Single Copies may be had of all booksellers and newsmen, at the rate of 1*d.* per half-sheet of eight pages.

REPLY TO AN ATTACK ON THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, CONTAINED IN A PAMPHLET BY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE R. WILMOT HORTON, ENTITLED, "FIRST LETTER TO THE FREEHOLDERS OF THE COUNTY OF YORK, ON NEGRO SLAVERY," &c.

A PAMPHLET has recently appeared, from the pen of the Right Hon. R. Wilmot Horton, late Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, bearing this title:—"First Letter to the Freeholders of the County of York, on Negro Slavery; being an Inquiry into the Claims of the West Indians for equitable Compensation." We are induced to notice this pamphlet, chiefly on account of the authority which may be thought to attach to it, in consequence of the official situation which its author filled so long, and which naturally gave him a ready access to the best sources of information. But for this circumstance it would hardly have called for animadversion, as it is no more than a reimpression, slightly altered to suit existing circumstances, of a former pamphlet published by him in 1826, and placed on their list by the Colonial Committee, entitled "The West India Question practically considered." The two pamphlets are marked, as we might expect, by the same characteristic peculiarities. They are employed either in laboriously proving admitted truths; or in eagerly combating mere shadows, the creation of the author's own fancy.

With respect to the former point, we need only to repeat what we said on the publication of the first of these two pamphlets, in 1826, (see Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 11, p. 168.)—that the author might have spared all the pains he has taken to convince the world that the views now entertained by the leading abolitionists on the subject of the necessity and expediency of legislative interference, with respect to colonial slavery, have undergone a great change since 1792, and even since 1807. This fact is so far from having been denied, that it has been fully and freely admitted. Nay, it stands prominently forward as the very ground on which, in 1823, the men of 1792 and of 1807 formed themselves into a Society, for the avowed purpose of abolishing slavery in every part of the British dominions.* But, (we then asked, as we now ask again) if the abolitionists formerly

* See substance of the Debate of the 15th of May, 1823. Preface, pp. 10, 11.

placed an unwarranted and too liberal confidence in the purposes of the colonists to improve the condition of their slaves, are they, or are those who have entered into their labours to be blamed, as wanting either in consistency or in good faith, because the painful experience of twenty-three years has satisfied them that their confidence was misplaced, and that all hope of improvement in the condition of the slave, and still more, all hope of his emancipation, except from parliamentary interference, has become vain and illusory? On this point, therefore, the author may now, as in 1826, enjoy his fancied victory undisturbed by any denial. We plead guilty; and we feel no shame in the avowal.

Again, with respect to the author's charge against the abolitionists of departing from the compact, by which he alleges they bound themselves, to abide by the resolutions of the 15th of May, 1823, he has entirely overlooked the circumstance that they, one and all, protested, at the time, against committing the work of reformation to the Colonial Assemblies, and only forbore from pressing the matter to a division, in consequence of the deliberate promise of the Government, that in case those assemblies refused to comply with the wishes of parliament, the interference of parliament would unquestionably be applied for. We here allude not merely to Mr. Canning's speech on that occasion, published and accredited by Lord Bathurst, in his circular addressed to the colonial governors on the 28th of May, 1823, but to the following passage in the subsequent despatch of the 9th of July, 1823, which may probably have proceeded from the pen of the right hon. gentleman himself.—“In conclusion, I have most earnestly to impress upon you the necessity of proceeding to carry these improvements into effect, not only *with all possible dispatch*, but in the spirit of perfect and cordial co-operation with the efforts of his Majesty's government;”—“and if (which I am unwilling to imagine) 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 for their consideration such measures as it may be fit to adopt in consequence.*”

Has, then, the compact of 1823 been violated? It undoubtedly has—and we think that on the ministers of the crown rests the guilt of its violation, not exempting from a share of that guilt the right hon. gentleman himself. Nor is our estimate of its amount at all lessened by reverting to the fallacious statements, whencesoever derived, which were officially laid before parliament by Mr. Canning, and more particularly in March 1826, on the subject of colonial reform; and which were so fully exposed at the time in the Reporters, Nos. 10 and 11.

The author will not deny that, in 1823, a solemn engagement was entered into by government, to adopt “determined and vigorous” measures, for accomplishing, “at the earliest period,” the emancipation of the slaves, in other words, the words of the resolution, “their participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of his Majesty's subjects.” He cannot deny this.—Does he then blame the abolitionists, for insisting on the fulfilment of this pledge, and

for complaining of its forfeiture on his part and that of his associates? No, not entirely so: but he blames them for doing this "WITHOUT EQUITABLE COMPENSATION." We distinctly deny this charge; and we call upon him to say whether he or any of the members of government ever brought forward any proposition for *equitable compensation* which was resisted by the abolitionists. Had not he and his colleagues forcibly taken the matter out of Mr. Buxton's hands? Was it not for them to have adopted the means of fulfilling their own pledges? Was it Mr. Buxton's part or theirs to have done this? Or were they ever prevented by him, or by any one of his friends, from propounding what might appear to them equitable, with a view to the accomplishment of the great purpose to which they had so solemnly bound themselves? So far from it, the abolitionists often and in vain urged the government to do so at whatever cost. This was the burden of almost every Anti-Slavery petition addressed to parliament from one end of the kingdom to the other. Even the Anti-Slavery Society itself, in its petition of 1826, professed its perfect readiness, if called upon to contribute whatever sum might be deemed necessary to the extinction of slavery, cheerfully to obey the call.

And yet, will it be believed, that after all this, in 1830, the right hon. gentleman should write a pamphlet, to denounce the Anti-Slavery party as men of bad faith, as men guilty of violating their compact with government and the planters, in demanding abolition without compensation!!

His proof of this charge is sufficiently whimsical, and not a little characteristic. He places in the title-page, as his motto, a passage in which the Anti-Slavery Society fully recognizes the right of the planters to prefer, and, by adequate proof, to establish their claim to indemnity. The whole of the passage from which he has drawn his motto, is as follows:—

"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 which is compatible with the well-being of the parties who sustain its grievous yoke.

"But, besides our paramount and indispensable obligations, on moral and religious grounds, to relieve our colonial bondsmen from the cruel and degrading state to which we have reduced them, and to remedy as far as we can the numberless wrongs of which we have been the criminal authors; it is further due to the character of Great Britain, in the eyes of foreign nations, that we should act agreeably to the principles which, in our discussions with them relative to the African Slave Trade, we have professed to make the basis of our representations. It would be vain to expect that they should regard those professions as otherwise than insincere, or that they should defer to our representations, however urgent, if we exhibit in our own conduct the glaring inconsistency of sanctioning as legal, in our own dominions, practices of the very same nature, in effect, with those which we reprobate and denounce as immoral, inhuman, and unjust, when they occur on the coast of Africa.

"It is therefore our clear and indisputable duty completely to reform our present colonial system, even if it should require a large pecuniary sacrifice to

accomplish that object. But the proposed change, we believe, is prescribed to us not more by moral and religious principle, than by the soundest views of political expediency. In the present advanced state of knowledge, it can no longer be a question that the labour of slaves is much less profitable than that of freemen, and that it can only be supported at a very heavy expense to the community at large. In proof of this, it will be sufficient to adduce the protecting duties and bounties afforded to the growers of sugar in the West Indies; and without which they declare it would be impossible for them to continue its culture. Indeed, we are persuaded that no institution which is directly at variance with the will of the Supreme Governor of the Universe can prove a source of permanent advantage either to nations or individuals. And, in the present case, it might be clearly demonstrated, that the personal slavery which deforms the face of society in the British colonies, and stains the British character, is as detrimental to the interests of the slave-owner as it is cruel and oppressive to the slave; and that its abolition, instead of proving an injury to either, will prove an unspeakable benefit to both.

“The Colonists say, that they shall sustain a great actual loss by the proposed change of system. If so, they will of course have an opportunity of preferring and establishing their claim to indemnity. But, whatever the extent of that claim may be proved to 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 to the colonists, not from our own resources, but with the toil and sweat and blood of our African brethren.

“But, in whatever degree it may be found necessary to indemnify the colonists for any loss which may arise to them from the abolition of negro slavery, yet, *while that state of society continues unchanged*, there will be an insuperable objection in the mind of every conscientious individual to the adoption of any measures of pecuniary relief, by means of protecting duties or bounties on their produce, or otherwise; because it is obvious that such measures, however modified, would involve the people of this country in the farther guilt of upholding a system which, when the facts of the case are known, it is impossible not to feel to be utterly repugnant to the principles of justice and humanity, and to the whole spirit of Christianity.”

But this clear and unambiguous declaration, the right hon. gentleman may allege, was published in April 1823. We admit it. But then we have it in our power to lay before him a second edition of the same paper, which has furnished him with his motto, entitled, “A brief View of the Nature and Effects of Negro Slavery, as it exists in the Colonies of Great Britain,” and which bears date, not in April, 1823, but on the 1st of October, 1830. Now this paper, which has been circulated very largely throughout all parts of the kingdom, though it contains statements varying in some respects from those contained in the former edition, in consequence of the intermediate changes which have taken place in the laws of slavery, yet gives the above passage without a single material variation. Indeed the only variation consists in the omission of these words in the first paragraph of the extract, “in investigating the state of colonial bondage, and;” it being justly thought that the work of investigation has now been sufficiently fulfilled.

And yet in the face of this apparently overwhelming evidence, to which much more might be added in corroboration, the right hon. gentleman comes forward with his “First Letter to the men of Yorkshire,” to denounce the abolitionists as denying and resisting the claim of the planters to equitable compensation, and to establish

against them, by laboured proof, this groundless charge. It is true, they have said nothing as to the amount of compensation; neither has the right hon. gentleman. He has concurred with them, probably, in thinking that that is a point to be settled, neither by the exaggerated claims of the planters, nor by the vehement objections of individual declainers, but by the sober estimate of an impartial and enlightened tribunal, deciding fairly and dispassionately on the subject according to evidence.

On what ground, then, is it that the right hon. gentleman has contrived to raise a controversy between himself and the Anti-Slavery party on this subject? It is on a ground quite as whimsical and untenable as any we have yet noticed. He assumes it as a principle of his reasoning, that the very call for the early and entire extinction of slavery proves that it is intended, by the parties so calling, to be effected "*without equitable compensation.*" This, we must take leave to say, is a somewhat extravagant, and certainly a most unwarrantable assumption, and yet the whole of his pamphlet is founded upon it. For our own parts, with all respect for the superior sagacity of our author, we cannot discover what difference it can possibly make as to the principle on which the question of equitable compensation rests, whether the abolition shall take place in 1831, or 1841, or 1851. The equity of the matter remains the same on either supposition; and we are utterly unable to divine by what species of logic the right hon. gentleman has arrived at the conclusion, that because Mr. Brougham pledged himself to the Yorkshire Electors "never to cease from his labours till the chains shall have dropped from the hands of the slave;" and because the Hull Anti-Slavery Society have resolved to call for "the speedy extinction of slavery;" that either Mr. B. or the members of the Hull Society will refuse to concur in any *just and reasonable* proposition, which he or any other person may bring forward, for carrying into effect that part also of the compact of 1823, which relates to the question of equitable compensation. And yet this speech of Mr. Brougham, and these resolutions of the Hull Society, which are only samples, we admit, of many similar speeches and similar resolutions, form all the ground we can discover for this weighty charge. We doubt whether labour and thought were ever so completely thrown away. Nay, if the author had only taken the trouble to read with ordinary attention the publications of the Society, which for years past, in various ways, it has been his labour to assail; or to look into a few of the thousands of petitions presented to Parliament on the subject, he would not have found there even a single attempt to controvert the position, that equitable compensation to the planter is a fair subject of parliamentary consideration. Nay, in not a few of them, he would have found even liberal offers to bear their share of any indemnity, to which, on investigation, the planters might prove (for with them must the *onus probandi* rest) that they were equitably entitled.

Such being the state of the question between the right hon. gentleman and the special objects of his attack, we think we were perfectly justified in the remark with which we set out, that both this

and his former pamphlet on the subject, were employed either in "laboriously proving admitted truths, or in eagerly combating mere shadows, the creation of the author's own fancy."

We might here close this unprofitable controversy, were it not for some incidental statements of the right hon. gentleman, the accuracy of which appears to us to be questionable, and which we shall therefore take the liberty of examining. We shall cite for this purpose the following passage :

"If you refer to a recent publication of the Anti-Slavery Society, you will find much criticism on the presumed defects and omissions of this Order in Council; and it will be for those who pursue a critical study of this great question, to form a judgment of the relevancy or irrelevancy of that criticism. On one material point, I have already expressed my opinion in the House of Commons, in accordance with the sentiments of the Anti-Slavery Society: but this at least must be conceded, (and the concession is quite enough for an argument which I am prepared to sustain in this letter) that if certain modifications do take place in this Order in Council, the six ceded colonies, containing a population of 300,000 slaves, will have completely and entirely embodied in their laws ALL those temperate and prudent recommendations which the abolitionists personally approved, and which were founded on the temperate and prudent resolutions of Mr. Canning.

"I put aside, then, the case of the colonies having local legislatures, for the purpose of considering that of the ceded colonies, where the interests of the proprietors in their slaves is *just as strong and undoubted* as in the case of the legislative colonies; and I ask of you the following questions: Supposing that, upon examination of the Order in Council of February, 1830, you are of opinion that it ought to be modified according to the criticisms of the Anti-Slavery Society, can you deny, that, *if it should be so modified* by another Order in Council, the temperate and prudent recommendations of the Government, founded upon Mr. Canning's resolutions, will have been carried into effect in the ceded colonies? And will you in that case be prepared to call for the *sudden extinction* of slavery in those colonies, WITHOUT EQUITABLE COMPENSATION?

"The ceded colonies, as I have already stated, have not the power of legislation. The British Government has carried certain meliorations into effect, according to its view of what was required by the resolutions of Parliament. If those meliorations do *not come up* to the proper standard, whose fault is it? In such a case, the existing Government ought to be impeached, rather than the property of the planters in the ceded colonies confiscated. Whatever, therefore, may be said with respect to the colonies having local legislatures, it is impossible, with common justice, to escape from the necessity of granting equitable compensation to the proprietors in the ceded colonies. In the case, then, of the ceded colonies, if you are not satisfied with the law as it now exists, or as it will exist when the Order in Council shall have been amended, (including compulsory manumission,) what is your project, and where are your funds?

"But it may be said, 'we will not emancipate the slaves in the ceded colonies, but we will at once emancipate those in the colonies having no legislatures.' If justice to the slaves be the object, how are any principles of justice to be reconciled with the distinction? In that case the emancipation of the slaves will be effected, rather as a punishment to the planters, than as a measure intended for the well-being of the slaves. If your object be to punish the planters, there are many better modes of punishment than the measure of emancipation."

What we have already said will shew, how totally wide of the mark are these observations. We are not conscious, in the first place, of ever having made any such distinctions as the right hon. gentleman supposes. In truth, had we done so, they would have been dis-

inctions of a very different description. Instead of maintaining his affirmative proposition, that the claims of the ceded colonies are as strong and undoubted as those of the old colonies, we should have added to it the monosyllable *not*. But into this part of the question we shall not now be tempted to digress, as it is foreign to our present purpose. Suffice it to say, that we have no where attempted to raise distinctions between the claims of different classes of slaveholders, whatever may be our opinions on the subject, as interfering with any claims of equitable adjustment. We pass therefore from that point, in order to express our unfeigned astonishment, that, familiar as the right hon. gentleman seems to be with the criticisms of the Anti-Slavery Reporter, he should have so far misapprehended its sentiments, as to assume that it regarded the Consolidated Order in Council of February last, as forming, with "certain modifications," a complete and entire fulfilment of the pledges of his Majesty's Government on the subject of reform, as respects the crown colonies. In the very Reporter to which he refers, what is the language held? (No. 58. p. 154.) It is that, even if ALL the measures proposed by government had been carried into full effect, we could only regard them as steps towards the final extinction of slavery throughout the British dominions; in other words, as steps towards the great object, which the resolutions of May, 1823, professed and promised to accomplish, namely, the introduction of the colonial slaves to a full participation of the civil rights and privileges enjoyed by other classes of his Majesty's subjects.

But is it true, that ALL the measures proposed by his Majesty's ministers have been carried into effect, even in the crown colonies? Our author affirms this to be the case, and hesitates not to assume, that certain modifications would, even in our view, have rendered them complete. We totally dissent from this assumption, and pronounce it to be a complete, though doubtless unintentional misrepresentation of our opinions; but still hardly excusable, in one so familiar with the details of the question as the right hon. gentleman.

But let us look more closely at the subject, and first, with respect to education and religious instruction.

In 1823, this point was placed in the fore-front of all the contemplated measures of reform. It was professedly made to rank in importance above all others, both by the ministers of the crown and by the colonial planters. And yet, in the crown colonies, subject as they are to the sole, exclusive, and uncontrolled legislation of the crown, what has been done to promote this avowedly paramount object? Literally nothing. Not a single clause in any one Order of Council yet issued, not even in the late consolidated order which our author represents as so complete, relates to this object, or provides for the dedication of a single hour of the slave's time to its attainment. Education and religious instruction formed, in 1823, a prominent feature, both of the speeches of Mr. Canning, and of the dispatches of the right hon. gentleman's principal, Lord Bathurst. And yet, in act and effect, they are an utter nullity. A bishop and some clergymen, it is true, have been appointed, and salaries have

been given them, but not one clause of enactment has issued, to give scope or efficacy to their labours. Their appointments and their salaries, therefore, only render the mockery of the proceeding the more remarkable, and the violation of solemn professions and reiterated pledges the less excusable.

Closely connected with this part of the case, is the total violation of another pledge, no less solemnly and explicitly given—a pledge to secure to the slave the full enjoyment of the repose, and of the other temporal as well as spiritual advantages of the sabbath. This, it was admitted on all hands, nay, by the West Indians themselves, could not be effected in any other way than by affording to the slave equivalent time in lieu of Sunday. In no other way could the necessity of his labouring, on that day, for his own subsistence and that of his family, or of his attending Sunday markets, be obviated. Now, in the *all perfect* Order in Council of February last, Sunday markets are abolished, and *compulsory* labour on the Sunday is forbidden; yet the law gives no time to the slave, to enable him either to attend market on any other day, or to exempt him from the stringent necessity of toiling on the Sunday, to raise food for himself and his family. In short he must still work on that day or starve. The right hon. gentleman cannot deny this statement; neither can he deny, that it involves not only a violation of the pledges of government, and especially of that government to which he was attached, but that it is also an act of extreme cruelty and injustice to the slaves, for which we cannot even imagine the shadow of an adequate apology.

But it is not merely as it affects the moral and religious interests of the slaves, or their bodily health, that this unaccountable violation of good faith, and of all justice and humanity, is to be reprobated; though these are considerations of paramount importance; but as it affects the operation of other parts of the Order, and especially of the much debated and much vaunted manumission clause. The predial slave, while forced as now to employ the Sunday in labour, in order to procure a bare subsistence for himself and family, can have no hope whatever of effecting any accumulation of property. The thing is impossible, and is proved to be so by the utter abortion of the plan of Savings' Banks, in as far at least as respects the predial slave. So that this most unjust arrangement is not only destructive of health, and incompatible with any progress in religious knowledge, but it extinguishes all expectation of benefit to the predial slave from the power of self manumission. To profess, therefore, under these circumstances, to give him that power, is little better than an act of derision.

But the Anti-Slavery Reporter has dwelt so often and at such length on this important subject, that the right hon. gentleman must be familiar with these incontrovertible positions. We shall therefore only refer him and our readers to the passages noted in the margin, as containing full information upon it.*

* No. 11, p. 132—135, 156; No. 21, p. 303; No. 27, p. 31; No. 30, p. 131; No. 34, p. 186; No. 41, p. 311, 314; No. 48, p. 471; No. 52, p. 56 and 75; No. 58, p. 134—139; No. 60, p. 195—201; N. 66, p. 384; No. 71, p. 480.

It was further promised by the government, that no one who was 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, &c. How has this promise been kept in all the crown colonies? The protector, to whom the chief guardianship of the slaves is committed in each colony, is indeed wholly debarred from having any interest in slave property. But in every one of these colonies, his assistants, on whom the duty of protecting the slaves, and especially the predial part of them, must of necessity fall, are to a man slave holders. The evils of such a system we need not insist upon. They are acknowledged in the very restrictions laid on the chief protector; they have been recognized, on a variety of occasions, by his Majesty's government; and they have been exposed, over and over again, with all their disastrous effects, in the pages of the Anti-Slavery Reporter;* and yet, they remain, to this very hour, wholly unredressed.

But it were endless to enter into farther details on this subject, or to repeat statements which the right hon. gentleman knows we have already repeated even to satiety. We are not satisfied, we never were satisfied, and we have never expressed ourselves satisfied, with the provisions of the Order in Council; and we have continued to dwell on their defects, even to the fatigue of our readers. But still we must not withhold from them or from our author, a new and invaluable testimony to the validity of many of the objections which we have not ceased to urge, for seven long years, but which were wholly unheeded by the right hon. gentleman while he remained in office. The testimony we have to produce is that of Sir George Murray, who, in a late circular despatch to the governors of crown colonies, dated the 4th of February, 1830, thus feelingly expresses himself with respect to the defects of this very Order, which Mr. Wilmot Horton holds to be perfect and complete, and which he would make the *ne plus ultra* of improvement.

"I am well aware," says Sir George, "that there are some topics connected with the improvement of the condition of slavery, which are omitted in this Order, although superior in importance to some of those which it embraces; amongst these I may particularly mention THE DURATION OF THE DAILY LABOUR OF THE PLANTATION SLAVES; THEIR FOOD AND CLOTHING; and above all, THEIR RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION." (How Sir George should overlook, in this enumeration, the want of time in lieu of Sunday, is to us inconceivable.) "If it had been the design of his Majesty's ministers," he adds, "to frame a complete code for the government of the slaves, a prominent place must have been assigned to topics of this nature; but for the present nothing farther has been contemplated than to consolidate the Order in Council of the 10th March, 1824, and the most valuable of the

* See No. 11, p. 142; No. 21, p. 298; No. 33, p. 178; No. 34, p. 192; No. 38, p. 261; No. 39, p. 287; No. 43, p. 346, and p. 355—358; No. 54, p. 142—145; No. 66, 373—382, and 386; No. 68, p. 416—421; No. 69, p. 429—441; No. 71, p. 481—496.

provisions which have been engrafted upon it by supplementary enactments, either in Trinidad or in other separate crown colonies." In a subsequent despatch, of the 18th February, 1830, he calls for official information on the subject of the duration of slave labour, which must prove invaluable. We trust the call has been answered, and that the information will speedily be produced.

It is now time, however, that we should reply to the question propounded to us in the last extract. Our answer to it is, that if this *all-perfect* Order were carried into effect, not only in the crown but in the chartered colonies, and there were added to it all our suggested emendations, and all the supplementary measures of Sir George Murray, we should not the less, on that account, continue to call for the early and entire extinction of slavery, without, at the same time, opposing the slightest obstacle to the fair and full consideration of every equitable claim for compensation which the planters may prefer, or are able by satisfactory proof to establish.

The right hon. gentleman tells us, that in the case which we have now proved beyond dispute, namely, that of the failure of ministers to *come up* to the proper standard of their pledges in 1823, they "ought to be impeached." We will not contest with the right hon. gentleman their claim to that honour, especially as he himself, who is unquestionably a *particeps criminis*, even if he pleads *not guilty*, must allow that we have at least produced a strong *prima facie* case, which furnishes a presumption that, if fairly tried, the plea would prove unavailing.

But the author has propounded another question, which he seems to think will completely strike dumb the abolitionists, and especially Mr. Brougham, who happened some thirty years ago to say, that Africans must undergo "a radical change" before they are fit for freedom. "Have the negroes," he asks, "undergone that radical change?" This kind of catechetical lecture appears to us, with all due respect to him, to be misplaced. Would he himself be willing to be catechized as to all he wrote or said thirty years ago? Besides, have we had no experience to enlighten us in the course of those thirty years? Let the right hon. gentleman only read the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 70, for an answer. But independently of this, if we were not anxious to hurry to a close, it would be easy to point out innumerable absurdities involved in this question of the right hon. gentleman. Does he mean to say that there is any *radical* difference between a black infant born, in Jamaica for instance, of a free person, and one born of a slave? Or that black children in Sierra Leone, in Mexico, or in Hayti, are differently constituted from what they are in Jamaica, in Demerara, or in Barbadoes? Or that even black men and women are made of different materials, and endowed by nature with different dispositions from those with which white men and women are endowed? There is no end of such trifling. It savours too much of Major Moody's school, to which we are sorry to perceive that the right hon. gentleman retains some lurking attachment. We find him even producing the Major, as having proved some point "in the clearest

manner," so as to constitute, it seems, "an *axiom*" in the Philosophy of Labour. But to cite Major Moody as a clear reasoner, nay, as a propounder of axioms which are to pass current in the world, seems an aberration of the same kind which has made Mr. Brougham responsible for an opinion uttered in youth, and long since disavowed; or which exhibits it as a necessary corollary from the call of that gentleman, or of any other, for early and entire abolition, that he should exclude all consideration of equitable compensation to the planters. We hardly expected to have seen Major Moody again quoted as an authority, by any reasonable person, since the publication of the *Edinburgh Review*, No. XC. And although the right hon. gentleman might be excused for a feeling of partiality towards the views of the Major, yet we should hardly have expected that he would refer to him as a decisive umpire in this controversy.

We cannot discover another syllable in this pamphlet which requires from us the slightest notice. All that remains is a prolongation of the battle with shadows, which, from first to last, characterizes the productions of our author on this question.

Before we close this article, we beg to assure the right honourable gentleman, that it is with great reluctance we have been compelled by his new attack upon us once more to enter the lists of controversy against him. Whether the pamphlet before us will add to his reputation as a statesman, we leave to others to determine. It must, at least, have the effect of confirming and perpetuating, in the public mind, the impression of his unfriendly feeling towards the cause of negro freedom, which was created by his former writings, and by the general tenor of his official conduct. He has, it is true, disclaimed any such feeling, and has denounced its imputation as unwarranted and unjust. And yet, how is the public to form a judgment of public men but by their public conduct? And when they have seen the right honourable gentleman uniformly palliating or defending in parliament colonial abuse or outrage; and when they have also seen his writings, either selected by the colonial club for insertion in their list of works favourable to the colonial cause, or received with acclamation by every colonial coterie, and lauded in every colonial journal; what other conclusion was it possible for him to expect they should come to, but that to which they have come? His present pamphlet, he must allow, is not calculated to efface the impression of which he has so loudly complained, and he must therefore be content, without some great change in his views and conduct, to rank in public estimation among the chief advocates of colonial bondage; second to none, indeed, in talent; and in zeal, inferior only to such men as Macqueen and Moody, as Barclay and Macdonnell.

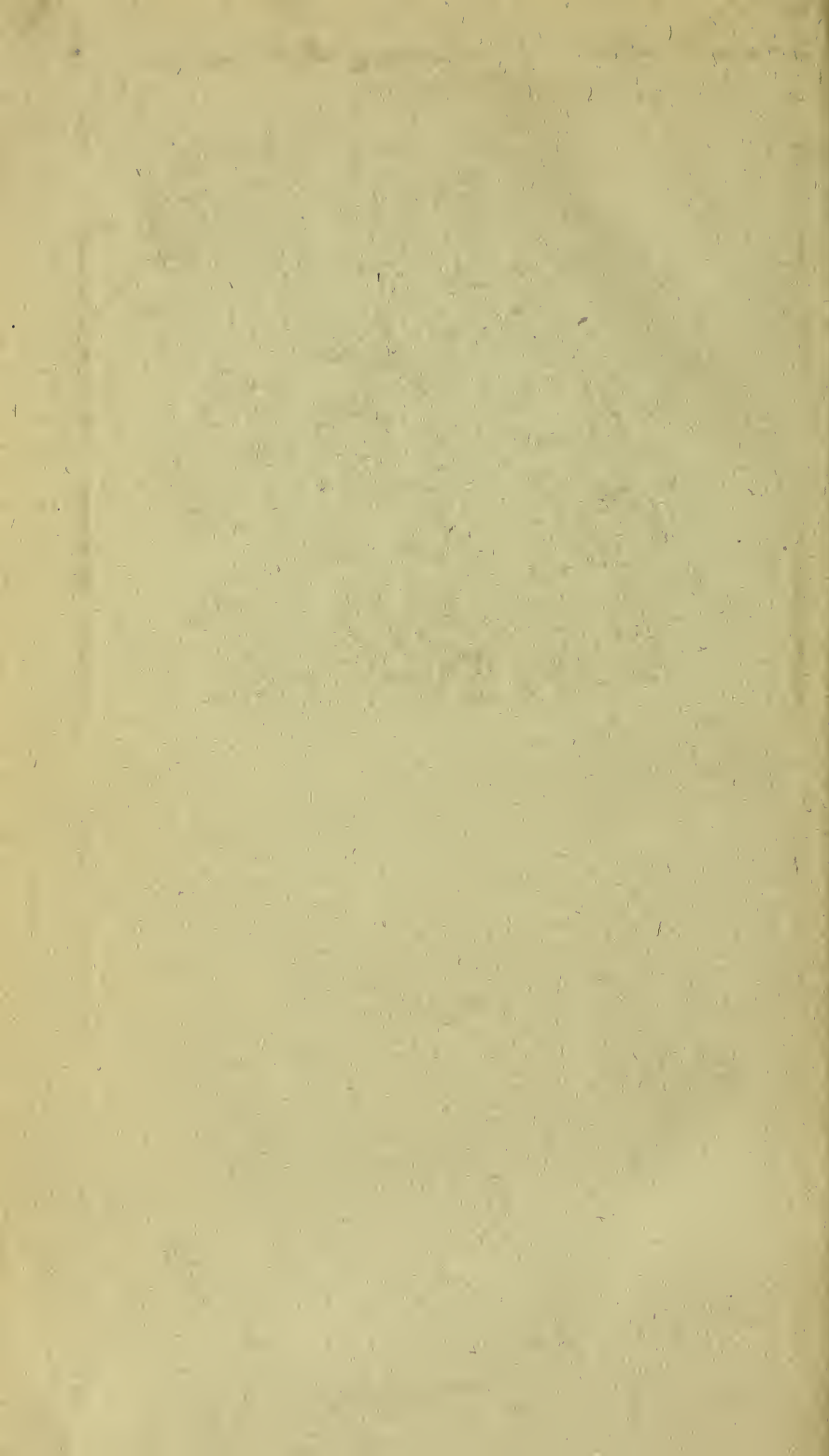
But as the right hon. gentleman appears to have taken his side in this controversy, we recommend it to him no longer to waste his strength in combating the comparatively puny efforts of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*; but to grapple at once with an antagonist worthy of him, we mean Mr. Stephen, the refutation of whose recent work on slavery will afford abundant scope to the exertion of all his talents; and may supply him with a large fund of materials for the series of letters with which he threatens the freeholders of Yorkshire.

We are forcibly reminded, by the names of the four colonial champions just mentioned, as well as by the work we have now reviewed, of some propositions which, three or four years ago, we deduced from their publications of that period, in conjunction with the former pamphlet of the right hon. gentleman. One of these propositions was:—(see 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 subjecting the negroes to slavery, 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 crime must be retained for ages, if need be, in their present abject and degraded state.”

Now it is somewhat remarkable, that, after the lapse of nearly four years, we should have another pamphlet from the pen of the right hon. gentleman, treating of negro slavery in a manner perfectly justifying this proposition.—On the claim of the injured and outraged negro to compensation, he bestows not one thought, nor, on *his* forlorn and helpless condition, even one passing glance of pity. He bestows, as before, his undivided anxiety, and expends the whole current of his sympathies, on the possible loss of some fraction of property which may accrue to the master. Here again he and we are widely separated as the poles. Our clear opinion, as we have often stated it, is, that if there be any one party more indubitably entitled to indemnity than another, it is the slave; who, even if the right hon. gentleman's favourite plan of compulsory manumission were carried into full effect, would have this injury added to all his other wrongs, that he is to be condemned to pay, with his coerced labour, the penalty of the criminal conduct of his oppressor.

* * * The Third Volume of the Anti-Slavery Reporter being now brought to a close, we take the opportunity of apprising our readers that, through some typographical oversight, the paging from p. 129 to p. 182 inclusive, has been repeated. The first series of these double numbers comprises Nos. 54, 55, 56, and 57. The second series commences with No. 58.—We know of no better way to obviate the inconvenient effect of this oversight, in quoting from this third volume, than to refer always both to the page of the volume, and to the number of the Reporter. In the Index means will be taken to distinguish the second series of pages from the first.



JAN 2 1912

